

Representation of Beyoğlu in Short Story Writing of the 1940s Generation in Turkey

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A dissertation presented to the

Atatürk Institute for Modern Turkish History
at Boğaziçi University

in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

July 2022

Declaration of Originality

The intellectual content of this dissertation, which has been written by me and for which I take full responsibility, is my own, original work, and it has not been previously or concurrently submitted elsewhere for any other examination or degree of higher education. The sources of all paraphrased and quoted materials, concepts, and ideas are fully cited, and the admissible contributions and assistance of others with respect to the conception of the work as well as to linguistic expression are explicitly acknowledged herein.

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Abstract

Representation of Beyoğlu in Short Story Writing of the 1940s Generation in Turkey

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This study focuses on the representation of Beyoğlu in short stories written between the end of the 1930s and the beginning of the 1950s by nine authors who were accepted as the representatives of the 1940s generation. Two developments marked the political history of this long decade: The Second World War and discussions about the transition to multi-party life. In these years, a radical change concurrently occurred in the positions of intellectuals in society and at the state level. The literary intellectual, who was a part of the bureaucracy in the early Republican period, became both excluded from the state elite and impoverished. In literature, as the little man became a common theme, the figure of the narrator who lived among the little men and narrated them rose to prominence. As story writing was poised for a rapid rise in the 50s during this period, literary modernism also became a major trend. The story writer began to focus more on his own individuality as the “loitering little man.”

The study reveals the relationship between the rise of literary modernism in Turkish short story writing and the increase of Beyoğlu representations in number and content. How the representations of Beyoğlu shaped the modernism of the 1940s and how the rise of modernism affected the literary representation of Beyoğlu are discussed.

255,443 words

Özet

Türkiye’de, 1940 Kuşağı Öykücülüğünde Beyoğlu’nun Temsili

Ercan Çankaya, Doktora Adayı, 2022

Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Atatürk İlkeleri ve İnkılap Tarihi Enstitüsü

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Bu çalışmada, Türk edebiyatında 1940 Kuşağı olarak adlandırılan kuşağın temsilcisi addedilen dokuz yazarın 30’lu yılların sonlarından 50’lerin başına kadar yazdıkları öykülerdeki Beyoğlu temsillerine odaklanıldı. Söz konusu uzun on yılın siyasi tarihine iki gelişme damgasını vurdu: İkinci Dünya Savaşı ve çok partili hayata geçiş tartışmaları. Bu yıllar, aynı zamanda aydınların toplum içindeki ve devlet katındaki konumlarında köklü bir değişim vuku buldu. Erken Cumhuriyet döneminde bürokrasinin bir parçası olan edebiyatçı aydın hem devlet elitinin dışına itildi hem yoksullaştı. Edebiyatta, küçük adam yaygın bir tema haline gelirken küçük adamların arasında yaşayarak onları hikâye eden anlatıcı figürü yükselen bir edebi figür haline geldi. Öykücülük, bu dönemde 50’lerdeki hızlı yükselişine hazırlanırken edebi modernizm de yükselen bir akım haline geldi. Öykücü, “aylak küçük adam” olarak kendi bireyselliğine daha çok odaklanmaya başladı.

Bu çalışmada, Türk öykücülüğünde edebi modernizmin yükselişiyle Beyoğlu temsillerinin artışı ve içeriği hakkındaki ilişkiye odaklanıldı. Beyoğlu temsillerinin 1940’ların modernizmini nasıl şekillendirdiği ve modernizmin yükselişinin Beyoğlu’nun edebi temsilini nasıl etkilediği tartışıldı.

255,443 kelime

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To my mother

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Acknowledgments

I would like to express my deepest gratitude to the following people who have helped and supported me throughout my dissertation: My supervisor, Prof. Aydın Babuna, for his very kind support throughout my research. Prof. Duygu Köksal for her support from the very beginning of my PhD education until the completion of my dissertation and her invaluable comments. Assoc. Prof. Erol Köroğlu for his careful readings and constructive criticism which improved this text tremendously. Prof. Cengiz Kırılı and Prof. Asım Karaömerlioğlu for their support and lectures that provided me with the impetus to engage in this work. Assoc. Prof. Göksel Aymaz and Assoc. Prof. Sinan Yıldırım for their careful readings and constructive criticisms.

1

Introduction

In this dissertation, I examine how short story writers of the 1940s generation in Turkish literature, and Sait Faik in particular, have represented Beyoğlu, inclusive of Galata. Beyoğlu is not significantly associated with the Islamic and classical past of Istanbul. This characteristic is the primary reason why I selected Beyoğlu for my study. Yet, this is not unique to Beyoğlu; there are many other districts of Istanbul that rose to prominence in the nineteenth century which cannot be identified with the Islamic and classical past of Istanbul. The second reason why I focus on Beyoğlu is the particular transformation it went through in the nineteenth century.

The history of Galata has its roots in fourth century. At the time Istanbul was captured by the Ottomans, it had been a colony of the Genoese. The history of Beyoğlu meanwhile, has its roots in sixteenth century. These districts remained largely Non-Muslim and Levantine settlements during their history under the Ottoman Empire. As a result of political developments in nineteenth century, Non-Muslims and Levantines, who acquired political guarantees and materially prospered, started to dis-

play their wealth and presence more openly. In this period, Beyoğlu improved and grew. A new lifestyle, which could not be experienced in any other place in Istanbul, was now thriving in Beyoğlu. Beyoğlu became both a centre of attraction for the Westernized population and at the same time a space which fuelled elites' and literary men's anxieties and worries during the nineteenth century. These worries and anxieties remained into the early period of the Republic till the 1940s. The third reason why I privilege Beyoğlu as the object of my inquiry is the transformation which fed into the anxieties and worries of the Muslim population in the nineteenth century.

However, I will not concentrate solely on the characteristics of Beyoğlu which triggered these anxieties of the elites. Tuncay Birkan claims in his book *Dünya ile Devlet Arasında Türk Muharriri* (The Turkish Writer between the World and the State) that many contemporary literary critics such as Jale Parla, Murat Belge, Orhan Koçak, Nurdan Gürbilek, and others examined texts written before the 1950s under the framework of the East and the West. When evaluating these texts, they judged them according to how they approached and handled the problematic of the East and the West. For these critics, authors of those texts were writing in line with the given stereotypes of the East vs. the West. Their worldviews were sympathetic either to the East or to the West, with scarce scrutiny of further thought, often making one of the protagonists in their novels into avatars who speak in place of themselves. In short, authors of the pre-1950s are usually examined as passive "agents" of the process of modernization in literary criticisms made by above mentioned names.¹

¹ Tuncay Birkan. *Dünya ile Devlet Arasında Türk Muharriri*, Istanbul: Metis, 2020. pp. 32, 33, 36.

In my opinion, literary narratives about Beyoğlu in the 1940s went beyond well-known and tired dualities like the East and the West. Artists started to experience modern life in Beyoğlu after the 1940s without falling neatly into one or the other category which make up these dualities. In other words, Beyoğlu became the site for Turkish modernity and a context for republican literary modernism by the 1940s. Moreover, modernism began to influence almost all genres of literature and art in this decade. Changing representations of Beyoğlu in literature appeared along with the modernism in literature and art. I do not claim that there had never been an artist who had approached Beyoğlu positively before the 1940s. However, positive representations of Beyoğlu proliferated considerably in the 1940s and the debates around the categories of the East and the West diminished considerably in the decades that followed the 1940s. This is why I find the 1940s important, and I will claim that authors of the 1940s generation were not passive agents of the modernization process, but authors who were influenced by literary modernism and who shaped how the modernization process was perceived in literary circles.

At this juncture, I wish to briefly mention our authors of interest and their story writing in order to introduce the reasoning behind my preference for examining the story writers of the 1940s. The famous writer Sait Faik's short stories are generally short snippets of life which narrate the modern "superfluous men" in the city. Superfluous men, in brief, might be characterized as ordinary men, with the exception that they fail to be "useful" to society or the people around them because of either deficiencies or excesses in their identities. Such characters became common in Turkish story writing with Sait Faik. Moreover, compared to genres of the novel and the poem, the short story is highly suitable to investigate the relationship between the city space and liter-

ature. In poetry, unless we are talking about a poetical story, a rather imaginative language is employed; a necessity enforced by the genre itself. In novels, necessities of fiction and plot, influence the author's representation of the city and changes it in certain manners. However, in a short story, experiences of the superfluous men of the city or the artist are narrated more directly, without paying heed to necessities of plot or poetic imagery. In this sense, the short story is the most suitable literary genre through which to examine how a generation experienced the city and the city space.

The short story writers of the generation of the 40s that I will consider are Sait Faik, Afif Yesari, Cahit Sıtkı Tarancı, Haldun Taner, Naim Tıralı, Oktay Akbal, Sabahattin Kudret Aksal, Samim Kocagöz, and Ziya Osman Saba. Some of these are known only for their short stories, like Sait Faik, Oktay Akbal, and Naim Tıralı. Others are known as poets, but they also wrote short stories, like Cahit Sıtkı Tarancı, Sabahattin Kudret Aksal, and Ziya Osman Saba. Haldun Taner is known as both a dramatist and a short story writer. Afif Yesari is known as a "popular writer." Samim Kocagöz was a novelist and a short story writer. Regardless of whether they are known as short story writers, novelists, dramatists or poets, however, their short stories which touch upon Beyoğlu have more similarities between them than differences.

It would be apt to mention, at this juncture, the importance of literary genre for sociology of literature and my dissertation. Typically, works of sociology of literature examine the content of a literary work and connect it to social and economic relations. I intend to go further, however, observing that literature is open to the influence of the society it is born of, in its form as well as in its content. Each form is a judgement and an evaluation about life. The form shapes the segment of life which is taken hold of by the work of art. In other words, the form is an ideology. Its

power and influence are tied to its existence as part of a bigger worldview and attitude. The style of short story which Sait Faik popularized, represented a new style of relations of the young artist with the transforming city space and society. To be able to render clear the larger influence of this on a literary generation, Sait Faik must be examined in context of his contemporaries. I claim in this dissertation that Sait Faik's stories can be examined as "metropolitan miniatures." Metropolitan miniatures as a genre were the product of an era in which the gradually modernizing pace of country and small town was still dominant, albeit losing ground. The metropolis was an island of accelerating modernization at the end of the 19th century and beginning of the 20th century in Europe as well as in republican Turkey.

This generation has not been studied specifically in terms of its representation of Beyoğlu; however, there are a number of studies about the short story writers of the 1940s in general. Murat Karcioğlu's book *Türk Öykücülüğünde 1940 Kuşağı ve Toplumcu Gerçekçi Yönelimler* (The Generation of 1940 in Turkish Short Story Writing and Social Realist Tendencies) examines the generation with a focus on its social realist tendencies. Öner Yağcı, who is a literary critic, studied poets of this generation through their aesthetical and political approaches in *40 Kuşağı Şairleri* (Poets of The Generation of 40). Taylan Özbay analyses political articles of authors of this generation about Mustafa Kemal Atatürk in *Atatürk ve Devrimin Yönü* (Atatürk and the Direction of the Revolution). Tuncay Birkan also touches upon this generation in his book which examines positions of Turkish writers concerning universalism and nationalism between 1930 and 1960. I have not encountered any existing study whose key issue is the representation of Beyoğlu in Turkish literature. However, there are some volumes in which well-known literary texts about Beyoğlu are collected. *Türk Edebiyatında Beyoğlu*

(Beyoğlu in Turkish Literature) edited by Selahattin Özpalabıyıklar is one of them.

There are certain academic, as well as non-academic works which examine various writers' representations of Istanbul in general or of Beyoğlu in particular. Yeşim Özdemir's book *Sait Faik'in İstanbul'u* (The Istanbul of Sait Faik) examines how different districts of Istanbul, including Beyoğlu, have been represented in Sait Faik's short and long stories and novels. Sefa Yüce examines the short story writing of Naim Tiralı in *Naim Tiralı'nın Hikâyeciliği* (The Short Story Writing of Naim Tiralı) in which his stories about Beyoğlu and Istanbul are also studied. *Hüzünlü Anlar Fotoğrafçısı* (The Photographer of Sad Moments) is an examination of the literature of Ziya Osman Saba by Mustafa Kırıcı, which highlights the visuality in his poems. There are some academic studies which embrace the relationship of the space and the literature in different writers. Esra Tokatlıoğlu's master thesis *Türk Edebiyatında İstanbul Temsilleri ve Kent Birey İlişkisi* (Representations of Istanbul and the City-Individual Relationship in Turkish Literature) is among these. Şule Demirkol Ertürk's master thesis *The City and its Translators. İstanbul Metonymized and Refracted in the Literary Narratives of Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar and Orhan Pamuk* compares Tanpınar's and Orhan Pamuk's perceptions of Istanbul. Ercan Çankaya's master thesis *Reflections of Conservatism and Nostalgia in Yahya Kemal Beyatlı and Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar's Representation of İstanbul* compares İstanbul perceptions of Yahya Kemal and Tanpınar under the framework of the East and the West problematic.

Reviewing the literature reveals that even though various authors' perceptions of the city space have been discussed in different academic works, the perceptions of space in the short stories of Sait Faik were examined in only one academic study. There are many books mention-

ing his love of Istanbul, but his perception of Istanbul or Beyoğlu is not examined within a conceptual framework. Two books about Naim Tırallı and Ziya Osman Saba, which I mentioned above, touch upon their perception of space indirectly. There is not any academic work however, which examines how Sait Faik and the short story writers influenced by him have represented Beyoğlu in their stories.

There are numerous academic studies written in Western languages which examine the relationship of the city space and literature, some of which I use in this dissertation. Three classics of Western thought stand out for having provided the inspiration for most of these studies. The concept of the *flâneur* in *Passages* by Walter Benjamin and *The Painter of Modern Life* by Charles Baudelaire has inspired my dissertation as well. *The Conflict of Modern Culture* by Georg Simmel is one of the first works which examines the city sociologically and has been a major influence. Apart from these philosophical works, Andreas Husseyn's *Miniature Metropolis* also proved very useful in shaping the conceptual framework of this dissertation. Husseyn analyses writings of authors like Baudelaire, Rilke, Kafka, and Benjamin about cities and discovers certain similarities and commonalities in these writings. These city texts are dubbed metropolitan miniatures by Husseyn. Ross Chambers's *Loiterature* examines "the literature of loiterers", touching upon their relationships with space. Merlin Coverly, in his *Psychogeography*, examines modernist writers of 20th century in London and Paris under Debord's concept of "pyscho geography" which refers to the discipline of drawing emotional maps of metropolises. Debord's article, *Introduction to a Critique of Urban Geography*, is also important since it is the first article in which the concept of pyscho geography is used. Siegfried Kracauer in *The History – The Last Things before the Last* examines the relationship between history and photography and asserts the concept

of photographic realism. Although this book is not directly connected with the issues of space and literature, I have made use of it to a great extent. Kracauer's concept of photographic realism, which means the reflection of reality as filtered through the "emotional" lenses of the artist, is very illustrative in examining the short story genre. I also made use of Franco Moretti's *Signs Taken for Wonders* in which he examines the concept of "literary genre" through selected classical and popular works of Western literature.

Before proceeding further, I want to raise certain initial theoretical questions. I stated above that modernism in Turkish literature and the extended positive representation of Beyoğlu arose in the same period. That being the case, the first question to be answered is to what extent the generation of the 40s has been influenced by literary modernism which initiated its own history with the end of the mythic, static, circular, and nontemporal organic community. That is, literary modernism identifies itself with change and temporality according to the description of Raymond Williams.² Were they literary modernists? Seeking an answer to this question, led me to Benjamin's *Passages* and Baudelaire's *Painter of Modern Life* along with Williams's *The Politics of Modernism*. After readings these, a second question formed in my mind: were these men the *flâneurs* of Istanbul? I operationalize the concept of *flâneur* in this dissertation as the man whose only occupation is loitering in the city. A question that immediately follows is who was the *flâneur* in these stories? Was the *flâneur* the protagonist of the story or the author himself?

I saw both in Benjamin and in Baudelaire that *flâneurs* were sometimes fictitious characters, and at other times the authors themselves. Are all

² Raymond Williams. *The Politics of Modernism*, 5th ed., New York: Verso. p. 3.

of these short story writers the *flâneurs* of Istanbul? Or are all of the characters in their short stories about Beyoğlu *flâneurs*? If not all of them –authors or their characters– are *flâneurs*, might their short stories of Beyoğlu be considered in terms of a different concept? Reading Ross Chamber’s *Loiterature*, I surmised that their short stories about Beyoğlu might be considered in terms of “the literature of loiterers”-loiterature. It is my opinion, however, that if their texts are examined under the category of loiterature, the nuances between *flâneurs* and loiterers might be trivialized. I try to elaborate this argument in the following chapters of this study. Another question is why do the stories of these men concerning a particular neighbourhood matter? Are their texts merely fictions or do they reflect reality to some extent? At this juncture, I will employ Kracauer’s concept of photographic realism. Lastly, I will question whether these short stories about Beyoğlu can be evaluated as a literary genre. To answer this question, I will make use of Franco Moretti’s definition of the literary genre. I will discuss in detail what I understand the concepts of the *flâneur*, loiterature, loiterer, metropolitan miniature, psychogeography, and literary genre in the next chapter.

My dissertation will consist of seven chapters. Following this introduction, where I present my dissertation topic, why I chose this topic, and the existing literature about this topic, in the second chapter, I will discuss the theoretical concepts employed in my dissertation. One of the main concepts will be loiterature, the literature on/of loiterers. *Flâneur* and *flâneurship* will be examined under the title of loiterature. Another major concept is digression. Digression is both a style of writing and a source of pleasure for the *flâneur*. However, digression cannot be limited to *flâneurship* as a style of writing and a source of literature. The loiterer will be taken on as another concept connected with loiterature.

The next concept, literary genre, sheds light both on form and ideology. The metropolitan miniature refers to short condensed texts focusing on city space. Finally, literary modernism will also be a major concept thorough which I will examine all previously mentioned concepts. As digression is the main writing style of loiterature, so it is one of writing style of the era in which mythic, static, circular, and nontemporal organic community of feudalism ended. Therefore, literary modernism might be evaluated as one of the main artistic currents of modernization in the West as well as the non-West.

After I discuss these concepts, I briefly discuss the literary representations of St. Petersburg, concerning how developing urban spaces like St. Petersburg has been treated at the birth of modern Russian literature. I will focus mainly on the Senate Square and the Nevsky Prospect by way of *Bronze Cavalry* by Pushkin and *Diary of a Madman* by Gogol. These city spaces in Petersburg are fruitful in locating the story of the *flâneur* in a late modernized country which resembles Turkey. We will see that “the superfluous man” in Russian literature, which will merit a discussion, is inclusive of the *flâneur* or the loiterer. I will discuss the historical causes of why the Nevsky was represented as the space of Russian superfluous men in the Russian literature and how the centre of Russian modernization moved toward the Nevsky Prospect and away from the Senate Square. Understanding the characteristics of Nevsky as the space of superfluous men will shed light on Nevsky’s similarity with Beyoğlu. Moreover, we will see the parallels of Petersburg with Istanbul as Western capitals within Eastern empires.

Marshall Berman’s *All That is Solid Melts into Air* was one of the first works to examine the relationship of modernist Russian literature and Petersburg. I make extensive use of this book in this dissertation. Leon Trotsky’s *Literature and Revolution* is another standout text that anal-

yses the Russian superfluous man in a detailed way. Murat Belge's *Step and Bozkır* (Steppe and Moor) further enabled me to see how Trotsky's observations concerning the superfluous man were used in contemporary academic works.

In the third chapter, I briefly tell the history of modernization of Beyoğlu and Galata. The main focus of this chapter will be the transformation of Beyoğlu in the 19th century. After discussing the history of Galata and Pera prior to the nineteenth century, I will focus on Galata's transformation that came about as a result of the British Ottoman Trade Treaty in 1838 and The Edict of Gülhane in 1839. In this period, Galata grew rapidly and a division of labour appeared between Galata and Pera. While Galata remained a centre of commerce, Pera turned into a centre of entertainment and housing. The European country embassies in Beyoğlu influenced both the architectural styles of buildings and the social and cultural life of Pera. These embassies were the centres of social happenings. In holiday times, many balls were organized and the spirit of carnival dominated all Pera. After I explain the physical and economic growth of Galata and Pera and their cultural and social rise in the second half of the 19th century, I will focus on their decline in the first half of the 20th century. I claim that World War I, the occupation of Istanbul, the National Struggle, World War II, and the Wealth Tax reduced the importance of Galata and Pera. These events impoverished and Turkified Pera within a few decades. I call this transformation "the turning of Pera into Beyoğlu", referring to Giovanni Scognamillo. In this chapter, I make use of *19. Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısında Galata ve Pera* (Galata and Pera in the Second Half of the 19th Century) by Nur Akın and *Değişen İstanbul* (The Remaking of Istanbul) by Zeynep Çelik. Another main source of this chapter is *Pera Peras Poros*, a book composed of symposium papers about Pera. Notably, Jacques Derrida also partici-

pated in this symposium. His concepts of “hospitalite” and “door” will play an important role in understanding the psychological borders in the minds of Pera’s residents in a Muslim city and country. I also use memoirs of authors who visited Istanbul or who lived in Pera in the second half of the 19th century and the first half of the 20th century. These are Bertrand Bareilles, Giovanni Scognamillo, Said Naum Duhani, Hagop Baronyan, and Fikret Adil, among others. Another important book of reference for this chapter is *Naum Tiyatrosu* (Naum Theatre) by Emre Aracı. It is an important source which outlines how Western classical music and theatre spread among residents of Pera. Hakan Kaynar’s *Projesiz Modernleşme* (Modernization without a Project) will also come in handy to understand the cinemas and cinema culture in the first half of the 20th century in Pera.

In the fourth chapter, I discuss popular perceptions of Beyoğlu in the 1940s. During this period, newspapers and journals were dominated by middle aged literary figures who were born in the last decades of the 19th century. These witnessed the Balkan Wars, World War I, National Struggle, and the Foundation of the Republic. According to many of them, the national ideal should supersede individuality. I claim in this chapter that this attitude influenced their understanding of literature, individual lives, and perceptions of Beyoğlu. They were Western-educated and living a bohemian’s life in their daily lives; however, their nationalist attitudes led them to prefer a more nationalistic and conservative literature instead of modernist literature. This created a contradiction between their individual lives and their literature. They saw themselves as intellectuals who identified with Western life; however, at the same time they wanted to protect “ordinary people” from the excesses of this very life. Because of this dilemma, Hasan Bülent Kahraman would call them “the missionary intellectuals;” while Levent

Cantek would refer to them as “the supervisory generation.” In my opinion, their conservative and supervisory attitudes shaped their representations of Beyoğlu. Although they loved spending time in Beyoğlu, they criticized it harshly, seeing it as the centre of cosmopolitanism, consumerism, and other excesses of Western life. I will try to conceptualize this contradictory attitude with regard to Beyoğlu in terms of a “literary hostility”, which constitutes the second main concept of this chapter. While forming the theoretical framework of this chapter in my mind, I made use of *Cumhuriyetin Bülüş Çağı* (The Age of Puberty of the Republic) by Levent Cantek. Hasan Bülent Kahraman’s *Türkiye’de Yazınsal Kültür* (Literary Culture in Turkey) enabled me to develop this subject against a broader background. Tuncay Birkan’s work, *Dünya ile Devlet Arasında Türk Muharriri* (The Turkish Writer between the World and the State) enabled me to rethink authors who started to write in the first decade of the 20th century. Robert Wohl’s *The Generation of 1914* also enabled me to compare this generation, generally born between the second half of the 1880s and the beginning of the 1890s with their coevals in European countries. Hasan Âli Yücel’s biography of Yakup Kadri (*Edebiyat Tarihimizden*) and Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar’s biography of Yahya Kemal enabled me to understand the conflict between their understanding of literature and daily lives. Daryo Mizrahi has indicated how this contradiction created two different writers in one body, as in the case of Peyami Safa and his pen name and alter-ego Server Bedi.³ “Taking up the Gauntlet: Fictionists in Turkish Parliament”, an article by Çimen Günay, makes fictionists’ close relations with political authority clear. The article “The Image of the Intellectual in Yakup Kadri

³ Daryo Mizrahi. “Popular Poetics Discourse on Modernity in Early Republican İstanbul”, *Turkish Studies Association Bulletin*, Vol 15, no:1, March 1991.

Karaosmanoğlu's Works" further outlines these close relations in the intellectual trajectory of Yakup Kadri.

In the fifth chapter, I discuss literary modernism and its rise in Turkish literature from the 1930s to the 1950s, focusing on the 1940s and story writing. I claim that the leading figure of this current was Nâzım Hikmet in the 1930s. The long imprisonment of Nâzım Hikmet, political repression in the 1940s, the personal characteristics of leftist poets, and their theoretical and literary backgrounds curbed the influence of Nâzım. The revolutionary modernism of Nâzım Hikmet was supplanted by Baudelairean modernism in the 1940s. At this juncture, I will discuss the *Garip* poetry and claim that the leading current of poetry in the 1940s was *Garip*. The modernist uprising led by Gavsî Ozansoy against the old literature will also be discussed as one of the critical literary events of this decade. Another important thesis of this chapter is that the story writing of Sait Faik and the poetry of *Garip* fed upon each other from the very beginning. The short story writing of Sait Faik, which was completely new for Turkish literature, prioritised the story space as much as the story line. I will claim that many short story writers of the generation of 1940 did the same. Their bohemian life in Beyoğlu influenced the content and shape of their short stories and their short stories turned into a literary genre resembling metropolitan miniatures in the West.

Additionally, I claim in this chapter that the poetry of *Garip* led the way to a modernist transformation in story writing in this period. The poets of *Garip* opened the gates of poetry to colloquial language and the urban poor with the changes which they brought in the understanding of poetry. In my view, the poetry of *Garip* was an optimistic poetry about poverty. It served as a way for readers to survive and resist the conditions of the dark years of the war. It influenced the readers and poets of

young generations throughout the 1940s until the emergence of the Second New movement. The reason why this poetry was more welcomed by the state compared with the poetry of Nâzım is probably related to the former's poeticization of the present society through a perspective of a child-like consciousness. Since the society was criticized sarcastically this was not seen as a threat to the order. The model poet had changed from Nâzım Hikmet to Orhan Veli. This was a transition from a poet who spoke for "all of us" to an individual poet who spoke only for himself. The joy of life in Nâzım was inextricable from the vision of a better society and inviting existing society to a struggle. This was very distinct from the optimism of "the little man" in *Garip*.

In the story writing of Sait Faik as well, the little man does not have any hope for moving up the social ladder or into a better society and instead tries to be content with small things. His optimism about poverty was an important similarity with the *Garip* poetry. Many young poets and authors of this period, including Sait Faik were interested in poor and lower-middle classes in the city. As low-income intellectuals, they believed that they could express their individuality by treating low-income residents of the city in their works. The rising figure of this period was "the little man". This generation was, at the same time, a generation of hope. Their memoirs and writings reveal that their main themes were freedom, poverty, pressure, future beautiful days, hope, and optimism about future. In short, their literary products alternated between feelings of pessimism and hope. I will try to point out in this chapter that their alternation between hope and pessimism and focusing on the little man were caused by the oppressive atmosphere of the period. I identify parallels among the Restoration in France which created the literature of Baudelaire, the oppressive atmosphere in Russian tsarism which created modernist Russian story writing, and the single

party atmosphere of the 1940s in Turkey which created modernism in poetry and story writing. Thus, I will claim that little men in poetry and story writing were the *flâneurs* or superfluous men of Turkish literature. In the rest of this chapter, I will discuss various spaces of Beyoğlu, such as cafés, and claim that they introduced the possibility of interaction between different artists and writers. The modernism of the 1940s in Turkey was in part a result of the coming together of different artists from diverse fields in one particular space: Beyoğlu.

My analysis here is based on memoirs of certain authors who started to write in the 1940s, like Attila İlhan, Salah Bırsel, Mehmet Kemal, Hal-dun Taner and Baki Süha Ediboğlu. The dissertation of Gülce Başer, who analysed politics in Turkish poetry, will also be used in this study to understand the political attitudes of the 1940s generation. Ahmet Oktay's book *Toplumcu Gerçekçiliğin Kaynakları* (Sources of Social Realism) in which he discusses problems of social realism in Turkey aids in understanding why the purge movement of the 1940s could be initiated by modernist artists rather than social realist ones. As I discuss more detailedly in the fifth chapter, the purge can be defined as a movement in opposition to the canonical understanding of the 1940s.

Duygu Köksal's articles "Cumhuriyet İdeolojisi ve Estetik Modernizm: Baltacıoğlu, Yeni Zamanlar ve Bauhaus" (The Ideology of the Republic and Aesthetic Modernism: Baltacıoğlu, New Times, and Bauhaus) and "Domesticating the avant-garde in a nationalist era: Aesthetic modernism in 1930s Turkey" will provide an understanding of the particular differences between modernism in Early Republican Turkey and European examples. *Türk Şiirinde Modernizm* (Modernism in Turkish Poetry) and *Türkiye'de Yazınsal Kültür* (Literary Culture in Turkey) by Hasan Bülent Kahraman are also employed to understand the modernist transformation in Turkish poetry and literature in the 1940s. Tuncay

Birkan's above-mentioned book enable us to see the conditions of the publishing market as a branch of the modern capitalist economy and the position of the writer as an actor in this sector in the 1940s. Talat S. Halman's article "Sait Faik" is also important for this chapter as it is one of first articles which examined Sait Faik as a *flâneur*. Yeşim Özdemir's master thesis *Sait Faik'in İstanbulu* (Sait Faik's Istanbul) enable us to see the spaces mentioned in the stories of Sait Faik other than Beyoğlu and Galata. The Biography of Nurullah Ataç by Asım Bezirci provides an analysis of his modernist and individualistic approach to literary criticism and his influence both on communities of poets and of story writers in the 1940s. Among the memoires mentioned above, *Ah Beyoğlu Vah Beyoğlu* by Salah Bırsel is important for rendering visible the artists of the 1940s generation in cafés of Beyoğlu and the interactions between them. Mehmed Kemal's *Acılı Kuşak* will enable us to see changing psychologies in the face of pressure by political authority. Thanks to *Ölürse Ten Ölür Canlar Ölesi Değil* by Haldun Taner, his own literature and story writing will be examined from a broader perspective. Atilla İlhan's *Hangi Edebiyat* is also an important source since it shaped the ideas and perceptions of certain leftist intellectuals about the modernism of the 1940s and the *Garip* poetry. Baki Süha Ediboğlu provides important information about the big names of the 1940s generation in his memoire, *Bizim Kuşak ve Ötekiler*. "Oktay Akbal'ın Yarım Kalmış Modernizmi" (The Half Finished Modernism of Oktay Akbal) by Ömer Ayhan offers a unique perspective on Oktay Akbal. Sefa Yüce's book, *Naim Tiralî'nin Hikâyeciliği*, further enrich this chapter with different aspects of Naim Tiralî's story writing.

In the sixth, seventh, eighth, ninth, and tenth chapters, I analyse how the generation of 1940 represented Beyoğlu in their stories. I should make clear here what I understand to be the generation of the 1940s.

Almost all literary figures of this generation were born in the final years of the first decade of the 20th century or in the beginning of its second decade. Sait Faik was 4 or 5 years older than members of this generation; however, at the same time, was the first and the foremost story writer of this generation. His first book, *Semaver* (Samovar), was published in 1936; his last book, *Alemdağ'da Var Bir Yılan* (There is a Snake in Alemdağ), in 1954. (After he died, some of his stories and interviews were collected into volumes.) In his last book, he turned towards surrealist and existentialist themes. Some of the other story writers like Leyla Erbil and Yusuf Atılgan, whom also made use of surrealist and existentialist themes to a larger extent, started to publish their books in the second half of the 1950s. In short, it can be claimed that the short story writing which appeared in the second half of the 1930s with Sait Faik was replaced by a different kind of story writing in the mid-1950s. For this reason, my dissertation concentrates on the period between 1935 and 1955.

I mentioned the timeframe of Sait Faik above. Oktay Akbal, whose first book *Önce Ekmekler Bozuldu* (The Breads were Corrupted First)- was published in 1946, died in 2015. He had continued to write stories almost until his death. However, I will only make use of his first four story books which were published before 1955: *Önce Ekmekler Bozuldu*, *Aşksız İnsanlar*, *Bizans Definesi*, and *Bulutun Rengi*. Naim Tiralı, whose first book *Park* was published in 1947 died in 2009. Only his first three story books *Park*, *25 Kuruşa Amerika*, and *Aşka Kitakse-* will be subjects of this dissertation. Many of the authors and poets of this generation, such as Sait Faik died at young ages because of their bohemian, poor, and irregular lives. Cahit Sıtkı Tarancı died in 1956 at the age of 46. He had written his short stories between 1937 and 1945. Ziya Osman Saba died in 1957, most of whose stories were, again, written be-

fore 1955. Haldun Taner, whose first book was published in 1946, died in 1986. I will make use of his first six story books: *Geçmiş Zaman Olur Ki*, *Yaşasın Demokrasi*, *Şişhane'ye Yağmur Yağıyordu*, *Tuş*, *Onikiye Bir Var*, and *Ayışığında Çalışkur*. Sabahattin Kudret Aksal, who died in 1993, published two story books, *Gazoz Ağacı* and *Yaralı Hayvan* in 1954 and 1956. Most of the stories in *Yaralı Hayvan* were written before 1955. Furthermore, he wrote some stories which did not make it into these two books, most of which I make use of. Afif Yesari wrote two story books, in 1949 and 1954: *Tren Yolu* and *Hafta Tatili*. Stories that appear in these books are also used in this dissertation. Samim Kocagöz, who died in 1993 wrote many novels and stories. Among his story books, four of them were published before 1955: *Telli Kavak*, *Sığınak*, *Sam Amca*, and *Cihan Şoförü*. They are also be made use of in this dissertation.

2

Literary Modernism: Digressive Writing, Flâneurs, and Metropolitan Miniature

In this chapter, I will discuss main concepts of this dissertation. Firstly, I will discuss the literary modernism. Before discussing what I meant from literary modernism, I want to touch upon an argument of Tony Pinkey, who was the editor of *the Politics of Modernism* by Raymond Williams. He claim is that literary modernism as a historical and cultural phenomenon cannot be grasped solely through literary theory. It has to be examined culturally and historically.⁴ It is my intention as well, to examine literary and aesthetic modernism culturally and historically.

It is necessary for my argument to briefly touch upon the origins of the modern and modernism. The term “modern” first began to appear in the late sixteenth century. Throughout this century, it remained synonymous with the term “new.”⁵ However, the beginning of the “official”

⁴ Raymond Williams. *The Politics of Modernism*, 5th ed., New York: Verso. p. 3.

⁵ Ibid., p. 31.

history of literary modernism can be identified at the point it broke off from classicist and realist literary traditions. In its fundamental form, classicism can be seen as an aesthetic attitude based on the culture, art, and literature of Ancient Greece and Rome, with an emphasis on form, simplicity, and proportion. Realism on the other hand, rejects imaginative idealization in arts in favour of a close observation, contrary to classicism.

Even though each aesthetic innovation might be regarded as the modern (i.e., “new”) of its own era, literary modernism considers its own history to begin with the ending of the mythic, static, circular, and non-temporal organic community. That is, it identifies itself with change and temporality. Yet its understanding of change is highly distinct from the classicist and realist traditions of literature. According to Williams, in the formulation of philosophers Georg Lukacs and Jean Paul Sartre, when the Paris proletariat militantly lead the barricade battles, it vanquished the classicist and realist literary traditions. When the bourgeoisie came under the pressure of the working class, it adopted a world historical and antifeudal role. However, from Baudelaire onwards, in the Restoration period following the French revolution, the literature acquired a new direction that emerged from the realistic, dialectical interaction between individuality and politics, towards an exacerbated subjectivity. According to literary theorist Roland Barthes, when the Parisian bourgeoisie confronted the working class on the barricades and suppressed them violently, its claim to universal emancipation and the Enlightenment tragically revealed its bloody limits. The realist understanding of trying to see “things as they are” turned instead into formal experimentation; thickening, twisting, and dislocating the medi-

um.⁶ Thus, literary realism started to give way to literary modernism. The classicist literature which had a perfectionist approach and the realist literature's attempt to see "things as they are" lost their influences and started to make way for a subjectivist literature in Restoration era France.

The subjectivist approach played a crucial role in literary modernism. For Immanuel Kant, all of human beings' seemingly concrete experiences are in a certain sense, subjective. Subjects' experiences convey their own experience of reality rather than the thing in itself which is the source of human perceptions; the thing in itself cannot be known directly. In literature, the "thing-in-itself" is historical and the social reality as well as the psychic reality of the subject, all comes to terms in the subjective point of view in a modernist text. Hence, literary modernism might be defined as literary subjectivism.⁷

At this point, I am inclined to claim that the individualized and subjectified social life constitutes the social root of literary modernism. The claim of the loneliness and incomprehensibility of the subject is reflected onto language as the failure to self-express; to speak. Therefore, indicating the failure to speak is one of the pervasive linguistic characteristics of modernist works. According to Jameson, in modernist works, linguistic means are used to "strike at the reader rather than to 'tell' the reader" about the subject. Another characteristic of modernist literature, closely related to its subjectivism, is its blurring of the old legal boundary between the textual and the biographical. What is fictional

⁶ Ibid., pp. 6, 7.

⁷ Fredric Jameson. *The Modernist Papers*, New York: Verso, 2007. p. xvi.

and what is biographical cannot be defined in distinction from each other in modernist texts.⁸

The subjectivism of modernism is based on its postulate of existential isolation. The subject's existential isolation is in turn closely connected with urban experience. Walter Benjamin also tries to situate the origins of modernism, which appeared in Restoration era Paris in the metropolis. Paris, Capital of the Nineteenth Century, is the intermediate zone of urban experience. For Benjamin, although modernism of the Baudelairean type underlined a unique phase of Parisian history, it traverses beyond any historical specificity. Aesthetic modernity of the Baudelairean type captures the metropolis in its indissociable ambiguities. While it emphasized existential isolation, it also stressed the accompanying intense social proximity. The crowd and the lonely man among crowds would constitute one of the main themes of literature after Baudelaire. Grasping the city as an "untotalizable totality" culminates in the sheer numbers and multiplicities of individuals in modernist texts.⁹

The nineteenth century metropolis was the product of rapid modernization and industrialization. Nevertheless, the metropolis still remained an island within a wide ocean of agricultural society in this century. For historian Perry Anderson, too, modernism in general and aesthetic modernism specifically can be understood as a cultural force field triangulated by three decisive coordinates. The powerful existence of aristocratic and agrarian classes despite the speed of modernization and industrialization is the first coordinate. The second is the encounter of backward economies with the industrial revolution. The last is the proximity of social revolution and the political oppression especially in

⁸ Ibid., p. 12.

⁹ Ibid., pp. 11-15.

the Russian example after the 1905 Revolution.¹⁰ That is, for Anderson, literary modernism is the product of periods of political repression in both Russia and France.

In the nineteenth century, while the aristocracy continued its existence, the proletariat was also making its appearance as a new class. Both the aristocracy and the proletariat were in opposition to the bourgeoisie. Yet, there was a latent conflict between aristocratic and proletarian senses of being anti-bourgeois, which played an important role in the appearance of aesthetic modernism and its supplanting of classicism and realism. From the very beginning, to modernist artists, the bourgeoisie was equivalent with the mass which ought either to have been ignored or circumvented and passed by.¹¹ On the other hand, the moral codes of petty bourgeois families were also much too tight for the son or daughter of bourgeois families who was financially in a position to lay claim to new forms of liberation. For Williams, they could actually use the profits of the economic bourgeoisie to lead political and artistical crusades against it. These “bourgeois” young intellectuals were attracted to forms of anarchism, nihilism and revolutionary socialism. They also contributed to the appearance of literary modernism. However, young intellectuals’ pursuit of violent breaks with the past had certain ambiguities compared to revolutionary socialism proper. As a crystal clear example of this ambiguity, the Italian futurists’ glorification of war pushed them into the ranks of fascism.¹²

From the nineteenth century on, the newly dominant cultural market was occupied by booksellers and dealers who regarded works of art simply as commodities whose values were determined by their success

¹⁰ Raymond Williams. *The Politics of Modernism*, 5th ed., New York: Verso, 1997. p. 15.

¹¹ Ibid., pp. 16, 53.

¹² Ibid., pp. 56, 57, 68.

or failure in trade. According to Williams, the Marxist critique of the reduction of the fruits of labour to commodities did contain “the possibility of overlap with the protests of alternative and oppositional artists against the culture market.” However, artists were unkeen to identify their “creative” labour with the labour of blue-collar workers. In the nineteenth century, artists instead turned to the aristocratic critique of bourgeois values. In the twentieth century, this approach assumed a metaphorical form of its own. The assertion that the artist was the authentic aristocrat became a motto for oppositional artists. As a result, oppositional attitudes of artists towards the values of the bourgeoisie spanned radically different positions, from communism to fascism.¹³

I mentioned above that Benjamin tries to situate modernism within the metropolis. Metropolises sheltered not only modernism but also other literary and artistic currents. While the metropolis hosted the great traditional academies and museums, it housed their orthodoxies along with them. After modernism became canonized under the influence of academic endorsement, the previously marginal and rejected artists of their eras turned into classics of organized teaching and travelling exhibitions in the great galleries of the metropolitan cities. Modernism was restricted to this selected field. As a result, it lost its anti-bourgeois stance and comfortably integrated into the new international capitalism.¹⁴

After modernism was “tamed” by traditional academies in metropolises, dissident artists started to construct the avant-garde literature from within the modernist tradition. The literary modernism which had been born in the Restoration era after the French Revolution took a new

¹³ Ibid., pp. 54, 55.

¹⁴ Ibid., pp. 34, 35.

shape with the revolutions in the twentieth century. Williams locates the social basis of avant-garde currents in the dissident bourgeoisie and claims that the social revolution and “the revolution of words” overlap with each other in certain ways. Avant-garde formations developed specific and distanced styles within the metropolis in the twentieth century. They reflected and composed forms of consciousness and practice which became increasingly relevant to the social order which was developing in the directions of metropolitan and international significance, beyond the nation states and their borders.¹⁵

There are decisive links to be found between the practices and ideas of the avant-garde movement and the specific conditions of the twentieth century metropolis. The crowd of strangers and the individual, lonely and isolated within this crowd, are central themes in both modernist and avant-garde literature. Another major characteristic of the avant-garde is the challenge it mounts to traditional forms of art and thought. Innovations and experiments follow each other in a consecutive sequence in avant-garde literature.¹⁶

The self-provincialism of the narrator or protagonist is the main constituent of modernist works in the twentieth century. Immigrants, lower-class people, black girls, and women are the lead characters in these works in the West. The absence of a voice and the failure of subjects to reconstitute themselves also played an important role in the formation of modernist texts.¹⁷

The notion of innovation is another fundamental mark of literary modernism which might be thought of along with the self-provincialism of modernism. Discussing revolutionary praxis, Karl Marx mentions

¹⁵ Ibid., pp. 18, 19.

¹⁶ Ibid., pp. 37, 40, 41, 43.

¹⁷ Ibid., pp. 39, 41, 42.

certain middle class groups' fondness for novelty as something different from revolutionary praxis. Such subjects were driven into innovation by forces beyond their control and intent. The concept of innovation is ideologically identical with the whole teleological theory of modernity itself, which emerged out of the category of perpetual innovation. For Adorno, what drives modernism to innovate is the deep conviction that certain forms and expressions or procedures and techniques can no longer be used. Old techniques and forms are stigmatized by the modernists who identify them with a past that has become mere convention or kitsch.¹⁸ The self-provincialized artist continuously strives to destroy settled and conventional aesthetical techniques and forms.

According to Williams's thesis, while modernism might be seen as the movement of alternative and radically innovative experimental artists and writers, avant-garde is the movement of fully oppositional artists. The avant-garde sees itself from the very beginning as an aggressive movement providing the breakthrough to the future. However, they were not vanguards of a strictly defined form of progress. Rather, they saw themselves as the militants of creativity which would revive and liberate humanity in unforeseeable ways.¹⁹

The direct call to political revolution in the avant-garde movement is explicit especially in the example of Russian futurism. The futurists' call to destroy "tradition" coincides with the socialist appeal. The difference of the futurist call from the socialist one was its remoteness from the tightly organized parties. The futurist call was more anarchistic with respect to challenging the totality of all settled values.²⁰

¹⁸ Fredric Jameson. *The Modernist Papers*, New York: Verso, 2007. pp. 4, 5, 22.

¹⁹ Raymond Williams. *The Politics of Modernism*, 5th ed., New York: Verso, 1997. p. 51.

²⁰ Ibid., p. 52.

On the back of this discussion about literary modernism and the avant-garde, I now turn to the appearance of modernism in nineteenth century France of the Restoration era. The figure that best captures the facts of city representation, the relationship between city space and literature, as well as literary modernism together, is that of the *flâneur*. The *flâneur* as a literary character that is often the artist's self can be defined as a city loiterer. Hence, loiterature, the literature of loiterers should be thought together with *flâneur*. The *flâneur* wanders in the city and watches different people as a conscious kaleidoscope recording different human sceneries. Just as a photographer's mood influences the photograph, the psychology of the *flâneur* influences the human scenery that they record, which beckons the concept of photographic realism. Texts which appear as a product of the activities of wandering and watching performed by the *flâneur* are not planned fictions, but digressive texts. Going further, I will refer to short city texts which were written digressively as metropolitan miniatures and examine them using the definition of the literary genre provided by Franco Moretti.

2. 1. Benjamin's *Flâneur*

While the concept of *flâneur* originated in Baudelaire's writings in the nineteenth century, Benjamin revived this concept in the literary criticism of the twentieth century. Benjamin's *Passages*, written between 1927 and 1940, is in fact an unfinished book. Benjamin planned it as a study of materialist philosophy of history but could not complete it. The unfinished volume of text consists of his notes about the Paris passages.²¹

²¹ Walter Benjamin. *Pasajlar*, 4th ed. Istanbul: YKY, 2002. pp. 9, 14.

According to Benjamin, Paris first became a subject of lyrical poetry thanks to Baudelaire. In Baudelaire's poetry, the poet, as an allegorical genius, has directed his alienated gaze onto the city. This alienated gaze was the gaze of the *flâneur*. Baudelaire himself was a *flâneur*. He was neither a part of the bourgeoisie nor an ordinary citizen of the metropolis. He was a man who took refuge in crowds. However, the crowds were merely a veil. The city as a phantasmagoria was what really was attracting the *flâneur* behind the veil. In one part of *Passages*, Benjamin compares the crowds to a smokescreen. The formidable city becomes attractive to the *flâneur* because of the crowds. When this smokescreen disperses and a city square unfurls before him, he sees the metropolis in its undistorted state.²² This is a city founded upon the ruins of the past and of wars.

Benjamin serves the reader two different views of the city. The city as a phantasmagoria attracts the *flâneur*; but on the other hand, the *flâneur* cannot tolerate it without the presence of the crowds. The question then is whether the city remains a phantasmagoria which allures the *flâneur* or a formidable place which irritates him. Another question is whether the crowds themselves are a smokescreen or the singular thing that makes the city tolerable for the *flâneur*? How can we make sense of these two different views of the city? In this pursuit, two core concepts used by Benjamin should first be defined. According to Benjamin, the phantasmagoria is an illusion. In this view, culture is also a commodity and hence, it too is an illusion.²³ Baudelaire wanted to observe the city as if it was a commodity, on display in the showcase of a shop, as if it was a spectacle. However, once the crowds disappeared, the leftover city

²² Ibid., pp. 98, 99, 154.

²³ Ibid., p. 24.

served as a scene of war residue rather than a phantasmagoria. In this case, it can be said that there was no “behind the veil” for the *flâneur*. Crowds were the sole shelter for him. Modern Paris was a city both unfinished and residual: the rubble of its construction coexisted there with its left-over bric-a-brac of the past. The bric-a-brac figuring the materials of memory were the rejected by-products of a history of progress that had no time or place for them after the transformations Paris witnessed in the second half of the twentieth century.²⁴

Baudelaire’s life which spanned a short half century (1821-67) coincided with a period of astonishingly rapid industrial, commercial, and technological progress in France under the capitalist economy. A nation that continued to exhaust itself in the postrevolutionary pursuit of political consensus and stability became an industrial and colonial power which was capable of challenging the mighty England. Paris –in 1820 still a relatively small, preindustrial city– had become, by the period of the Second Empire, the only European city that could “hold a candle to London for size, and it outshone the grimy and dreary English metropolis in glitz and sophistication.” After 1851, the complex effects of this sudden cultural transformation along with new, straight, wide boulevards and avenues connected pompous and empty squares to the teeming inner neighbourhoods. “Alignment”, consensus, and stability were the order of day. Political, cultural and economic developments of the period even “led Victor Hugo to quip in allusion to the authoritarian political regime”²⁵ and to seek ways for alignment with the regime. The literature of Baudelaire was the product of this rapid economic and cultural transformation in an authoritarian period. The new order of the

²⁴ Ross Chamber. *Loiterature*, London: University of Nebraska, 1999. p. 241.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 1999. p. 218.

Second Empire was founded on the ruins left behind by street fighting during the French revolution. The *flâneur* was neither a revolutionary nor a part of this new order. He was a threshold figure.

Even if the *flâneur* stated that his main aim is to wander in the market and observe, his real aim, according to Benjamin, was to find himself a purchaser. In nineteenth century Paris, the intellectual relied on patrons. The *flâneur* did not yet have a powerful patron nor made use of the opportunities offered by the market. His bohemian identity crystallized in this period. Both his economic and political positions were ambiguous. For Benjamin, the power of Baudelaire's poetry originated from this threshold position. As a bohemian, the *flâneur* joined the ranks of outcasts.²⁶ For Ross Chambers, however, the *flâneur* as an artist still possessed one privilege: the privilege of not working. Nevertheless, this "bourgeois" privilege was, at the same time, an exclusion. In capitalist society, to work is itself a privilege. The privilege of not working is an inferior privilege when compared to having a job.²⁷

2. 2. Baudelaire's *Flâneur*

When Benjamin invoked the *flâneur*, he generally had Baudelaire in mind. However, Baudelaire's *flâneur* was a different man: Painter Constantin Guys. Baudelaire examines Constantin Guys in *The Painter of*

²⁶ Walter Benjamin. *Pasajlar*, 4th ed. Istanbul: YKY, 2002. p. 99.

²⁷ Ross Chamber. *Loiterature*, London: University of Nebraska, 1999. p. xi. In pre-capitalist societies, avoiding labour was an honouring and praiseworthy act as well as an indicator of education. Wealth was valuable since it made avoidance of labour possible. As a result of the development of industry, this aristocratic loitering underwent a transformation and another loiterer class was born. These live miserably, poor and unsteadily; however, do not condescend work. The *Flâneur* is a member of this "class". (Thorstein Veblen. *Aylak Sınıfın Teorisi* [The Theory of the Leisure Class], İstanbul: Babil, 2005, pp. 42,43.)

Modern Life. For him, Constantin Guys is a talented painter, because he draws images from his mind rather than from nature, like all talented painters.²⁸ That is, for Baudelaire, one of the most important conditions for being a talented artist is to become modern, or more precisely, modernist. He characterizes Guys as the *flâneur* of Paris. In this work, Baudelaire says that many artists who deal with modern issues confine themselves to public and official issues, victories, and political heroism. Many of these artists grimace and grumble while producing these objects of art; however, they continue to make them in order to make a living. Modern life however, contains a kind of heroism other than these political heroisms. In the underground of the metropolis, there are many views onto the multitude of rootless lives, like those of murderers and prostitutes. The third pages of newspapers serve up a plethora of evidence that recognize nineteenth century's own heroism. The *flâneur* deals with nineteenth century's own type of heroism. For Baudelaire, the *flâneur* should be defined differently from the artists who are interested in eternal, heroic, and religious issues. He is sometimes a poet, other times closer to a novelist or storyteller. However, whatever his title, he is the painter of present time and portrays the element of eternity within present time.²⁹

Recall at this point Williams's citation of Marx concerning the avant-garde: Marx distinguished certain middle class groups' fondness for novelty from revolutionary praxis proper. Having been driven to innovation by forces beyond their wilful control, the content of their innovation is rendered inessential to them. In this framework, we can confi-

²⁸ Ali Artun. Preface in *Modern Hayatın Ressamı* by Benjamin, Walter, 2nd ed. Istanbul: İletişim, 2004. pp. 44.

²⁹ Charles Baudelaire. *Modern Hayatın Ressamı*, 2nd ed. Istanbul: İletişim, 2004. pp. 195, 196, 204.

dently claim that the *flâneur* as a modern figure is the avant-garde of its era.

The specific difference of the *flâneur* is in leaving literature's classic issues behind and identifying new heroes for the nineteenth century. The intellectual abandons the position reserved for the artist and addresses the distinctions in society, interrogating their own position. Ross Chamber, in *Loiterature*, says that the literature of loiterers, including that of *flâneurs*, tends to blur the distinctions on which the social order depends. It blurs distinctions between innocence and guilt, between the good citizen enjoying a moment's respite and the seedy character who may just be taking in the sun on this bench or idling away in that shady doorway, or who may be a prostitute angling to ensnare a man or who may be a two-bit criminal looking for an easy mark. In so doing, it carries an implied social criticism. It casts serious doubt on the values of the good citizens such as discipline, method, organization, rationality, productivity and, above all, work. It does so in the guise of innocent and, more particularly, insignificant or frivolous entertainment: a mere passing of time in idle observation or witty remarks, like a philosopher pursuing their ideas while daydreaming on a bench. Thus, the work turns into a criticism of the disciplined and the orderly, the hierarchical and the stable, the methodical and the systematic, showing these to be unpleasurable. Criticism however, is inevitably contaminated by what it criticizes. There is no pure, that is, natural position, outside of culture, from which a critique of culture might be launched. The apparently natural positions from which we criticize the cultural are themselves part of culture, not of nature.³⁰ Loiterers of the nineteenth century were also influenced by the capitalist transformation of society.

³⁰ Ross Chamber. *Loiterature*, London: University of Nebraska, 1999. pp. 8, 9, 10, 50.

Their criticisms of the methodical and the systematic order of new society do not change the fact that they were products of this new society. Loiterers emerge as a result of distinctions produced by capitalist society, like the public and the private spheres. Loiterature, which emerges as a particular form of “public sphere” discourse has certain characteristics like the setting of a coffeehouse, openness to dialogue, and hospitality to otherness. What particularizes loiterature as a public sphere discourse is its hospitality towards a form of otherness –the trivial, the familiar, the quotidian, the anti-sublime, and even the low life. Such attention to the trivial is itself dependent on the historical emergence of a specific form of “idleness”: you need to have plenty of time to spare if you are going to turn your attention to matters that are generally considered unworthy of attention. The new idleness is not aristocratic leisure. Idleness as defined in a bourgeois context was something that had previously been associated only with the lowest of the lower classes, not respectable artisans or hard-working peasants but shifty vagabonds and loiterers. This idleness is most simply defined as the ability to waste one’s time –but an ability that, when it becomes a middle-class practice, also becomes something of a privilege.³¹ However, as I mentioned above, this is a dubious privilege.

The privilege of wasting time is associated with the privilege of working in capitalist society. This association relies on a double trick. The middle class privilege of leisure is a second privilege that is superadded to the first privilege of working. For a person who is, at least potentially, a direct participant in the productive economy, there can be no danger of time wasting.³² The *flâneur* passes beyond the classical distinctions

³¹ Ibid, p. 53.

³² Ibid., pp.53, 54.

here as well. Wasting time as a leisure activity turns into a lifestyle for the *flâneur*. Thus, wasting time is no longer leisure to him. "Wasting time" is his occupation.

How does this man whose occupation is time wasting relate himself to workers? Baudelaire brings up an imagined street demonstration. The *flâneur* dives into the crowd of a street demonstration with his famous curiosity and sees the bludgeoning of republicans by police forces. This occasion makes him happy. To the *flâneur*, the man who is beaten up is the enemy of "roses and scents". He is a bigoted pragmatist. He is the enemy of luxury, fine arts, and literature. This little and nameless worker does not want to create public roses and scents anymore. He wants to be free rather than to be creating public roses and scents. Philosophers and art critics ought to beat these free men who hate the power and sovereignty of genius.³³ In other words, the *flâneur* is the opponent of both classicist and nationalist, as well as socialist literature. He is an opponent of pragmatism in arts. He imagines a past in which patrons supported arts and artists without seeking personal benefit and did not intervene in the artist's process of production. He is neither on the side of the bourgeoisie nor of the workers. He goes into crowds and becomes the chronicler of the city.

The emergence of the *flâneur* as a reader of the city in Baudelaire is tied to an understanding of the city divided by class struggle. The emergence of a group of outcasts, excluded from both major social classes, as inner exiles whose heroism consist of occupying and assuming a position of marginality, along with the parasitic identity that entails is the *flâneur's* reason for being. Being historically and socially on the periphery, which is the basic position of literary modernists in the nineteenth century,

³³ Charles Baudelaire. *Modern Hayatın Ressamı*, 2nd ed. Istanbul: İletişim, 2004. p.189.

makes possible the performing of a critical function; analysing society's more respected members such as workers, tradespeople, commerçants, managers, entrepreneurs, and official intellectuals under a new light.³⁴ The *flâneur* is tossed into the ranks of the outcasts due to the overarching transformation of society. Benjamin points out that when Baudelaire discussed Paris, his self-description was that of a damned man condemned to live in Paris. Baudelaire also mentions a drug, reserved only for the use of this damned man. This drug is nothing other than the crowds of the city. The *flâneur* is an abandoned man who lives among the crowd. In this, he shares the position of the commodity. He may not be conscious of this characteristic of himself. As an artist without a patron, he seeks a buyer for himself on the market. However, finding such a buyer proves almost impossible. The crowds then, allow him to forget the many forms of disdain to which he is subjected in this new society.³⁵ These forms of disdain are due to his threshold position between the major classes of society. His critical gaze, which captures snapshots of all classes of society stems from this threshold position. The artist, who has lost his classical position in society, has no place to flee to. He is now addicted to crowds. The purported ideal of something behind the crowds is pure rhetoric. There is, in fact, nothing for him beyond the crowds. As a bohemian on the threshold between classes, he wanders among crowds and narrates each kind of person he observes among them.

³⁴ Ross Chamber. *Loiterature*, London: University of Nebraska, 1999. p. 222.

³⁵ Walter Benjamin. *Pasajlar*, 4th ed. Istanbul: YKY, 2002, p. 149.

2. 3. *Flâneur's* Travel unto the New and Fashion

As a bohemian, the intended destination of the *flâneur's* travels is the new. He wants to delve into the depth of the unknowns to find the new. According to Benjamin, the new is independent from the use value of a commodity. The new is the essence of a false consciousness whose agency is made by fashion. Fashions are periodic illusions which change places with each other and which follow each other. The artist as a *flâneur*, who is doubtful of his position in society, wants to make the new into the prime value.³⁶ For Baudelaire, that which is pleasurable in the representation of the present is not its beauty but its novelty. At the same time, while the past is also interesting by the mere fact that it is in the past, the beauty which was imbibed by a past period's artist was not enough to render that past beautiful.³⁷ That is, the new is attractive simply because it is the new. Why does Baudelaire evoke this tautological argument? He wants to show that the beauty of the new is beyond any kind of aesthetic judgement.³⁸

The *flâneur* is shaped by consumption and fashion. As a figure whose home is among crowds, the favourite places of a *flâneur* are streets, cin-

³⁶ Ibid., p.100.

³⁷ Charles Baudelaire. *Modern Hayatın Ressamı*, 2nd ed. Istanbul: İletişim, 2004. p. 200.

³⁸ Simmel's conceptualization of fashion and its relationship to the *flâneur's* love of the new are relevant here. Simmel has been the first philosopher to examine the phenomenon of fashion as well as the city sociologically. According to him, fashion is a social phenomenon which supplies people's need for socialization. Individuals both feel themselves to be different and are integrated into society by the way of fashion. For Simmel, fashions are always shaped by society's upper classes. Upper classes distinguish themselves from lower classes by way of fashion. As soon as a fashion is taken over by lower classes, the upper classes then abandon it. This characteristic of fashion makes it both a means of social equalization and a means of individual differentiation and change. Georg Simmel. *Modern Kültürde Çatışma*, 8th ed. Istanbul: İletişim, 2012. p. 104.

emas, theatres or other popular entertainment venues, showcases of shops, and suburbs rather than factories. Even though he is not a part of upper class society, he follows the new which is shaped by them. While upper classes transform consumption, aesthetic values, and forms of entertainment, the *flâneur* creates the new prime value. However, he himself is neither among the upper classes that shape the new nor the lower classes who strive to follow the new.

Baudelaire asks what the *flâneur* seeks among crowds in *Painter of Modern Life* and answers that the *flâneur* is looking for modernity. What does modernity mean for Baudelaire? One side of life is stable and eternal. The other side is ephemeral, madcap, and conditional. This ephemeral, madcap, and conditional side of life is modernity. According to him, each ancient artist had their own modernity. For example, people who we see in ancient portraits, have been portrayed in outfits belonging to their own era. Their dresses are conditional and historical. However, these portraits appeal both to people in the artist's own era and to people of the 19th century. The ancient artist reflected smiling, mimics, and attires of people in their era. Beauty however, is eternal and unhistorical. For this reason, some ancient portraits that succeeded in abstracting the eternal from the ephemeral, have achieved immortality.³⁹

2.4. The Realism of the *Flâneur*

To understand the realism of the *flâneur*, it is necessary to look at the literary genres which pioneered the narratives of the *flâneur*. One of these is “physiologies”, which became common in the 1840s in Paris.

³⁹ Charles Baudelaire. *Modern Hayatın Ressamı*, 2nd ed. Istanbul: İletişim, 2004. pp. 202, 213, 214, 215.

These are pocket books with modest appearances; as the saying goes, they are popular books. In these books, ordinary people who could be seen by anyone looking around in the city were narrated. Every kind of person was mentioned in these books, from peddlers in the street to snobs in opera lounges. Writers of these “physiologies” were thinking that they had a profession. They were claiming that they could guess the profession, the character, and the lifestyle of anyone who walked down the street. Moreover, they were arguing that they could guess which kind of family the man on the street came from. However, Benjamin stated that in physiologists’ texts, people were being narrated without touching upon the relationships between themselves.⁴⁰

Another genre which pioneered the narratives of *flâneurs* is the detective story, exemplified by Poe. According to Benjamin, Poe’s *Man of the Crowds* resembles a radiogram of a detective story. In this novel, the crowds were represented as a collective detective and they were tracing an unknown and mysterious man; the *flâneur*. This man felt nervous in society which drove him to seek crowds and take shelter in them. According to Benjamin, Poe erases the difference between the *flâneur* and “the asocial” consciously. For Poe, this man of the crowd is a potential suspect and the spirit of crime. He cannot stay alone. He is the man of the crowd.⁴¹ What is the difference between Poe’s detective stories and physiologies? Physiologies snap photographs of certain people among crowds and give information about them. Poe, however, traces one particular man among the crowds. He tries to find traces of this man in the city among the crowds and by means the crowds.

⁴⁰ Walter Benjamin. *Pasajlar*, 4th ed. Istanbul: YKY, 2002. pp. 129, 133.

⁴¹ *Ibid*, pp. 142, 143.

A further pioneer of the narratives of *flâneurs* is the novel of Balzac. According to Franco Moretti, the great discovery of Balzac is to show that the life of an ordinary young man might be interesting even if he does not get shipwrecked and stuck on a desert island. His life is interesting even if he does not sell his soul to the devil or become a killer puppet. The life of an ordinary man who writes criticisms of theatre plays or falls in love with a fop actress might be interesting. Even being deprived of a steady will is enough to become a character of a Balzac novel. Ordinary and daily social relations in the first development period of capitalism form the main framework of Balzac's narratives. The author does not need long voyages to move the main character of the novel and awaken the reader's interest. The city provides enough material.⁴²

Against this backdrop of the physiologists, the *flâneur* of Poe, and Balzac's novels; who specifically is Benjamin's *flâneur*? What is his significance? In the twentieth century, Benjamin declared Baudelaire to be the quintessential *flâneur*. Modernism in the arts and the *flâneur* became inseparable for Benjamin. Firstly, according to Benjamin, Baudelaire was defeated by crowds and made himself a part of these crowds. That is, the *flâneur* is a loser. On the other hand, he loves the crowds and thinks that these crowds have a humane side. That is, the relationship of Baudelaire with the crowds is ambivalent and indecisive, but intense. His gaze is derogatory. He wants to reduce the crowds into nothingness. The source of the appeal of Baudelaire's poetry is this dilemma.⁴³ *Flâneurs'* narratives are melancholic. They are products of an outcast.

⁴² Franco Moretti. *Mucizevi Göstergeler: Edebi Biçimlerin Sosyolojisi Üzerine*, Istanbul: Metis, 2005. p. 144.

⁴³ Walter Benjamin. *Pasajlar*, 4th ed. Istanbul: YKY, 2002. pp. 220, 221.

The question, then, is whether the texts of *flâneurs* have a function in society or if they are only superfluous products of art in capitalism? What is the specific difference of the narratives of *flâneurs*? According to Chambers, texts of loiterers make fringe knowledge available to those who are deprived of it due to their disciplinary blinders and their inhabitation of a comfortably closed world of experience. The loiterly subject is at home on the fringe but can also claim certain bourgeois privileges on occasion, including the ability to write and the claim to be read. Thus, their texts are all, in some sense, reports to the bourgeoisie on the lives of the fringe classes like artists, unmarried women, gay men, as well as proletarians and subproletarians. Access to the bourgeoisie's own familiar other, which it is perfectly ignorant of, is in actuality only a step away. The loiterly subject is thus either an emphatic reader of social order or a critical reader of mainstream society's own self-absorbed indifference to otherness. Any loiterly subject may become a double reader and do both of those things, as in the case of Baudelaire, because he is not fully identified with either group.⁴⁴ In Balzac's novel, these "useless" details make up the parts of the plot. They shape the flow and the conclusion of the novel. In Baudelaire's prose poetry, these details are important in themselves.

2. 5. The Passages of Paris and the *Flâneur*

What are the places in which the *flâneur* collects the fringe pieces of knowledge? One of these is passages. Commenting on the passages of Paris, Benjamin suggests that had passages not been constructed, wandering the city like a *flâner* would not have become common and prominent. He makes a citation from a Paris guidebook dated 1852.

⁴⁴ Ross Chamber. *Loiterature*, London: University of Nebraska, 1999. p. 61.

This guidebook states the following: “The passages are a new discovery of industrial luxury. They are constructions situated between big buildings, encrusted with marbles, and their roofs are encased with glass. In these passages which are illuminated from above, the most elegant shops are lined up. They are a small world unto themselves.”⁴⁵ For Benjamin, the home of the *flâneur* is this world. Passages are the most beloved place to wanderers, tobacco lovers, and people from all and sundry occupation. The *flâneur* is the chronicler and philosopher of this world. For the *flâneur*, passages are an antidote to any kind of boredom. For Baudelaire, a man who can be bored among crowds is stupid and should be belittled. *The flâneur* feels himself at home among the passage’s crowd.⁴⁶ Passages are the prime observation spots of the *flâneur*. There he observes every kind of person. How does he go about making his observations? He slows down his steps and his pace. Thus, he can observe the quick steps of people in the passages. The places of his observation are passages; the method of rendering fringe knowledge visible is to “walk like a turtle.”

Now that we are familiarized with Benjamin’s characterization of the *flâneur* as a chronicler of the city and its passages, I turn to Kracauer’s definition of the historian. The historian too is a person who tells stories, according to Kracauer. Kracauer uses the definition of story in such a loose manner that it includes every kind of narrative. Why should a historian tell a story?⁴⁷ Kracauer erases the difference between the historian and the literary man with this characterization of the historian. A macro historian might write a text about passages and their places in

⁴⁵ Walter Benjamin. *Pasajlar*, 4th ed. Istanbul: Yapı Kredi, 2002. p. 130.

⁴⁶ Ibid., p. 131.

⁴⁷ Siegfried Kracauer. *Tarih: Sondan Bir Önceki Şeyler*, Istanbul: Metis, 2014. p. 52.

the city and modern economy. The infinite interactions among people who come together in this confined space might not be described through a macro narrative; however, they might be narrated by stories. In recent years, the relationship between realist literature and history has been underlined by historians. It may be claimed that there is a close relationship between micro histories and the narratives of *flâneurs*.

The passages which were one of the prime observation places of the *flâneurs* could not remain the home of the *flâneur* for very long. Ali Artun, in the preface he wrote for the Turkish edition of *The Painter of Modern Life*, states that Hausmann's transformations in Paris which had begun in 1853 deterritorialized the *flâneur*. Passages fell victim to the huge boulevards. One of the main aims of Hausmann's transformation was to design the city as a geometrical figure consisting of straight lines. By way of this, practitioners of this city plan were intending to clear the city of anomalous, weird, and rebellious elements. After Hausmann's plan, Paris was no longer characterized by the modern life. To the contrary, life was now ordered according to an imaginary of modern Paris. This imaginary belonged to the practitioners of the city plan which was now shaping the modern life of the city. The "amazing beauty of the ugly metropolis", which used to inebriate Baudelaire, was lost.⁴⁸ Baudelaire witnessed the transformation wrought by Hausmann in his lifespan.

After Hausmann, Paris lost its reality in art and instead became a place of pessimism and loss of belonging, as in the works of modernists like Manet, Degas, Pissarro, and Seurat. After the "loss" of Paris, the *flâneur*,

⁴⁸ Ali Artun Preface in *Modern Hayatın Ressamı* by Charles Baudelaire, 2nd ed. Istanbul: İletişim, 2004. pp. 52, 53.

however, does not abandon the scene of the metropolis and art, but rather settles in the city instead of the passages. He continues to be the hero of all twentieth century avantgardes. However, he is reduced to reading/experiencing modernity via fragments, because his unique labour, that is loitering, now takes the place of the piece of art.⁴⁹ Loitering became the basis of art in the *flâneurs* of the twentieth century.

Passages were the ideal places for *flâneurs*. In these places there was no traffic to interrupt the act of wandering.⁵⁰ In loitering, there is always time to explore a byway and there is no particular goal to attain and no schedule to catch up with.⁵¹ For this reason, the wandering of the *flâneur* is different from the walking of ordinary pedestrians or the flight of a criminal. The *flâneur* wanders in the city like an explorer trying to discover it. He does not have a determinate route.

2. 6. Digression and Pleasure

In the wandering of the *flâneur*, delay and indirection become the source of pleasure and devices of provocation in a larger universe that seems committed to directness, speed, and immediacy. The literature of loiterers is digressive. Digression is a discursive “slide” or “slippage” along a line of continuity that links one context to another, so that the new position one reaches is both linked to the first and discontinuous with it. One thing leads to another and this may transgress rules of cohesion, but not cogency and coherence. What make digression a pleasurable experience is the relaxation of the vigilance and the abandonment of the associated discipline.⁵²

⁴⁹ Ibid., pp. 53, 54.

⁵⁰ Walter Benjamin. *Pasajlar*, 4th ed. Istanbul: YKY, 2002. p. 221.

⁵¹ Ross Chamber. *Loiterature*, London: University of Nebraska, 1999. p. 31.

⁵² Ibid., pp. 11, 12.

A passage in *Tristram Shandy* cited by Kracauer clearly demonstrates such digression. In *Tristram Shandy*, Laurence Sterne says that an author of a story cannot ride the story like a muleskinner riding his mule. Does he not turn his head here and there? Does he not look around? Maybe he says that the ride will be over within an hour. However, finishing the ride within an hour is impossible on moral grounds. If he has the desire to live, he will stray away at least fifty times. He continuously encounters landscapes and images which arouse his interest.⁵³

Digression may be defined as the non-centredness of the text and this might be related to the author's non-possession of a shelter. Apparently, *flâneurs* and loiterers lost all places where they had taken shelter from the nineteenth century to the twentieth century.⁵⁴ When upper classes resolved to discipline the city space according to the necessities of the capitalist economy, *flâneurs* and loiterers, who did not have any productive function in the economy, became undesirable men. In 1957, the now extinct *flâneur* was characterized as "a type which is always encountered on pavements and in front of showcases; he has no occupation apart from glancing around. A piece of trash, an insignificant man..."⁵⁵ Wandering in European metropolises like a *flâneur* fell out of favour after the mid-twentieth century. The Paris of Baudelaire's entire lifetime however, was in no such condition. For example, people were still crossing the Seine by rafts.⁵⁶ That is, even urban transportation had not become common yet in the city. Paris could be wandered on foot, showcases could be observed in its passages, and the stories of countless people could be discovered by walking like a turtle.

⁵³ Siegfried Kracauer. *Tarih: Sondan Bir Önceki Şeyler*, Istanbul: Metis, 2014. pp. 205, 206.

⁵⁴ Walter Benjamin. *Pasajlar*, 4th ed. Istanbul: YKY, 2002. p. 148.

⁵⁵ Ibid, p. 148.

⁵⁶ Ibid.

2. 7. Streets and the *Flâneur*

The second place in which the *flâneur* had taken shelter along with passages was the streets. What kind of voyage was the *flâneur's* voyage in the street? According to Benjamin, each voyage along the street is toward the individual past of the *flâneur*. In other words, each voyage is toward the youth of the *flâneur*.⁵⁷ The *flâneur* travels back to the loitering days of his childhood and youthfulness with each of his voyages. Why did the *flâneur* recall his youthfulness and childhood days with such nostalgia? He recalls those days with intense nostalgia because he was not disdained because of his "occupation" of loitering at that time. The street has an anomalous function. It is outside the home and the work place, but connects them. It is a site simultaneously frequented by productive classes and inhabited by the non-class of society.⁵⁸ The *flâneur* is not excluded as an outcast here and can watch people of productive and non-productive classes of society alike. Productive and non-productive classes of society became parts of a narrative with the voyages, along with the childhood and youth of the *flâneur*. They became a part of the melancholy of the *flâneur*.

2. 8. The *Flâneur* as a Child-Man

Baudelaire perceives the loitering of a child in the following manner: The child sees everything as a new thing. He is always drunk. The joy experienced by the child while internalising forms and colours is like the inspiration of an artist. Moreover, inspiration is closely related to convulsion for Baudelaire. Each supreme thought is accompanied by a concussion that excites the nerves, the influences of which are felt in the

⁵⁷ Ibid., pp. 262, 263.

⁵⁸ Ross Chamber. *Loiterature*, London: University of Nebraska, 1999. p. 221.

depths of the brain. Geniuses' nerves are steady, but children's nerves are weak. Reason is important for geniuses, but sensitivity holds an important place in children. On the other hand, the true genius is a person who while having an analytic mind can assume the consciousness of childhood whenever they want. They have command over and can bring into order their senses and feelings. Therefore, Constantin Guys, who is characterized by Baudelaire as the *flâneur* of Paris, is akin to a child-man.⁵⁹ The *flâneur* is also a child-man. He is neither a man in the classical understanding of society nor a child. He is a man on the threshold. The disdain to which he is subjected in his daily life stems from this position.

Being a child-man can always result in exclusion. Until relatively recently, being a man has meant being an adult. Therefore, the exclusion of the loiterer or the *flâneur* might have been legitimized by gender norms. The definition of adulthood excludes the unemployed and any others who have had idleness thrust upon them unwillingly, such as prisoners or invalids. For them, the empty passage of time is not a pleasure, but an imposition and a burden. On the other hand, the range of applicability of time-wasting as a bourgeois privilege spans from the idle existence of younger sons of wealthy families to the working stiff who gets a half-hour lunch break and a couple of weeks of vacation per year. The middle class artist and middle class intellectual, who are regarded as not really working even when they are at work, fall squarely into the category of the privileged idler. But all who work can claim the right to relaxation and a little time out; and if they choose "a loiterly mode of employing their spare time", their employment ensures that they will not be "confused with the loiterers on the social fringe that they may

⁵⁹ Charles Baudelaire. *Modern Hayatın Ressamı*, 2nd ed. Istanbul: İletişim, 2004. pp. 209, 210.

nevertheless be associated with.”⁶⁰ But what about the *flâneur* whose work consists of wasting time loiterly? Whether he is a privileged idler or only an outcast is debatable and this position of his subjects him to many experiences of disdain in daily life. Moreover, the borders between the right to relaxation and social norms are very ambiguous. Any middle class person who crosses this ambiguous border might be subjected to exclusion, like a person from the social fringes. Distinctions between the *flâneurs* and writers with middle classe family backgrounds might not be immediately apparent every time. This fact will become clearer later when discussing our short stories.

Before moving on to the next inquiry, one more question regarding the habitat of the *flâneur* needs addressing. Can these child-men, the *flâneurs*, be found in every big city? Loiterers such as *flâneurs* might not be able to find a place for themselves in every case. Baudelaire’s Brussels memoirs, which I briefly touch upon now, illustrate this. Baudelaire complains about the absence of showcases and crowds in this city. Doing *flâneurship* in Brussels is impossible for him. He says that nations who have the power of imagination deeply love *flâneurship*. However, people of Brussels do not possess the power of imagination. Hence, there is nothing to see there for him. In any case, making use of the streets as a *flâneur* is impossible in this city. According to Benjamin, Baudelaire loved aloneness, but this was an aloneness among crowds. For this reason, Brussels did not suit him.⁶¹ In a city organized fully according to the necessities of bourgeois life and capitalist production, even being alone among crowds may prove impossible.

⁶⁰ Ross Chamber. *Loiterature*, London: University of Nebraska, 1999. p. 54.

⁶¹ Walter Benjamin. *Pasajlar*, 4th ed. Istanbul: YKY, 2002. p. 144.

2. 9. The *Flâneur* as a Conscious Kaleidoscope

The *flâneur*'s love of crowds has been well established by now. However, how does the *flâneur* define the crowds and what kind of subjective experience is being among the crowd for him? According to Benjamin, moving within people traffic on the street brings the individual face to face with certain shocks and clashes. At points of concentration of the crowds, vibrations are felt in the human body, akin to batteries coming into contact with each other. For Baudelaire, going into the crowd is like entering a room that is full of electric energy. This man in the crowd is a conscious kaleidoscope.⁶²

When Georg Simmel presented his definition of the metropolitan type of individuality, he said that the physiological basis of the metropolitan individual stems from the intensity of stimulants acting on the nerves and the changes in these inner and outer stimulants. When the metropolitan individual passes through a street, he encounters a large array of stimulants. This characteristic of the city starkly contrasts with life in the small towns. Shifting impressions in the city life continuously stimulate the mind of the metropolitan individual.⁶³ Hence, it can be said that the metropolitan individual has a digressive lifestyle and digressive writing is the writing style of the metropolitan artist whose nerves are continuously being stimulated. Simmel wrote his article "The Metropolis and Mental Life" in 1903, well after Baudelaire's death in 1867. Baudelaire's description of the man in the crowd formed the basis of Simmel's philosophy.

What does the *flâneur*, a kaleidoscope of a man, actually do among crowds? Just as birds live in the air and fish live in the seas, so does the

⁶² Ibid., p.224.

⁶³ Georg Simmel. *Modern Kültürde Çatışma*, 8th ed. Istanbul: İletişim, 2012. p. 84.

flâneur live in the crowds. His entire love and occupation consists of crowds. Dwelling in a midstream of crowds, movement's point of flux and reflux, between the ephemeral and the eternal is a terrific source of pleasure for a perfect *flâneur* and a passionate observer. He is remote from home; however, everywhere is his home. He is in the centre of the world and observes the world; while at the same time, he is hidden from the world. He is a prince who enjoys wandering while hiding his identity everywhere. He is an ego who is not sated by the infinite human crowd. All diversity and elements of life are reproduced by him. He is an "I" who expresses others than himself with lively images. His images are livelier than images of madcap and unsteady life. That is, he is more unsteady and madcap than unsteady and madcap life.⁶⁴ As a kind of traveller who moves between social, temporal, and spatial contexts, he scarcely needs to move at all, or to move very far, in order to enjoy both the privileges and the ingloriousness of loitering. Such a traveller knows how to travel without leaving home. Lives of outcasts in the back streets beyond two or third hundred meters of shining avenues become a part of the literature by way of this conscious kaleidoscope's eyes. Unforeseen lives within one square kilometre become seen thanks to him. The privilege of being able to travel without leaving home is bought at the expense of being fully at home nowhere, but this sense of homelessness makes the *flâneurs* critical readers of social dominance and empathetic readers of the marginal as a marginal. "Never really going anywhere" but feeling "always as if he was leaving something behind."⁶⁵ The homelessness of the *flâneur* and his marginality in the mod-

⁶⁴ Charles Baudelaire. *Modern Hayatın Ressamı*, 2nd ed. Istanbul: İletişim, 2004. pp. 210, 211.

⁶⁵ Ross Chamber. *Loiterature*, London: University of Nebraska, 1999. pp. 62, 82, 107.

ern metropolis make him the first critical reader of modernity and the first literary modern.

Even though the modern metropolis was a relatively small place in physical terms, an unknown part of it might be discovered every day. Since it was a small and populated place, its space was perceived to be so much larger than its physical size. This can be illustrated by an example from Turkey. Beyoğlu, which is going to be discussed in detail in this study, was the centre of loiterature as one of the most populated places of Istanbul. The Turkish director Lütü Akad tells in his memories that while he was working in Beyoğlu at the end of 1940s, even though he had studied at Galatasaray Lycee and knew Beyoğlu well, he would discover a fresh place in Beyoğlu every day on his midday trips.⁶⁶ In the modern metropolis, long journeys can be made over short distances.

The *flâneurs'* travels performed without leaving home also enable them to construct affective maps of the city. Examining the structure of urban experience, Guy Debord says that the ambiance of a street can suddenly change in the space of a few meters in metropolises. For him, this makes evident that a city is divided into zones of psychic atmospheres. Some places in the city are appealing; other places are repelling. People are quite aware that some neighbourhoods are gloomy and others pleasant. But they generally simply assume that elegant streets cause a feeling of satisfaction and that poor streets are depressing. In fact, the variety of possible "combinations of ambiances, analogous to the blending of pure chemicals in an infinite number of mixtures, gives rise to feelings as differentiated and complex as what any other form of spectacle can evoke." "The slightest demystified investigation" reveals that "the qualitatively or quantitatively different influences of diverse urban decors

⁶⁶ Lütü Ö. Akad. *Işıkla Karanlık Arasında*, 2nd ed., Istanbul: İletişim, 2018. p. 163.

cannot be determined solely on the basis of the historical period or architectural style, much less on the basis of housing conditions.”⁶⁷ In my opinion, the voyages of *flâneurs* within a few kilometres of the city enable them to produce the psychogeographical maps of the city in their writings. I will explain the concept of psychogeography in the following pages of this chapter. However, at this point it might be said that the *flâneur* draws affective maps out of the feelings of people encountered in different spaces and streets of the city.

2. 10. The *Flâneur* as a Photographical Realist

With these characteristics, the *flâneur* might be characterized as a photographical realist and loiterature might be characterized as photographical realism. Kracauer uses the concept of the basic aesthetic principle which he had used in *The Theory of Film*, in the field of history, as well. According to this principle, the photographer becomes himself if and only if he goes to all lengths in recording and penetrating into reality. If the constitutive orientations of the photographer do not oppose his realistic intentions, but support them; the approach of this photographer might be characterized as photographic. With this characteristic, the photographer might be likened to a reader who has a powerful imagination analysing a very difficult text. The realist orientation of photography which could not be reached by any other traditional art, such as painting, was observed from the very beginning. As soon as the art of photography appeared, some historians made use of its realism, according to Kracauer. Certain anti-positivist historians who observed the relationship between photography and history accepted, unquestionably,

⁶⁷ Guy Debord. “Introduction to a Critique of Urban Geography” (art.), 1955, <https://www.cddc.vt.edu/sionline/presitu/geography.html> date accessed: 24.10.2018.

the claim of that the single function of the photographic apparatus is to mirror nature and have claimed that a real historian should go beyond recording the facts. However, for Kracauer, all great photographers felt themselves free to choose motif, frame, lens, filter, emulsion, and grain according to their sensitivities. The photographed slide of life was passing through the lens of the photographer. His mood and individual choices were influencing the structure of the photograph. Kracauer says that the historian being a photographic realist does not mean that he simply mirrors the fact, erasing his own identity. However, he can penetrate into the depths of reality and this reality becomes a part of the text, like being imbibed from the mood and the life experience of the historian. As I mentioned earlier, Kracauer brings historiography and story writing to close proximity of each other. The *flâneur* is the chronicler of the city. The *flâneur*, then, as a conscious kaleidoscope, might be characterized as a photographic realist. Like historical realism, photographic realism is also partially engraved, partially formless. Photographers are also inclined to emphasize the contingent nature of their materials. Accidental events are the ground of photographs. Real photographs seem like recordings made accidentally as if by passing through the street.⁶⁸ The digressive nature of loiterature is similar to photography in this respect, as well. In loiterature, characters and matters of stories might seem like photo frames chosen accidentally, like passing through the street.

2. 11. Night Trips of the *Flâneur*

Up to now, I have discussed the loitering of the *flâneur* and some of his characteristics regarding his interactions with his surroundings. I now

⁶⁸ Siegfried Kracauer. *Tarih: Sondan Bir Önceki Şeyler*, Istanbul: Metis, 2014. pp. 68-78.

turn to the issue of when he wanders in the city. There is, in fact, no specific time for the *flâneur* to wander in the city. He does, however, love to wander the city at night too, contrary to most ordinary people. The transformation of the city in the nineteenth century made possible the night trips of the *flâneur*. Oil lamps started to be used outdoors in the 1830s, in the childhood years of Baudelaire. They were first used in passages. Later, they began to be used in the streets. Authorities made oil lamps common, to secure the city at night time. However, oil lamps allowed the city to become crowded at night, as well. With this development, first the passages, and then the streets turned into interior spaces for the *flâneur*. Streets were a home to him both in daytime and the nights from then on.⁶⁹

2. 12. Genre Based Characteristics of Loiterly Writing and Metropolitan Miniatures

At this juncture, I want to take hold of the writings of *flâneurs* as a literary genre and examine the genre-based characteristics of loiterly writing. For Chambers, loiterly writing derives from the discovery and the acceptance of the implications of being “no Balzac.” Writing need not ignore interruption but can accommodate and incorporate it.⁷⁰ Moreover, it is the activity of “collecting”; and like collectors, cruisers of knowledge are driven as obsessive figures and creatures of desire, always in search of one more “item.” Because their work is driven by desire, there is no end to it and they are therefore never “in a position to systematize finally and definitively what can appropriately be called

⁶⁹ Walter Benjamin. *Pasajlar*, 4th ed. Istanbul: YKY, 2002. p. 146.

⁷⁰ Ross Chamber. *Loiterature*, London: University of Nebraska, 1999. p. 73.

their ‘findings’, which remain just that: collections of ‘trouvailles.’”⁷¹ Characters of this kind of writing are parasitic and “unimportant”; the knowledge collected by them is trivial, and the items of which they are in search are ordinary items which can be seen everywhere. Moreover, this kind of writing lacks a comprehensive plot. It is similar to the notes of a loiterer who takes them while wandering rather than the novels of Balzac. These characteristics made them into a literary genre.

Why is it important whether they belong to a literary genre or not? What is the importance of the concept of literary genre for a study of sociology of literature? According to young Lukacs, the biggest mistake of sociological analysis is to neglect the form and care only about the content when art comes into the question. Social studies usually examine the content of literary work and connect it with economic relations. However, literature is open to the influence of society in its form as well as its content. The form has an influence on life and shapes the experiences in ongoing life. On the other hand, it is also shaped by life. Each form is a judgement and an evaluation about life. On this basis, the form is an ideology. Moreover, the products of intellectual creativity have a determinate share which was not produced by its creator. Completed works include some emphases, connections, and values which pass beyond its owner’s aim.⁷² This share which passes beyond the aims of the artist is the influence of the ideology which imposes itself upon the work of art thorough the form.

For Moretti, the concept of literary genre also has an important role in organization and periodization of history of literature. The history of literature which is founded upon the concept of literary genre is both

⁷¹ Ibid., pp. 76, 77.

⁷² Franco Moretti. *Mucizevi Göstergeler: Edebi Formların Sosyolojisi Üzerine*, Istanbul: Metis, 2005. pp. 20, 187.

“slower” and more “discontinuous” compared with classical history of literature. It is slower because the idea of literary genre underlines common points in literary works. Literary production takes place in a manner conforming to a system of laws. The duty of critique is to display the imposing and organizational power of these laws.⁷³

In the genre-based approach, the relationship of political history and the history of literature is also more indirect. For example, World War II is insignificant in periodization and examination of literature, according to Moretti. However, it is crucially important for other fields of history. That is, the importance of a historical event for other fields of history does not necessarily render it important for the history of literature. Historical institutions’ rhythms of development are not directly synchronicity with each other. In this context, the main duty of critique is to draw an outline of the evolution of its own area. This duty of history of literature might sometimes necessitate moving away or even conflicting certain periodizations which are effective in other fields of history.⁷⁴

I claim in this study that narratives of *flâneurs* can be characterized as metropolitan miniatures. I now turn to discuss how the genre of metropolitan miniature was born in Europe and the characteristics of metropolitan miniature. In the 1830s, the centre of the world of literature shifted from the journals to newspapers. In this change, the newspaper of *La Presse* in France led the way. It increased its circulation from forty seven thousand in 1824 to two hundred thousand in 1846 through advertisements, books, stock exchange advertisements, and feuilletons. By way of advertisement, it both reduced its price and developed a tabloid culture. Feuilletons became commonplace in these tabloids. In the time

⁷³ Ibid., pp. 22, 23.

⁷⁴ Ibid., pp. 30, 31.

of Baudelaire, the feuilleton became a literary genre which appeared in hundreds of European and American newspapers. Many great writers of the nineteenth century like Balzac, Hugo, Gogol, Poe, Dickens, Whitman, and Dostoyevsky published their works as feuilletons. Thus, the literature and the press started to feed back into each other. Journalists, literary bohemians, and members of the press strode thorough the same public places, boulevards, and passages. They filled up the same bars, cafes, cabarets, and brothels. They captured snapshots from their own lives, sometimes producing literature, sometimes news pieces. Many of them acted like a *flâneur*. They figured human landscapes, made use of crowds. The bourgeoisie of literature observed and followed the public pleasure and produced similar texts. The literature of feuilletons allowed some writers to acquire both political power and money. For example, between 1838-1851, the amount of money Lamartine gained from newspapers was almost five million francs. Baudelaire's poems and texts were also snapshots from real life. However, since he did not agree with all the demands of literature market, the amount of money he made from newspapers was not over a mere fifteen thousand francs.⁷⁵

Why did Baudelaire's texts not bring him power and money as had been the case for many other writers? Andreas Husseyne points out that Baudelaire's works belongs to a special genre among feuilletons. This genre is named by Husseyne as the metropolitan miniature. Examining the street texts of Kracauer and Benjamin in light of the Frankfurt School's critical theory of modernity, Husseyne asks whether there were some common traces that ran through the whole trajectory of short

⁷⁵ Ali Artun. Preface in *Modern Hayatın Ressamı by Charles Baudelaire*, 2nd ed., Istanbul: İletişim. pp. 66, 67.

prose from Baudelaire to Musil and Benjamin.⁷⁶ He reaches the conclusion that these texts are a significant innovation in the trajectory of literary modernism and that they have been neglected as a literary form, remaining hidden in plain view. He claims that his book is the first analytical study that differentiates between the various uses of the miniature form by canonical writers and theorists from Baudelaire via Rilke and Kafka to Kracauer and Benjamin, Musil and Adorno. For him, “in fine-grained readings combined with broad panoramic and comparative vistas”, the metropolitan miniature emerges as “one of the few genuinely innovative modes of spatialized writing” created by literary modernism.⁷⁷

For Husseyn, the modernist literature of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries is unthinkable without the rise of mass publications, new forms of print and image making, illustrated papers, photography, film, and radio. All of these contributed to a sense of an accelerated speed of life, crystallized in the compression of time and space, as David Harvey describes it.⁷⁸ The metropolitan miniature appears as a result of these changes that took place in the second half of the nineteenth century and early twentieth century.

As a deliberately short form, metropolitan miniature found its privileged venue in the feuillets of large urban newspapers and journals. Only later were such texts reassembled, reorganized, and often rewritten for book publication. It is telling that critical theorists such as Kracauer, Benjamin, and Adorno, who in different ways wrote compellingly about photograph and film, are among the major practitioners of the miniature form. Husseyn claims that the literary miniature, in its emphasis on visual perception and urban life, always implied a critical

⁷⁶ Andreas Husseyn. *Miniature Metropolis: Literature in an Age of Photography and Film*, London: Harvard University, 2015. p. x.

⁷⁷ Ibid., pp. x, 2.

⁷⁸ Ibid., p. 2.

theory of bourgeois society.⁷⁹ That is, metropolitan miniature is distinct from the texts of loiterature with its short form and greater use of visual perception.

In late nineteenth century, the preferences of readers and spectators created the conditions suitable for the flourishing of the metropolitan miniature. Husseyn says that compact forms were preferred by the readers and spectators in these decades. Urban readers and spectators looked for quick stimulation and consumption in line with the accelerated speed of modern life. Cabarets, variety shows, vaudevilles, panoramas, dioramas, nickelodeons, and revues flourished. Early silent film, the cinema of attractions, with its slapstick, melodrama, and urban scenes satisfied the need for entertainment while at the same time training human perception in new forms of urban life. Cinematic modes of writing started to use quick cuts, the close-up, and montage editing and invaded literary production.⁸⁰

For metropolitan miniature, the restructuring of temporal and spatial perception was an important field of experimentation, similar to photography and film. The metropolis was still an island of accelerating modernization in a society in which the slow pace of country and small-town life was still dominant, but losing ground in the second half of the nineteenth century. These five decades were the period of high modernism and the historical avant-garde. Metropolitan cities such as Vienna, Berlin, or Paris became laboratories of perception. New urban imaginaries and a whole new scientific discourse about perception itself emerged in the wake of fast changing cityscapes and scientific experiments with vision, hearing, and other sensual experiences. The emergence of automobile traffic, the electrification of public space, the creation of the first subways, new forms of mass housing, and the rise of modernist architecture and urban planning contributed to the creation

⁷⁹ Ibid., pp. 3, 4.

⁸⁰ Andreas Husseyn. *Miniature Metropolis: Literature in an Age of Photography and Film*, London: Harvard University, 2015. p. 4.

of a new understanding of dwelling and accelerated the speed of urban experience.⁸¹

Authors of miniatures, like Baudelaire, Rilke, Kafka, Kracauer, Benjamin, Musil and Adorno understand the urban condition as the *sine qua non* of modern life and experience. But they avoided realistic description, keeping their distance both from the nineteenth century urban novel and from the urban sketch in the tradition of Louis Sébastien Mercier's 1781 *Tableau de Paris*, a mode of journalistic writing. They avoided plot, psychological development, and storytelling through fleshed out characters, offering instead "unstorylike stories".⁸² At this point, we might clearly see that metropolitan miniatures, as "unstorylike stories", are written in a loiterly mode. They do not have plots and it seems like the texts were written in short respites as if wandering in the city. However, I should say that Turkish story writers, which will be discussed further on in this dissertation do not avoid realistic descriptions. However, their form of realistic description is different from actual realist authors. Many of their texts do not have a plot and sometimes include surrealist themes. In many of them, how the author perceives the space is more important than "realistic" descriptions. I will try to show in the following chapters of this dissertation that their short stories have been shaped around a photographic realist approach in which the psychological state of the artist and individual preferences shape the story.

Many of the metropolitan miniatures appealed to textual images. As early as the late nineteenth century, the streets of metropolises were full of them: store signs, street signs, electrified advertisings, neon signs, the marquees of theatres and movie palaces, advertising pillars, the sandwich-board men, shop window displays, ads on trams and buses, and so forth. And then there was the medium of publication itself. The popularity and mass circulation of postcards featuring urban sites accompanied by captions is another instance of the tightly interwoven relationship between words and pictures in the metropolitan world. Panoramas, dio-

⁸¹ Ibid., p. 5.

⁸² Ibid., p. 6.

ramas, and eventually silent cinema increased the flood of images exponentially, thus challenging the literary imagination and putting pressure on the privileged position of the written word.⁸³ These textual images were appealed to by our short story writers as well. Some of their short stories are almost completely founded upon these textual images.

Subjective and objective perceptions of the metropolitan life were condensed in the structure of language, text, and medium itself in such a way that these feuilleton texts subverted the very claims of transparency, easy understanding, and entertainment the popular press laid claim to. From its very beginning in Baudelaire all the way to Musil and Benjamin, the miniature thus performed a kind of “affirmative sabotage” of the popular press and of the image-based media that dominated the metropolitan public sphere.⁸⁴ By way of this observation, the difference of metropolitan miniatures from the classical feuilletons and why they did not imbue power and money upon Baudelaire and the other miniaturists become revealed.

2. 13. The Influence of Urban Geography on Metropolitan Miniatures

A return to Baudelaire is merited at this point. Baudelaire recognizes that a new kind of writing of the city was called forth by the city itself. He states that a poetic prose that was musical, subtle, and choppy came to life, above all by frequenting enormous cities in the intersection of their countless relationships. The choppiness of his little work is exacerbated by the fact that it has “neither head nor tail.” Addressing his editor, he continued with cutting irony: “Consider, I beg you, what admirable convenience that combination offers us all, you, me, and the reader. We can cut wherever we want, I my reverie, you the manuscript, the reader his reading.”⁸⁵ This emphasis of Baudelaire on the influence of

⁸³ Ibid., p. 16.

⁸⁴ Ibid., pp. 19, 20.

⁸⁵ Ibid., pp. 19, 20.

the city on the literary production reaches out to Guy Debord's concept of psychogeography. For Debord, just as geography deals with the determinant action of general natural forces such as soil composition or climatic conditions on the economic structures of a society, psychogeography also "sets for itself the study of the precise laws and specific effects of geographical environment on the emotions and behaviour of individuals."⁸⁶ While Baudelaire was exchanging letters with his editor, he also made clear the influence of the city geography on his own psychology and literary texts. In the same tradition, my study also unearths the influence of Beyoğlu on the generation of the 40s in Turkish literature. For Husseyn, too, the influence of urban geography on metropolitan miniatures is foundational. The seriality of miniatures formally reflects and constructs the very nature of urban experience. Both the theory and the practice of Baudelaire's writings on the capitalist city in transition to the modern metropolis at the time of Baron Haussmann's radical interventions into the older city fabric provide the perfect entry point into that body of literature Husseyn calls the metropolitan miniature.⁸⁷

Simmel says in his article "Conflict of Modern Culture" that the new form, which is full of elements of life, struggles not only with old and lifeless forms but also with the idea of form itself. Moralists, those who praised old centuries, and ones who defended the purity and clarity of style were factually correct when they complained about a progressive lack of form in arts. However, they neglected the fact that a vital urge had been born from this lack of form.⁸⁸ Simmel wrote these words at the beginning of the twentieth century. Baudelaire had completed *Le Spleen*

⁸⁶ Guy Debord. "Introduction to a Critique of Urban Geography" (art.), 1955, <https://www.cddc.vt.edu/sionline/presitu/geography.html> date accessed: 24.10.2018.

⁸⁷ Andreas Husseyn. *Miniature Metropolis: Literature in an Age of Photography and Film*, London: Harvard University, 2015. p. 27.

⁸⁸ Georg Simmel. *Modern Kültürde Çatışma*, 8th ed. Istanbul: İletişim, 2012. p. 58.

de Paris in 1862. In this work, he offered a model of writing that translated the raw energies of city, its scandals and miseries as well as its temptations and ecstasies into a new language. Even if some of this language remained mired in male misogyny, the traditional catholic imaginary of evil and bliss, and the satanic and the divine, its provocations to traditional literary culture secured a pride of place in the genealogy of modernist urban imaginaries for it.⁸⁹

Despite Baudelaire's great admiration for Balzac's *Comédie Humaine*, the urban miniature demonstrates implicitly why the coherent Balzacian narrative held together by one omniscient narrator and the trajectory of plot is no longer adequate to the writing of the city in the age of Haussman's radical interventions in the city fabric. Instead, we get a series of fragments, montages of different discourses even within these fragments, and short pieces with ever-changing moods and outlooks. In Baudelaire's late work, Paris emerges as a fragmented and fragmenting space of the heterotopias of the imagination. It is an urban imaginary of a specific phase of metropolitan modernization later articulated in different ways by Benjamin and Kracauer.⁹⁰ This specific phase of metropolitan modernization gave rise to literary modernism beginning with Baudelaire.

2.14. The Flâneur as an Oppositional Figure

For Husseyn, Kracauer and Benjamin's urban miniatures and street texts form the growing core of their theories of the metropolitan condition. He adds that Benjamin's *One-Way Street*, *Berlin Childhood around 1900*, *Central Park*, *Thought Images*, and *Moscow Diary* and Kracauer's *Strassen In Berlin und anderswo* and other urban feuilleton pieces scattered in his collected works have not been read closely enough and

⁸⁹ Andreas Husseyn. *Miniature Metropolis: Literature in an Age of Photography and Film*, London: Harvard University, 2015. p. 30.

⁹⁰ Ibid., p.30, 31.

studied.⁹¹ While I also am not going to analyse them in this study, since the focus of this thesis is on Turkish literary modernism of the 1940s, Husseyn's emphasis upon Kracauer and Benjamin are important for me, since he claims that after Baudelaire, *flâneurs* have turned into more critical and oppositional characters with men like Kracauer and Benjamin. I will comment on this transformation shortly.

Merlin Coverly claims that the history of the *flâneur* and the city wanderer in Paris might be evaluated as a process of political awakening. From Baudelaire to Benjamin and Breton to Aragon, Paris was the city of increasing unrest and radicalism. The *flâneur* would engage in a struggle in order to recover the city.⁹² With whom does the *flâneur* struggle to recover the city? The struggle of the *flâneur* is against the political power that transforms the city in accordance with the interests of the bourgeoisie and its political representation.

Coverly states that the adventures in radicalism of the *flâneurs* show the influence of the changing city on them. According to Baudelaire, Paris is a book to be read by wandering on its streets. After the transformations of Hausmann, the links between the commons and the city were broken off. The *flâneur* was now threatened. The generations after Baudelaire could not experience the city like he did. Moreover, Baudelaire's life and art became the basis for the concept of the *flâneur*. However, not everyone can completely correspond to the *flâneur*, either in fiction or in "real life." Perhaps Baudelaire, whose life and art came to be the basis for the concept of the *flâneur*, was not "a perfect *flâneur*". However, in the last instance, I can say about this matter that modern pscyhogeography includes both being a chronicler of the city like Bau-

⁹¹ Ibid., p.118.

⁹² Merlin Coverly. *Psikocoğrafya*, Istanbul: Kalkedon, 2011. p. 18.

delaire and the radicalism of the city as in the case of his followers.⁹³ This study could also be seen as a study of psychogeography, since it examines the influence of a city space upon a literary generation.

In short, the transformation of Paris transformed the *flâneur* too. In the beginning, he was a conscious kaleidoscope. Later, he gradually turned into an urban radical. However, he did not lose his characteristic of being a kaleidoscope. While discussing *flâneurship*, I employed the definitions of Baudelaire and Benjamin and claimed that the metropolitan miniature appeared in Western Europe as a new genre. While discussing the roots of *flâneurship*, we again saw that “psychologies” written in Paris cafés and the novels of Balzac and Poe were the literary roots of *flâneurship*. In short, so far, I discussed *flâneurship* and the metropolitan miniature with reference to the names and themes from Western Europe including France, England, and Germany. Henceforth, I will focus on the superfluous men of Russian literature and St. Petersburg. In this way, I will try to present an understanding of the experience of loiterly writing in a metropolis of a late-modernized country. The *flâneur's* or the superfluous man's adventure in Petersburg will enable us to see the adventure of Pera's superfluous men from a different perspective.

2.15. Similarities between Russia and Turkey

The modernizations of Russia and Turkey have similarities as well as differences. There are a considerable number of similarities between them which justify a direct comparison. Analysing the influence of the Nevsky Prospect of Petersburg on literary production in Russian literature can shed light on the influence of Beyoğlu on Turkish literature as well. I might add on this point that the similarity between Russia and Turkey stems from their late modernizations. According to Seton-Watson, imperial Russia is the prototype of the “underdeveloped coun-

⁹³ Ibid.

try". Problems of underdeveloped countries in the twentieth century have important similarities with problems of imperial Russia in the nineteenth century.⁹⁴ For Berman, the anguish of backwardness and underdevelopment played a central role in Russian politics and culture from the 1820s to the Soviet period as well. Russia wrestled in the nineteenth century with all the issues that African, Asian, and Latin American peoples and nations would confront in the twentieth century.⁹⁵ Therefore, it can be said that Russia was modernized before many Asian, African, and Latin American countries. On the other hand, when compared with West European countries, it is a late-modernized country. This makes Russia different from both groups of countries. This special condition of Russia influenced the perception of literary modernism, too. The *flâneur* of the nineteenth century French literature turned into a superfluous man in the nineteenth century Russian literature. I will examine Pushkin's *Bronze Cavalry* and Gogol's story *Diary of Madman*, to indicate this difference thoroughly. Before examining the authors and their literary products, however, present the place of Petersburg within Russia and what it symbolizes for Russia and Russian people and literature. Afterwards, I will examine the place of the Nevsky Prospect in Petersburg and what it symbolizes for Petersburgers.

2. 16. The Foundation and General Characteristics of Petersburg

Construction for Petersburg started in 1703 in the swamps where the Neva River discharges the waters of Lake Ladoga into the Gulf of Finland. Peter I envisioned this city as a naval base and trading centre. It would be a window onto Europe. Peter wanted to break the hegemony of Mos-

⁹⁴ Hugh Seton-Watson. "Russia and Modernization", *Slavic Review*, Vol.20, No.4, December, 1961. p. 583.

⁹⁵ Marshall Berman. *All That Is Solid Melts into Air*, New York: Verso, 1983. p. 175.

cow with all its centuries of tradition and its religious aura. For him, Russian history had to make a fresh start, on a clean slate. However, important features of the new city were distinctively Russian. No ruler in the West had the power to build on such a vast scale. The human sacrifice during construction of the city was immense: within three years, almost 150,000 people were injured or died. In his willingness and power to destroy his subjects en masse for the sake of the construction, Peter was closer to the oriental despots of ancient times such as the pharaohs of Egypt with their pyramids. Russia was a serf society where the vast majority of people were at the mercy either of noble landowners or of the state. Due to this, he could sacrifice his subjects easily. "The dead men's bones mixed into the city's grandest monuments." They became the part of the mythology and folklore of the city.⁹⁶

Petersburg was founded as a rival to Moscow since the very beginning. For this reason, a focus on its differences with Moscow is seminal. Moscow, which was an inland city, was settled on trade routes. It had always been lively throughout its history. The majority of its population was composed of merchants and craftsmen. On the other hand, Petersburg was planned and constructed as a capital from the beginning. Its population was predominantly made of state officials; everywhere was full of uniformed people. In the early periods of its history, it was "the city of men" since men who settled in Petersburg would leave their families behind in Moscow or other hometowns. Since there was no widespread family life, places such as restaurants, patisseries, and teahouses were common in Petersburg, in contrast to Moscow, where people

⁹⁶ Ibid., p. 177, 178.

spent most of their time in their houses.⁹⁷ The modernity of Petersburg was crafted by men who were state officials.

Petersburg was truly made ex-nihilo. How could its creation be possible? The secret lies in the nature of the Russian autocracy, which I now briefly present an analysis of. Russia had two open frontiers for centuries; to the West and to the southeast. These open frontiers were factors of insecurity and therefore of despotism. An absence of natural frontiers like the Pyrenees or the English Channel and the constant need for protection was undoubtedly a major factor in the development of Russian autocracy. The necessity of strong military command rendered Russian society as a whole deeply militarized.⁹⁸ The power of Tsars as autocrats made Russia different from European monarchies, which in turn, rendered the experience of modernization in Russia substantially different from the West. The construction of Petersburg as a modern capital could not have been achieved in Europe. Petersburg, as a space where the modern Tsars could display their power to full extent was populated by uniformed men of various ranks who displayed the bureaucratic structure of Tsarist Russia.

Petersburg, the centre of the modern autocrat's power, became the symbol of the new, secular official culture over the course of the eighteenth century. Peter and its successors imported mathematicians and engineers, jurists and political theorists, manufacturers and political economists from European countries. They founded an academy of sciences and a state-supported system of technical education. Thinkers like Leibniz, Christian Wolff, Voltaire, Diderot, Bentham, and Herder came to Russia and were patronised by the state. Their works were translated into Russian. However, the same thinkers found themselves suddenly to be disgraced. Thinkers who were imported from the West, feted, and flattered were deported on short notice. Young noblemen

⁹⁷ Murat Belge. *Step ve Bozkır*, Istanbul, İletisim, 2016. p. 95.

⁹⁸ Hugh Seton-Watson. "Russia and Modernization", *Slavic Review*, Vol.20, No.4, December 1961. p. 583.

who were sent abroad for education were abruptly recalled and forbidden to learn more. The modernization of Russia took shape around these kinds of contradictions and hesitations. Petersburg was the centre of this transformation as the capital of the empire. In the nineteenth century, Russia became the vanguard of European counter-revolution. However, this role contained some paradoxes, as well. Russia was entangled more deeply in Western impulses and energies that the government was trying to blot out in this century.⁹⁹

The first quarter of the nineteenth century should be examined in depth in order to more clearly understand how the rest of the century played out in Russia. On December 14th 1825, hundreds of reformist members of the imperial guards assembled around the statue of Peter in the Senate Square and staged a large demonstration in favour of the Grand Duke Constantine and constitutional reform. These would later be named the Decembrists. Twentieth century historians and critics take a more sceptical view about Decembrists and emphasize their commitment to autocracy and reform from above. However, if December 14th is examined from the perspective of Petersburg, a new basis might be seen to “the Decembrists’ old reverences.” Till then, each definition and initiative in Petersburg emanated from the government. And then, suddenly, at least a segment of people tried to take the initiative into their own hands. Till 1825, many of Petersburgers had been forced to be in Petersburg as instruments of the Tsar. Now, for the first time, some uniformed men asserted the right to be there for reasons of their own.¹⁰⁰ The young bureaucrats’ uprising failed, as is well known. After this uprising, Petersburgers would not repeat such an attempt for decades. What they made instead was a distinctive and brilliant literary tradition till the beginning of twentieth century. This tradition focused obsessively on their city “as a symbol of warped and weird modernity” and strug-

⁹⁹ Marshall Berman. *All That Is Solid Melts into Air*, Newyork: Verso, 1983. pp. 178-180.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 180, 181.

gled “to take possession of this city imaginatively on behalf of the peculiar sort of modern men and women.”¹⁰¹

2. 17. Russian Literary Tradition vs. a New Literature Focused on the City

A literature focused on the city had not been prominent in Russian literature prior to the nineteenth century. Trotsky, in *Literature and Revolution*, says that old Russian culture and literature had treated nobles and bureaucracy as their subject matter and mainly rested on the peasantry. With the Narodnik movement making its appearance, literature continued to rest on the peasantry; but the treatment of the peasantry in literature changed noticeably. Poor peasants and the bourgeoisie increasingly came to attention in this era with depictions of their simple lives. This movement was followed by the literature of more modernized, differentiated, and individualized radical intellectuals. In this new period, Russian art hesitated between the bourgeoisie and the peasantry and could not cohere any of them organically.¹⁰² However, it should be remarked in parentheses that these periods of Russian literature cannot be completely separated from each other. Classicist, Narodnik, and radical currents coexisted in Russian literature. Even though texts about the province remained dominant in each period of Russian literature, the influence of the city gradually increased as a result of modernization and differentiation of literature.

Trotsky characterizes the authors as “the most unimportant ones of unimportant children of the world.”¹⁰³ He underlined their asocial and

¹⁰¹ Ibid., p. 181.

¹⁰² Leon Trotsky. *Edebiyat ve Devrim*, İstanbul: Köz, 1976. pp. 8, 9.

¹⁰³ Ibid., p. 19.

bohemian identities stemming from their threshold positions in society. Might they be characterized as superfluous men? That depends on our understanding of what the superfluous man is. The phrase superfluous man (in Russian, *лишний человек*) was first used in one of Turgenev's books in 1850: *The Diary of a Superfluous Man*. However, the history of superfluous men in Russian literature is older than Turgenev's book. According to Murat Belge, superfluous men in Russian literature are generally intelligent, clever, and capable characters; however, they cannot be useful to society or people around their surroundings because of deficiencies or excesses in their identities. In short, they are unproductive people.¹⁰⁴ I do not fully agree with Murat Belge. Some characters of superfluous men in Russian literature can be really clever, intelligent, and capable characters. However, not all of them live up to such a description. To recall the parasitic characters mentioned in the previous chapter; Trotsky described them as characters who were an organic part neither of the bourgeoisie nor the peasantry. The main characteristic of superfluous men is their parasitic position and threshold position between major classes rather than their cleverness.

Alexander Pushkin is the first among literary men "focusing obsessively on the city" for Berman. He produced the first examples of superfluous men characters in his works. However, superfluous men are not merely fictional. The author himself might also be seen as a superfluous man. Looking at Pushkin's life story, he was born to a noble family and received a first-class education. However, he lived the most productive years of his life under tight control and pressure, because he was a friend of many Decembrist leaders. Only because Nikolay I enjoyed keeping him on a tight leash under such surveillance could he escape

¹⁰⁴ Murat Belge. *Step ve Bozkır*, Istanbul: İletisim, 2016. p. 147.

imprisonment. He died at a tender age. He was educated, clever, and capable; but political pressures prevented him from using all of his abilities to their fullest. Modernization along with political pressure turned some intellectuals like Pushkin into superfluous men. When Murat Belge defined superfluous men, he probably shaped his definition around the life stories of these intellectuals. However, characters are not always clever, intelligent, and capable men in their literary texts, a point I will revisit later. Here, I want to point to similarities in the social and politic atmospheres of France and Russia in which the poetries of Baudelaire and Pushkin appeared respectively. The literature of Baudelaire was a product of a rapid economic and cultural transformation in an authoritarian period. Pushkin's poetry also appeared in Russia under similar conditions. These two artists becoming the superfluous men of their societies were closely connected with the rapid economic and cultural transformations under authoritarian leaderships.

Hereinafter, I investigate Pushkin's prose poem *Bronz Horseman* and the character Evgeny, who is one of earliest examples of superfluous men in Russian literature. This poem was written in the same stanza form as *Evgeny Onegin* and featured a hero with the same first name. It was shorter and more intense than *Evgeny*. It was banned by the censors of Nicholas because of themes opposing autocracy and only appeared after Pushkin's death. Its subtitle is "a Petersburg fairy tale." Pushkin claims in a headnote to the poem that the incident in the poem is based on facts and provides references to journals. His "insistence on the factuality of the incident connects this work with the Russian tradition of the realist novel" in the nineteenth century.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰⁵ Marshall Berman. *All That Is Solid Melts into Air*, Newyork: Verso, 1983. p. 182.

In his poem, Pushkin uses images such as unilluminated, solitary rooms, and “nights full of thoughts.” These images were suggestive of something about Petersburg’s intellectual and spiritual activity in the years that were to come. The ill-lit rooms of Petersburg would have to generate its own light far away from the official radiance of the Winter Palace and the government. Pushkin’s hero Evgeny also lodges in one of these little rooms and works here and there. He is a small time government official. Pushkin suggests that his family may have once had standing in Russian society, but the memory of this remote past has been long lost.¹⁰⁶

Evgeny is in love with a girl poorer even than himself. She lives on one of the remotest islands on the city’s fringe. As he dreams of her, we see the modesty and ordinariness of his desires. He wants to get married and have a modest little home, a bed, two chairs, a pot of cabbage soup, and a few children. He wants to go on picnics with his wife and children in the summers. He dreams of being the master of his home. However, on the other hand, there is the imposing presence of the glorious Tsar. Petersburg’s very existence is an assertion that Tsars can construct a city on the marshes from scratch.¹⁰⁷

A significant part of the middle class of Petersburg is made up of government civil servants. Evgeny is one of them. The class positions of lower rank civil servants like Evgeny are very ambiguous. They are theoretically a part of the government elite and want to be respected by other members of society. However, they have neither the economic nor the cultural and educational capital. For this reason, they are not generally respected.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., pp. 183, 184.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid., pp. 185, 186.

Before starting to narrate conflicts of the Tsar and the superfluous man, I want to point to the significance of the statue of the Bronze Horseman on the Senate Square, overlooking the Neva. This statue is the namesake of Pushkin's poem. Under the empresses Anna, Elizabeth, and Catherine, the new capital was lavishly decorated and embellished, using Western architecture and design. The city was turned into a political theatre with Baroque monumentality and Rococo extravagance and playfulness. The statue of the Bronze Horseman was one of the major works of this period. It is an enormous equestrian statue of Peter the Great, installed in 1782.¹⁰⁸

In the *Bronze Horseman* poem, Pushkin points out Evgeny's ironic position on the urban stage. He says about Evgeny that he has become a Petersburg statue on the Senate Square in front of the Bronze Horseman. The Bronze Horseman stood directly opposite to Evgeny, its back turned onto him, as an idol or a god-like figure. On the other hand, the city of Petersburg stands as the radical antithesis of the god: "the idol." This idol has created the men of the city in its own image, transforming them into statues and monuments of despair like Evgeny. Standing in front of the Bronze Horseman, Evgeny appears like a monument of despair. While Evgeny was wandering, not noticing where he was, he suddenly stopped and began to gaze about. His face was aghast with terror. In front of him, the idol sat "its copper steed with its out-stretched arms as if being fenced in rock." Suddenly his blood boiled up and a flame swept through his heart. He stood in front of the arrogant statute, clenching his teeth and fists. He whispered "Good, wonderworking builder! You will reckon with me yet." Berman says that "this is one of the great radical moments of the romantic age: Promethean defiance springing forth from the soul of oppressed common man." However, Pushkin is a Russian realist as much as a European romantic. Evgeny utters these words, but suddenly takes flight. Throughout the night, he feels that the Bronze

¹⁰⁸ Ibid., p. 178.

Horseman is following him. His first rebellion is also his last. The words “You will reckon with me yet” are spoken as a challenge. However, this challenge is an unconscious explosion. When the superfluous man returns to reality, he understands that reckoning with the Tsar is not so easy and he flees immediately. For Berman, Evgeny’s short lived uprising against the Bronze Horseman brings to mind the Decembrist uprising. Pushkin speaks for the deceased Decembrists with this poem. But, their brief moment in the Senate Square would come just a year after Evgeny’s.¹⁰⁹

The reign of Nicholas I, which began with the repression of the Decembrists and ended with the military humiliation at Sevastopol, is one of the most depressing eras of modern Russian history. In this period, the relationship of the Tsar to his subjects took a new turn. The trouble was not necessarily that his government was repressive. Russian emperors had always been repressive towards their subjects. What was distinctive here was the goal of repression rather than its scope. Peter the Great had repressed to open a window onto Europe; however, Nicholas was repressing in order to close that very window. The difference between Peter and Nicholas was a difference between a “wonderworking builder” and a policeman. In Nicholas’s Petersburg, not only clerks in the lowest ranks but also Bronze Horseman were alienated.¹¹⁰

In Russia, this was deliberately initiated. Each government, which sets out forcibly to modernize, has to create a modern secular intellectual elite and a system of modern education. A profound gap appeared between the new intellectual elite and the majority of people in the early stage of Russian modernization. This “cultural gap” inevitably leads to frustration in elites.¹¹¹ When the attempt at modernization was halted by those who initiated it, people who had been shaped by this project of

¹⁰⁹ Ibid., pp. 186-189.

¹¹⁰ Ibid., p.190.

¹¹¹ Hugh Seton-Watson. “Russia and Modernization”, *Slavic Review*, Vol.20, No.4, December, 1961. p. 587.

modernization felt left in a void. The anxiety caused by this feeling shaped the modernism of nineteenth century literature in Russia.

A common attitude between the Tsar and large masses of people towards Westernization in the Nicholas era created a negative image of Petersburg in the nineteenth century, which was shared by the majority of society. According to Berman, the clearest expression of modernity in Russian lands was Petersburg during the twentieth century. It represented all foreign and cosmopolitan forces which flowed through Russian life. On the other hand, Moscow was signifying all the accumulated indigenous and insular traditions of the Russian narod. In this dualism, Petersburg was miscegenation and pollution; Moscow was purity of blood and soil. Petersburg was Russia's head; Moscow is its heart. Petersburg was secular, but Moscow was sacred.¹¹²

The Tsar's concurrence with the majority of people in the Nicholas era during a thirty-year period fuelled anxieties in the aforementioned group of people. During the Nicholas regime, Petersburg acquired a reputation for being a strange, weird, spectral place, never again to lose it. The axis of modernity shifted away from the magnificent ensemble of state buildings and enormous squares at the centre of the city along the Neva to the Nevsky Prospekt, while the modern bureaucracy and the state was asleep.¹¹³ Thus, the Nevsky Prospekt became the centre of modernity and modernist literature.

Before resuming the discussion on Nevsky's influence on literary production, I want to mention its physical characteristics. With its straightness, breadth, length, and good paving, the Nevsky Prospekt presented a distinctively modern environment. Moreover, it was a perfect artery for the emerging modes of fast and heavy traffic. It possessed all the new products of modernity such as macadam and asphalt, gaslight and electric light, the railroad, electric trolleys, and automobiles. It was full of action, even earlier than its Parisien counterparts. Moreover, old neigh-

¹¹² Marshall Berman. *All That Is Solid Melts into Air*, New York: Verso, 1983. p. 176.

¹¹³ Ibid., pp. 192, 193.

bourhoods and lives were not devastated during its construction, contrary to what the case was in the construction of Paris boulevards.¹¹⁴

The Nevsky Prospekt served as a showcase for the wonders of the new consumer economy: Foreign goods and styles such as furniture, silverware, fabrics, clothing, booths, and books were freely displayed in the Prospect on which foreign women and men could easily wander. More than half of the shop signs were bilingual. Nevsky was an unusually cosmopolitan prospect even for a city like Petersburg. It was the sole public space which was not directly dominated by the state in Petersburg. Lastly, it was the one place in Petersburg and Russia where all classes came together; including poor artisans, prostitutes, derelicts, and bohemians.¹¹⁵ With these characteristics, it proved able to become an ideal space for Russian *flâneurs* or superfluous men.

2. 18. The Little Civil Servant's Texts: The Prose of Gogol

Gogol's representation of the Nevsky Prospekt and superfluous men provides important insights for our inquiry. There is a widespread consensus that the modern novel and short story began with Gogol in Russia. Gogol's appearance in Russian literature is nearly a *sui generis* fact. Before the era of Peter, Western novels were translated into Russian; however, many of these were mediocre works. In the prior Russian novel or short story, there was no author who could hold a candle to Gogol. He was seen as the author who saved Russian prose from its second place position.¹¹⁶

He also died at a younger age like Pushkin. However, he did not come from a noble family. He was the child of a middle class peasant family, interested in literature from his teenage years. He came to Petersburg

¹¹⁴ Ibid., p. 194.

¹¹⁵ Ibid., pp. 194, 195.

¹¹⁶ Murat Belge. *Step ve Bozkır*; Istanbul: İletisim, 2016. pp. 148, 157, 158, 159, 160.

at nineteen years old to be a civil servant. He was able to find a job in the civil service, with a very low salary which he did not keep for long. They were very close friends with Pushkin who sheltered him from criticisms. He died at forty-three in 1852. In *Petersburg Stories*, he told the stories of small time civil servants. Gogol was a realist, like many leading Russian writers in the nineteenth century. It is probable that he told of his own life and the lives of his workmates in his stories.

2. 19. The Diary of a Madman

Gogol wrote five short stories in the Nicholas era which have later been called the Petersburg stories. The new atmosphere of Petersburg as a strange, weird, spectral place and Nevsky as the city's new centre shaped these stories. I now examine the first and foremost of these five short stories: *Diary of a Madman*. The starting day of the diary is October the 3rd. The madman began his diary with the following sentence: "Something very peculiar happened today." He got up rather late. If he'd known the sour look he was going to get from the departmental manager and wanted to receive a small piece of his salary as an advance, he wouldn't have gone to the office that day at all.

His departmental manager often reprimanded him. He could not respond to these reprimands, but thought that his "damned old buzzard" manager was jealous of him, because he had seen him while sharpening the general manager's quills.¹¹⁷

On the same day, he wrote the following words: "I put on my old overcoat and took my umbrella, as it was simply teeming down outside." He went out. There was not a soul about in the street; all he could see were a few old peasant women sheltering under their skirts, some Russian

¹¹⁷ Nikolai Gogol. *Taras Bulba ve Petersburg Öyküleri*, Istanbul: Engin, 1989. p. 125.

merchants under their umbrellas, and one or two messengers. As for better class people “like him”, there were not any, except for a civil servant, who are after a girl dashing along over there.¹¹⁸

While he was engrossed in these thoughts, a carriage drew up in front of a shop he happened to be passing by. This was his general director’s carriage. But when a footman opened the carriage’s door, he saw her, the daughter of his Excellency. She did not recognize him. He muffled himself up as best he could, because his overcoat had gone out of fashion ages ago. By the way, he saw that his Excellency’s dog, Medji, was conversing with the dog of two passing-by ladies. He said to himself, “I’d better follow this dog.”¹¹⁹

We have prior knowledge about our protagonist. He is a little state official. From his words, we see that he tries to distinguish himself from the other members of the middle classes such as merchants, and wants to feel himself a part of the state elite. However, he is wandering in the streets in his old overcoat. He performs odd jobs which need no qualification, such as sharpening quills in the government office. He loves the daughter of his Excellency, for whose father he sharpens quills. He is mentally imbalanced, but this is not noticed by his colleagues in office, since no one takes any notice of him. Trotsky, in his essay about the intelligentsia, claims that the intelligentsia do not oppose the idea that the intelligentsia holds a higher position than the peasantry and the proletariat.¹²⁰ We see a rather caricatured version of this attitude of the intelligentsia in our protagonist. He wanders the streets in his old overcoat; is belittled and reprimanded by his superiors. However, he is insistent

¹¹⁸ Ibid., p. 126.

¹¹⁹ Ibid., pp. 126, 127.

¹²⁰ Murat Belge. *Step ve Bozkır*; Istanbul: İletisim, 2016. p. 38.

in seeing himself as different from other lower middle income people like himself.

He mentions his general director to be an intelligent man. The library in his office is full of books. He comes to work early on Wednesday since the general director comes to the office on that day. His excellency does not talk at length with him. However, he convinces himself that the general director does not talk at length with anyone. His name is Axenty Ivanovich. This name sounds weird in Russian. However, Axenty is a weird man anyway. Axenty dislikes the butler of the general director. He does not like any butlers, because they see themselves as equals with him. In the evening of the same day, he wraps himself up in his overcoat and goes to the general director's house. He waits outside. But he cannot see the daughter of the Excellency.¹²¹

The diary skips from October 4th to November 6th. On November 6th, his departmental manager reprimands him, since he tries to make a pass at the general director's daughter. He says to him "you are past forty now, and it's time you had a bit more sense." Moreover, he should "just take a look in the mirror." He hasn't a kopeck to bless himself with. But Ivanovich does not mind these words of his departmental director. He thinks that since the general director likes him, the departmental director is jealous of him.¹²² On October 3rd, he had begun his diary entry by saying that "something very peculiar happened today." However, we see that every day of his is the same. He is berated by his departmental director every day.

On November 11th, he takes pride in having sharpened 23 of the quills of his general director and 4 quills of the director's daughter. He writes

¹²¹ Nikolai Gogol. *Taras Bulba ve Petersburg Öyküleri*, Istanbul: Engin, 1989. pp. 127, 128, 129.

¹²² Ibid., p. 129.

that “Today something suddenly dawned on me, which made everything clear: I recalled the conversation I’d overheard between the two dogs on Nevsky Avenue.”¹²³ On 3 October when the diary began, he was in Nevsky. While he was wandering aimlessly on Nevsky, he saw a civil servant who was after a girl who was dashing along over there like him. Then, he saw the Director’s daughter. All these events took place on Nevsky. However, the reader can only make these out in the middle part of the short story. We even only learn his name towards the middle of the story. The story does not have a classical plot in which the narrator gives the basic information about the places and characters of the story in the beginning. Axenty Ivanovich does not have a coherent and consistent story which has a beginning and an end anyway. We see his descent into madness step by step. *The Diaries of Madman* is a short story of a man in an old overcoat on Nevsky who looks at dogs with curious eyes. Another well-known old overcoat would be the main character of a different short story by Gogol: *The Overcoat*. The civil servant who was after a girl dashing over Nevsky would be the character of his short story *Nevskii Prospekt*. His characters are people who can be seen by anyone wandering on Nevsky with a *flâneur*’s steps. Axenty Ivanovich is one of them. At the beginning of his diaries, Axenty Ivanovich is in early stages of his psychological disorder. At the end of story, he is in a madhouse where he is tortured. There are many reasons for his progressive maddening. We do not understand from the short story what precisely the precipitating factor was. There is no dramatic event in his life the coherent story of which can be written.

The name of the dog which had interacted with his Excellency’s dog and its owner, whom Axenty had followed and thereby learned the place of

¹²³ Ibid., pp. 130, 131.

their home on October 3rd was Fidel. On November 12th, Axenty went to their home and stole some letters.¹²⁴ He was assuming that they were letters of Fidel and Medji who had corresponded with each other. After he read these letters, he found out that the daughter of the director was in love with a young guard officer. Moreover, Medji had mentioned Axenty in the letters as such: "How ugly he is!", "Just like a tortoise in a sack." All the time he sits there, sharpening quills. His hair looks just like hay. Axenty addresses the dog: "You damned dog, you are lying! As if I didn't know you are jealous!" The relationship of the girl with the guard officer influences Axenty very negatively. He says that all the good things in this world go to the gentlemen of the court or the generals.¹²⁵ He sees the big difference between noble officers and little officers like him for the first time. Once he acknowledged this difference, his mental health was broken in such a manner that recuperation was no longer possible.

The date of the diary skips over from November 13th to December 3rd. On December 3rd, he revolts at the prospect of a wedding being planned by the couple. However, he is not able to do anything to stop it and his disorder starts to advance rapidly. On December 6th, he starts to report news from Spain in his diary. On December 8th, he ceases going to the office. After December 8th, he loses his perception of time and dates his diaries in manners such as "2000, April 43rd". On 2000, April 43rd, he starts to see himself as the king of Spain. "On 86th Martober, between day and night" one of his colleagues summoned him to the office and shared that he hadn't been in the office for three weeks and this was

¹²⁴ Ibid., p. 132.

¹²⁵ Ibid., p. 132.

noticed by the general manager.¹²⁶ Thus, we understand the month is January. He goes to the office the following day and signs documents as “Ferdinand VIII, King of Spain”. His madness is found out by his colleagues on that day. Later, he starts to wander in Nevsky emanating his “kingly identity.” When he decides no longer to conceal his kingly identity and decides to wander the streets in his king’s cloak, he is rushed to the psychiatric hospital.¹²⁷

In the first diary entry, we saw a man who wandered on the Nevsky. He saw his beloved girl in front of a shop there. We first realized that he was insane when he imagined he saw talking dogs on the Nevsky. A month later, his psychological disorder reached a new phase in which he started to cause people harm. He broke into the house of people who he did not know and stole something from them. In the final phase of his psychological disorder, he started to wander on the Nevsky, “concealing his identity as the king of Spain.” When intending to wander on the Nevsky wearing a king’s cloak, he was rushed to the psychiatric hospital. The Nevsky Prospekt was mentioned only three times in the short story. However, it was mentioned at every turning point of the story.

What kind of man is Axenty Ivanovich? He is a middle aged, bachelor, and very ugly man. He is a petty state official who does not have hopes for rising in the ranks. His one and only hope to rise in the ranks is to marry the daughter of the general manager. However, this is not possible as his departmental manager made evident. Moreover, he is a hung-up man who thinks that everyone is jealous of him. Even the dog of the Excellency is jealous of him, supposedly. In reality, he is not even no-

¹²⁶ Ibid., pp. 137-139.

¹²⁷ Ibid., pp. 140, 141.

ticed by his colleagues. They only even noticed his madness at the final stage. While there were many little clerks like him, why did only Axenty go mad? We cannot know this fully. All we know is that the marriage of the director's daughter with someone else fuelled his psychological disorder.

The *Diary of a Madman* is a story of a petty official. What makes it important? It shows that the insanity of an ordinary clerk might be the subject matter of literature. He is a state official and feels himself a part of the state elite. However, while state officials do not see him as an equal with themselves, butlers do. He is over 40; however, he still struggles to rise as a clerk. He accepts his poverty when he has learned about the noble fiancé of the girl he loves. He is a Russian loiterer who is deeply troubled by his social position: He is a superfluous man.

We have seen two different superfluous men so far: Evgeny and Axenty. These two men have some common characteristics. They want to have a family and be respected by other people. Evgeny tries to rebel against "the wonderworking builder", but his insurrection lasts but a short time. Axenty does not even talk about an uprising! He creates an imagined reality and in it, becomes the king of Spain. He equates himself with the Tsar schizophrenically. Thus, he becomes a superior to his departmental manager, the noble fiancé of the girl he loves, and her father. To recap, I discussed the concept of the *flâneur* and other essential concepts of the dissertation in this chapter, and claimed that the *flâneur* was the artist who resorted to taking refuge in crowds because he had lost his old social position and could not gain a new one in the new society. His only occupation was to live among crowds and to render the lives of "parasitic" people readable to governing classes. This suspended position in turn led him to suspend the discipline of bourgeois society. For this reason, I claimed that *flâneurs* and *flâneurship* might be exam-

ined under the title of loiterature. *Flâneurs'* entire occupation was loitering. On the other hand, ordinary people might also suspend the schedule and discipline of work from time to time in a capitalist society. The literature of loiterers focused not only on *flâneurship* but also on these other moments of suspension. Loitering affected not only the schedule and discipline of daily life but also of writing activity. Therefore, digression was both a style of writing and a source of pleasure for the *flâneur* and the loiterer. At this juncture, I framed a literary genre on the terms set by the *flâneur* and the loiterer: the metropolitan miniature. These were short, but condensed city texts which were written digressively and which uniquely focused on the city space.

By introducing examples from nineteenth and twentieth century France and Paris, I discussed the rise of St. Petersburg as a modern metropolis and capital, and the concomitant appearance of the superfluous men of St. Petersburg. I claimed that with the literature of more modernized, differentiated, and individualized radical intellectuals, Russian literature started to focus on both the city and the little men in the city. Petersburg and the modern life in Petersburg became one of the main themes of this new literature. These young men represented a new intellectual type in Russia: young, educated, and penniless. Their identities were shaped in the Nicholas I period in which links between intellectuals and the state were severed. The author was superfluous as an intellectual and he lost his privileged position among middle classes. I examined Pushkin's *Bronze Cavalry* and Gogol's *the Diary of Madman*. These two authors represented a new type of man of letters for Russia; excluded, neglected, and poor. Their characters also represented a new type of people who could generally be seen in Petersburg rather than in other cities of the Empire. As ordinary and poor men from Petersburg, they were expressing their individualities. Just as Baudelaire's identity

as a *flâneur* was shaped in a Restoration era following a Revolution, the oppression of Tsarism at the eve of the Revolutions, along with their personal traits, also turned Gogol and Pushkin into superfluous men of Petersburg.

3

A Short History of Pera and Galata

Istanbul witnessed two major transformations in its long history prior to the twentieth century. Its first transformation happened in the fifteenth century after being conquered by the Ottomans. The city was Islamized and acquainted with new urban policies, institutions, and organizations in this era. It witnessed its second transformation after the 1830s with the Ottoman-English Trade Treaty and the Imperial Edict of Gülhane. This time, traditional urban policies shaped by Islamic law were gradually replaced by more modern and European ones. The transformation of Istanbul in the nineteenth century influenced and improved Galata and Pera the most. As the primary international commercial centres, the bulk of the new city regulations affected them.¹²⁸ In this chapter, I will first examine the Levantine history of Galata and Pera and how they improved and flourished under the influence of the capitulations and the Tanzimat Edict in the nineteenth cen-

¹²⁸ Zeynep Çelik. *19. Yüzyılda Osmanlı Başkenti: Değişen İstanbul*, İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt, 1996. pp. 2, 129.

tury. Afterwards, I will focus on how they were impoverished and Turkified in the first half of the twentieth century.

3. 1. Galata and Pera before the Nineteenth Century

Istanbul had been a cosmopolitan world city throughout the Byzantine era. Its two different parts, separated from each other by the Golden Horn, developed to represent two different legacies of the Byzantine era. Galata as a Genoese settlement stood against Constantinople in the historical peninsula. This contrast continued after the conquest. Galata has protected its cosmopolitan and Italian city characteristics for a long time. Mehmet the 2nd obeyed the old Byzantine tradition and separated the city into thirteen different zones. Minorities were living in groups in certain districts of Istanbul around churches and synagogues under the supervision of their respective religious leaders. While the majority of Muslims lived in the centre of the historical peninsula; most minorities and foreigners lived in Galata.¹²⁹

There are different views regarding the etymological origins of the word “*Galata*.” According to the most common of them, Galata was named “*Skaî*” in the early years of the Byzantines. Later, this land was called “*Peran an Skaîs*”. The word *Peran*, which means “on the opposite side”, was at first used to refer to Galata by the Genoese. Later, it came to be used for present day Beyoğlu by Levantines. In the introduction of *Pera Peras Poros*, another opinion is asserted. In this version, while Galata was under the sway of Genoese, only workers of embassies, foreign merchants, and shipmen lived in Pera. In this period, Pera meant the opposite side of Galata.¹³⁰ Most likely, the Genoese were using the word

¹²⁹ Nur Akın. *19. Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısında Galata ve Pera*, İstanbul: Literatür, 1998. pp. 11, 26.

¹³⁰ *Pera Peras Poros*, ed. by Ferda Keskin & Önay Sözer, İstanbul: YKY, 1999. p. 1.

Pera to refer only to present day Beyoğlu. However, Muslims living in the historical peninsula were referring to both Galata and Pera as Pera. Yet another view claims that the word Galata comes from *Galaktos* which means milk in old Greek, since there were milk houses in Galata in the times of its early settlement. On the other hand, a different view claims that it comes from the word “*Calata*” since cargo handling fields in ports were called *Calata* in Italian.¹³¹ Whatever its name derived from etymologically, Galata and Pera have always referred to opposite sides. Before Constantinople was conquered by Mehmet the 2nd, as well, Galata and its vicinity symbolized the opposite side of Constantinople in the historical peninsula within the walled city.¹³²

Turks renamed Pera to be Beyoğlu. The common claim regarding this change is that this name derives from a son of a nobleman’s mansion in the zone. (A son of nobility might be translated in Turkish as *bey oğlu* or *beyin oğlu*.) There were different rumours about this son of nobility. Some claim that this person was Alexious Commenos of the era of Mehmet the 2nd. For others, he was the ambassador of Venice, Luigi Gritti, in the era of Süleyman the 1st.¹³³

Galata, which was conquered at the same time as Constantinople, remained under Ottoman rule for centuries. Even if its autonomy decreased over the centuries, it continued to maintain its uniqueness. In the seventeenth century, it redeveloped and became one of the most important seaports of the Mediterranean. In this century, Galata proved to be a more trustworthy seaport than Marseilles for many merchants. However, the Galata port lost its appeal in the eighteenth century again as a result of the French revolution. After this century, Galata was not to

¹³¹ Nur Akın, *19. Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısında Galata ve Pera*, İstanbul: Literatür, 1998. p. 87.

¹³² *Pera Peras Poros*, ed. by Ferda Keskin & Önay Sözer, İstanbul: YKY, 1999. p. 1.

¹³³ Nur Akın, *19. Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısında Galata ve Pera*, İstanbul: Literatür, 1998. p. 88.

regain its appeal as a port; however, its influence as a commercial zone increased. Large commercial buildings, trade centres, bureaus, storages, and stores concentrating on Voyvoda Avenue (Avenue of Banks today) made Galata the most important trade centre of Istanbul in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The stock exchange was founded first in Galata in 1836. Moreover, Galata also became the centre of translation bureaus in Istanbul. The multilingual atmosphere of the district and its status as a commercial zone gave rise to the need for these translation bureaus. On the other hand, Pera was developed as a residential and entertainment district from the eighteenth century onward, with its progress accelerating in the nineteenth century. Later, it expanded towards Pangaltı, Kurtuluş, and Şişli.¹³⁴

3. 2. General View of Istanbul in the Nineteenth Century

Traveller Edmondo de Amicis who visited Istanbul at the last quarter of nineteenth century provides an excellent general view of Istanbul in the nineteenth century. Even though he recounts his observations with an exaggerated tone, he draws a lively and concrete picture of the city. For de Amicis, Galata, which was on the East side of the Golden Horn, appeared as a forest of flagpoles and flags when viewed from the sea. It was a commercial zone where each state's flag could be seen. Pera was located on the upper side of Galata. The silhouette of Pera was shaped by the glorious buildings of embassies. Lying in front of Galata was the Galata Bridge which connected two different worlds to each other. The

¹³⁴ Nur Akın. *19. Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısında Galata ve Pera*, Istanbul: Literatür, 1998. pp. 90, 228.

historical peninsula with its seven hills stood on the left side of the Bridge.¹³⁵

Each traveller including de Amicis who stepped onto the land noticed that the appearance of Istanbul from the sea was deceptive. Istanbul was an exhausted and neglected city. Many quarters could not be restored after they fell into ruin due to fires. Monuments which were seen as glorious from afar in fact were revealed to be in need of restoration when looked under the hood. Many wealthier families moved to new quarters at the north side of the Golden Horn. Their mansions in the historical peninsula were being rented by poor families room by room. Construction activities had ceased in the historical peninsula. The glorious old city was gradually being abandoned to the working classes.¹³⁶

On the other hand, Galata was furnished with new and majestic stone buildings during the nineteenth century. However, it too had a few physical and infrastructural deficits compared to Western cities. Most significantly, its streets were narrow and uneven. To English traveller W. H. Hutton, who visited Istanbul at the end of the nineteenth century, Galata and Pera was a poor outpost of Western civilization. Although many changes had taken place, Istanbul was still the city of the dark ages for him.¹³⁷

Even though Istanbul as a whole was an Eastern city for travellers, Galata and the Muslim Istanbul in the historical peninsula were representing two different worlds for the residents of Istanbul. The conflict between Galata and the historical peninsula became so striking that Abdülhamit was notified about this conflict on several occasions. In a

¹³⁵ Zeynep Çelik. *19. Yüzyılda Osmanlı Başkenti: Değişen İstanbul*, Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt, 1996. p. 125.

¹³⁶ Ibid.

¹³⁷ Ibid.

report which was filed to him in 1879, the fact that the number of stone and modern buildings in Galata and Pera was at least five times higher than in Dersaadet was underlined. Moreover, “necessities of civilization” such as hotels were located at the Galata and Pera side. In contrast, there was not even a small hotel in Dersaadet where merchants coming in from Anatolia could spend the night.¹³⁸ The conflict between the historical peninsula and Galata also continued during the twentieth century. The silhouette of the historical peninsula was defined by minarets and domes of mosque and mosque complexes, while the silhouette of the Galata side was characterized by Western style apartments of more than twenty storeys, until the end of the twentieth century.¹³⁹

3. 3. Population and Settlement Characteristics of Galata and Pera before and at the Beginning of the Nineteenth Century

Before the nineteenth century, there were only a few small settlements in Istanbul outside of the Galata walls. Pera was one of them. However, the most crowded settlement outside of the Galata walls was Kasımpaşa. Tophane and Fındıklı were other quarters located beyond the Galata walls. Kasımpaşa, Tophane, and Fındıklı consisted of Muslim residents. Quarters such as Kasımpaşa, Tophane, Fındıklı, and Cihangir appeared in the sixteenth century. In this century, the population of Istanbul increased significantly. In 1477, it had consisted of 16,326 households. By 1535 however, it reached up to 80,000. The population of Galata was made up of Armenians, Greeks, Franks, and Jews. Pera was also a small cosmopolitan Christian quarter. Even in the 1830s, the vicinity of the Avenue of Pera was not completely structured. At the

¹³⁸ Ibid., pp. 126, 127.

¹³⁹ Ibid., pp. 130, 131.

ends of the 1830s, Galata consisted of a dense street web reaching to the shoreline in curves. Streets were not regular. They were irregularly connected up to the quarters in the north. While there were some prominent main streets, it did not have an Avenue. These main streets were Voyvoda Street, Galata Street, and Yüksek Kaldırım which was a rapid and laddery slope reaching up to Pera from Galata.¹⁴⁰

3. 4. Population and Settlement Characteristics of Istanbul in the Nineteenth Century

Even though the Galata side was physically smaller than the historical peninsula, its population was denser. The third main settlement zone, Üsküdar, was more sparsely populated than either the historical peninsula or Galata. However, since it was a Muslim district before the conquest and had many monumental buildings, it carried a symbolic heft.¹⁴¹

According to the census of 1885, forty seven percent of the population in the Galata zone including Pera, Kasımpaşa, Tophane, and Fındıklı consisted of people of foreign nationality. Thirty two percent of the population consisted of local non-Muslims. Twenty one percent of them also consisted of Muslims.¹⁴² People of foreign nationality were numerous since a significant part of local non-Muslims had foreign identities. This distribution of the population indicates that a certain model of settlement took hold in the second half of the nineteenth century in Istanbul. Foreigners and people of foreign nationality were living in Galata and quarters around it. Muslims were usually living in the historical

¹⁴⁰ Ibid., pp. 8, 9, 24.

¹⁴¹ Ibid., p. 5.

¹⁴² Ibid., p. 34.

peninsula and Üsküdar. However, a significant part of the Muslim elite in the historical peninsula started to move to new quarters north of the Golden Horn after the second half of the nineteenth century because of two main reasons. Firstly, they wanted to benefit from contemporary municipal services of the Sixth Municipal Office, which I will discuss in detail in the following pages. Secondly, since the palace was moved to Dolmabahçe, they wanted to be close to the palace. The first settlement in the north of the Golden Horn was Pangaltı which was founded at the ends of 1840s. This quarter determined that the direction of Pera's growth would be toward Şişli. In this era, Taksim was surrounded by non-Muslim cemeteries. This land was gradually united with Pangaltı and a large street appeared which connected Pera to Pangaltı and reached out to Şişli.¹⁴³

Galata has been so overpopulated during the nineteenth century that even the sea was filled in some places to accommodate the population. Quarters of Tophane and Fındıklı were sparsely populated compared to both Galata and the historical peninsula. The population of Pera, which was founded on a hill at the north of Galata, concentrated around the *Grand Rue de Pera* or the Pera Avenue. Tatavla and Tepebaşı, which were north of Pera, were Pera's outer quarters. Till the mid-nineteenth century, non-Muslims were living in these quarters. In the second half of the nineteenth century, wealthier families of the historical peninsula gradually moved there. Kasımpaşa, Sütlüce, and Hasköy were villages by the northern seashores of the Golden Horn. Kasımpaşa and Sütlüce were Muslim villages. Meanwhile, the majority of the population in Hasköy consisted of Jews.¹⁴⁴

¹⁴³ Ibid., pp. 34, 35, 56, 57.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid., pp. 35, 36.

3. 5. New Urban Policies in the Nineteenth Century

Ottoman Sultans tried to modernize Istanbul in the nineteenth century through a new understanding of urban policies. Modern Istanbul was to symbolize the revival of the Ottoman Empire. However, since the Ottoman economy was in a difficult situation in this century, the intervention of the Ottoman Empire into the city space remained limited. The target of the Ottoman elite was to turn Istanbul into a European capital. As a result, the city lost its Turkish Islamic identity; however, it could not acquire a Western appearance either. In this sense, the Ottoman capital was different from colonial capitals which went into huge construction activities in the nineteenth centuries. In colonial capitals, since Europeans wanted to live separately from indigenous people, they constructed completely new quarters with Western standards and left the old city to indigenous people. In contrast, Galata, where majority of Europeans lived, was a very old zone and Pera was an extension of it. Even though the Levantine and Non-Muslim population lived there, the Ottoman administration had power of sanction over these districts. Moreover, even though their people did not have any “deficiency” compared to an ordinary European, they had many physical and infrastructural deficiencies compared to European cities.¹⁴⁵

Since fires served to justify urban regulations in Istanbul, the borders of urban regulations ended up being determined by fires. Road networks connecting regulated quarters were neglected especially in the historical peninsula. Hence, the self-sufficiency of quarters was not disturbed and the lifestyles of these quarters’ residents remained static. Moreover, residents were not displaced as a result of regulations as was the

¹⁴⁵ Ibid., p. 2.

case in other Western capitals such as Paris. Even though urban regulations did not lead to radical changes in the lifestyles of people, they did lead to certain changes in their lives. For example, transportation opportunities increased in quarters, streets were widened, and blind alleys disappeared. Streets lost their self-sufficient status and instead became routes. In Galata, changes in street networks were more limited. Even though this district gained a few large and geometrically shaped roads, their patterns were irregular. The physical appearance of the district did not change. However, even though Galata was less changed physically compared to the historical peninsula, it became the most Europeanized district of Istanbul. Changes in the urban fabric did not influence the lives of people sufficiently in the historical peninsula. On the other hand, residents of Galata closely followed the developments and lifestyles in Europe. Symbols of modern life such as commercial buildings, banks, theatres, hotels, large stores, and multi-storey apartments were located in Galata. And they contrasted with the domes and minarets of the walled city, and gave Galata the appearance of a European city.¹⁴⁶

Since urban regulations in the Ottoman capital were not performed within the scope of a general city plan, many different architectural styles were imported from Europe and an architectural pluralism emerged. This led to a deep anxiety in Turkish intellectuals. Ottoman architecture represented by the works of old architects like Sinan was a source of pride for them. Architectural developments in the nineteenth and twentieth century were perceived as corruption. For this reason, during the nineteenth century, the question of how the state would be

¹⁴⁶ Ibid., p. 67.

saved from destruction has been discussed alongside the question of how the architecture of Istanbul would be saved from corruption.¹⁴⁷

3. 6. The Division of Labour between Galata and Pera in the Nineteenth Century

Levantines and non-Muslims engaged in commerce were living their lives between Galata and Pera, especially in the second half of the nineteenth century. Their business offices were generally in Galata while their residential houses were in Pera. At the same time, Galata and Pera were being opened up to the Westernizing Turks in this period.¹⁴⁸

The population of Istanbul increased during the nineteenth century, even if not as rapidly as it was to be in the twentieth century. While the population of Istanbul was increasing, not only the ethnic but also the class composition changed in districts like Kasımpaşa, Hasköy, Okmeydanı, Fener, and Balat. The significance of the Muslim population increased in these districts. Pera was progressively separating from its vicinity by not only its residents' ethnic composition but also their wealth.¹⁴⁹ Thus, a conflict appeared between the wealthier and non-

¹⁴⁷ Ibid., p. 119.

¹⁴⁸ Nur Akın. *19. Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısında: Galata ve Pera*, İstanbul, Literatür, 1998. pp. 90, 91; There were also Turks other than the Westernized in Galata and Pera, such as porters. Since Galata and Pera were full of slopes and cars could only be used for long distance transportation, porters were important for residents of Galata and Pera. Bareilles says that porters guarded their guild rights strictly. No one was allowed to move any item at a price lower than set by the guild. They also had their own forms of entertainment, such as carnivals. They would congregate in valleys surrounding Pera and Galata and play an instrument resembling the clarinet (probably *zurna*) and dance to its music. (Bertrand Bareilles. *İstanbul'un Frenk ve Levanten Mahalleleri*, İstanbul: Güncel, 2003. pp. 67, 68, 70.)

¹⁴⁹ Hakan Kaynar. *Projesiz Modernleşme: Cumhuriyet İstanbul'undan Modern Fragmanlar*, İstanbul: İstanbul Araştırmaları Enstitüsü, 2012. p. 103.

Muslim Pera and the poorer and Muslim quarters around it. This conflict would influence Muslim and Turkish intellectuals for a very long time and would constitute the main subjects of the literature in the first half of the twentieth century.

Monumental buildings of Istanbul such as mosque complexes, mosques, bazaars, and palaces had long resided in Muslim Istanbul on the historical peninsula prior to the 1830s. Buildings on the Galata side had still been relatively small and insignificant. After the 1830s, the shoe was on the other foot. Certain buildings which could compete with the monumental buildings on the Istanbul side appeared and increased in Galata during the second half of the nineteenth century.¹⁵⁰ Two silhouettes of Istanbul now competed: One of them was shaped by domes and minarets and another one by tall buildings in Western style.

After the 1830s, a division of labour started to appear among quarters of Galata. Karaköy, which was next to the Galata Tower, turned into a business centre. The seashore which extended from Karaköy to Topkapi and Kabataş became a commercial dock. The Dolmabahçe-Beşiktaş line continued to grow as a zone of palaces.¹⁵¹

Housing structures beyond the Galata walls began to be built in the eighteenth century. However, Pera was still the outskirts of Galata in this period. A large part of it consisted of vineyards and fruit orchards. For this reason, the area was referred to as "Pera vineyards." Galata started to expand toward the open areas beyond the walls in the nineteenth century. Vineyards of Pera were ceding their places to new hous-

¹⁵⁰ Zeynep Çelik. *19. Yüzyılda Osmanlı Başkenti: Değişen İstanbul*, İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt, 1996. p. 101.

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 101.

ing structures. On the other hand, Galata was turning completely into a commercial zone, cleansed of houses.¹⁵²

The urban order in Pera was different from Galata in the nineteenth century. In Pera, life was luxurious and the social and physical atmosphere was pompous. On the other hand, Galata was full of pubs and cabarets. Persons of every kind, of every nation could be found on the streets of Galata. A group of cosmopolitan people who severed their ties with tradition now lived there. Some of these were interested in illegal businesses. Galata was a zone which was observed by wary eyes even when it came to the police. Busy commercial activities were taking place in this district all day and night. On the other hand, Pera was a quieter and upper class place. There were embassies, schools, houses, and entertainment venues in Pera.¹⁵³ The bustling atmosphere of Galata was sustained for a long time. Even in the 1930s, Fikret Adil was taking out his girlfriend to Galata to show her the lives of the ruffians there.¹⁵⁴ Many kinds of illegal business connected to the entertainment sector thrived in Galata. One of these was the trafficking of women. Bareilles a French teacher who came to Istanbul in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, states that prostitution was very common in Galata. The trafficking of women was controlled by a handful of people. Authorities also encouraged the concentration of the trafficking of women in Galata and Pera because they did not want to see the same take place in Mus-

¹⁵² Nur Akın. *19. Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısında: Galata ve Pera*, İstanbul: Literatür, 1998. p. 99.

¹⁵³ Ibid., p. 101; Galata was famous for its taverns from early on. Even Evliya Chelebi mentions the taverns of Galata in the 17th century. There were still taverns in Galata at the end of the 19th century. The abundance of these kinds of entertainment venues in Galata led to security problems. Newspapers in the second half of the 19th century emphasized that these places rendered Galata an insecure district in comparison with the secure and elegant Pera. (Ibid, p.257.)

¹⁵⁴ Fikret Adil. *Asmalımscit 74*, 2nd ed., İstanbul: Yeditepe, 1952. p. 38.

lim districts. Bareilles says that he met families who had left their homes and moved away from their neighbourhood due to prostitution.¹⁵⁵ Even in the 1930s, Galata was one of the leading districts of Istanbul where the trafficking of women was most concentrated. Its bars and cabarets were full of pimps at night. Their prostitutes worked out of rooms in the narrow and dark streets of Galata. The pimps spent the money they made off of the prostitutes in shabby bars and cabarets in Galata.¹⁵⁶

Pera was substantially indebted to *Cadde-i Kebir* (The Big Avenue) for its elegant and elite atmosphere. It was usually likened to *Champs Elysée* and considered the *Champs Elysée* of the East. Although it actually resembled Paris's famous avenue only slightly, it was indeed a main artery inspired by the West. De Amicis describes Grand Rue as "the West side" of the brilliant and cheerful European society of Istanbul. In this Avenue, English and French hotels, elegant cafés, illuminated shops, theatres, clubs, embassies, and housings of embassies were available. Architectural styles of many buildings on the Avenue of Pera were neo-classic. Buildings of European embassies had a big influence in the appearance of this style on the Avenue.¹⁵⁷

Cafés, café chantants, night clubs, and restaurants in Pera introduced the Ottoman capital to a different aspect of Western life: eating out and entertainment at night time. What Pera tried to imitate could be deciphered from the names of these cafés and restaurants: Le Maison le Bon Goût, Brasserie Viennoise, Brasserie Strasbourg, Brasserie de Londres,

¹⁵⁵ Bertrand Bareilles. *İstanbul'un Frenk ve Levanten Mahalleleri*, Istanbul: Güncel, 2003. p. 56.

¹⁵⁶ Fikret Adil. *Asmalımescit 74*, 2nd ed., Istanbul: Yeditepe, 1952. p. 40.

¹⁵⁷ Zeynep Çelik. *19. Yüzyılda Osmanlı Başkenti: Değişen İstanbul*, Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt, 1996. pp. 105, 106.

Café-Restaurant de Paris, Café-Chantant Parisiana, Concordia, and Tra-codéro. They assumed names reminiscent of European cities, especially Paris.¹⁵⁸

As commercial relations with Europe grew after 1838, the number of Europeans who temporarily came to Istanbul also increased. Hence, many European style hotels opened in Pera. Especially after the Russian and Ottoman War between 1853 and 1856 (Crimean War), the number of hotels in the district rapidly increased. Newly opened hotels rendered service to their customers more delicately than many of their counterparts in European cities, according to newspaper of the era. Newly opened tailoring shops were sewing clothes which could compete with those in Paris. Cafés like Luxembourg and Lebon were up to par with their European counterparts.¹⁵⁹ Achieving Western standards became an obsession for residents of Pera, especially after the Crimean War when Pera entertained thousands of European guests.

3. 7. The Police and the Residents of Pera

As mentioned above, Galata was not only the centre of commerce but also the centre of illegal activities and prostitution. Therefore, the policeman was a naturally suspicious figure for the residents of Galata involved in illegal activities. However, the policeman was a suspicious figure for the residents of Pera, as well. They did not trust the police; Bareilles says that each informer (*jurnalci* in Turkish) became a policeman in the end and each policeman behaved like an informer in Turkey. Perhaps that's why they were not trusted by the residents of Pera. For example, after the Russian Ottoman wars, Galata and Pera

¹⁵⁸ Ibid., p. 107.

¹⁵⁹ Emre Aracı. *Naum Tiyatrosu: 19. Yüzyıl İstanbulu'nun İtalyan Operası*, İstanbul: YKY, 2010. p. 294.

were surrounded by police patrols. Armed soldiers started to wait in front of guard houses and strode through the streets of Galata and Pera.¹⁶⁰ These kinds of events created a feeling of unease in the residents of these districts.

Because of this feeling of insecurity, residents of Pera seemed uninterested in everyday politics. During the 1896 Armenian incidents, almost all the people in Pera shut themselves in their houses. At one point, an ambassador resorted to wandering the empty streets of Pera to demonstrate that everything was ok. The residents of Pera did not respond to this invitation immediately; it took a long time for them to be trustful enough to leave their homes.¹⁶¹

3. 8. Embassies in Pera

Embassies had an important place in the social life of Pera. The Ottoman Empire did not establish permanent embassies in foreign countries until 1835. Instead, an ambassador would be sent to foreign countries if required. On the other hand, Venice beginning from 1454, Poland beginning from 1475, Russia beginning from 1497, France beginning from 1525, Austria beginning from 1528, England beginning from 1583, and the Dutch beginning from 1612 started to keep permanent ambassadors in Istanbul. These embassies were like little palaces and were referred to as such. In the eighteenth century, they started to attract for-

¹⁶⁰ Bertrand Bareilles. *İstanbul'un Frenk ve Levanten Mahalleleri*, Istanbul: Güncel, 2003. p.59.

¹⁶¹ Ibid., p. 130; Their feeling of insecurity influenced their understanding of education as well. According to Bareilles, the Levantine no doubt loves education; however, they do not need to read a book about the country where they live or visit a historical monument. For example, a Greek person does not need to visit Hagia Sophia. He rarely travels to the historical peninsula except for business. In fact, the lives of Turks scare the Levantine. They feel threatened. (Ibid., pp. 175, 223.)

eigners and non-Muslims to their vicinities. These buildings of French, Venetian and Dutch heritage have remained standing in Beyoğlu until today. Before the seventeenth century, some of these buildings were within the walls of Galata. According to traveller Della Valle, the embassies moved beyond the walls of Galata in order to be able to engage in smuggling and the slave trade.¹⁶²

3. 9. Enlargement of Galata

Pera and Galata were separated from each other by the Galata walls, which had been constructed in the Genoese era. A notable traveller's account suggests that Genoese walls around Galata were still afoot in 1853. They constituted a border between Galata and Pera. The gates along these walls would be closed at night and communication between the two districts ceased. On the other hand, Pera remained an accessible district in all hours. The Pera district was expanding day by day and displayed great development.¹⁶³

The population of Galata did not settle beyond the walls until the beginning of the nineteenth century. Meanwhile, Pera improved throughout the eighteenth and particularly the nineteenth centuries. Its population condensed around the embassies. Galata and Pera became focal points for foreign merchants, Levantines and local minorities who established contacts with the first two groups. All of these groups were making use of opportunities created by the capitulations. Furthermore, improving relationships with the West increased interest in Pera at the end of the eighteenth century. New housings in Pera increased in this period. The reforms of Mahmud the 2nd also contributed to the im-

¹⁶² Ibid., p. 36.

¹⁶³ Nur Akın. *19. Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısında Galata ve Pera*, İstanbul: Literatür, 1998. p. 90.

provement of Pera. A school of medicine was opened in Galatasaray in this period, constituting a new centre in Pera apart from the embassies.¹⁶⁴

Levantines, along with local minorities, considerably influenced the transformation of Galata and Pera. They had been living in Pera and Galata for several generations. Most of them had Italian, Aegean, or Mediterranean while some of them had European origins. These people married local minorities which led to the formation of a semi-European group. Both Levantines and other non-Muslim groups had close relationships with the European embassies. Embassies were not only political focal points between their own countries and the Ottoman Empire but also centres introducing Western art and lifestyles to Galata and Pera through their artistic and cultural activities. In terms of this social and cultural agency, the influence of the French was foremost among the European countries.¹⁶⁵

3. 10. The Influence of Fires in the Development of Galata and Pera

Just as embassies were important in the cultural development of Pera, so were fires in its physical development. In fact, fires played a more important role in the walled city because of the prevalence of wooden houses. In Galata, fires usually broke out in old and crowded quarters. Since Galata and Pera were favoured districts during the nineteenth

¹⁶⁴ Ibid., pp.12, 26.

¹⁶⁵ Ibid., p. 16.

century, these old and crowded quarters were gentrified and gained new and rich residents.¹⁶⁶

Before the 1840s, burned-down places were tried to be restored to their old state. After the 1840s, radical solutions were sought instead for preventing fires in the first place. Fires, which had been a serious problem for Istanbul throughout history, massively destroyed the wooden houses of the city. Sultans would enact edicts after fires prior to the nineteenth century to address the damages. After 1848, however, the first charter of buildings (*ebniye nizamnamesi*) was enacted. This charter put systematic measures in place for both homes and streets for the first time. According to the charter, streets were separated into three categories: large streets, ordinary streets, and small streets. Large streets would be no narrower than 7.6 meters. Ordinary streets would be no narrower than 6 meters. Small streets would be no narrower than 4.5 meters.¹⁶⁷

The first charter of buildings was followed up by a second in 1849. It brought further systematic measures for home owners and the requirement that people who wanted to construct houses had to be able to deal adequately with fires. One of these rules was that houses could not be constructed completely out of wood. At least two sides of the building now had to be constructed out of stone. Before the charters of buildings, other Tanzimat reforms had already started to seriously influence the physical environment of Galata and Pera. One of the most important reforms of Tanzimat was to abolish the Muslim and non-Muslim discrimination. Istanbul had been built on this discrimination prior to the nineteenth century. When this discrimination was abol-

¹⁶⁶ Zeynep Çelik. *19. Yüzyılda Osmanlı Başkenti: Değişen İstanbul*, Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt, 1996. pp. 41, 45.

¹⁶⁷ Ibid., p. 42.

ished, the physical environment of the city changed. Before Tanzimat, there had been rules which strictly restricted matters such as the number of floors, materials, and colours for houses. With the charters of buildings, these restrictions were abolished. The moving of the imperial palace from the historical peninsula to Dolmabahçe in 1856, which was much closer to Galata and Pera than the old site, increased the importance of these districts as well.¹⁶⁸ Galata and Pera started to develop freely as districts in which the majority of people were non-Muslim.

A new charter in 1863 brought an obligation according to which all buildings had to be square or rectangle shaped. Mustafa Reşit Paşa, who was the foremost grand vizier and statesmen of the Tanzimat era, wanted to see the city as wholly composed of geometrical buildings.¹⁶⁹ Even though his dream did not come true for all of Istanbul, it did come true for Galata and Pera. As a result of fires in the second half of nineteenth century, wooden houses left their places to three or four storey stone houses in Pera and Galata.¹⁷⁰

Baronyan states that in the second half of the nineteenth century, houses were usually made of stones in Pera, in imitation of the stone buildings of the embassies. Figurations and decorations of these houses' façades were no different from those in Europe. According to Bareilles,

¹⁶⁸ Nur Akın. *19. Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısında Galata ve Pera*, Istanbul: Literatür, 1998. pp. 17, 26, 27.

¹⁶⁹ Zeynep Çelik. *19. Yüzyılda Osmanlı Başkenti: Değişen İstanbul*, Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt, 1996. p. 43.

¹⁷⁰ Nur Akın. *19. Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısında Galata ve Pera*, Istanbul: Literatür, 1998. pp. 99, 266.

who came to Istanbul in the 1880s, wooden houses with yards were not seen in Galata and Pera, in contrast to the historical peninsula.¹⁷¹

The architecture of Galata and Pera had been different from traditional Muslim Istanbul from the beginning. According to Stefanos Yerasimos, there were two different streets in a Muslim city: open streets and blind streets. Open streets were the common property of all Muslims. On the other hand, blind streets were the property of the owners of houses whose doors opened to the blind street, since the blind street could not be used by anyone apart from those whose houses were on the street in question. Quarters were founded around blind streets. Transportation was provided through a few open streets connected to the central axes. Middle class and rich families inhabited houses on blind streets. The appearance of their houses did not have any distinctive characteristics. Poor families, on the other hand, inhabited the houses on open streets. That is, poor families lived in places used and passed through by everyone.¹⁷² As I said above, the majority of blind streets were to disappear as a result of city regulations in the nineteenth century.

Quarters were organically developed around religious centres like mosques, churches, and synagogues in both Muslim Istanbul and non-Muslim Galata. Social and cultural values of residents determined the physical characters of quarters. However, there was no differentiation according to income level and socio-political status in either Muslim or non-Muslim quarters. Hence, different kinds of houses could be seen together in the same settlement zone. In Ottoman Istanbul, four main

¹⁷¹ Hagop Baronyan. *Istanbul Mahallelerinde Bir Gezinti*, 3rd ed., Istanbul: Can, 2014. p.77; Bertrand Bareilles. *İstanbul'un Frenk ve Levanten Mahalleleri*, Istanbul: Güncel, 2003. p.32.

¹⁷² Stefanos Yerasimos. "Müslüman Uzmanında Sınır Çizgisi ve Geçit" in *Pera Peras Poros*, ed. by Ferda Keskin & Önay Sözer, Istanbul: YKY, 1999. pp. 88-93.

kinds of housing were available: Rooms, small houses, houses with large yards, and mansions. Bachelor men generally resided in bachelor rooms which belonged to religious foundations. Although different kinds of houses resided together in the quarters, bachelor rooms provided an exception. These were usually constructed outside of quarters.¹⁷³

In the Byzantine Era, too, streets of Istanbul were narrow and irregular. However, as central axes, city squares had an important place in the texture of the city. After the conquest, the importance of squares started to diminish; quarters turned into self-contained basic units. The squares were gradually absorbed by these quarters. By the end of the sixteenth century, the squares no longer held a significant place in the texture of the city.¹⁷⁴

In Galata and Pera, there was no square until the Taksim square was opened. Besides, houses did not have large yards for leisure time activities. Blind streets were less common here than in traditional Istanbul. In place of squares, there were two big avenues: Grand Rue de Pera and Voyvoda Avenue. Residents of Pera, who lived in two and three storey apartments and did not have large house yards, spent their leisure times, idling around in streets and avenues, especially in Grand Rue de Pera. This characteristic of Grand Rue de Pera (or *Cadde-i Kebir* or *Büyük Cadde* or *İstiklal Caddesi*) has remained till today.

Constructing the aforementioned two and three storey apartments became possible with new rules brought by the charters of buildings. Buildings no longer overflowed onto roads. Thus, streets started to acquire a geometrical shape. Even though they were now geometrical,

¹⁷³ Zeynep Çelik. *19. Yüzyılda Osmanlı Başkenti: Değişen İstanbul*, İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt, 1996. p. 7.

¹⁷⁴ Ibid., pp. 21, 22.

they were still narrow and received little sunlight.¹⁷⁵ Pera's fusty houses and streets continued to be described even in twentieth century literature.

3. 11. "A Liberated Zone" for Levantines

The Tanzimat reforms influenced Galata and Pera not only physically but also socially and culturally. A city which was socially, culturally, and physically distinct from the rest of Istanbul appeared in Galata and Pera as a result of different groups coming together, trade treaties signed with European powers, and Tanzimat reforms. Levantine Pera became a "liberated zone" for Levantines and non-Muslims. The population of Pera was denser than Galata in the second half of the nineteenth century. De Amicis, in his travel book, described Pera in 1874 as full of plug hats looking like stovepipes in 1874. Nothing afar could be seen be-

¹⁷⁵ Nur Akın. *19. Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısında: Galata ve Pera*, İstanbul: Literatür, 1998, p. 171; Bertrand Bareilles, *İstanbul'un Frenk ve Levanten Mahalleleri*, İstanbul: Güncel, 2003. p.32; Zeynep Çelik, *19. Yüzyılda Osmanlı Başkenti: Değişen İstanbul*, İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt, 1996. p. 108; Istanbul had a serious housing problem throughout the nineteenth century. Housing was in deficit in both Muslim Istanbul and the Pera side. According to official figures of the 1882 census, twenty six percent of the Istanbul population did not reside in their own homes. Five percent of the population was living in mosques and dervish lodges. Eight percent of the population was made up of refugees who did not have a permanent address. One and a half percent of the population consisted of madrasah students who were living in madrasahs. Fourteen percent of the population were artisans who were living in their own shops. In the last quarter of the nineteenth century, an extraordinary action was taken to solve the housing problem of Istanbul: Council houses were started to be constructed for low-income people such as small retailers, artisans and civil servants. They were constructed in humble quarters and backstreets of Pera, Üsküdar, and the historical peninsula. Besides, houses were constructed in Akaretler for high-income groups. They were pretentious in terms of architectural style and influenced the architectural styles of houses around Dolmabahçe. (Zeynep Çelik. *19. Yüzyılda Osmanlı Başkenti: Değişen İstanbul*, İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt, 1996. pp. 109, 110.)

cause of women's hats garnished by feathers and flowers obstructing sight. There were all kinds of different people in these districts such as Greek, Italian, and French nobles; rich merchants; civil servants in embassies; military officers of foreign ships, and various people of every nation. On the other hand, people from Muslim society felt themselves alien in Galata and Pera and did not walk with their heads held as high in these districts as they did in the Muslim districts of Istanbul. When Bertrand Bareilles came to Istanbul in the 1880s, he saw that the waves of the Golden Horn actually divided Istanbul into two different cities; the historical peninsula vs. Galata and Pera.¹⁷⁶

When describing the foreigner, people always use marks and indicators specifying places. Questions about the identity of a person or a thing are closely connected to where they or it is in.¹⁷⁷ Non-Muslims and Levantines were seen as foreigners in Istanbul by the Muslim community of Istanbul. As a corollary, they felt themselves to be outsiders in Galata and Pera. Pera and Galata were perceived as a European city within "Muslim Istanbul." Therefore, while the Muslim people of traditional Istanbul felt themselves to be foreign in Galata and Pera, non-Muslim residents of Pera and Galata felt themselves to be foreigners beyond the Golden Horn.

¹⁷⁶ Bertrand Bareilles. *İstanbul'un Frenk ve Levanten Mahalleleri*, Istanbul: Güncel, 2003. p.32; The historical peninsula on one hand and Galata and Pera on the other amounted to two different cities. However, the difference between them was not absolute. For example, Galata was surrounded on two sides by Muslim districts. Muslims living in these districts were generally working in shipyards. Since living in Pera was not affordable for some poor non-Muslims, there were some non-Muslim communities even on the historical peninsula. A person who lived in Istanbul could see the different worlds over very short distances. (Ibid., p. 53.)

¹⁷⁷ Bernhard Waldenfels. "Yabancı'nın Topolojisi" in *Pera Peras Poros*, ed. by Ferda Keskin & Önay Sözer, Istanbul: YKY, 1999. pp. 39, 40.

According to Bareilles, Pera was the single place in Istanbul where a European woman could safely wander. Even though Cairo and Alexandria were more prosperous and modern in many aspects than Pera, Pera was the most Westernized place in the East.¹⁷⁸ With these words, he meant that Levantines and non-Muslims felt at ease in Pera just as much as an ordinary Christian living in a Western country did. However, the same Bareilles also mentioned the feeling of insecurity among residents of Pera, which he was nervous about. The position of Galata and Pera as a small “liberated zone” within the huge Muslim landmass should not be overlooked. The long history and economic power of Galata and its population within Ottoman lands gave the impression that Levantine Pera would live on forever.

The physical and demographic smallness of Pera influenced the social relationships therein. Almost everyone of the various nations recognised each other in Pera, according to Bareilles. Pedestrians could hardly walk down the street because of the necessity to exchange greetings at every other step. These words of Bareilles are of course exaggerated. However, he wants to make clear that residents of Galata and Pera were a relatively small community within a vast Muslim society. Hence, warm relationships developed among the residents of Pera. Pera was also a markedly free environment which led those who would otherwise discredit and underestimate Pera to want to return there shortly after whenever they left. They would quickly start to miss this small but liberal urban environment. The warm relationship among residents of Galata and Pera was based upon a common interest. Pera was separated from the historical peninsula not only physically by the Golden Horn

¹⁷⁸ Bertrand Bareilles. *İstanbul'un Frenk ve Levanten Mahalleleri*, Istanbul: Güncel, 2003. p. 37.

but also economically by the capitulations. A European could feel at home, walking head held high and proud of their foreign identity there. Even though there were some remaining bureaucratic obstacles in place, there was no easier place in the world for a European to make money than in Pera and Galata.¹⁷⁹

In the modern city, the one and only common point which determines the relationships among people of different classes and origins is money according to Simmel. Since the only determinant is money, the modern city becomes a place where no one is privileged and no one's presence or absence is particularly felt. Harvey says that the gates of Paris are always open to people. Galata and Pera was a site where money was the only determinant of relationships between people, as in many other metropolises. On the other hand, they were distinct from most other metropolises due to their physical smallness. For this reason, even though many Europeans came there primarily to make money, sincere relationships among the people did form. People loved this characteris-

¹⁷⁹ Ibid., pp. 38, 39; For Ubcini, approached Pera more critically, Pera was like a second or third class Italian city. Hagop Baronian also agrees with Ubcini. For him, Pera could be characterized as the Paris of Istanbul, provided that Paris did not take this comparison as an insult. According to Ubcini, a pedestrian confronted a church every two or three steps in this district. Merry depictions were visible on every wall. The sound church bells mingled with voices of different religious groups. In this district, there was nothing reminding one of Turkishness. Languages like French, Italian, English, and German were spoken in this district; no one needed to learn Turkish. Moreover, Non-Muslims and Levantines of Pera were usually not religious. According to Baronyan, there were churches in Pera; however, there were no religious Christians praying in those churches. Residents of Pera loved entertainment rather than prayer. They went to the parks and open areas in summers. Richer ones went to their summer houses. In winters, they also went to balls, theatres, and various entertainment venues. (Nur Akın. *19. Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısında: Galata ve Pera*, Istanbul: Literatür, 1998. pp. 40, 52; Hagop Baronyan. *Istanbul Mahallelerinde Bir Gezinti*, 3rd ed., Istanbul: Can, 2014. pp. 77, 84, 85.)

tic of Galata and Pera the most. This was the place for both warm relationships and for making money.

Pera was the site of stateless people who could speak multiple languages. They came to Pera in search of opportunities and adventure. One of the most important characteristics of modernity is the right and opportunity to be everywhere. Being everywhere naturally means being nowhere at the same time. In modern society, anyone can live anywhere they please and outwardly appear like a person without any specific qualification. In the modern world, the concept of *heimat* or home disappears.¹⁸⁰ Pera was the site of people without *heimat*.

3. 12. The Dominance of French in Pera and Residents of Galata and Pera as the Guests of Muslim Istanbul

In this small region which looked like a small Western city within vast Muslim territories, people spoke many languages. Many Levantines in Pera never needed to learn Turkish. There were practical reasons for this preference. Levantines or any other European who lived in Pera rarely met Turkish people. Foreigners were living amongst themselves; they were founding relationships only with other local minorities. A European woman in Pera would not recognise any local person perhaps apart from the Greek servant woman or the Armenian grocer. Hence, learning Turkish was not a practical requirement for them.¹⁸¹

According to Bareilles, Pera was a Levant city in which only French was taught in schools apart from local languages. Newspapers and signboards of shops were in French. Only French was spoken in its saloons.

¹⁸⁰ Bernhard Waldenfelds. "Yabancı'nın Topolojisi" in *Pera Peras Poros*, ed. by Ferda Keskin & Önay Sözer, Istanbul: YKY, 1999. pp. 42, 43.

¹⁸¹ Bertrand Bareilles. *İstanbul'un Frenk ve Levanten Mahalleleri*, Istanbul: Güncel, 2003. p.41.

Pera and Galata constituted an outpost where the West established a relationship to the East. Many initiatives for change which were to influence Turkey during the nineteenth century were born in Pera and Galata. The ideas of freedom which eventually created Armenia and Greece were born there. Young Turks wanted to abolish the capitulations break the influence of Galata and Pera for this reason.¹⁸²

At this juncture, I suggest examining the presence of non-Muslims and Levantines in Galata and Pera through Derrida's concept of *hospitalité*. Derrida explains the existence of non-Muslims and Levantines in Pera and Galata with the concept of *hospitalité* in French, which means hospitality in English. The choice of word is significant, because it contains in itself the word hostility as well. That is, for Derrida, the word hospitality includes the potential of hostility from the beginning. In the concept of *hospitalité*, not philanthropy but right is the subject matter. The right of hospitality is a human right and hospitality is an obligation determined by laws. This is the right that implies that when a foreigner enters the zone of a host, they should not be treated as hostile.¹⁸³

Another word which Kant used as the equivalent of *hospitalité* is *Wirtbarkeit*. *Wirtlich* means host. *Wirthaus* is a café, cabaret, public house, and a place of shelter. *Wirt*, who is the host, manages the *wirtschaft*, which means economy. *Wirt/in* is the patron and master of their house at the same time. They are the person who determines the law of hospitality. Host gives to and serves the guest. In return, they render the guest subject to their law.¹⁸⁴

¹⁸² Ibid., p.34.

¹⁸³ Jacques Derrida. "Yabancı'nın Uzamlaşması ve Zamanlaşması" in *Pera Peras Poros*, ed. by Ferda Keskin & Önay Sözer, Istanbul: YKY, 1999. pp. 8, 9.

¹⁸⁴ Ibid., pp. 10, 16.

Since, as Derrida stated, hospitality is not a matter of philanthropy but a matter of international law, both the host and the guest have certain obligations under these laws and the security of the guest is ensured by them. The same laws enable the host to govern the *wirtschaft*. However, uneven development between countries, in this case, uneven development between Europe's big powers and Ottoman Empire, undermined the host's position as governor. Capitulations were serving the European states as well as non-muslims and Levantines who were in cooperation with the former. Non-Muslims and Levantine elites were prospering disproportionately under the regime of capitulations.¹⁸⁵ Since the host could not properly organize its *wirtschaft*, they felt inferiority vis-à-vis the guests. At the same time, the host wanted to resemble their guests, but could not succeed in this aim. Because of this feeling of inferiority, Turkish-Muslim subjects of the Empire could not walk with head held high in Pera. On the other hand, this feeling of inferiority stoked their nationalist sentiments. To them, Pera was a foreign land which ought to be conquered. Pera really did looklike a foreign land in appearance. Everyone there spoke French and other European languages. On the other hand, non-Muslims of Pera, many of them living in

¹⁸⁵ As stated earlier, a division of labour had started to appear between Galata and Pera in the eighteenth century. Commercial activities concentrated in Galata. On the other hand, houses of merchants were generally in Pera. Abdolonyme Ubicini, who was a French historian and journalist who visited Istanbul several times beginning with 1844, said that when merchants in Galata finished up their works at 16.00 or 17.00 in winter months, they would go to their houses in Pera, passing side-streets connecting Galata to Pera. After eating their dinners and resting for half an hour, they would go to theatres or balls. Some of these merchants who worked in Galata and lived in Pera became so rich that they could lend money to the state. In the second half of the 19th century, goldsmiths especially became richer. Muslims however, were few among the richer merchants of Galata. This was of course one of the sources of tension between "the host" and "the guest." (Nur Akın. 19. Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısında: Galata ve Pera, İstanbul: Literatür, 1998. p. 41.)

Pera for centuries, wanted to save themselves from the position of the guest. This led to tensions between the guest and the host. Eventually, the Union and Progress Party as “the host” wanted to solve this tension on its own behalf.

Galata and Pera were like a city within a city with French as its “official” language. According to Giovanni Scognamillo, who was born in 1929 and who lived in Beyoğlu until his death in 2016, French was the most common language in his childhood and teenage years, that is, in the 1930s and 40s, as well. English came to Beyoğlu after World War II. However, the older and middle aged generation still relied on French language and culture. One of the most important rules of being a cosmopolitan was to study in a French secondary school like Saint Joseph, Saint Michel, or Saint Pulcherie. No doubt, Galatasaray Lycée was one of the most important of these.¹⁸⁶

3. 13. The Sixth Municipal Office and Urban Reforms

Galata and Pera were the most successful districts of Istanbul in accommodating themselves to the Western reforms. Moreover, they were able to acquire many of the Western novelties as soon as they appeared. In 1857, Istanbul was separated into different municipal zones. The Sixth municipal office which accommodated Galata and Pera was the most successful one in implementing the rules of the charters of buildings. This municipality focused on road building and paving, street lighting, and numbering of houses.¹⁸⁷

¹⁸⁶ Giovanni Scognamillo. *Bir Levantenin Beyoğlu Anıları*, 2nd ed., Istanbul: Metis, 1990 March. p.31.

¹⁸⁷ Nur Akın. *19. Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısında Galata ve Pera*, Istanbul: Literatür, 1998. pp. 27, 28; Request boxes were another novelty which was seen first in Pera and Galata. A request

In 1855, a commission for the regulation of the city (*İntizam-ı Şehir Komisyonu*) was founded. In the founding declaration of this commission, it was claimed that European capitals had been excellently constructed. Istanbul also needed to become beautified, cleared, have its roads widened, and its streets illuminated. A municipality commission was founded to achieve these goals and Istanbul was divided into fourteen different zones. The zone that included Galata and Pera was the Sixth zone. The Sixth Municipal Office would be a pilot area and if the Sixth Office was successful, a municipality including all of Istanbul was to be founded. The main duties of the Sixth Office were to regularize and pave streets, and to establish and maintain networks of water and sewage. The first municipality office was founded in Galata and Pera because of persistent demands of the residents of this zone and pressure exerted by the embassies of European states. They demanded a municipal service at par with Western standards in quarters where they lived.¹⁸⁸

Municipal offices could not be founded in all of the fourteen zones. After the Sixth Office, the Fourteenth Office which included the islands of Istanbul and Tarabya was founded. These two zones were summer resorts of the Levantines and Europeans in Istanbul. This indicated that the demands of Levantines and embassies had an important role in the foundation of both municipal offices.¹⁸⁹

box was first placed in front of the 6th Office municipal building. People wrote their requests on pieces of paper and dropped them into this box. In their decisions, the municipal council would take into consideration the requests of residents of this zone. (Ibid., p. 105.)

¹⁸⁸ Zeynep Çelik. *19. Yüzyılda Osmanlı Başkenti: Değişen İstanbul*, Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt, 1996. pp. 37, 38.

¹⁸⁹ Ibid., p. 39.

One of the most important duties of the Sixth Office was to enlarge the Avenue of Pera. In 1860, the municipality was working to illuminate this avenue. During the 60s, the Avenue of Pera was the only avenue in Pera which had street lamps. In this year, the street of Voyvoda in Galata was also enlarged. Rich people in Galata and Pera economically supported the municipality in its works.¹⁹⁰ Wealthier people were the group that benefitted the most from works of the Sixth Office. Illumination and cleaning of streets served those living on main streets the most. Muslim, Christian, and Jewish poor people living on the side streets of Pangaltı, Kasımpaşa, and surrounding stream beds in Taksim could not benefit from the municipal services.¹⁹¹

The municipality continued to widen and illuminate streets in Galata throughout 1861. Lighting was provided by use of city gas. Buildings inherited from the Genoese were demolished and modern buildings were constructed in place of them. The walls of the Genoese were demolished by the Sixth Office in 1864. Lots which appeared as a result of the demolition of walls were sold off. The most important sign of Genoese hegemony thereby disappeared. News about the demolition of wooden houses continued to appear in newspapers throughout the 1860s. In 1868, the municipality was still making an announcement about lots cleared as a result of the demolition of Genoese walls and some wooden houses in Galata. These lots were required to be surrounded with walls by their owners. Unless their owners undertook

¹⁹⁰ Nur Akın. *19. Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısında: Galata ve Pera*, İstanbul: Literatür, 1998. pp. 106, 108.

¹⁹¹ Zeynep Çelik. *19. Yüzyılda Osmanlı Başkenti: Değişen İstanbul*, İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt, 1996. p.39.

building these walls, the municipality would do it instead and collect compensation for the expenses from the lot owners.¹⁹²

In the 1870s, those who observed Galata said in their descriptions that old Galata had almost disappeared because thousands of houses were destroyed. After the demolitions, two axes were opened; one of them extending out to Pera, another one extending out to the sea. In 1875, the immediate vicinity of the Galata tower was full of stone buildings. These buildings had risen up in place of the demolished Genoese walls and wooden houses. Moreover, works for the enlargement of the Avenue of Pera were completed in 1875. In Pera, streets and the Avenue of Pera were paved with cobblestones. The enlargement of the avenue and widening of the streets was only possible as a result of the Great Fire of 1870.¹⁹³

This great fire raged on for thirteen hours and changed the appearance of Pera completely. Many stone and wooden building, agencies of foreign countries, casinos, hotels, and theatres burned down. Streets like Valideçeşme, Feridiye, Sakızağacı, Kalyoncukulluk and Hamalbaşı completely disappeared. Almost eight thousand buildings burned down, close to thirty thousand people were injured, and hundreds of people died. Since *Grand Rue de Pera's* section between Galatasaray and Taksim was completely damaged in this fire, enlargement of this part became possible.¹⁹⁴

After this fire, stone houses in Galata and Pera were mandated. Two parks were built in Taksim and Tepebaşı and the non-Muslim cemeter-

¹⁹² Nur Akın. *19. Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısında Galata ve Pera*, İstanbul: Literatür, 1998. pp. 106 - 117.

¹⁹³ Ibid., pp. 121, 123, 137.

¹⁹⁴ Emre Aracı. *Naum Tiyatrosu: 19. Yüzyıl İstanbulu'nun İtalyan Operası*, İstanbul: YKY, 2010. pp. 367, 368.

ies that used occupy those spaces were moved to Şişli. The new municipal administration constructed two hospitals and a municipal palace in Pera. Furthermore, the famous hotels of Pera such as Hotel de Ville were started to be constructed.¹⁹⁵

The concept of the public park became a reality in the Ottoman capital with the Tepebaşı and Taksim parks. Taksim Park was completed in five years. Residents of Pera pressured the municipal office for its swift completion. After it was completed, the Taksim Garden became one of the most favoured places of Pera residents. The park would be full of people and horse carts on Sunday afternoons. In summer, operettas and music were played each afternoon.¹⁹⁶

In 1880, there were still empty lots in Galata around the Galata tower. Announcements that these empty lots were being placed on sale worried the residents of the district. Residents had designed the empty pieces of land around the tower like a square, through their own efforts. The prospective sale of these lands was later cancelled by the initiative of Mr. Blacque who was the director of the Sixth Office. Nur Akın claims that these kinds of events demonstrated that the civic and urban consciousness and sense of responsibility of residents of Galata and Pera concerning their city developed earlier than other Istanbulitans.¹⁹⁷

¹⁹⁵ Zeynep Çelik. *19. Yüzyılda Osmanlı Başkenti: Değişen İstanbul*, İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt, 1996. p. 39.

¹⁹⁶ Ibid., pp. 57, 58.

¹⁹⁷ Nur Akın. *19. Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısında Galata ve Pera*, İstanbul: Literatür, 1998. p. 124; An urban consciousness developed in Galata and Pera before it did in most districts of İstanbul. However, it cannot be claimed that Galata and Pera were the first in this. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, while Üsküdar Kavak Palace was being demolished to build the Selimiye Barracks, people and artisans of architecture rebelled against the change. This event is accepted as the first action for city rights in İstanbul by Turgut Cansever. (Turgut Cansever, *İstanbul'u Anlamak*, 3rd ed., İstanbul: Timaş, 2013. pp. 134, 135)

In the 1880s, Pera also changed to a large extent. By 1886, the Avenue of Pera was enlarged and started to receive sunlight. The part of the Avenue between Taksim Square and the Galatasaray Lycée was furnished with magnificent buildings. The Avenue of Pera could now compete with avenues in European capitals. In this transformation, the contribution of the Sixth Office was enormous.¹⁹⁸

In the 1880s, the Avenue was just as lively in the evenings and at night as it was during daytime. Bareilles mentions plump Levantine women “wandering in the Avenue shaking their buttocks.” There were cruising men and other men who sat in cafés watching these cruising men and women in the Avenue at night. The Avenue was a popular place for many different people who wanted to find or meet others, to buy a hat or an umbrella, or to get married.¹⁹⁹

In 1880, the Tepebaşı Garden was opened. It stood like a European park with its illuminated mansion, artificial lake, iron bridge, orchestra, and landscape facing the Golden Horn and historical peninsula. It had a theatre hall as well. This theatre was one of the centres of entertainment especially during winter months in Pera. Places which would be frequently mentioned in twentieth century literary works started to appear in the last decades of the nineteenth century. Tepebaşı Park was one of these. Tepebaşı Park and other parks which were made in the second half of the nineteenth century in Pera attracted even those people who otherwise were criticizing Pera. For example, the parks of Pera were identified as a paradise by Baronian.²⁰⁰

¹⁹⁸ Ibid., p. 125.

¹⁹⁹ Bertrand Bareilles. *İstanbul'un Frenk ve Levanten Mahalleleri*, İstanbul: Güncel, 2003. p. 35.

²⁰⁰ Nur Akın. *19. Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısında: Galata ve Pera*, İstanbul: Literatür, 1998. p.152; Hagop Baronyan, *İstanbul Mahallelerinde Bir Gezinti*, 3rd ed., İstanbul: Can, 2014. p.77.

Illumination of the streets in Galata and Pera was completed in the second half of the nineteenth century. The Crimean War had an accelerating influence on the illumination of streets. At the beginning of the second half of the nineteenth century, Pera and Galata could not be sufficiently illuminated. A foundation was established for the illumination of Pera after 1846. However, since there was not a municipal administration, how fees would be collected and how the participation of residents would be ensured was not clear. An announcement was made in 1854 in a newspaper because of public order problems which emerged while the Crimean war was ongoing.²⁰¹ According to this announcement, residents of Galata and Pera were warned not to go out after 6 and 7 pm. If they were to, a police or soldier from the closest police station should accompany them and they should not wander without a lamp. Those who did not obey these rules would be imprisoned. In 1857, the Avenue of Pera was illuminated by the order of the Sultan. The Sixth Office would be founded this same year. Attempts to illuminate the side streets opening to the Avenue of Pera and Galata also began this year. The illumination of streets would be undertaken with money collected from the residents of Pera.²⁰²

Even though Pera and its vicinity were illuminated in the second half of the nineteenth century, Istanbul in general remained without night time lighting well into the twentieth century. Director Lütü Akad produced a film *Öldüren Şehir* (The City That Kills) in 1954. Its subject was to be the attraction of a girl living in Kasımpaşa to the lights of Beyoğlu. Lütü Akad toured all Istanbul with his technical team. However, they could

²⁰¹ Emre Aracı. *Naum Tiyatrosu: 19. Yüzyıl İstanbulu'nun İtalyan Operası*, İstanbul: YKY, 2010. p. 247.

²⁰² Nur Akın, *19. Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısında Galata ve Pera*, İstanbul: Literatür, 1998. pp. 102, 127, 128.

not find a lively cluster of lights. At last, they cast their gaze at Beyoğlu from the Maçka hills and identified themselves a weak cluster of lights. Even though Beyoğlu was the most illuminated place of Istanbul, when it was looked at from the outside, it hosted merely a weak cluster of light.²⁰³

The naming of streets and numbering of houses also took place in the second half of the nineteenth century in Galata and Pera. The numbering of houses was made in emulation of the numbering system in France. Streets were also called by their French names because it was the most common language. Even the Avenue of Pera took the name of *Grand Rue de Pera* in 1867.²⁰⁴

Reforms and improvements in the Western style followed each other until the end of the nineteenth century. In 1861, the newspaper *Journal de Constantinople* was announcing that important changes would be made to the postal service and opened a bureau whose centre would be in Galata and whose branches would be in other important districts of the capital. The telegraph came first to Pera in Istanbul, as well. News on *Journal de Constantinople* was informing in 1862 that the first telegraph communication with London was established by way of the telegraph station in Pera.²⁰⁵ One definition of globalization is a victory won against distance. Dependence on a specific place is replaced by mobility thanks to technical developments in communication.²⁰⁶ As places where significant numbers of merchants in Istanbul lived, Galata and Pera

²⁰³ Lütü Ö. Akad. *Işıklı Karanlık Arasında*, 2nd ed., Istanbul: İletişim, 2018. p. 147.

²⁰⁴ Nur Akın. *19. Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısında Galata ve Pera*, Istanbul: Literatür, 1998. p.130.

²⁰⁵ Ibid., p.28.

²⁰⁶ Bernhard Waldenfelds. "Yabancıların Topolojisi" in *Pera, Peras, Poros* ed. by Önay Sözer & Ferda Keskin, Istanbul: YKY, 1999. p. 43.

were the first districts of Istanbul which made use of the opportunities provided by globalization.

3. 14. Galata Bridge and Development of Public Transportation

The construction of the Galata Bridge was one of the most important developments of the nineteenth century for Istanbul. Different bridges had been constructed on the Golden Horn before. However, the increasing population and trade volume of Galata necessitated that the bridges constructed in the nineteenth century be different from the previous ones. The first Galata Bridge in the nineteenth century was constructed in 1845 by Bezmi Alem Valide Sultan, who was the mother of Mahmut II. This five hundred meters long wooden bridge would be used for eighteen years. It would then be replaced by a larger one in 1863, once again made out of wood. In 1878, this second bridge would again be replaced, this time by an iron bridge to remain in service until 1912. The next bridge, constructed in 1912 would be used until 1992. The latest Galata Bridge which was constructed in 1992 to replace the prior one is still under use today.²⁰⁷

The Galata Bridge made a strong impression on traveller Edmondo De Amicis. For De Amicis, a person who spent a quarter of an hour on this Bridge could see all of Istanbul crossing over. The people who crossed the bridge appeared as a big wave of colour. Each passing group reflected different nationalities. Their clothes contrasted with each other such that each type of person and class could be observed by way of their clothes. People from innumerable races and attires could be observed

²⁰⁷ Zeynep Çelik. *19. Yüzyılda Osmanlı Başkenti: Değişen İstanbul*, İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt, 1996. pp. 73, 74.

on this Bridge. De Amicis provided a list of passers-by of the Bridge: Turkish porters, an Armenian woman on a palanquin, Bedouins, Greeks, a dervish with his cone and mantle made from camel bristle, a European ambassador with his cortege, Iranian soldiers with their black astrakhan kalpaks, a Jewish man in yellow cloth, a gypsy with their child on their back, a Catholic priest, women on ornate horse cars, a priestess from a hospital, an African slave carrying a monkey, and a Turkish storyteller (*meddah*). This was a dynamic mosaic, changing at every moment.²⁰⁸ We will see in the following chapters that many Turkish intellectuals and authors would use the words or the phrases “mosaic”, “wave of colour” or “wave of people and voices” when describing the Galata Bridge. They were probably unaware of each other while using the same words and phrases for the same place.

Complementing the role of the Galata Bridge in the profound transformation of Galata and Pera was the introduction of modern means of public transportation. Public transportation was introduced both to Istanbul and Galata and Pera in the nineteenth century. A tunnel containing a metro line was constructed connecting the commercial zone in Galata to the entertainment and residential zone in Pera between 1871 and 1875. This metro is the second oldest metro in the world after the London metro. It was built under the only route which extended from Karaköy to Pera Avenue, Yüksekaldırım, which was a steep and narrow incline. Available tramlines did not extend to the south end of the Pera Avenue. Although Yüksekaldırım was used by almost 40,000 people per day, it was not suitable for the construction of a tramline. Hence, the first metro line was constructed here. This line was around five hundred fifty meters in length, about 6.7 meters in width and 4.9

²⁰⁸ Ibid., pp. 97, 98.

meters in height. Two trains ran on two parallel tracks within the tunnel. One of these was allocated for passengers while the other was for carrying loads. It was nationalized in 1923 after the proclamation of the Republic.²⁰⁹

Other means of public transportation to which Istanbul was introduced in the nineteenth century were ferryboats and trams. Ferry services, which connected villages on the Bosphorus to Galata, increased Galata and Pera's sphere of influence. The tramway also first came to Galata in the second half of nineteenth century. At the beginning of the twentieth century, the electrical tramway replaced the prior horsecar tramway.²¹⁰ Galata and Pera were again privileged in the introduction of means of public transportation to Istanbul. By the end of the nineteenth century, three short tramlines were available West of the Golden Horn: Eminönü-Aksaray, Aksaray-Yedikule and Aksaray-Topkapı. On the Galata side, Azapkapı-Bosphorus and Karaköy-Cadde-i Kebir tramlines were available. According to the census of 1885, the population of the Istanbul side was 389,545; while the population of the Galata side was 237,293. This indicates that population sizes were not taken into account in decisions to build tramlines.²¹¹ The capacity of the tramlines in the historical peninsula and the Galata side were almost the same with each other even though the historical peninsula was more crowded.

²⁰⁹ Ibid., pp.79-81.

²¹⁰ Nur Akın, *19. Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısında Galata ve Pera*, İstanbul: Literatür, 1998. pp. 32, 143, 145, 146; For Bareilles, local affinity and spirit of acquaintance among the residents of Pera could be best observed in trams. He recalls that while he was travelling on the tram in Galata, someone was mentioning their illnesses and medicines they used. Others were talking about their problems in their homes. Trams were like family councils. (Bertrand Bareilles. *İstanbul'un Frenk ve Levanten Mahalleleri*, İstanbul: Güncel, 2003. p. 43.)

²¹¹ Zeynep Çelik. *19. Yüzyılda Osmanlı Başkenti: Değişen İstanbul*, İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt, 1996. p. 77.

New transportation systems played a significant role in the modernization of Istanbul. Horse trams brought the streets of Istanbul to life, breaking their Eastern silence. However, trams were even more suitable to the Westernized lifestyle of Pera. With trams, a new Western element was added to the Western appearance of the Avenue of Pera which was already full of Western spaces such as cafés, restaurants, theatres, and large stores. Public transportation services in the West of the Golden Horn were very different from the ones in Pera. According to Hüseyin Rahmi, the tram firm was using its oldest wagons on the Aksaray-Topkapı line, for example.²¹²

3. 15. Books, Bookstores, and Newspapers

Residents of Istanbul were acquainted with stationery stores and bookstores selling books in foreign languages in the second half of the nineteenth century in Pera. Prior to 1850, there were no bookstores selling books in foreign languages in Istanbul. By 1853, three had appeared in Pera. In 1866, their numbers reached five. Since Galata was a commercial district, there were many stationary stores. Some bookstores in Pera were also selling stationery equipment like paper, pens, pencils, etc. at the same time. These bookstores were generally situated around Tunnel.²¹³

Even in the 1940s, bookstores still had an important place in the cultural life of Beyoğlu and Istanbul. Even though he was not living in Beyoğlu, young director Lütfi Akad went to Hachette bookstore in Tunnel

²¹² Ibid., pp. 78, 79.

²¹³ Nur Akın. *19. Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısında: Galata ve Pera*, İstanbul: Literatür, 1998. pp. 23, 65, 225.

to look for a book about cinematographic tricks to use in his first movie in 1949, for instance.²¹⁴

Levantines and Non-Muslim minorities in Galata and Pera had their own newspapers. Moreover, there were newspapers published in English and French. One of the first newspapers in Ottoman lands was published in Galata.²¹⁵ Its publisher was French. These newspapers were underlining in their editorials that they were faithful media organs of the state and valued the interests of the Ottoman Empire above everything. On the other hand, they were trying to catch up to Western standards in publication. *Journal de Constantinople*, which was one of most widely read newspapers of this period, brought in an editor from Paris to be able to match Western standards.²¹⁶

3. 16. Balls, Feasts, and Summer Houses

While up to this point I have discussed characteristics of the life in Galata and Pera, I now turn to examine how the lifestyle in Galata and Pera spread to the rest of Istanbul. The role of summer houses was important in spreading this lifestyle. In winters, every kind of Western entertainment was available in Pera. Residents of Pera could go to the theatres and concert halls. Receptions and balls were usually organized in the many hotels of Pera over the winter months. For example, masquerade balls were organized every Wednesday and Saturday night in Hotel de Greece at Glavany (Kallavi) street. Many of these activities began in mid-October and ended around mid-May. Italian Naum theatre would also close season in May. As soon as the weather turned warm,

²¹⁴ Lütü Ö. Akad. *Işıklı Karanlık Arasında*, 2nd ed., Istanbul: İletişim, 2018. p.71.

²¹⁵ Bertrand Bareilles. *İstanbul'un Frenk ve Levanten Mahalleleri*, İstanbul: Güncel, 2003. p.96.

²¹⁶ Nur Akın. *19. Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısında: Galata ve Pera*, İstanbul: Literatür, 1998. pp.23.

the high society of Galata and Pera, especially Levantines in and around embassies, would go to their summer houses on the islands of Istanbul or along the Bosphorus. Heading to the summer houses with the beginning of summer was one of the most ingrained traditions of the residents of Pera and Galata. A newspaper wrote in 1861 that Pera was turning into a desert in summers. High society fleeing the hot weathers would take up refuge in the outskirts of Istanbul, especially the villages on the Bosphorus. Bareilles also mentions in his memoir that the hot weather and dust made Pera unliveable in summer months. In these months, comfort could only be found at the sea shores.²¹⁷

Balls and masquerade balls were the most common form of entertainment of the high society of Pera. The culture of the ball and masquerade ball was even spreading among Turkish Muslim elites through the palace. For example, Sultan Abdülmecid joined in a masquerade ball at the English embassy in 1856. While the Crimean War was just about drawing to a close, a masquerade ball was organized at the English embassy on the 31st of January. On February 5th, a masquerade ball was organized at the French embassy as well which Abdülmecid also joined to honour his allies. In return, Queen Victoria visited the Ottoman embassy in London.²¹⁸

In the 1870s, Muslim statesmen also started to host balls in Pera. News about balls organized by bureaucrats or princes from Egypt appeared in newspapers. For example, a ball was organized in Concordia Salon on 15th July 1870 under Grand Vizier Ali Pasha's care.²¹⁹

²¹⁷ Ibid., pp. 46, 47, 58, 59; Bareilles, Bertrand. *İstanbul'un Frenk ve Levanten Mahalleleri*, İstanbul: Güncel, 2003. p. 118.

²¹⁸ Emre Aracı. *Naum Tiyatrosu: 19. Yüzyıl İstanbulu'nun İtalyan Operası*, İstanbul: YKY, 2010. p. 240.

²¹⁹ Ibid., p. 354.

While Muslim statesmen started to host balls in Pera in the 1870s, they had already gotten acquainted with the culture with balls organized in summer houses around the Bosphorus since the 1850s. These balls would often go on until morning hours. For example, a summer ball organized by the English ambassador and his wife finished at 5 o'clock in the morning and made unforgettable impressions on invitees. Ottoman high society was also trying to comply with this lifestyle. The Minister of Foreign Affairs Fuat Pasha organized a big dinner reception at his mansion in Kanlıca on September 4th 1852. All diplomatic high officials were invited to this dinner. Emblematic names of the Tanzimat era such as Fuat Pasha were serving as models for other high officials.²²⁰

The lifestyle in Pera was strongly influencing life in the historical peninsula. Interactions of elites in the historical peninsula and Galata and Pera increased in districts around the Bosphorus and on the islands. Elites in the traditional districts of Istanbul and Galata and Pera were experiencing a similar lifestyle at the summer houses on the Bosphorus; however, Muslims and non-Muslims usually preferred different districts on the Bosphorus. The Muslim elite generally chose to settle in Göksu, for example.²²¹

Apart from the balls, carnivals and feasts also had an important place in the lives of residents of Galata and Pera. Scognamillo underlines that Easter feasts held a special place among the rituals of Levantines. On Easter days, broilers for roasts and potatoes would be sent to the bakeries early in the morning. Combined with the responsibility of every Catholic to visit at least seven churches, the increased mobility and

²²⁰ Nur Akın. *19. Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısında Galata ve Pera*, Istanbul: Literatür, 1998. pp. 54, 57, 59, 60.

²²¹ Bertrand Bareilles. *İstanbul'un Frenk ve Levanten Mahalleleri*, Istanbul: Güncel, 2003. p.123.

commotion would colour the Avenue of Pera on this special day. Moreover, glorious ceremonies were organized at these religious feasts. People who were shuttling in the Avenue on palanquins and cars displayed a great variety. While carnivals were continuing, balls were also organized. Café de Luxemborg, which was run by two Levantines, would organize balls every Saturday during the carnival. Hotel and restaurant *Palais de Fleur* was also organizing masquerade balls each Saturday and Sunday during the carnival.²²²

In Naum theatre, too, balls were organized during carnivals after 1852. In 1852, the ball in Naum theatre continued from 8 in the evening to 6 in the morning. It was very crowded since tickets were very cheap. Moreover, it had loggias where women and men could be alone and a large floor to be able to dance comfortably.²²³

Spring feasts on May 1st also had a special importance for Galata and Pera. On this day, Greeks and Armenians would traditionally go to the countryside and picnic sites in crowded groups. They would spend all day picking flowers and having fun. They would later furnish the doors of their houses with these flowers. Newspapers were also describing Catholics' feasts of wine and bread with an enthusiastic language. After ceremonies were made in the churches of St. Benoit and St. Marie, corteges marched on the Avenue of Pera. Crowds on the avenue and side streets looked like a mosaic gathering of different people from each religion and race. The crowd participating in these feasts was sometimes swell to huge numbers. For example, sixty thousand people participated in celebrations in 1861. In 1852, too, a ball-like atmosphere dominated all *Grand Rue de Pera*. From the most desolate part of the Big Avenue to

²²² Nur Akın. 19. Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısında: Galata ve Pera, İstanbul: Literatür, 1998. pp. 51, 59.

²²³ Emre Aracı. *Naum Tiyatrosu: 19. Yüzyıl İstanbulu'nun İtalyan Operası*, İstanbul: YKY, 2010. p.189.

the most crowded edge and from its parallel and adjacent streets, light from the houses were filtering from out the windows onto the pavements from 9 in the evening to 6 in the morning. Songs and the sounds of musical instruments were being heard from almost all the houses. Not only the traditional carnivals and festivals of non-Muslim minorities but also the Sultans' accessions to the throne were met with big celebrations in the non-Muslim and Levantine atmosphere of Pera. Especially the Avenue of Pera would be furnished with flags and lights on these days.²²⁴ Even disasters such as fires could not stop entertainments from taking place in Pera. A short while after the great fire of 1870, newspapers were reporting in 1872 on the news about receptions taking place in Pera again.²²⁵

During festivals, the spirit of carnival penetrated into each space of Pera from the most elegant hotels to the most ordinary street. Hotel de Angleterre was one of the most famous hotels of Pera and the first one built similar to European hotels with its comfort and vanity. It was opened by a Levantine called M. Missiere and virtually became the centre of Pera balls and concerts. For example, newspapers mentioned how an elite community came together in balls organized during the carnival in 1853 in Hotel de Angleterre. The Byzantine Hotel which was opened in 1849 was also one of the most well-known hotels of Pera. It was a "stone building safe from fires." Moreover, it was "luxurious, elegant, clean and had a beautiful scene."²²⁶

²²⁴ Nur Akın. *19. Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısında Galata ve Pera*, İstanbul: Literatür, 1998. pp. 52, 60; Aracı, Emre. *Naum Tiyatrosu: 19. Yüzyıl İstanbulu'nun İtalyan Operası*, İstanbul: YKY, 2010. p.188.

²²⁵ Nur Akın. *19. Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısında Galata ve Pera*, İstanbul: Literatür, 1998. p. 60.

²²⁶ Ibid., p. 247, 248.

Entertainment was not limited to the hotels and ballrooms of hotels during carnivals in Pera. For example, even though there was an embassy building of in Kalyoncu Kulluk Street, Greeks who lived in this street enjoyed boozing on the street. Every festival on the calendar had broad participation on this street. The greater the saint commemorated by the festival, the bigger was the ensuing uproar. Greeks of Pera wore clothes that looked like their ancestor's clothes in ancient times during carnivals. Greek men walking around in helmets, shields and armour occupied the streets.²²⁷

During these carnivals, no attender would venture beyond the Bridge of Galata because such an attempt would have caused a scandal and resulted in reactions among Muslims.²²⁸ The perception of the Galata Bridge in the minds of non-Muslim and Levantine residents of Pera and Galata bring to mind Derrida's concepts of the sill and the door, which are connected to the concept of hospitality. For Derrida, hospitality constrains itself with the sill. On the one hand, the host lets the guest pass the sill. On the other hand, the host prohibits the guest to pass certain other sills inside the house. If a house has a door, then the owner of this house will have the key to this door and will guard the conditions of sojourn. The Galata Bridge is this sort of sill for the on-Muslim and Levantine residents of Istanbul. Even though anyone did not say them that no one told them that they were mere guests in Istanbul, they knew that they were not the host of Istanbul and tried not to pass beyond certain sills like the Galata Bridge.²²⁹ According to Önay Sözer, the concept of

²²⁷ Bertrand Bareilles. *İstanbul'un Frenk ve Levanten Mahalleleri*, Istanbul: Güncel, 2003. pp. 71, 72.

²²⁸ Ibid., p. 73.

²²⁹ Jacques Derrida. "Yabancı'nın Uzamlaşması ve Zamanlaşması" in *Pera Peras Poros*, ed. by Ferda Keskin & Önay Sözer, Istanbul: YKY, 1999. pp. 28, 29.

door denotes both a passage and a border line; both an entrance and an obstacle in Derrida's philosophy.²³⁰ The Galata Bridge was perceived as an obstacle rather than an entrance by the non-Muslims of Galata and Pera. Even though they lived freely in Galata and Pera, they tried not to pass beyond the sills in Istanbul. Even though Turkish Ottomans felt themselves inferior in Galata and Pera because it suggested that they did not have full control of their house and their house's economy, they had the power of sanction over the non-Muslims and Levantines of Galata and Pera.

3. 17. Spaces of the Western Lifestyle

Places like hotels, patisseries, restaurants and coffeehouses had appeared as a result of the rise of the modern lifestyle; but they also shaped and improved this lifestyle. The physical trappings and the range and quality of foods and drinks in these spaces could easily compete with their counterparts in the West. Staff who could usually speak two or three European languages worked in these hotels, which were generally run by Levantines. Another remarkable thing was that the grand hotels of Europe were mostly advertising in the local newspapers of Galata and Pera, since owners of these hotels must have been thinking that they could find the most customers in these districts.²³¹

One of the most famous hotels of Pera was Pera Palace which was constructed and run by a European firm. Its glorious eating and meeting halls witnessed many balls in the nineteenth century. Another famous one, the Hôtel de Bristol was not as big as Pera Palace, however, it also

²³⁰ Önay Sözer. "Jacques Derrida ile Birlikte", "En-son Apori"nin Yeniden-Kapanmış Kapısından Nasıl Geçilir?" in *Pera Peras Poros*, ed. by Ferda Keskin & Önay Sözer, Istanbul: YKY, 1999. pp. 28, 29.

²³¹ Nur Akın. *19. Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısında Galata ve Pera*, Istanbul: Literatür, 1998. pp. 68, 69.

sported a large lobby, marble ladders, an elevator, large suites, apartments, living rooms, and a restaurant with the capacity for a hundred people.²³²

The palatal delight of the residents of Galata and Pera was also similar to Europeans. Many foods, drinks, and cooks were imported from the West. For example, all kinds of bread consumed in the West could also be found in the bakeries of Pera. Elegant cakes, sweets, ice creams, and jams could be found in famous patisseries on the Avenue of Pera like Lebon and Baltzer. Lebon maintained its reputation on the Avenue of Pera for a long time.²³³ It also became one of the symbolic places of Turkish literature in the twentieth century.

Its famous passages also had a great influence on the social life of Pera. One of the most famous passages of Pera was the Tunnel Passage located in Tunnel near the Tunnel Metro. Patisserie of Lebon was located at the entrance of this passage. Ground floors of these passages were usually reserved for shops and stores while their top floors were residences. The rooftops of some passages, such as the Orient Passage were open to use as well. These passages seemed like a narrow street which was surrounded by shops on both sides.²³⁴

One of the most well-known passages was the Hacıpulo Passage. This passage was famous for its printing houses which belonged to Ahmet Mithat and Ebüzziya Tevfik. There was a theatre in the passage as well which belonged to Dikran Çuhacıyan, called the Opera theatre. Moreover, one of the most famous vendors of musical instruments was located

²³² Zeynep Çelik. *19. Yüzyılda Osmanlı Başkenti: Değişen İstanbul*, İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt, 1996. p.108.

²³³ Nur Akın. *19. Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısında Galata ve Pera*, İstanbul: Literatür, 1998. p. 70.

²³⁴ Ibid., pp. 209, 214, 263.

in this passage. There were printing houses in Galata as well, such as *Le Telegraphe du Bosphore* across Lycée St. Benoit.²³⁵

The most famous passage of Pera however, was the Hristaki Passage or Cite de Pera, (*Çiçek Pasajı*). It was constructed in place of the Naum Theatre, which burned in the great fire of 1870. Its architectural style inspired many apartments constructed in the last quarter of the nineteenth century.²³⁶ This passage had a very important place in the intellectual and literary history of Turkey. We will see its importance more clearly while examining authors of the 1940s generation.

Photography also immediately came to Pera and Galata as soon as it appeared in Europe. Some shops on the Avenue of Pera belonged to famous photographers who captured both the monumental and the urban sides and social life of the city in their photos. Some of the leading photographers of this era were the Abdullah Brothers, B. Kargapuolo, P. Sebah, and P. Joaillier. Among these famous photographers, the Catholic Armenian Abdullah Brothers were distinguished for taking many famous figures' photographs, including the Sultan and the Prince of Wales who had visited Istanbul. In these photography shops, at times, cultural activities like talks and meetings were also organized.²³⁷

The most common stores in Pera were those that sold clothes and textiles. Clothes which became fashionable in the big cities of Europe were coming into the famous stores of Pera. Hats and gloves were very popular. There were outfit ateliers displaying new products coming from Paris. Some of these ateliers included undergarments in their collec-

²³⁵ Ibid., p. 216.

²³⁶ Emre Aracı. *Naum Tiyatrosu: 19. Yüzyıl İstanbulu'nun İtalyan Operası*, İstanbul: YKY, 2010. p.13; Zeynep Çelik. *19. Yüzyılda Osmanlı Başkenti: Değişen İstanbul*, İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt, 1996. p. 109.

²³⁷ Nur Akın. *19. Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısında Galata ve Pera*, İstanbul: Literatür, 1998. pp. 83, 225.

tions as well. The house of Barboluwoitz was selling clothes and shoes for men across Galatasaray Lycée. A tailor in the Orient Passage called Regis, was announcing the availability of new winter and ball clothes in his shop in the newspapers.²³⁸

An English man by the name of Hayden was selling fabrics which he brought from England. Madame Milleville's tailor of Maison de Couture was dressing women of the high society of Pera. The boutique of Madame Vapillon specialized in women's accessories imported from Paris. Made-in-Paris gloves were first seen in this store. *Harem-i Humayun* of the imperial palace was dressed by Paquin de Istanbul.²³⁹

Perfumeries and hairdressers were also very common in Pera. Lombardon Perfumery and Hairdressing across the embassy of Holland, L. Kristich Perfumery and Hairdressing in the Orient Passage, Carmelo Patitutti and Matzurdelli Hairdressing in Hacıpulo Passage were among the famous perfumery and hairdressing stores of Pera in the second half of the nineteenth century.²⁴⁰ According to Hagopian, even poor people of Pera dressed like the children of the Rothschilds.²⁴¹ Hence, these perfumeries had no difficulties finding customers.

In the second half of the nineteenth century, famous stores on the Avenue of Pera paid great attention to displaying their goods in their showcases.²⁴² In these years, a new type of person appeared: Those who were going to the Avenue of Pera to loiter and look at showcases of stores.

²³⁸ Ibid., pp. 71, 221.

²³⁹ Zeynep Çelik. *19. Yüzyılda Osmanlı Başkenti: Değişen İstanbul*, İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt, 1996. p.106.

²⁴⁰ Nur Akın. *19. Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısında: Galata ve Pera*, İstanbul: Literatür, 1998. pp. 224, 225.

²⁴¹ Hagop Baronyan. *İstanbul Mahallelerinde Bir Gezinti*, 3rd ed., İstanbul: Can, 2014. p.83.

²⁴² Nur Akın. *19. Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısında Galata ve Pera*, İstanbul: Literatür, 1998. p.72.

3. 18. Schools in Galata and Pera

The most important of the schools in Galata and Pera was Galatasaray Lycée.²⁴³ French was the most common language in Pera and the Galatasaray Lycée was not the only school providing education in French. In Galata, there were also the St. Benoit French Boys' High School and Secondary School and the St. Pulcherie French Secondary School.²⁴⁴

The presence of non-Muslims in Pera led to the opening of Armenian, Greek, and Jewish schools. For example, the Eparchy of Catholic Armenians opened a school in 1851 to all students from the community as well as students from the province. There was even a quota for children of poor families in the Armenian community.²⁴⁵

Greek schools were also important in Pera. For example, Zappion School, which was opened in 1878, is still continuing education today. The Greek community had a girls' school in Galata as well which was one of the leading schools in Istanbul. Greek women would organize balls for the benefit of their community's schools. In 1887, a newspaper wrote that 700 poor students studied on scholarships in these Greek schools. There were also Jewish and German Jewish schools in Galata.²⁴⁶

²⁴³ The medicine school in the Avenue of Pera which I mentioned earlier had by then been replaced by the Galatasaray Lycée. The building in Galatasaray was damaged in a fire in 1848 and the School of Medicine was moved to the Barracks of Humbaracıbaşı. In 1857, the government started to construct a new school building in place of the old one. The construction was completed in 1862. In 1868, the school became a French Turkish institution. Later, it became a high school providing education in French. (Ibid., p. 231.)

²⁴⁴ Nur Akın. *19. Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısında Galata ve Pera*, Istanbul: Literatür, 1998. p. 233.

²⁴⁵ Ibid.

²⁴⁶ Ibid., pp. 234, 235; Communities other than the Greeks also held balls in Pera. Greek, Armenian, Jewish, and Italian balls followed each other. When these balls were held under the patronage of an embassy, they were more crowded. These carried out some functions of a social welfare state in the absence of a social welfare state proper. Ac-

There were libraries in these schools and embassies. Moreover, there was a public library in the College of Jesuits in Pera since 1865 which consisted of three thousand books. Most of these books were in French. The rest were in Italian. They were religious, scientific, and literary books. Apart from libraries, various novel cultural activities also showed up first in Pera. For example, a museum was opened in the Tepebaşı Garden. Photographs and tableaus from different countries were displayed in this museum.²⁴⁷

3. 19. The Naum Theatre

Theatres played a special role in the social and cultural life of Pera. Ottomans got acquainted with theatre in the Tanzimat era and Pera was the pioneer in this matter as well. The Naum theatre, which was founded in 1840, became one of the most important cultural centres of Pera. The opening of the Naum Theatre symbolized the beginning of winter and the return of residents of Pera from their summer houses for 30 years until it burned down in the great fire of 1870.²⁴⁸

The Naum Theatre's journey which had ended with one fire began anew with another. In 1831, a big fire swept Pera. Michel Naum's house across the school of medicine was among its casualties. When his house burned down and the land was cleared, Michel Naum started to rent it out to a circus. At first, the circus group had surrounded it with wooden

cording to Bareilles, unless people continued to show up to dance in Pera, many schools would close and many hospitals would not accept patients. (Bertrand Bareilles. *İstanbul'un Frenk ve Levanten Mahalleleri*, İstanbul: Güncel, 2003. p.73.)

²⁴⁷ Nur Akın. *19. Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısında Galata ve Pera*, İstanbul: Literatür, 1998. p. 235.

²⁴⁸ Ibid., pp. 237, 238.

screens. In time, this makeshift space would evolve into the famous Naum theatre, built in 1840.²⁴⁹

Even though it was referred to as the Naum theatre, the founding of the Naum theatre in 1840 was achieved by another man: Giovanni Bartolomeo Bosco. He constructed the theatre on Naum's land at *Grand Rue de Pera*. Bosco was a famous illusionist who performed illusion shows in Istanbul. In 1840, petitioned the palace asking permission to found a theatre. When he received the permission from the palace, he printed out leaflets in four languages: Turkish, French, Greek, and Armenian announcing the opening. The new theatre was in operation on "Grande Rue de Pera, vis a vis Galata Seray."²⁵⁰

Even though it was called a theatre, most performances at the Pera theater were not plays but operas. Its librettos were translated into Turkish from Italian and sold in a bookstore across Galatasaray. In this period, librettos of operas which were performed at the palace were also translated into Turkish and sold. Among these operas were *Seville Barber*, *Lucrezia Borgia*, and *Poliuto*.²⁵¹

²⁴⁹ Emre Aracı. *Naum Tiyatrosu: 19. Yüzyıl İstanbulu'nun İtalyan Operası*, İstanbul: YKY, 2010. pp. 46, 47, 53.

²⁵⁰ Ibid., p. 55.

²⁵¹ Ibid., pp. 62, 63;

In 1843, French writer Gérard de Nerval, who stayed for three months in Istanbul, also visited this theatre. He mentioned the Naum theatre and Pera in his book *Voyage en Orient*. He describes the theatre salon in a detailed way; not large but long. Loggias were organized in the Italian style. Many of them were rented by ambassadors and bankers. The majority of other audiences were consisting of Armenians, Greeks, and Franks. Turks were very few among the audiences. In summer months, too, even though theatre season was over, the theatre continued to host some theatre groups who could not return to their homelands. Some operas were performed even though the crowds were not as big as in winter months. Moreover, these artists tutored children of certain wealthier families. The vicinity of the theatre was not a safe place either in winter or in summer months. Even though the part of Istiklal Avenue in front of

1844 was a turning point in the history of the Naum theatre. The administration of the theatre was assumed by Michel and Joseph Naum brothers. Incentives and support of the high society of Pera had a very important role in them taking this decision. Since the Pera theatre was the sole entertainment venue in Pera, leading people of Pera and Galata supported Naum brothers in taking over the theatre. Had the Naum brothers not been able to be convinced, Pera would have ended up without a theatre, like provincial cities, after the retirement of Bosco.²⁵² After Naum brothers took over this theatre, the building was completely restored and it gained a more modern appearance. Acoustics of the salon was reorganized, the stage was raised, and seats were changed. Taking over of the Pera theatre by Naum brothers attracted even the attention of the Muslim press. *Ceride-i Havadis* announced that the theatre across the Medicine School was taken over by Naum brothers and that they would organize matinees to attract Muslim people of Istanbul to their theatre. By “Istanbul”, the newspaper meant the historical peninsula and its vicinity. Moreover, the matinees would be organized on

Galatasaray Lycée is large today, when the Naum theatre was opened, it was rather narrow and not sunlit. Many incidents disturbing the peace took place in this narrow and unquiet place. Opera audiences were affected negatively by these incidents. Some people exiting gambling houses near the Opera would bother women exiting the Opera. In 1846, the prima bosso of the opera was even kidnapped by a gang of thieves. Two thieves were arrested by policemen of the Galatasaray police station. In 1856, one of the famous maestros of the era, Luigi Arditi, was engaged by Naum. In a letter, he said that no car could go into the narrow and muddy streets of Pera. Dog packs wandered its streets and no goods or personal belongings could be transported without porters. These porters were “bad-looking men.” Moreover, they “smelled very bad.” (Emre Aracı. *Naum Tiyatrosu: 19. Yüzyıl İstanbulu’nun İtalyan Operası*, Istanbul: YKY, 2010. pp. 65, 66, 77, 92, 164, 246.)

²⁵² Emre Aracı. *Naum Tiyatrosu: 19. Yüzyıl İstanbulu’nun İtalyan Operası*, Istanbul: YKY, 2010. p. 81, 82.

Friday, a holiday of Muslims. The first play of these matinees would be *Seville Barber* and its libretto would be sold in Turkish translation.²⁵³

Under the administration of the Naum brothers, the Pera Theatre developed rapidly. In 1846, Verdi's Ernani opera was performed. This opera would only be performed in Venice at La Fenice Theatre two years later. The classical work by Verdi was well-received by residents of Pera. According to the critic of *Journal de Constantinople*, Ernani was performed in Paris, as well, where it was also well-received. With these words, the critic meant that Pera did not have any deficiency compared with European capitals in terms of taste for art. He was not unjust in this evaluation. Ernani even made it to New York in 1847.²⁵⁴

The 1847 season in the Naum theatre was also opened with a Verdi opera: *I due Foscari*. This opera was first performed in 1844 in Rome. Since it contained political messages criticizing the Venice Republic, it could not be performed in Venice. However, it could be performed in Tanzimat era Istanbul. On the other hand, the municipality attempted to ban the play *Sur Teresa* performed by Ristori Company after many years since it included elements which mocked Catholicism and nuns. Even though the municipality eventually could not forbid the play, both the theatre administration and the play were criticized by both the Christian and the Muslim press.²⁵⁵ Residents of Pera welcomed the 1847 season not only because of the Verdi opera but also because summer was over and they could sit side by side with the fancy women of Pera at the opera, according to *Journal de Constantinople*. The Pera theatre continued to compete with European theatres on hosting Verdi

²⁵³ Ibid., p. 83, 85.

²⁵⁴ Ibid., pp. 89, 90.

²⁵⁵ Ibid., p. 314.

operas for years. Verdi's last opera *Il Travotore* was also performed in Naum in 1852 before Paris and London.²⁵⁶

1847 was the second turning point in the short history of the Pera theatre. Its building, still mad of wood, burned down in a fire in this year. Michel Naum had already been negotiating with the palace to construct a more modern theatre building out of stone. The fire in 1847 accelerated this process and Naum was able to find financial support. Sultan Abdülmecit gave him ten thousand liras for the project. Apart from this individual beneficence of the Sultan, the Ottoman government granted Naum fifty thousand liras. Furthermore, the embassies of European countries also supported him financially.²⁵⁷

The government's support was not limited to money. Naum wrote a second petition to the Sultan asking from him a twenty-year monopoly to perform operas in Istanbul. This desire of his was also welcomed, however, not for twenty years, but only for fifteen years. Naum did not forget to construct a loggia specific to the Sultan in the new building in return for these favours. This loggia had a separate entrance through the Avenue of Pera. The expected visit of the Sultan happened on Friday, February 9th 1849. Naturally, he watched the performance from his special loggia. The editor of *Journal de Constantinople* would evaluate this visit as an assurance that Turkey was steady on the path of reform.²⁵⁸

After two years, Sultan Abdülmecid would visit the theatre with his princes Mehmed Murad Efendi, Abdülhamid Efendi, and Mehmed Reşad Efendi. The same newspaper would again welcome this visit with en-

²⁵⁶ Ibid., pp. 96, 212.

²⁵⁷ Ibid., pp. 98, 99, 103.

²⁵⁸ Ibid., pp. 103, 104, 110, 129.

thusiasm. The visit of the present Sultan and the Sultans of the future indicated the palace's sincere desire to meet with residents of Pera.²⁵⁹

As a result of an incident that happened at the theatre in the same year, the Sultan would not visit the theatre for six years. There was a questionable habit among prima donnas of the Naum theatre of hiring men to acclaim themselves. These men who were hired by one prima donna would also jeer at another. At one eventful night, two hired groups fought each other because of such booing. An English citizen died having being stabbed while he was trying to break up the fight. Following this event, the Sultan would not visit the theatre for six years.²⁶⁰

Although they encountered some problems like the aforementioned incident, Naum brothers viewed their theatre as an imperial opera. Sultan Abdülmecid allowed them to print their theatre's announcements bearing his own tughra. The following verse was inscribed onto this tughra: "*Kıldı Hân-ı Abdülmecid-i mahz-ı ihsânı binâ / Sâye-i lûtfuyla âlem eylesün zevk u safâ.*" (Sultan Abdülmecid bestowed this building upon the people so that they could be entertained thanks to his favour.) After new theatres were founded in Istanbul, the theatre's name was changed to be "Théâtre Impérial Naum" and the theatre's position as an imperial opera was thereby formalised.²⁶¹

The construction of the theatre was undertaken by Gaspare brothers who had climbed up the ranks all the way to reach the position of palace architect in Russia. They stayed in Istanbul for twenty years and constructed a number of buildings including the Russian embassy. According to *Journal de Constantinople*, the new building had a design

²⁵⁹ Ibid., pp. 175, 179.

²⁶⁰ Ibid., pp. 183-186.

²⁶¹ Ibid., p. 151.

that was fit for purpose. It was no different from famous and esteemed theatres in Europe.²⁶²

Its reopening on November 4th 1848 happened with a brilliant cadre and again with a Verdi Opera. Many opera artists had become unemployed in Europe because of the turmoil of the 1848 revolutions. Some of these took refuge in Istanbul and at Naum's theatre. At the first performance of this reopening season, leading families of Pera, bankers, and merchants took their seats in the theatre. However, *Journal de Constantinople* reproached the high society of Pera because of the scarcity of women. Even though women would make up nearly half of the audience in European theatres, far fewer women were in the Pera theatre. Nevertheless, after refoundation, the theatre created its own audience. Pera became a colony of art visited by various artists and artist groups especially after 1848.²⁶³ Thereafter, criticisms like those just mentioned would not be seen in newspapers again.

The Pera theatre hosted many famous guests during its short life. In the 1850 season, the theatre was visited by Flaubert who had just visited Egypt, Syria and Palestine with his photographer friend Maxime du Camp. After staying in quarantine for a while because of an ongoing epidemic, they reached the Ottoman capital. In the letter which Flaubert wrote to his mother, he said that Istanbul was as big as Paris. There were more ships in Istanbul's harbour than in the harbours of Marseilles and Le Havre. He went to Naum theatre to watch Donizetti's *Lucia di Lammermoor* on the first day he reached Istanbul. He wrote in an ironic tone that "the East is being civilized."²⁶⁴ During his five week stay, he also went to a ballet performance at Naum: *Trionfo d'Amore*. In an-

²⁶² Ibid., pp. 104, 105, 109.

²⁶³ Ibid., pp. 118- 124.

²⁶⁴ Ibid., pp. 169, 170.

other letter which he wrote to his mother, he remarked that he fell about laughing while watching the performance. According to him “The dancers”, by which he means ballerinas, had performed a cancan rather than a ballet performance. The high society of Pera had watched this show in awe and astonishment, receiving it as if it was high art. *Trionfo d’Amore* was in actuality a comedic popular ballet. It was performed for the Pera audiences as a relaxing break from the previous season’s serious plays. Flaubert was being unfair to the audiences of Pera in his remarks. Residents of Pera were very offended by these “unfair” evaluations by Europeans. The opera critic of *Journal de Constantinople* wrote “I wanted to climb the Galatara tower and shout ‘we are not a barbarian people lacking artistic pleasure’”.²⁶⁵

The Naum theatre’s importance in the development of opera and classical Western music culture in Istanbul was further demonstrated in 1851 when it produced one of its most significant fruits: An instrumental philharmonic society was founded in Galata named “Progressistes.” This society consisted of amateur participants, as was the case in many other cities of Europe. They formed an ensemble and played arrangements from symphonies and operas under the directorship of an instructor, gathering twice a week.²⁶⁶ The culture of theatre also developed in Pera with the contributions of the Naum theatre. Théâtre Roumélie, whose artists and repertoire were usually French, was also opened in 1861.²⁶⁷

The impact of the Crimean War began to be felt in the Naum theatre as well as in Pera and the reset of Istanbul in the 1850s. At the theatre, military anthems by Guatelli were played on March 26th 1854. After this

²⁶⁵ Ibid., pp. 170, 171.

²⁶⁶ Ibid., p. 185.

²⁶⁷ Ibid., p. 295.

night, military themes would be increasingly felt in performances during the war. The war's influence was not limited only to the performances in the theatre. It also impacted its economic administration. Michel Naum organized lotteries to resolve economic problems facing his theatre at wartime.²⁶⁸

The Siege of Silistra during the Crimean War occupies a special place in Turkish history and national memory. Namık Kemal dramatized this siege and was taken into custody because of this play. Michel Naum's brother Gabriel Naum also wrote an opera about the Siege of Silistra which was performed at the Naum Theatre. Its music was composed by Giacomo Panizza.²⁶⁹ The Siege of Silistra became the subject of other musical works as well. Before Gabriel Naum's opera, A. Tondi had composed a march titled *Silistria*.²⁷⁰

The presence of French soldiers in Pera gave rise to a need for French language plays. In 1855, a French vaudeville company started to work in the Naum Theatre. However, the French vaudeville group made some opera lovers of Pera uneasy. They were worried about the opera performances potentially losing significance in the Naum theatre. This vaudeville company did not continue to work in the Naum theatre for long; however, four artists of this company became involved in the theatre and performed in Italian operas.²⁷¹

The Crimean War increased visitors to both Istanbul and the Naum theatre. One such visitor in particular was Prince Napoléon, the nephew of Napoléon Bonaparte. The concert by Cécile Mansui who had come to Istanbul from Odessa, was postponed for a day so that Prince Napoléon

²⁶⁸ Ibid., pp. 216, 217.

²⁶⁹ Ibid., pp. 227, 228.

²⁷⁰ Ibid., p. 232.

²⁷¹ Ibid., p. 249, 250.

could watch it. The concert was very crowded due to the excitement caused by the attendance of Prince Napoléon.²⁷²

When the visitors to the Naum theatre returned to their countries, they would write their impressions of the theatre and Pera in various journals. Embedded journalism as a genre and vocation appeared during the Crimean War. The diaries of military officials started to be published in famous journals and newspapers in England and France. One of these military officials was George Cavendish Taylor. His memories were published in the *Household World* journal whose editor was Charles Dickens. For Taylor, there was nothing to do in Pera at night time apart from going to the opera. However, going to this opera was very difficult at night. Dirty, broken, and slippery roads had to be traversed to reach the theatre. Moreover, the high society of Pera consisted of impolite people who were only trying to appear polite. The Pera Opera was not a professional establishment; a space which smelled like dead rats and damp air. Its acoustics were strange and vision was foggy. Desserts and confectioneries in its patisseries were tasteless. Moreover, the entrance of the theatre was very crowded and people smelled of sweat.²⁷³ In short, Taylor did not like anything about Pera.

For another English journal, *United Service*, the high society of Pera was an artificial and rootless community even though they saw themselves as Europeans.²⁷⁴ Despite these critics in famous journals, almost all English and French people coming to Istanbul visited the Naum theatre. The Grandchild of King George III and the Commander of English Ar-

²⁷² Ibid., pp. 219, 220.

²⁷³ Ibid., pp. 222-224.

²⁷⁴ Ibid., p. 238.

mies Duke of Cambridge Prince George were also among the visitors of the theatre.²⁷⁵

Despite the economic problems during the War, the Naum theatre was able to survive. At the end of the 1850s, it was still standing. In these years, the vicinity of the theatre also started to change and become more suitable to the pleasures of the high society of Pera. For example, a Bon Marché store, which imported the latest fashion women's clothes and fabrics from Paris was opened right across the theatre in 1858. In 1860, Café de Luxemborg, with its French owner and inner space organized in French style was opened across the theatre.²⁷⁶ The cafe would survive for decades and be frequented by young authors well into the 1940s and 1950s.

At the end of the 1850s, the Theatre confronted a serious rival. In 1858, an opera building was constructed within the complex of the Dolmabahçe Palace by Sultan Abdülmecid, who was known for his love of the opera. However, this building would disappear with a fire which broke out in 1866.²⁷⁷

At the end of the 1860s, rivals of the Naum theatre started to increase. In 1868, the Pera Philharmonic Society was founded, artists who came to the city in order to give recitals increased, and the old Théâtre Oriental was renovated and turned into a concert hall by the name of Alcazar Lyrique. This theatre would become a cinema theater in the 20th century. Furthermore, another music hall by the name Concordia was opened. Operas also started to be performed in the Gedikpaşa Theatre in Fatih.²⁷⁸

²⁷⁵ Ibid., p. 224.

²⁷⁶ Ibid., p.282.

²⁷⁷ Ibid., pp. 268-270.

²⁷⁸ Ibid., pp. 336, 337.

In April 5th 1870, *Somnambula* was performed at the Naum theatre, which was the last opera ever to be performed there. Shortly after, the season was closed with a financial loss even though the theatre was supported by the government. Artists from Europe could not be recruited for the following season. The theatre was receiving support from the government; however, the 80,000 franc support was not enough when compared with the theatres in Europe. For example, operas were receiving 250,000 francs from the government in Marseilles, 800,000 francs in Paris; 180,000 francs in Alexandria, 300,000 francs in Cairo, and 500,000 francs in St. Petersburg.²⁷⁹

On Sunday June 5th 1870, a fire broke out on the Feridiye Street in the Valideçeşme quarter next to Taksim. After all of Tarlabası burned down, the fire spread to the Grand Rue de Pera and its section between Galatasaray and Taksim was completely burned. The Naum theatre was also among the buildings that burned.²⁸⁰

This part of Grand Rue de Pera was enlarged after the fire of 1870. For the purpose of this enlargement, land up to seven meters from the front of the buildings were confiscated and turned into street. Thus, lots belonging to the Naum family got smaller. A new theatre building could not be constructed on this shrunken lot. Besides, Joseph Naum lacked the financial means to buy a new tract of land. He applied to *Babiali* for financial aid; however, he did not receive a positive response.²⁸¹

Meanwhile, the French theatre in *Palais de Cristal* became unrivalled with the disappearance of the Naum theatre, whose artists were recruited by this French theatre.²⁸² When Joseph Naum failed to secure

²⁷⁹ Ibid., p. 360.

²⁸⁰ Ibid., p. 360.

²⁸¹ Ibid., pp. 368, 369.

²⁸² Ibid., pp. 372, 373.

support from the government, the theatre's land fell into disuse for three years. Later, it was sold to Hristaki Zografos Effendi who had a passage constructed on it which would later be called the Flower (*Çiçek*) Passage.²⁸³

The disappearance of the Naum Theatre in 1870 left a vacuum in the cultural life of Pera. However, Pera did not return to the pre-1840 years. Theatres like La Concordia and Elhamra tried to fill the void. Lamberger Brothers' Variety Theatre might also be cited to be among such theatres. Circus shows were also common in Pera at the second half of the nineteenth century. One of the most famous circuses of this period was the Soullier Circus. An announcement about this circus in newspapers said that this circus was no different from circuses in Europe.²⁸⁴

3. 20. Transformation of Pera in the First Half of the Twentieth Century

The Avenue of Pera at the beginning of twentieth century was full of magnificent stone buildings whose ground floors were reserved for shops and passages while top floors were for housing and accommodations. Some of these buildings have survived up to the present day. The horse driven tram which began to operate in 1869 was replaced by the electrical tram in 1914, extending the distance it travelled. One of its lines reached Beşiktaş and Bebek; another one reached Maçka, Osmanbey, and Şişli. A line also connected Şişhane.²⁸⁵ Overall, Pera and Galata became accessible from many different zones of Istanbul at the

²⁸³ Ibid., p.374.

²⁸⁴ Nur Akın. *19. Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısında Galata ve Pera*, Istanbul: Literatür, 1998. p. 240.

²⁸⁵ Ibid., p. 312.

beginning of the twentieth century. However, Pera and Galata's links with the more modern and "Westernized" quarters remained stronger. The liveliness and importance of Pera continued until the years of World War I. Following this intermission, Pera began to transform into "Beyoğlu" and gradually lost its original atmosphere. The significance of Levantines and non-Muslims diminished in Pera as a huge demographic change took place in Istanbul. Bareilles points out that people living in the Christian districts had problems accessing staple foods during the years of World War I, in contrast to the Muslim districts, which were provisioned by the state. The arrival of White Russian immigrants slowed the decline of Pera for a while. However, the abolition of capitulations with the Lausanne Treaty, the moving of embassies from Istanbul to Ankara, the Wealth Tax (*Varlık Vergisi*) and finally World War II led to an irreversible decrease in the numbers of non-Muslims and Levantines. Furthermore, some of the Jews moved to Israel between 1947 and 1949. Some non-Muslims, while not leaving their country, moved to quarters in other districts like Nişantaşı and Şişli.²⁸⁶

White Russians started to come to Istanbul and enlivened social and cultural life in Istanbul at the end of World War I and after the October Revolution. First of all, they introduced Istanbul the beach culture. Before them, even though Istanbul had always been surrounded by seas on three sides, residents of Istanbul had not regularly made use of beaches. They had preferred bathing in the sea in place of beach leisure. Moreover, White Russians opened new cafés and bars in Beyoğlu or worked in existent ones as waiters and enlivened the entertainment culture in Beyoğlu. After World War I, while hostility between Turks

²⁸⁶ Ibid., p. 313; Bertrand Bareilles. *İstanbul'un Frenk ve Levanten Mahalleleri*, Istanbul, Güncel, 2003. p.154.

and local minorities were increasing and both sides were looking askance at each other, White Russians were making an entrance to the scene as a neutral element which would influence both sides simultaneously.²⁸⁷

For Scognamillo, even though the coming of White Russians slowed down its decline, Pera was no longer the old Pera, but rather the new Beyoğlu, after World War I and the National Struggle. That is, he meant that the significance and influence of non-Muslims and Levantines decreased in Pera, which became Turkified. Scognamillo was from a Levantine family who had lived in the area for multiple generations which bestows gravity to his testimony. According to him, the cultural and social atmosphere in this district which was shaped by the capitulations eventually disappeared. The new Beyoğlu, which appeared at the end of World War I, started to evolve with World War II and changed again radically with the incidents of September 6th and 7th²⁸⁸ which was a pogrom against the non-Muslims of Istanbul. In 1955 September 6th and 7th, a series of mob attacks were organized against houses and shops of non-Muslims, especially of the Greek community. The Democrat Party government was put on trial in 1961 on the grounds that they orchestrated this pogrom. Beyoğlu was the worst hit in this pogrom. The short story writers of the 1940s generation wrote their short stories of Beyoğlu at the dawn of a transformation.

Çelik Gülersoy states that most of the Levantines had left Turkey but the majority of non-Muslim minorities were still living in Beyoğlu in the 1920s and 1930s. He argues that the 1940s were a turning point for

²⁸⁷ Hakan Kaynar. *Projesiz Modernleşme: Cumhuriyet İstanbulu'ndan Gündelik Fragmanlar*, İstanbul: İstanbul Araştırmaları Enstitüsü, 2012. p. 206.

²⁸⁸ Giovanni Scognamillo. *Bir Levantenin Beyoğlu Anıları*, İstanbul: Metis, 2nd ed., 1990 March. p.27. I will not examine this third period of the district in this dissertation.

Beyoğlu. He viewed the transformation of Beyoğlu over the 1940s, 1950s, and 1960s as a process of corruption. The Avenue of Beyoğlu superficially maintained its old appearance while its inhabitants and visitors were gradually changing.²⁸⁹

As Levantine authors, both Scognamillo and Gülersoy saw the change as corruption. Levantines. At this point, the question emerges: What did living in Pera mean for a Levantine? Scognamillo provides a definition of what being a Levantine in Pera was by referencing testimonies of members of older generations. According to this definition, becoming a Levantine in Pera was a matter of social circle, education, culture, religion, and passport. This type of person had disappeared in Beyoğlu according to him. However, an older generation who insistently maintained their identity as Levantines was striving to continue their existence in the 1930s and 1940s. These were the people who could not assimilate or did not want to assimilate. The defining characteristic of being a Levantine was the desire to escape this assimilation in the 1930s and 1940s. Nostalgia for old colonial privileges was shaping their inner worlds. By the 1930s, Beyoğlu was nothing more than a residue of a colony in the eyes of Levantines.²⁹⁰

Galata and Pera attracted masses beyond Haliç only after the Republican period began. On the other hand, the influence of Pera decreased in this period. Even the name Pera was officially changed; Pera assumed the name of Beyoğlu which had been used before only by Turks.²⁹¹

²⁸⁹ Çelik Gülersoy. Preface in *Beyoğlu'nun Adı Pera İken* by Sait N. Duhani, Istanbul: İstanbul Kütüphanesi, 1990. pp. 9, 10.

²⁹⁰ Giovanni Scognamillo. *Bir Levantenin Beyoğlu Anıları*, Istanbul: Metis, 2nd ed., 1990 March. pp. 27, 69.

²⁹¹ Nur Akın. *19. Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısında: Galata ve Pera*, Istanbul: Literatür, 1998. pp. 316, 318; Duhani, Sait N. *Beyoğlu'nun Adı Pera İken*, Istanbul: İstanbul Kütüphanesi Yayınları, 1990. pp. 9, 10.

In the era of the Republic, while the population of Turks was rapidly increasing in this zone, the population of Levantines and local non-Muslim groups decreased. Scognamillo, who received his primary education at the Italian Giuseppe Garibaldi Kingdom School, said that when he looked over photographs taken during his primary school days, he saw that none of his friends remained. Some of them had settled abroad and others had died. The last generation of Levantines was lost.²⁹²

I have previously mentioned that Levantines did not feel the need to learn Turkish during the second half of the nineteenth century. According to Scognamillo, Greek and French were as common as Turkish in Beyoğlu in the 1930s too. To serve their customers, some Turkish shopowners either tried to speak a little French or would hire a sales clerk from among the minorities. A coal dealer in Asmalımescit who was the neighbour of the Scognamillo family was from the Karadeniz region in Turkey, however, he could speak Greek. Levantine writers of the last generation before Scognamillo such as Duhani, Sperco, Puller, Karasu, and Primi even wrote their essays, poems, and books in foreign languages. Scognamillo was the only one among the last Levantine generation who wrote his essays and books in Turkish.²⁹³

In short, Pera maintained its uniqueness in the 1930s too, even though its original atmosphere had changed to some extent. To complete the picture, I now want to look at the years of World War I and the National Struggle through the eyes first of a Levantine and then of a Muslim bohemian. The Germans showed up first at Levantine and cosmopolitan Pera; and later, the occupation forces. These forces thought themselves to be saviours and wanted to be seen as such. However, for many Le-

²⁹² Giovanni Scognamillo. *Bir Levantenin Beyoğlu Anıları*, Istanbul: Metis, 2nd ed., 1990 March. p. 69.

²⁹³ Ibid., pp. 69, 70.

vantines, the occupation brought disorder, frustration, and tension to Pera rather than emancipation. The occupiers came to Pera to use it rather than to liberate it. According to Scognamillo, everyone was complaining about their insolence and attitudes towards women during the occupation years. His family had witnessed the occupation years in Pera and had nothing good to say about them. World War I and the ensuing occupation years gave rise to an aversion against new foreigners among the Levantines.²⁹⁴

What then, of the perspective of a Muslim bohemian? For Fikret Adil, Beyoğlu was still a cosmopolitan place in the 1930s. Foreigners in pursuit of adventure, ones who were driven beyond borders, and bar performers were living in Asmalımescit. Since they could speak many languages, no one knew what their nationalities were. Their nationality could only be discovered by looking in their passports. Art agencies, usurers, hostel managers and brokers were some of the other types living there. Many of these had been living in Pera for at least a decade or two. They spoke many languages, but could not write in any of them. A “souteneur” from Marseilles, a “lazzarone” from Napoli, or a “gangster” from Chicago would not feel like an alien in Asmalımescit. This quarter of Beyoğlu was alive 24 hours a day.²⁹⁵

Scognamillo was aware of the difference between his own representation of Asmalımescit and Adil’s. For Fikret Adil, Asmalımescit was a bohemian centre. For Scognamillo, it was a district where he lived his childhood with his family, not a bohemian centre.²⁹⁶ Beyoğlu was a place where many different life experiences were possible even though

²⁹⁴ Ibid., pp.72, 73.

²⁹⁵ Fikret Adil. *Asmalımescit 74*, 2nd ed., Istanbul: Yeditepe, 1952. pp. 6, 8.

²⁹⁶ Giovanni Scognamillo. *Bir Levantenin Beyoğlu Anıları*, Istanbul: Metis, 2nd ed., 1990 March. p. 133.

it was a small quarter. This characteristic of Beyoğlu enabled the modernist artists and writers to witness and observe many different lives and life experiences in a relatively small area.

3. 21. Politics and the Levantines of Pera in the Twentieth Century

I had mentioned earlier that Levantines were indifferent to domestic politics in the second half of the nineteenth century due to their feeling of insecurity. In the 1940s, their indifference towards domestic politics continued. On the other hand, they still got excited by developments abroad. In the World War II years, Scognamillo's father became a fascist. In Casa d'Italia in Tepebaşı, fascist and fascist sympathiser Italians held meetings. In fact, there was no Italian who did not feel sympathy for the Fascist Party in Beyoğlu in these years according to Scognamillo. This sympathy had started with the Ethiopian War and continued into the Spanish Civil War.²⁹⁷

In World War II years, nationalist sentiments grew stronger both among Turks and minorities. Levantines developed an interest in the politics of countries where their grandparents had come from. However, this did not result in any reaction against Turkey. Both their customary indifference towards everyday politics and the fresh memory of the atmosphere of the 1930s in young Republican Turkey prevented Levantines from expressing critical views.²⁹⁸

²⁹⁷ Ibid., p. 73.

²⁹⁸ In the 1930s, business connections of Levantines with Turks were increasing. For example, the business environment of Scognamillo's father mainly consisted of Turks in the mid-1930s. His Turkish was perfect. Scognamillo's mother was also trying to learn Turkish. His aunt had learned perfect Turkish before his mother. He could also speak Turkish fluently as a child. Scognamillo's father was a fascist as an Italian, but a

World War I and the National Struggle were important turning points in the history of Beyoğlu. They showed clearly to the Levantines that the old Pera was now lost and Beyoğlu stood in its stead. Beyoğlu came to yet another historical turning point in the years of World War II. Many of the basic needs of the residents of Beyoğlu went unmet as was the case for many Turks in other districts of Istanbul. They turned to consuming raisins rather than sugar, chickpea coffee rather than regular coffee, molasses with tahini rather than chocolate, and loaves of black bread rather than white bread. The war made itself felt not only in the shortage of basic goods but also in the abundance of safety measures. Blackouts were implemented everywhere and machineguns were placed at the top of the highest buildings of İstiklal Avenue. The war was everywhere; in the radio news, on the cinema screen and in political discussions in homes. Scognamillo had already taken a dislike to fascism as a child at the end of war; however, his father was fascinated by the war atmosphere to such an extent that he would nearly partici-

sincere Kemalist as a Turkish citizen at the same time. Even though they followed different political tendencies in world politics, they did not veer from mainstream thought in Turkey. Just as Scognamillo's father was sincere in his Kemalism, Scognamillo was equally sincere in his love of Mustafa Kemal as a little child. Scognamillo recalls that he was weeping during the funeral rites of Kemal Atatürk like everyone else. However, he was not crying merely because everyone was crying. He was crying because a man who he had seen in person twice had died. He had seen Atatürk with his mother, who was also an admirer of Atatürk, on two occasions. . The first time was when he was exiting the Pera Palace to walk on the İstiklal Avenue with his entourage. Atatürk caressed the cheeks of Scognamillo and cleared the road for his mother, saying "Here you are, madam!" This event influenced Mrs Scognamillo very much. She often recited ecstatically that "he said to me 'Here you are, madam!'" They saw Atatürk the second time in Florya. While Scognamillo was swimming between the arms of his mother off the shore of Florya Mansion, his mother made way for a passing boat. Atatürk smiled to Scognamillo and his mother. His mother never forgot this encounter either. She often recalled the encounter, ecstatically: "he smiled at me." (Ibid., pp. 80, 81.)

pate in the Salo Republic. Those of the same mind as Scognamillo's father dropped such thoughts after the war and wanted both to be forgotten and to erase this period of their lives from their own memories. Mr. Scognamillo would also cleanse himself of a war psychology later and devoted himself instead to cinema. He became the director of the Elhamra cinema.²⁹⁹

3. 22. The Cinemas of Beyoğlu

Beyoğlu would become renowned for its cinemas during the twentieth century which became an inseparable part of the entertainment life of Beyoğlu. The place occupied by theatre in the second half of the nineteenth century would be taken over by the cinema in the first half of the twentieth century. The first cinema was founded in Beyoğlu in 1905 by a French firm called Pathé. In the beginning of the 1940s, after the last matinees of cinemas, İstiklal Avenue became desolate since everyone going out from cinemas went to their homes. Many people came to Beyoğlu to watch movie in 1940s.³⁰⁰

For Scognamillo, a Beyoğlu without cinema was unthinkable. His father was the director of the Elhamra cinema in which the first sound film was shown. Before sound films, movies were accompanied by orchestras. Some cinemas even announced prior to movies which songs would be played in which scene. Moreover, Elhamra cinema was the cinema where Atatürk watched his first movie in Istanbul. (He had watched one in İzmir before.) This was a documentary about the Gazi Forest Farm

²⁹⁹ Giovanni Scognamillo. *Bir Levantenin Beyoğlu Anıları*, 2nd ed., Istanbul: Metis, 1990 March. pp. 81, 82.

³⁰⁰ Hakan Kaynar. *Projesiz Modernleşme: Cumhuriyet İstanbulu'ndan Gündelik Fragmanlar*, Istanbul: İstanbul Araştırmaları Enstitüsü, 2012. pp. 153, 158.

and the speech of the American ambassador about the Kemalist revolution was on the screen.³⁰¹

When describing the cinemas of Beyoğlu in the 1930s and 1940s, Scognamillo says that there were cinemas suited to each kind of taste in these years. İpek and Melek Cinemas (the name Melek was changed to Emek later) was suited to the elite bourgeois and Levantine atmosphere of Beyoğlu. Some cinemas became famous for their long ticket lines and long duration movies. Lale and Yıldız Cinemas were such cinemas.³⁰²

In the 1940s, Yıldız Cinema showed some important movies by the American R.K.O (Radio Keith Orpheum) Company such as *This Land is Mine* (1943), *The Stranger* (1946), *The Special Staircase* (1945), and *Cat People* (1942). This cinema was as famous for its American movies and long waiting lines as for its “fat prostitute” standing in front of its entrance.³⁰³ She would become a character in a short story which will be examined later in this study.

Alkazar Cinema, which passed from the possession of a foreign company to that of a local firm, acquired a distinctive fame of its own for its rather liberal atmosphere. It largely owed this fame to its loggias. The screen could not be viewed properly from the broken chairs in the loggias. However, those who entered the loggias did not do so to watch the movie anyway.³⁰⁴ This cinema and its permissive attitude became popular subject matter for short stories written in the 1940s, some of which will be examined in this study later. However, loggias were fit for proper purpose in some cinemas. Those who wanted to go the cinema but

³⁰¹ Hakan Kaynar. *Projesiz Modernleşme: Cumhuriyet İstanbulu'ndan Gündelik Fragmanlar*, İstanbul: İstanbul Araştırmaları Enstitüsü, 2012. pp. 149, 151.

³⁰² Giovanni Scognamillo. *Bir Levantenin Beyoğlu Anıları*, 2nd ed., İstanbul: Metis, 1990 March. pp. 83, 92, 102.

³⁰³ Ibid., pp. 102, 103.

³⁰⁴ Ibid., p. 103.

who did not want to mingle with “common people” preferred the loggias in certain elegant cinemas.³⁰⁵

Advertisements for movies on billboards became commonplace in the 1930s and 1940s. Billboard advertisements were made especially for movies which were expected to do well at the box office. When Melek Cinema in Beyoğlu, which was constructed in place of the first ice-skating rink of Turkey,³⁰⁶ started showing the first King Kong movie, a huge banner promoting the film was placed at the entrance of Yeşilçam Street.³⁰⁷ These billboards would influence the residents of Pera to such an extent that small imitations of them would make their way into prostitutes’ rooms. Naim Tiralı wrote a short story about a whorehouse whose walls were covered with these kinds of cinema posters.

For Scognamillo, the cosmopolitanism of old Pera was best reflected by its cinemas, which remained the most important inheritance of old Pera. He recalls that in his early childhood, cinemas in Beyoğlu would take into consideration Easter Week when making their weekly programs.³⁰⁸ Cinemas of Beyoğlu were frequented not only by residents of Pera but also residents of the traditional districts of Istanbul. According to news dated 13th March 1936 in almost all the major newspapers of Turkey, the Fatih-Harbiye tram, which departed from Beyoğlu at 11.05 pm, crashed into a building at the Şişhane slope. This was one of the biggest tram accidents in Istanbul till that day. Three people died and twenty-nine people were injured. Since the accident was very serious, the names of some of the dead and injured people were published in the

³⁰⁵ Hakan Kaynar. *Projesiz Modernleşme: Cumhuriyet İstanbulu’ndan Gündelik Fragmanlar*, İstanbul: İstanbul Araştırmaları Enstitüsü, 2012. p. 162.

³⁰⁶ Ibid., p. 157.

³⁰⁷ Giovanni Scognamillo. *Bir Levantenin Beyoğlu Anıları*, 2nd ed., İstanbul: Metis, 1990 March. p. 109.

³⁰⁸ Ibid., pp. 110, 111.

newspapers. Details of their home address and workplaces were also published. One of the injured people was Arnavud Hüseyin who was a coffeehouse keeper in Yeniciami. Another was Ziya Diktaş who was a merchant in Asmaaltı. There were also non-Muslims among the injured: One of them was Rafael who lived in Galata. Another was Skon who lived in Gedikpaşa on Müslin street. Kadriye and Naime were living in Şehzadebaşı on Kirazlı Mescit Street. Kınalızade Zühtü, who died in the accident, was living in Bayrampaşa.³⁰⁹ In short, the list of injured and dead people indicates that those who came to Beyoğlu in evening hours were not limited to residents of Galata and Pera. Many of them came to Beyoğlu to watch movies. In these years, cinema was the most significant form of entertainment in Beyoğlu in the evening hours. It took the place of the theatre and the opera in the twentieth century.

3. 23. Disappearance and Transformation of Old Entertainment Habits

Scognamillo says that he heard about the balls of Pera, which were previously discussed, from his mother. These kinds of balls were no longer there in Beyoğlu by the time of his youth. However, both minorities and foreigners found a way of coming together for entertainment. For example, the Italian community in Beyoğlu entertained themselves in Casa d'Italia and Societa Operaia.³¹⁰

For Scognamillo, one of the clearest indicators of Pera's transformation into Beyoğlu was prostitution becoming common. For him, prostitution was out of step with the classic, typical Levantine forms of entertain-

³⁰⁹ Hakan Kaynar. *Projesiz Modernleşme: Cumhuriyet İstanbulu'ndan Gündelik Fragmanlar*, İstanbul: İstanbul Araştırmaları Enstitüsü, 2012. pp. 76, 77.

³¹⁰ Giovanni Scognamillo. *Bir Levantenin Beyoğlu Anıları*, 2nd ed., İstanbul: Metis, 1990 March. p. 117.

ment. It did not suit the cosmopolitanism of Beyoğlu. However, there were many whorehouses especially in Tarlabası. Some of these were very refined and elite. Levantine children of petty bourgeois families did not prefer these refined houses however, due to their modest budgets.³¹¹ Despite Scognamillo's professed disapproval, many young Levantine people, including Scognamillo himself, were patronizing these houses in the 1940s. Beyoğlu was now a zone known for its cinemas, cafés, and also whorehouses in the twentieth century. In the nineteenth century, Pera and Galata were separated from each other with strict borders. While the borders between Pera and Galata were becoming less distinct over time, different kinds of entertainment, which used to be more commonly encountered in Galata, now became widespread in Beyoğlu, as well.

The carnivals of Pera also became history in the first half of the twentieth century. In 1934, the Avenue of İstiklal was closed to religious rituals. Rituals would instead continue in churchyards, the French embassy, or the Latin Catholic Cemetery.³¹² However, they did not maintain their old liveliness. This change was an important factor in the waning of the carnival spirit in Pera.

The habit of going to summer houses also lost its old popularity among residents of Pera to some extent. According to Scognamillo, going to summer houses was not particularly a luxury for the residents of Pera; however, his petty bourgeois family, along with some others could no longer go to summer houses because of economic and occupational reasons. In such summers, they went to mulberry yards and patronized

³¹¹ Ibid., p. 120.

³¹² Ibid., p. 121.

coffeehouses in Mecidiyeköy instead.³¹³ While old Pera was Turkified and impoverished, certain old habits were also fading.

In this chapter, I shortly touched upon the history of Pera and Galata prior to the nineteenth century and mainly examined the later history of Pera and Galata; especially the second half of the nineteenth century. In the nineteenth century, the borders between Pera and Galata as a centre of housing and entertainment versus a centre of business, respectively, became evident and Pera became richer and larger under the influence of the capitulations. At the beginning of twentieth century, Pera and Galata started to lose some of their privileges tied to the capitulations. They became poorer and got Turkified with the influences of events such as World War I and the National Struggle. Events such as World War II and the Wealth Tax showed that this trend was not temporary for Beyoğlu and Galata. The Incidents of September 6 & 7 in the second half of the twentieth century proved fully that old Levantine Pera and Galata was gone forever.

³¹³ Ibid., p. 125.

4

Early Republican Writers' Representations of Beyoğlu

In the previous chapter, I claimed that as Pera turned into Beyoğlu, it lost its old elite and cosmopolitan atmosphere to a considerable extent. It became more Turkified and a less wealthy place in the 1940s. However, it still remained the centre of consumption and continued to be seen as an elite Western district by less Westernized residents of Istanbul.

In this chapter, I will discuss how Beyoğlu was represented by the old generation of authors who had started to write in the 1910s. In the 1940s, newspapers were dominated by these literary figures who had experienced World War I, the occupation of Istanbul, and the National Struggle. They shaped the popular perception of Beyoğlu with their literary products as well as essays and articles in newspapers and journals. Many of them identified Beyoğlu with consumerism, moral corruption, criticizing it harshly. Young authors who started to write in the 1940s struggled against this negative, but popular perception of Beyoğlu constructed by old and conservative literary figures. In short, the image of Beyoğlu was an issue of conflict between generations.

4. 1. The Generation of 1914 in Europe

The old authors who started to write in the 1910s were of the generation of 1914, if Robert Wohl's designation for the European youth who witnessed the World War I is considered. Therefore, before discussing the middle aged 1914 generation in the 1940s in Turkey, I will provide an account of this generation's experience of the Great War. This experience is the key to understanding their conservative inclinations in their later years.

France was the foremost European country influencing the Ottoman Empire culturally prior to World War I. Just before the war, a nationalist youth movement developed in France among young males from the upper middle classes. Leading figures of the university youth initiated a campaign against the professors of Sorbonne, many of whom were founding fathers of their areas, such as the historians Charles Seignobos, Alphonse Aulard, and Ernest Lavisse; the literary critics Gustave Lanson and Ferdinand Brunot, and the sociologist Emile Durkheim. Henri Masis and Gabriel Tarde who were also among these young men, would later examine the endeavours of this generation. These men blamed their professors just prior to World War I for allegedly failing to fulfil their mission as educators and shapers of the nation. To these youth, the professors, in their zeal to create a democratic and cosmopolitan elite community, had reduced their students into notetakers, bibliographers, and intellectual technicians.³¹⁴

The professors were of the generation of 1885. For Masis and Tarde, they were "pessimistic, self-doubting, morally flabby, overly intellectual and introspective, relativistic, incapable of energetic action, lacking

³¹⁴ Wohl, Robert. *The Generation of 1914*, Massachusetts: Harvard University, 1979. pp. 6,7.

faith, and obsessed with decadence.” On the other hand, the young men of the 1910s saved themselves from self-doubt. They were sportsmen; airplanes, automobiles, and football attracted them more than books. Moreover, they saw themselves as patriots eager to give up their lives if that sacrifice would lead to the revival of their country and people. They were against relativism; inclined to Catholicism since it offered them faith and discipline. They tended to be hostile to the Republic in its present form since they were disgusted with the morality of its leading representatives. Among French intellectuals, they admired and recognised as their guides Charles Maurras, Henri Bergson, Charles Peguy, and Georges Sorel. They saw themselves as men who had saved themselves from the spiritual quagmire of fin-de-siècle French intellectualism.³¹⁵

The philosophy of Henri Bergson influenced almost all Turkish authors in the 1910s and 1920s. Charles Maurras’s nationalist and conservative thought and Georges Sorel’s nationalist historiography also influenced Yahya Kemal during his stay in Paris and helped in the formation of his Anatolianist nationalism. Through Yahya Kemal, they influenced certain other Turkish writers like Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar as well.

Most young French men among this generation accepted the necessity of war with Germany. The army held great prestige among them. Most of them volunteered to participate in the army enthusiastically, but many of them fell or got injured in the first weeks of the fighting. They were not experienced enough for a real war. However, they still volunteered ardently for the army. According to Wohl, before the armies mobilized in 1914 for the war, the minds mobilized. While everywhere in

³¹⁵ Ibid., pp. 9-11.

Europe was being militarized, intellectuals also militarized their own minds.³¹⁶

For Massis, the generation of 1914 was a generation of “conserves” attempting to revise and preserve certain values such as country, religion, and discipline. However, their militarization and conservatism led France to participate in World War I without a significant opposition. They tried to play a role in the post-war society with their “experiences”, however, the coming generations were tired of their obsessions with the war and did not accept their instrumentalization of war experiences.³¹⁷

I now turn to discuss the counterparty; the German youth which the French youth saw as their main enemies. In 1912, Franz Pfembert, the editor and publisher of the influential Expressionist weekly *Die Aktion*, warned his readers not to expect anything from political parties. According to him, German socialists were as reactionary as the bourgeoisie. He placed his hopes in the revolutionary youth that was dedicated to the values of Spirit. To be young had to mean to have abandoned the values of thoughtless old generations that were ruling Germany. The youth should have been ascribed a political value and begun to serve as a symbol of the renewal of society.³¹⁸

Pfembert’s call strongly resonated with young Germans from the middle classes. They really wanted to escape the lies and hypocrisy of the adult world. They desired the foundation of a new and a better Germany. Ethical purity and spiritual growth were their main objectives. They

³¹⁶ Ibid., pp. 16, 17.

³¹⁷ Ibid., pp. 24, 25, 30, 31.

³¹⁸ Ibid., pp. 45, 46.

represented a “new generation” against the exaggerated rationalism of adults.³¹⁹

In 1913, official Germany held all levers of political and economic power, while its most serious challenger was the working class of Germany and the Social Democratic Party with its massive organization. However, when the war caused the collapse of the political and social structure, it created an opportunity for middle class youth to seize the leadership of “the nation.” No social group gave itself more unreservedly to the war effort than the middle class youth or showed “greater readiness to die in the service of the German state.”³²⁰

Between 1910 and 1914, theories coming out of this youth movement were claiming that only a national crisis, caused by an external threat or foreign aggression, could save the Germans who suffered from the excesses of cosmopolitanism and lack of national feeling. They believed that the war was an opportunity “to escape the morass of party politics and to revive the sense of national purpose.”³²¹

They believed that the war offered an opportunity for individuals to contribute to the improvement of their country through the demonstration of their moral superiority over the enemy. The egoism of the “I” would be sacrificed to “the higher cause of the “Thou.”” Since these kinds of attitudes had become widespread among German student volunteers in the first year of the War, they were willing to sacrifice their lives to contribute to the moral elevation of their country.³²²

After they confronted the realities of the war, however, German middle class volunteers came away strongly disappointed. Expended like mate-

³¹⁹ Ibid., p.47.

³²⁰ Ibid., p. 48.

³²¹ Ibid., p. 49.

³²² Ibid., pp. 50, 51.

riel, “reduced to the life of a troglodyte”, surrounded by images of ugliness, cut off from the world of civilians, deprived of victory, some of the volunteers turned against “the forces that brutalized them.” Sacrifices began to seem meaningless to them. After the war, this war generation had difficulties in adjusting themselves to civilian life. The middle class disliked the frontline fighters’ idealism which constituted a threat to a society based on commercial values. On the other hand, the veterans believed that they had not fulfilled their task; the new order had yet to be created.³²³

Viewed retrospectively, the hopes of veterans and students seemed more like daydreams and self-indulgent fantasies than politics. The locus of power in the Weimar Republic remained in parties, the large economic interests, and the churches. When students and veterans mobilized politically, their action could not venture beyond greasing Hitler’s propaganda machine.³²⁴

English youth trailed German youth closely in the development of their attitudes towards war. In England, young generations had all been trained in a literary tradition that translated “quotidian and unpleasant reality into elevated sentiment and diction.” For avid readers of the *Oxford Anthology of English Verse*, war and death meant awakening from the dream of life. They knew from their Horace that it was in battle that one could demonstrate their virtue and worth. For these young men, the ugly aspects of life should never be talked about, not even to one’s parents and most intimate friends. The parents, the teachers, and the rulers of these young men also collaborated gratefully and wholeheartedly with them. They imagined the deaths of their sons and pupils in

³²³ Ibid., p. 64.

³²⁴ Ibid., p. 83.

terms that “bestowed upon the brutal moments a resplendent beauty.³²⁵” We will see below the parallels with Turkish intellectuals in their contempt for bodily needs and pleasures’.

The youths of two countries on the periphery of Europe, Spain and Italy followed the same trajectory in their own ways. In Spain, from the turn of the century to the eve of World War I, Spanish intellectuals and educated youth developed the belief that Spain had fallen from the ranks of Europe’s first or even second-rate powers. The feeling of nostalgia for the lost grandeur of the past was very common. Most middle class young men were seeking solutions to the crisis of the state.³²⁶ Their feelings of nostalgia and efforts to save the state from its crisis were very similar with those of Turkish intellectuals.

They all wished for a more vital and creative nation that would regain Spain’s former grandeur and re-establish her prestige among other European peoples. To that end, they wanted to transcend the terms of contemporary politics. For them, Spain should isolate itself from mainstream European culture. They all devoted themselves to the interpretation and reinterpretation of the story of don Quixote and imagined the “free and happy youth” of medieval Castile, deploring the gloomy decadence of their time. They believed that they were living in “the twilight of a civilization from which a new type of Spanish men would emerge.³²⁷”

According to renowned Spanish thinker Jose Ortega, the young men of his time who had travelled outside Spain had learned a terrible lesson. To be a Spanish man outside of Spain was to be an object of ridicule. This youth, who returned to their country, discovering their national

³²⁵ Ibid., pp. 93, 94.

³²⁶ Ibid., p. 124.

³²⁷ Ibid., p. 126.

identity, should grow up without teachers since a powerful generation could never derive from an inept one. Indeed, they had achieved the first part of their mission by criticizing what existed. Now they should replace rhetoric by knowledge and ideology by technical expertise.³²⁸

Shortly before World War I, young Italian intellectuals also complained about living in an age when heroic leadership had left its place to a corrupt administration. A new faith should be discovered for the youth who had missed an era of romance and great events.³²⁹

The noisiest and most active groups among the supporters of the War were the youth in Italy. They saw the War as an opportunity to liquidate the last vestiges of Habsburg tyranny and to realize the dream of a free Europe of democratically governed peoples. The war would rejuvenate, accelerate, and sharpen human intelligence. It would make them more joyful, air the nerves and liberate the people from the weight of daily burdens. The war was the hour of courage and the triumph of the most worthy values. It was the hour of the youth, who would have the opportunity to live their lives with passionate intensity.³³⁰

During the War, Italian middle class youth also had similar experiences with other European nations. Mussolini started to appear as the leader of the young generation toward the end of the War. This young generation was not a class in itself, but an amalgam of classes bound together by a mentality which can be characterised as *combattenismo*. The mentality of *combattenismo* combined both socialist and nationalist motifs in “the demand for a purification of politics and a renewal of national

³²⁸ Ibid., pp. 129, 130.

³²⁹ Ibid., pp. 163, 167.

³³⁰ Ibid., pp. 168, 169.

mores.” They were against the parliament, parliamentary politics, and old parties.³³¹

Middle class youths of the above mentioned five countries had romanticist inclinations and were against the old generation who were more individualist, prone to read and think, and sceptical. Perhaps the old generation was also critical of day-to-day politics and the democratic order but they did not totally reject it as the generation of 1914 did. The generation of 1914 was opposing the existent order; however, most of them did not join socialist parties since they saw these socialist parties as a part of the order. They felt a vital urge in themselves as young men who would construct a completely different world. Even though they believed that they were beyond day-to-day politics, their generationalism was caused by the militarization of Europe and day-to-day politics. They were shaped by the powers which had interests in the breaking out and continuation of the War, although they were unaware of this fact since they were not prone to read. Most of them died in the first years of the War; survivors became disillusioned during the war and had difficulties in participating in middle class life. Since they tried to continue a politics of veterans after the War, they were excluded from their societies. They eventually came to contribute to the rise of fascist movements in Italy, Germany, and Spain. In England and France, they supported nationalist and conservative movements.

4. 2. Political Atmosphere of the 1940s

The stage for the conflict between the generations of 1940 and 1914 in Turkey, reflected in the conflicting representations of Beyoğlu, was set by the political atmosphere of the 1940s. The 1940s were of great polit-

³³¹ Ibid., p. 174.

ical importance in the history of Turkey. Certain events which occurred in this decade shaped the future of Turkey for the rest of the twentieth century. In these years, on the one hand, the reforms which started in the second half of the 1920s were continuing, while on the other hand, political reactions against these reforms were getting stronger in the political arena. On the one hand, the Village Institutes, the State Conservatory, the State Symphony Orchestra, and the Translation Bureau were founded and institutions for a cultural modernization were formed; on the other hand, anti-modernist thought systems such as racism became popular. Nazi Germany was trying to shape and give a new order to the world in the second half of the 1930s and the early 1940s. As a result, racist thoughts spread to the world. For example, the famous campaign “*Citizen, speak Turkish!*” was launched in 1938 in Turkey.³³² This campaign took aim at minorities who spoke their native language among themselves.

Nationalism and different branches of the socialist school of thought started to engage in a struggle in various countries. Reflections of this struggle were seen in Turkey as well. In this era, three lawsuits made their marks on the political agenda: Sabahattin Ali-Nihal Atsız, Racism and Pan-Turanism, and Hasan Âli Yücel and Kenan Öner lawsuits. Harsh arguments between the socialist Sabahattin Ali and the racist Nihal Atsız ended up in a court of law. This lawsuit triggered the latter two ones. These lawsuits might be seen as reflections of the conflict between the radical nationalists and the Republicans. In this decade, while the *Tan* newspaper of Zekeriya Sertel and Sabiha Sertel was seen as the representative of the leftist movement, the *Cumhuriyet* newspaper of Yunus Nadi was seen as the voice of Nazism in Turkey. Many news arti-

³³² Tuncay Birkan. *Dünya ile Devlet Arasında Türk Muharriri*, İstanbul: Metis, 2020. p. 128.

cles published in *Cumhuriyet*, supported Nazis and harshly criticized the USSR. In the same period, Sabiha Sertel sued *Cumhuriyet* for damages arguing she was insulted by being called a “*Bolşevik dudu*” (This can be translated as “an unmannerly woman supporting Bolsheviks”) and “*Çingene maşası*” (“Gypsies’ pawn”) by the authors of this newspaper.³³³

In this era, the *Tan* newspaper was attacked by nationalist students; leading Turkist figures were arrested on May 3rd 1944. The leftist figures Behice Boran, Niyazi Berkes, Muzaffer Şerif Başoğlu, and Pertev Naili Boratav were dismissed from the Language, History, and Geography Faculty of Ankara University. The power struggle between radical conservative nationalists and Republican leftists penetrated into every field of life. On the one hand, Land Reform debates raged on in the Parliament; on the other hand, the great leftist poet Nâzım Hikmet was put in prison. Leftists bore the brunt of the repression in this struggle. The *Markopaşa* Journal which was a leftist humour journal and its successors were closed. Many leftist poets and authors were arrested. National Education Minister Hasan Âli Yücel and National Education Ministry Counsellor İsmail Hakkı Tonguç who had an important role in the foundation of the Village Institutes lost their positions and most of the teachers appointed by them were dismissed. Last but not least, the most tragic event of this decade unfolded with the murder of Sabahattin Âli by a secret service agent.³³⁴

Some claimed that radical nationalist and racist thoughts in Turkey were not only influenced intellectually but also supported directly by Nazi Germany. In 1938, Enver Pasha’s brother, Nuri Killigil, who had

³³³ Ibid., pp. 62, 63.

³³⁴ Öner Yağcı. *40 Kuşağı Şairleri*, Ankara: Telgrafhane, 2020. pp. 16, 17.

been living in Germany for years, returned to Turkey. He bought a cooking coal factory in Sötlüce, Istanbul and turned it into a weapons factory. After a while, he was prohibited from producing weapons; however, the factory continued its activity illegally. Nuri Killigil sponsored many nationalist and racist journals in this era.³³⁵

Nationalism was one of the rising currents of this decade and rapidly pervaded the political atmosphere. The Wealth Tax Law was an important event of these years which seriously affected the wealth balance between non-Muslim and Muslim bourgeoisies to the benefit of the latter. In 1943, the 33 Bullets Event which is mentioned in Ahmet Arif's poem happened; thirty three Kurdish smugglers were murdered.

The struggle between republican leftist literary figures and racists began in the late 1930s. Sabahattin Ali serialized his famous novel *İçimizdeki Şeytan* (The Devil Amongst Us) in the *Ulus* newspaper, which was the official newspaper of the Republican People's Party (CHP), in 1939. In this novel, he criticized conservative, nationalist, and racist literary figures. Nihat Atsız replied to this novel with the brochure *İçimizdeki Şeytanlar* (The Devils Amongst Us). In 1943, Istanbul Municipality Official Faris Erkmen also wrote a brochure criticizing Turkism: *En Büyük Tehlike* (The Greatest Threat). He claimed that some Turks of Crimean and Caucasian origin were collaborating with the German government: Zeki Velidi Togan, Ahmet Caferoğlu, Muharrem Feyzi Togay, and Ayaz İshaki. Moreover, figures such as Peyami Safa, Nihal Atsız, Yusuf Ziya Ortaç, Orhan Seyfi Orhon, Rıza Nur, and Fethi Tevettoğlu were fighting for a German victory in journals such as *Çınaraltı*, *Bozkurt*, *Gökbörü*, *Aylık Kurt*, *Türk Yurdu*, *Kopuz*, and *Orhun*. Although they claimed that they struggled were against communism,

³³⁵ Ibid., p. 32.

they targeted the regime and the state, according to Erkmen. While this struggle between nationalists and republicans was continuing, Nihal Atsız wrote an open letter to the *Orhun* journal denouncing Sabahattin Âli. Sabahattin Âli was a member of the Language Association under the National Education Ministry and teacher at the State Conservatory, even though it was public knowledge that he was a communist, according to Atsız. He was only able to work in the institutions of National Education thanks to his personal relationship with Hasan Âli Yücel. After this letter, Sabahattin Âli indicted a defamation case against Nihal Atsız. For Hamit Şevket İnce who was the attorney of Nihal Atsız, this lawsuit was the struggle between two belief systems: nationalism and communism. In short, Nihal Atsız's attorney also accepted that this was not a legal, but a political struggle. On 3rd May 1944, the second trial of the suit was held. Supporters of Nihal Atsız made a demonstration in front of the Courthouse. The protestors were attacked by the police. After a short while, İnce stepped down as attorney for Atsız, claiming that he realized that Atsız was the enemy of the Republic.³³⁶

On 19th May 1944, İnönü made his famous anti-racist speech. After this speech, Turkists and Pan-Turanists started to be arrested all across Turkey. In May 1944, Germans were defeated in the Elbrus Mountains in the Caucasus. The tone of İnönü's speech was harsh as a result of the international conjuncture. The Racism and Pan-Turkism Lawsuit against 23 defendants that began on 7th September 1944 concluded on 29th May 1945. Most of the defendants received around ten-years of imprisonment. The Military Court of Appeals overturned the decision, however, and all defendants were acquitted. Among the defendants, there were notable names such as Zeki Velidi Togan, Sait Bilgiç, Al-

³³⁶ Ibid., pp. 33, 34.

parslan Türkeş, Necdet Sançar, Fethi Tevetoğlu, Orhan Şaik Gökyay, Reha Oğuz Türkkan, Hüseyin Namık Orkun, İsmet Tümtürk, Hikmet Tanyu, and Cemal Oğuz Öcal.³³⁷

After the threat of Nazism faded and defendants of the Racism and Panturkism Case were released, pressure on leftist politicians and intellectuals increased. Turkish Workers and Peasants Socialist Party founded by Şefik Hüsnü, and Esat Adil's Socialist Party of Turkey were banned. Hasan Âli Yücel and İsmail Hakkı Tonguç were dismissed from their positions. Hasan Âli Yücel, Sabahattin Âli, Pertev Naili Boratav and Sadrettin Celal Antel were investigated as a result of the denunciation by Nihal Atsız. Şefik Hüsnü and Reşat Fuat Baraner were arrested. Mehmet Ali Aybar's *Zincirli Hürriyet* newspaper became a symbol of resistance in these years.³³⁸

After World War II ended in 1945, the struggle between the left and the right gathered momentum. At the same time, Land Reform debates were continuing in the Turkish Parliament. The first signs of the rightist opposition appeared during these debates. In the Land Reform session in the Parliament, three hundred sixty eight MPs voted affirmative. Only five MPs refused the draft law: Celal Bayar, Adnan Menderes, Refik Koraltan, Fuat Köprülü, and Emin Sazak. On September 21st, Bayar, Menderes, Koraltan, and Köprülü submitted a motion against RPP and they were dismissed from the Party. Bayar resigned from the deputyship on December 4th and declared in the same day that he would establish a new party. Just at that moment, the Printing Houses of the Sertel couple, *La Turque* newspaper which was published by Cami

³³⁷ Ibid., p. 35.

³³⁸ Ibid., pp. 35, 36.

Baykurt and Sabahattin Ali, Esad Adil's *Yeni Dünya* journal, and the *ABC* and *Berrak* Publishing Houses were sabotaged.³³⁹

In 1949, religion became an elective course in primary schools and the first faculty of theology was opened at the university level. On 1950 May 14, the Democrat Party came into power. The prohibition on the call to prayer being made in Arabic was removed. Turkey participated in the Korean War and became a member of NATO.³⁴⁰

At the end of the 1940s, the humanistic era in the cultural history of the Republic ended in defeat. This era had begun with Hasan Âli Yücel's ministry of National Education. In some views, this period came to a close with the government of the Democrat Party; in others, it ended in 1946 with Yücel leaving the ministry. As a midway, 1947 might be claimed as the ending date. In this year, Hasan Âli Yücel launched a defamation case against DP's Istanbul Chairman Kenan Öner who indicted Yücel for supporting communists. Since the case records were published in newspapers in detail, activities of the humanist era were discussed and "judged in the court of public opinion" as well.³⁴¹

4. 3. The Figure of the Intellectual as "the Protector of the National Ideal"

To complete the picture of the political atmosphere of this decade, I now present an account of the press and the popular middle aged authors of this period. Many of the journalists and columnists of this period participated in or at least supported the National Struggle. They had close relations with the Republican People's Party in government. Be-

³³⁹ Ibid., p. 36.

³⁴⁰ Ibid., p. 41.

³⁴¹ Tuncay Birkan. *Dünya ile Devlet Arasında Türk Muharriri*, Istanbul: Metis, 2020. p. 304.

yoğlu could serve as the ideal space for the modernization project of this party. It had become a modern space many years before the reforms of the Republic. For example, the hat was worn in place of the fez in Beyoğlu many years before the Hat Act. However, Beyoğlu was in certain too modern and cosmopolitan for the Republican government which had its own alternative modernization project it wanted to fulfil.³⁴²

Many researchers who are interested in the first ten or fifteen years of the Republic characterize these years as the childhood years of the Republic. Levent Cantek characterizes 1940s as “the teenage years of the Republic” in his work *Cumhuriyetin Büluğ Çağı* (The Teenage Era of the Republic). For him, the disappointment caused by the absence of the founding father and the “psychological problems” of teenage years left their marks on this decade.³⁴³

The death of Atatürk triggered a feeling of loss and an anxiety in aged and middle aged intellectuals in the 1940s. When problems stemming from World War II were added to the mix, fears about the future intensified. The acceptance of the multiparty system brought not only fear but also excitement and new expectations. For this reason, the 1940s were speedy, open to change, and conflictual years. On the other hand, there was a big interest in fashion, journals, and changing popular culture especially in the second half of the 1940s. This interest also met the reaction of the old generation.³⁴⁴ It was seen as a form of degeneration and lack of national ideal.

³⁴² Hakan Kaynar. *Projesiz Modernleşme: Cumhuriyet İstanbulu'ndan Gündelik Fragmanlar*, İstanbul: İstanbul Araştırmaları Enstitüsü, 2012. pp. 41, 42.

³⁴³ Levent Cantek. *Cumhuriyetin Büluğ Çağı*, İstanbul: İletişim, 2008. p. 10.

³⁴⁴ Ibid., pp. 16, 17.

Refik Halit poignantly described the self-perception of this generation in one of his newspaper articles. He said that his own generation had lived in a different world when they were children. In their youthhood, they had witnessed big and radical changes in their lives. By the time of their adulthood, their lives had become completely different from their lives in their childhood. Nevertheless, they did not lose their way amidst all this chaos.³⁴⁵ His sentences were both an expression of self-adulation and fear. He praised himself and his generation for not losing their way in all the chaos of the years following World War I. However, he was scared of losing their way in the rapidly changing new world.

As the world changed, Turkey was not left unaffected. To the old guard, the ongoing transformations were happening in an uncontrolled manner. They were scared of the speed of changes in popular culture and related these changes to the rise of an unwelcome individualism. For them, the collective and national ideal should supersede individualism. Even if they did not express it clearly, they presented a critique of alienation from one's national identity, in a non-Marxist sense. This was a display of an anti-modernist attitude which criticized people for breaking off their ties to their community and nation.³⁴⁶

As seen, their anti-modernist criticism of alienation was similar to the sentiment rising among European youth shortly before World War I. They experienced parallel historical developments and were influenced by the same intellectual sources even though Turkish youth were exposed to them indirectly. The Turkish generation of 1914 was also anti-individualist and against self-doubt at least when it came to national issues. They were criticizing city life because of its part in the rapidly

³⁴⁵ Tuncay Birkan. *Dünya ile Devlet Arasında Türk Muharriri*, İstanbul: Metis, 2020. p. 210.

³⁴⁶ Levent Cantek. *Cumhuriyetin Büluğ Çağı*, İstanbul: İletişim, 2008. pp. 18, 19.

changing popular culture and fashion. They were literally conservative like their coevals in Europe. At the end of World War I, they were also disappointed like their coevals in Europe. However, they had an important difference from their coevals in Europe: World War I did not end in 1918 for Turks. Since some parts of Anatolia were occupied after the Armistice of Mudros, some ex-officers of the Ottoman army organized a military resistance called the National Struggle in Anatolia and most young intellectuals became a part of this struggle. Turkey was founded by this cadre and young intellectuals became part of this founding process. The front and center name in this process was Mustafa Kemal Atatürk. His death in 1938 fuelled the anxiety of the 1914 generation about losing their way in the rapidly changing world.

I mentioned that an anti-modernist and romantic youth movement was born in Europe and Turkish intellectuals were also influenced by this movement as coevals of these young men in Europe. The eve of World War I was not the only case of an anti-modernist sentiment rising in Europe. It can be claimed, rather, that modernist and anti-modernist attitudes in the European world long coexisted and jostled for prominence in different periods. For example, intellectuals in Western Europe had given similar anti-modernist reactions to the rise of mass culture in the nineteenth century. Their reactions were also moralistic and cultural. For example, they saw popular art as an undesirable means of relaxation and escape from reality. They condemned every popular phenomenon as escapism. Real art and culture should serve to connect with reality and beauty and elevate the human being spiritually.³⁴⁷ This criticism of popular culture was rather similar with that of the generation of 1914.

³⁴⁷Leo Löwenthal. *Edebiyat, Popüler Kültür ve Toplum*, İstanbul: İletişim, 2017. p. 79.

The majority of the 1914 generation literary intellectuals in Turkey went into politics as parliamentarians and performed official duties. They can be characterized as a community because of these common characteristics.³⁴⁸ Before all else, they were nationalists who refrained from criticizing the essence of the regime.³⁴⁹

For a long time, both authors of fiction and journalists were the same people in Turkey. Literature and journalism were seen as means of raising consciousness in the masses ever since the Tanzimat era in Turkey.³⁵⁰ Both Namık Kemal and Abdülhak Hamit Tarhan supported such an orientation. The destruction of the Ottoman Empire and the motives which prepared this destruction shaped the characteristics of the literature of the era and this functionalist orientation of literature continued in the twentieth century.³⁵¹ The sphere of literature began at the point where journalism ended and they were complementing each other

³⁴⁸ In fact, literary generations in Turkey prior to the 1914 generation were also either state officials or journalists. When Niyazi Berkes describes the general characteristics of Turkish men of letters in the Hamidian period, he states that they did not know Anatolia well. Most men of letters gathered in Istanbul and tried to find a position at the Sublime Port or other state offices and others who were “a bit braver” were interested in journalism. Their intellectual interests were closer to cultural and literary issues rather than economic and sociological ones. (Berkes, Niyazi. *Türk Düşününde Batı Sorunu*, İstanbul: Bilgi Yayınevi, 1975, p. 45.)

³⁴⁹ Levent Cantek. *Cumhuriyetin Büluğ Çağı*, İstanbul: İletişim, 2008. p. 20.

³⁵⁰ The perception of the militant columnist interested in literature would change after the 1980s. After the 1980s, columnists started to write about where they ate, how they spent money, newly-opened bars and restaurants in their cities, and their wealth rather than daily politics. Love and affairs of the heart would be one of the most popular matters of columns. Even though Turkish men of letters lost their mission-driven side after the 1980s to a large extent, they continued to act as both columnists and fiction writers. Being a columnist was almost a natural part of authorship in Turkey. (Kahraman, Hasan Bülent. *Türkiye’de Yazınsal Bilincin Oluşumu*, İstanbul: Kapı, 2014. p. 286, 334, 335.)

³⁵¹ Hasan Bülent Kahraman. *Türkiye’de Yazınsal Bilincin Oluşumu*, İstanbul: Kapı, 2014. pp. 14, 15, 20.

throughout both the nineteenth and the twentieth century in Turkey. Alongside the political motives, economic motives also had influence in the symbiotic relation between journalism and literature. A man of letters could not support himself economically in Turkey solely by writing fiction such as novels, stories, or poems.³⁵²

Literature was used to raise consciousness in the nineteenth century not only in Turkey but also in the West. Besides, journalism and literature had a symbiotic relationship in the West in this century, as in Turkey. Many literary works were serialised first in newspapers and journals from Paris to Peterburg. As many novelties which appeared in the West did, those in the fields of journalism and literature also reached Turkey by way of French language.³⁵³

Use literature to raise consciousness continued in the twentieth century as well. The literary boom of patriotic heroism caused a torrential downpour of works during World War I and the National Struggle which were immersed in the social, political and cultural aspects of the society, providing moralizing themes. A discussion that took place in the dissident Ankara Parliament illustrates this atmosphere of the National Struggle. Twenty four MPs made a motion concerning women in Istanbul. Women who danced with military officers of occupation forces in public spaces in Istanbul, as well as men “responsible for these women” were to be warned. If they did not cease these behaviours, they were to be punished harshly after the victory of the national cause for these offenses. A parallelism constructed between women’s bodies and the motherland would pervade literature for a long time. Yakup Kadri also touches upon moral corruption in Istanbul during the Armistice

³⁵² Ibid., p. 265.

³⁵³ Ibid., p. 266.

Era in his novel, *Sodom ve Gomore* (Sodom and Gomorrah). The novel was, of course, set in Pera.³⁵⁴

In the 1930s, too, imaginative writing continued to be perceived as a powerful instrument to mobilize the masses for the adoption of revolutionary premises. Writers became prominent “icons of the multi-levelled transformation process of the new Republic” and settled in positions of power “more visibly than ever before.”³⁵⁵ Literary figures who saw World War I and the National Struggle and became more visible on the political scene continued this priority in the 1940s, as well. They were in favour of the new regime and most of them were appointed to key positions as MPs and bureaucrats after the foundation of the Republic in 1923. Several recognized literary figures were invited to the parliament upon the request of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk.³⁵⁶ Mustafa Kemal motivated writers to reiterate the concerns of the reforms in their writings and even sometimes explicitly assigned themes to them. Reşat Nuri Güntekin’s *Yeşil Gece* (Green Night) was, for instance, acknowledged to be a product of Mustafa Kemal’s advice to the writer to work on the harmful consequences of religious reactionism.³⁵⁷

The figure of the intellectual man of letters who speaks about the problems of society continued in the second half of the twentieth century, too. For example, novelists were intellectuals and intellectuals were novelists in Turkey throughout the second half of the twentieth century; from Kemal Tahir to Tarık Buğra, from Attila İlhan to Adalet Ağaoğlu and Orhan Pamuk. Only after the 1980s would this figure of the man of

³⁵⁴ Hakan Kaynar. *Projesiz Modernleşme: Cumhuriyet İstanbul’undan Gündelik Fragmanlar*, İstanbul: İstanbul Araştırmaları Enstitüsü, 2012. p. 210.

³⁵⁵ Çimen Günay. “Taking up the gauntlet: fictionists in the Turkish parliament”, *European Journal of Turkish Studies*, no:3, 2005.

³⁵⁶ Ibid..

³⁵⁷ Ibid.

letters start to change.³⁵⁸ Prior to the 80s, Turkish novelists and literary figures wrote their fictions to “correct historical reality” and to inform people about historical “realities”. For example, Yakup Kadri treated a different historical period in each of his novels. Mithat Cemal Kuntay treated three different historical periods of Istanbul in his novel *Üç İstanbul* (Three Istanbul). Peyami Safa narrated different periods of Istanbul even in his popular novels published under the pen name of Server Bedi.³⁵⁹

In short, literary figures were always interested in recent history and daily politics in Turkey. The historical evaluations of the literary figures were usually critical. For example, almost all of them were critical of Westernization. For Yakup Kadri, only Atatürk was a true Westernizer. For Kemal Tahir, Atatürk also made mistakes when it came to the issue of Westernization. Peyami Safa questioned the subject of Westernization not only in his novels but also in his non-fiction book on this matter. The intellectual was “a missionary” by definition in Turkey.³⁶⁰

Missionary intellectuals of Turkey might be explained by Foucault’s concept of the universal intellectual, who has something to say on every subject and tries to direct and govern the society as a mission for himself. He is a patriarchal figure leading society paternalistically.³⁶¹

Intellectuals of the 1940s generally criticized daily life practices which they found to be immoral, just like Foucault’s universal intellectuals. Sometimes publications, cinemas and popular journals were deemed to be immoral; other times nightlife, beaches and casinos. However, the most criticized form of entertainment was cinema. Eating food in the

³⁵⁸ Hasan Bülent Kahraman. *Türkiye’de Yazınsal Bilincin Oluşumu*, İstanbul: Kapı, 2014. p. 23.

³⁵⁹ Ibid., pp. 114, 115.

³⁶⁰ Ibid., pp. 115, 116.

³⁶¹ Ibid., p. 297.

cinema, sex acts in loggias, young girls strolling in front of cinemas, and talking in cinemas were popular subjects of scrutiny in the newspaper columns. The intellectuals whose value judgements were shaped in the end of the nineteenth century wanted to see daily life as a coherent whole. They were “the supervisory generation” in Cantek’s words. One of the most important characteristics of the supervisory generation was to participate in the founding of the new Republic. On the other hand, literary figures who were generally born after the first decade of the twentieth century and who were often criticized by this supervisory generation was “the rising generation” according to Cantek.³⁶² These were either newly born or children when the Republic was founded and the sequence of events which began with the Balkan Wars was not on the back of their minds to the extent that the old generation did.

Complaints of the supervisory generation about morals and corruption were a product of their political and cultural backgrounds. Almost all of them were men of culture and employed cultural arguments to make their points. None of them made any evaluations about economic development. They could not go beyond interpreting facts and changes that were culturally shaped by capitalism. Their weakness in the field of economics is related to their idea of the intellectual. Intellectuals of the late nineteenth century were above all literary figures.³⁶³

A literary language and typifications belonging to the novel held an absolutely central place in almost all political and quotidian discussions in newspapers because of the literary background of journalists. In essays or articles about Beyoğlu, the morality of Muslim Turkish districts and the degeneracy of Beyoğlu were usually contrasted. In these compari-

³⁶² Cantek, Levent. *Cumhuriyetin Büluğ Çağı*, İstanbul: İletişim, 2008. pp. 24, 25.

³⁶³ Ibid., p. 26.

sons, typifications reminiscent of immoral characters in Tanzimat literature were used pervasively. Their Bihruz Bey allergies coloured their view of life. When they wrote, they sought new “Bihruz”s and Pera residents. Their evaluations in the columns involved caricaturized evil people and ideal types rather than real people.³⁶⁴

Who was this Bihruz Bey? Why was he important? Bihruz Bey is the main character of Recaizade Mahmut Ekrem’s novel *Araba Sevdası*. Şerif Mardin bases his concept of “Bihruz Bey syndrome” on this character. According to Şerif Mardin, Bihruz Bey is the only novel character that appeared in nineteenth century Turkish novels. For Yahya Kemal, this character was realistic, because Bihruz Bey was Recaizade Mahmut Ekrem himself. He wrote about a character he knew very well.³⁶⁵ For Mardin, Bihruz Bey appeared as a character who betrayed his own society. He is a rootless character. He is a local Oblomov; neither Bihruz Bey nor Oblomov have roots or an identity.³⁶⁶ He is an effeminate snob, who does not have any function in society. He does not have any occupation, but continuously spends money as a noble loiterer. He represents the absence of an ideal as well as of an identity.

Authors of this supervisory generation discussed daily life in the newspapers, creating types reminiscent of Bihruz Bey and criticizing a range of popular phenomena, using these dualities. Since they had influential positions in newspapers and journals, their anti-popular cultural attitudes gradually became a part of popular culture. The upcoming generation that they criticized as captives of popular culture without identities, in fact came to shape the identity of these authors.

³⁶⁴ Ibid., p. 27.

³⁶⁵ Ibid., p.31.

³⁶⁶ Şerif Mardin. *Makaleler 4*, chap: Tanzimat’tan Sonra Aşırı Batılılaşma, İstanbul: İletişim, 2013. p.38.

Their representations of Pera were also formed through these kinds of contradictions and clear-cut dualities. They employed the religion-based antagonisms of Tanzimat literature in their writings. For them, Pera had not really changed; Beyoğlu was culturally still Pera and looked like an evil novel character. Cinemas, Hollywood movies, bars, and shiny showcases of shops were compared with the coquettes of Pera in the Tanzimat era literature. In other words, Pera was still a threat to Turkish national identity and culture.³⁶⁷

4. 4. Yahya Kemal and His Conservative Representation of Beyoğlu

To flesh out this point, I present a selection of figures from the supervisory generation and analyse their representation of Beyoğlu. When choosing these figures, I was careful to identify typical examples of their generation. I tried to choose figures who were canonical, popular and respected by the majority of their generation. First, I want to examine the life experiences and thoughts of a major intellectual of this generation: Yahya Kemal Beyatlı. Beyatlı was a poet, politician, parliamentarian, and author of newspaper articles. He was one of the regulars of Atatürk's dinner tables. That is, he was a typical representative of his generation. He was very famous and prestigious in the 1940s. His poems were published even in popular journals such as *Hayat* (Life); he was usually referred to by cognomens such as Master (*üstad*) or the first among poets (*şair-i âzâm*).

According to Mehmet Kaplan, who wrote a preface for Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar's biography of *Yahya Kemal*, Yahya Kemal and Tanpınar met during the Armistice era (*Mütareke Devri*). This era was the turning

³⁶⁷ Levent Cantek. *Cumhuriyetin Büluğ Çağı*, Istanbul: İletişim, 2008. p. 27.

point of their lives. Kaplan claims that Turkish intellectuals who left their marks on the twentieth century saw the solutions to all social and intellectual problems of Turkey most clearly and made important political and intellectual choices during the Armistice era.³⁶⁸ Whether that was the case or not might be debated. However, that the sequence of events which began with the Balkan Wars and continued with World War I and the National Struggle shaped their political views is undeniable. For Tanpınar, as well, the nationalism of Yahya Kemal and his generation assumed its final form after the Balkan Wars which ended in disaster for Turks.³⁶⁹

As was typical for the men of culture of the supervisory generation, the two main sources that shaped Yahya Kemal's intellectual world were Ottoman history and literature, and French thought and literature.³⁷⁰ The influence of France upon Kemal was not limited to intellectual sources. It was so thorough that even his gestures and habits, including his terms of addressing people, manners of reading poetry, and eating demonstrated a French taste.³⁷¹ Salah Birsell mentions that he often spent time at the restaurant of Tokatlıyan Hotel between 1911 and 1912 with Abdülhak Hamit, Süleyman Nazif, Yakup Kadri, and Halit Fahri Ozansoy. Yahya Kemal loved the jambon of this restaurant the most. When the jambon was served, he would lift it up and drop it into his mouth like Parisians. Literature and journalism were discussed when Yakup Kadri, Şahabettin Süleyman, Yahya Kemal, and Halit Fahri

³⁶⁸ Mehmet Kaplan. preface in *Yahya Kemal* by Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar, 8th ed., Istanbul: Dergah, 2014. p. 12.

³⁶⁹ Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar. *Yahya Kemal*, 8th ed., Istanbul: Dergah, 2014. p.57.

³⁷⁰ Mehmet Kaplan. preface in *Yahya Kemal* by Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar, 8th ed., Istanbul: Dergah, 2014. p.13.

³⁷¹ Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar. *Yahya Kemal*, 8th ed., Istanbul: Dergah, 2014. p.20.

came together in the evenings at Tokatlıyan.³⁷² As mentioned earlier, literature was their field of interest and journalism was their means of subsistence. When they gathered, these two matters naturally became the main subject of their conversations.

Yahya Kemal followed many different literary currents and artists in Paris. He loved to wander idly and consume alcohol. Among the literary currents, his individual tastes were closest to French modern poetry but ultimately, he settled on neoclassic poetry. According to Tanpınar, Yahya Kemal sought in Paris “what was suited to us” rather than what was suited to his individual tendencies. His Paris years did not make him forget that he was the child of a country which was under threat.³⁷³ The feeling of threat shaped his literary sensibilities and gave a nationalist and conservative direction to his literature. Therefore, Western sources of his thought were also nationalist and conservative. He followed works and studies of nationalist, monarchist, and anti-democratic French intellectuals such as Charles Maurras, Maurice Barres, and Leon Daudet who became a source of inspiration for fascist politician Mussolini, as well.³⁷⁴ Recall that Maurras had an important role in the militarization of French youth before World War I. Kemal was contemporaneously influenced by sources which militarized and radicalized the French youth.

The idea of the state held an important place in Yahya Kemal’s thought since the beginning. He claimed that the life of the Turkish nation was only possible through its state. Saving the state was above all things to him. Since he went to France equipped with these thoughts, he did not

³⁷² Salâh Bırsel. *Ah Beyoğlu Vah Beyoğlu*, İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür, 1983. p.22.

³⁷³ Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar. *Yahya Kemal*, 8th ed., İstanbul: Dergah, 2014. pp. 21, 22, 47, 48.

³⁷⁴ Tuncay Birkan. *Dünya ile Devlet Arasında Türk Muharriri*, İstanbul: Metis, 2020. p. 280.

have difficulty finding conservative and nationalist sources of thought to draw on in France.

Political catastrophes of the era and war defeats of the Ottoman Empire influenced many members of his generation. According to Tanpınar, “the loss of the city of his birth” profoundly influenced Yahya Kemal’s understanding of literature.³⁷⁵ He was born in Üsküp, where he spent his childhood. However, he could no longer reside there after the Balkan Wars. This last generation of Ottoman intellectuals could not see their city of birth again after the Balkans wars, as was the case for Mustafa Kemal.

As a result of these experiences, when examining the history of France, he focused on catastrophic moments of French history and viewed the history of Turkish Anatolia through the lens of these catastrophes. He started a literary journal, *Dergah*, during the Armistice era to look for sources in Turkish history and culture for a new breakthrough. Mustafa Şekip Tunç, Ahmet Haşim, and Yakup Kadri were his closest friends who assisted him in this adventure of literary publishing at a very difficult time.³⁷⁶

Yahya Kemal, Ahmet Haşim, and Yakup Kadri each had their own understandings of literature. What was the common ground which enabled them to come together? For Tanpınar, there were three reasons. First of all, they had similar political views; the catastrophes which followed each other after the Balkan Wars brought their political views closer. Moreover, they had the common consciousness of a generation. They took their aesthetic pleasures to be superior than those of previ-

³⁷⁵ Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar. *Yahya Kemal*, 8th ed., Istanbul: Dergah, 2014. pp. 163, 172.

³⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 27, 33, 36.

ous generations' literary figures. Their sensibilities of language were also close to each other.³⁷⁷

Their generationism and closely aligned political views both enabled them to come together and bring their ideas closer to their European coevals. French mysticist philosopher Henri Bergson's ideas became very popular in both Turkey and France in the 1910s and 1920s. "Élan vital" was core concept of his philosophy. For the élan vital of the nation, a new breakthrough was necessary. Even though Bergson did not ascribe to the youth such a role, young Turkish intellectuals saw themselves as the social group who would carry out this breakthrough. Academician Mustafa Şekip Tunç, known for his studies on Bergson, was also among these. Even the choice of name for the journal reflected their Bergsonian attitudes: *Dergah*, which in Ottoman Turkish meant sources and, at the same time, the door from where one comes into the presence of God. In short, this journal was a new school where they studied possibilities for the forging of a new élan vital and explored the sources for this élan vital.³⁷⁸

With Yahya Kemal's ideas and perspectives as they were shaped by the generation he was of in mind, I now turn to focus on his representation of city space. I will try to explain his perception of Beyoğlu through the concept of literary hostility, because his hostility to this district was symbolic. In his actual daily life, he loved to spend time and live in the modern and "Western" quarters of Istanbul such as Beyoğlu and Galata. Kemal wrote an article during the Armistice called *Ezansız Semtler*; this expression, meaning "districts without the Azan" became notably popu-

³⁷⁷ Ibid., 41, 42.

³⁷⁸ Ercan Çankaya. "Reflections of Conservatism and Nostalgia in Yahya Kemal Beyatlı and Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar's Representation of Istanbul", Unpublished Master Thesis, Ankara: METU, 2015. p.14.

lar among conservatives and Islamists. He poses the following question in his article: could Turkish children who were born in districts such as Şişli, Kadıköy, and Moda grow up in accordance with Turkish culture? For the author, minarets of mosques were not seen, azans were not heard, and Ramadans and Kandils were not felt in these districts. How could these children have a notion of Islam?³⁷⁹

For Yahya Kemal, the dream of Islam held Turks together as a nation. The present generation was born in districts whose very air and water were Turkish. At the moment of their birth, the azan was recited to their ears. They saw their grandmothers who were praying in their houses while they were children.³⁸⁰ The present day children who were born in districts with the azan nowhere to be heard, in contrast, could not encounter these kinds of rituals and practices in their homes. He said of Beyoğlu and Galata:

Ah! Our great ancestors! They settled in Frank quarters like Beyoğlu and Galata too. However, in the quarters which they settled, the light of Islam appeared. Azan was heard five times a day. Minarets with grape arbours and shaded small mosques started to appear. On the edges of streets, the *kandils* of a shrine awoke. To sum up, the quarter became Muslim from edge to edge.³⁸¹

Kemal believed the Turkish nation had lost this transformative cultural power. Now, it could no longer transform these “non-Muslim” quarters; instead, non-Muslim quarters were transforming the lives of Turks living there. He argued that this cultural spirit was still present in the masses. However, the latest intellectual generation had drifted away

³⁷⁹ Yahya Kemal Beyatlı. *Aziz İstanbul*, 14th ed., Istanbul: İstanbul Fetih Cemiyeti, 2014. p. 101.

³⁸⁰ Ibid.

³⁸¹ Ibid., p. 102.

from these masses. They ought to return to the masses again.³⁸² Then, they would go back to the districts without the azan and transform them like their ancestors used to.

He recounts one of his memories in the same article: While he was residing in Büyükkada, he intended to go to “*bayram namazı*.” However, no one could wake up for the morning *namaz* after a Frank night. He was complaining that the world was not organized according to Islam anymore. Those who lived in this modern world could not wake up on time for the morning *namaz* unless they forced themselves. He stood up all night in order not to be late. When he entered the mosque, all men in the mosque looked at him or that is how it seemed to him. They were surprised to see a man like him of the younger generation. He sat between two porters. He mingled with the crowd in the mosque and saw himself as part of one single body with them. They coalesced into one single spirit as members of one nation. The author’s eyes filled with tears.³⁸³ These sentences would later become the verses of one of his most famous poems: *Süleymaniye’de Bayram Sabahı*.

Kemal concluded his article by celebrating that they were born among minarets and trees and they grew up hearing the azan. In time however, people forgot these sacred things. Even worse, if young men who grew up in quarters without the azan eventually wanted to return to the masses of the nation, they would not be able to find the cultural sites to do so.³⁸⁴ The feeling of being under threat could be felt in each line of the essay. He feared that Turkish nation would lose its identity among the ongoing social changes and catastrophes.

³⁸² Ibid., p. 103.

³⁸³ Ibid.

³⁸⁴ Ibid.

The fear of identity loss was the main reason for this generation's literary hostility towards Beyoğlu. Their goal of coming together with the masses was also a Romantic reaction. This is clearly visible in the life trajectory of Yahya Kemal. He lived in Park Hotel in Beyoğlu in the last years of his life. He spent a good deal of his life in the Western and "degenerated spaces" of Beyoğlu. However, he did not talk about his real experiences in his poems and writings. Instead, he dreamed of an imagined world. His classicist and conservative understanding of literature as well as his anxious and uneasy existence led him to a nationalist and romantic outlook in poetry.

In the 1910s, he was frequenting the restaurant of the Tokatlıyan Hotel. In the 1950s, he stayed in Park Hotel. He always came to Beyoğlu and loved to spend time there. In the 1940s, he started to visit Lebon, which was one of the most popular cafés of Beyoğlu in the 1940s and 1950s. According to Salah Birsell, he would go there for a pleasurable breakfast. Yakup Kadri, Refik Halit, and Abdülhak Şinasi could usually be found in Lebon in the 1940s in the winters. In the summers, they would be at the Tepebaşı Garden. They tried to soothe their lungs with "the banal and ignominious air of the Garden."³⁸⁵ As nationalist intellectuals, they criticized Beyoğlu, yet, as bohemian literary figures they loved to spend time there.

4. 5. Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu and His Conservative Representation of Beyoğlu

Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu's literary hostility to Beyoğlu as an intellectual was highly representative of the attitudes of the supervisory generation. He was coetaneous with Yahya Kemal and a dedicated writ-

³⁸⁵ Salâh Birsell. *Ah Beyoğlu Vah Beyoğlu*, İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür, 1983. pp. 55, 59.

er who quit law school in favour of a career in literature. He was among the intellectuals who left Istanbul at the outset of the War of Liberation to join the resistance in Anatolia. When the war was over, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk invited him to the TBMM as an MP of Mardin and his constituency was changed to Manisa in 1931. Yakup Kadri was a dedicated Kemalist who identified the long-term interests of the country in the bureaucratic bodies. Despite his manifest support for Kemalism in its unitary and progressive goals, he was also critical of it. Yakup Kadri was an intellectual who made his critical views known in writing rather than by clashing on everyday issues with fellow MPs in parliament. In his political memoirs, he considers the clashes in parliament to be consequences of personal interests and political ambition rather than simply oppositional thoughts, and he chronicles them in a tone of dislike. He depicts the field of politics as a “tormenting and corrosive arena” because of the fierce monopoly of power.³⁸⁶ He was both nationalistic and against everyday politics, just as his contemporaries in Europe were.

In addition to his career as an MP, he represented Turkey in different countries as an ambassador. He was also a typical representative of the supervisory generation. Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar argues that Yakup Kadri was one of two authors who took Turkish prose beyond the Istanbul dialect. The other one was Refik Halit.³⁸⁷ In short, he was both a well-known member of his generation and one of the leading figures who led Turkish literature towards its nationalist transformation in the twentieth century.

In Yakup Kadri's novels, the intellectual uses his mental powers and accomplishments not to climb the social ladder but to connect with

³⁸⁶ Çimen Günay. “Taking up the gauntlet: fictionists in the Turkish parliament”, *European Journal of Turkish Studies*, no:3, 2005.

³⁸⁷ Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar. *Yahya Kemal*, 8th ed., Istanbul: Dergah, 2014. p. 57.

those at the bottom of his society and to raise the populace up to his level. His goal is not personal but public improvement. In giving up his personal life for an exemplary public one, the intellectual becomes a pedagogic figure. In “*Yaban*”, the character Ahmet Celal clearly speaks as a pedagogic figure. However, he could not accomplish his duty because of villagers’ worries about food, money, and death.³⁸⁸

In his utopic novel *Ankara*, the function of the intellectual is to educate the public with their teachings and writings; to fit them into the unified picture of nationhood. Their function is to show to the public the necessity and the beauty of the nation as a harmonious totality.³⁸⁹ In his first novel *Kiralık Konak*, the main character Hakkı Celis gives up reading and writing symbolic and abstract poetry and pursuing his unrequited love for Semiha in order to direct his energy to building the future of his nation: He enlists as a soldier. It is only after experiencing the collective life of the military that he realizes that his personal sorrows and desires, which had plagued him until then, were meaningless.³⁹⁰ At the beginning of this chapter, I had mentioned that European young males who participated in World War I either died in the first years of the War or were highly disappointed by the end of it. However, their contemporary Turkish young men were in a rather unique situation of being intellectuals of a country that had few intellectuals otherwise. Even though they participated in World War I and the National Struggle, most of them did not actively fight in the war. Moreover, the National Struggle was a war of independence; seemingly a just war rather than a war of conquest. Hence, they continued to entertain the image of the battle-

³⁸⁸ Sibel Erol. “The Image of the Intellectual in Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu’s Works” in *Turkish Studies Association Bulletin*, Vol: 16, no:1, pp. 7,8

³⁸⁹ Ibid., p. 9.

³⁹⁰ Ibid., p. 8.

field and trenches as an idealized space where the individual transcended into a part of the collective, rather than a space of inhumanity and ugliness, for their entire lives.

At the beginning of this chapter, I had pointed out that for the supervisory generation, the collective and national ideal should supersede individuality. We then covered examples from their texts which corroborate this argument. While Yahya Kemal found the collective ideal of nationhood in the mosque during *bayram namazı*, Yakup Kadri found it in the army. In any case, the collective ideal of nationhood was an unquestionable fact for both of them and the intellectual by definition should be a part of the collective life of the nation. How this understanding shaped Yahya Kemal's representation of Beyoğlu was examined above. In the following pages, I will examine how this understanding shaped Yakup Kadri's representation of Beyoğlu.

Yakup Kadri's earliest novels *Nur Baba* and *Kiralık Konak* were published in 1922. However, he had already started to write his first literary essays and texts at the end of the first decade of the 1900s. Even though there were significant differences between the early and late periods of his literary life, his attitude which prioritized the national ideal over individuality could already be seen in his early writings. He said in one of his first essays which he wrote in 1909 for *Muhit* journal that Istanbul was nothing more than a Byzantine ruin. The Golden Horn was a dirty and hypocritical place for him. In his description, a faint and terrible ghost stared at him with red hot and bloody eyes from the green hills of the Bosphorus.³⁹¹ His literary adventure began with hostility to Istanbul. As many literary men of his generation did, he was ex-

³⁹¹ Hasan Ali Yücel. *Edebiyat Tarihimizden*, Ankara: TTK, 1957. p. 32.

pressing his hostility employing metaphors such as terrible ghosts and monsters.

In a play which he wrote in the same year, the character complained about his brother throwing money around the Bosphorus shores, Beyoğlu Avenue, the islands, and the river shores.³⁹² He appealed to his brother to return to the family life. Places such as Beyoğlu or the Bosphorus were for irresponsible men. To depict these districts, he created characters that resembled “Bihruz Bey.”

Yakup Kadri further revealed his perception of Beyoğlu when he talked about his friend Refik Halit and Refik Halit’s adventures in Beyoğlu. To him, Beyoğlu was a coquette who ruined the moral and sexual innocence of young men. He brought up his friend Refik Halit in an article in *Fecri Ati*. Refik Halit spent his years in Beyoğlu; however, he “protected his chastity and morality there like a priest.” This article even led to a fight. In the newspaper *Hande*, some literary figures mocked these words and said that writers of *Fecri Ati* were striving to prove their chastity. On this occasion, some bulky *Fecri Ati* writers like Emin Bülent and Tahsin Nahit went to the office of this newspaper looking for a fight.³⁹³ This anecdote seems very interesting to me. It shows that Yakup Kadri noticed their paradoxical attitudes with regard to Beyoğlu. They were describing Beyoğlu as the centre of all evil, but loved to spend time there. Perhaps, he hoped to protect his friend in this way.

Refik Halit’s representation and perception of Beyoğlu was no different than Yakup Kadri’s. Yakup Kadri said of Refik Halit that he wore the most expensive and elegant clothes in the evenings when he would stay in Beyoğlu, complete with gold watch strap and pearl stick pin. He

³⁹² Ibid., p. 34.

³⁹³ Ibid., p. 56.

would get angry when he was not invited to the balls in Pera Palace. On the other hand, he found all the places in Beyoğlu, including Pera Palace, degenerate and vulgar. He thought all restaurants and hotels of Beyoğlu to be dirty in some sense. According to Refik Halit, there was a single decent place in Istanbul: his mansion in Erenköy, Kozyatağı. However, he could stay more than one or two days a week in his own mansion. He spent the majority of his time in “dirty” Beyoğlu.³⁹⁴ This was not a paradox peculiar only to Refik Halit. The childhood days spent in the mansions of Istanbulitan high-middle class families were remembered with nostalgia. Born in the more traditional quarters, these authors loved to spend time in Beyoğlu, while representing Beyoğlu negatively in their texts.

While the Balkan wars raged on, Yakup Kadri wrote an article on the bridge linking Istanbul to Beyoğlu. All kinds of people could be seen on this bridge. The map of colour and shape would carry the observer to the world of Asian tribes or scuds in the untouched fringes of Africa. It would make one wander across India, Turkistan, and Bukhara and transport them to European towns and cities. That is, it globetrots the person all around the world within a short time span. However, this diversity, which he reflected in his flowery literary language, is ultimately not a positive thing for Yakup Kadri. Beyoğlu and the bridge linking Beyoğlu to Istanbul should have become a proper part of Istanbul by being Turkified. For Yakup Kadri, Beyoğlu was like a building whose plan was drafted by pork butchers, its foundation founded by wine merchants, and columns completed by grocers. It was a jarring monument of vulgarism and decadence.³⁹⁵ Yakup Kadri’s depiction of

³⁹⁴ Ibid., pp. 98, 99.

³⁹⁵ Ibid., pp. 165, 169.

the Bridge echoed De Amicis's description of the Galata Bridge mentioned in the previous chapter. Despite being an author of a different generation, he described the Bridge with similar images, even using the same words as De Amicis such as "the map of colour and shape" and "all kinds of people".

The Galata Bridge was in fact an important symbol. As said in the previous chapter, Istanbul beyond Galata was a different world for the Levantines and non-Muslims of Pera and Galata. They rarely ventured beyond the Bridge. I defined their attitudes against the Bridge through Derrida's door metaphor. It was both a passage and a border not to be crossed. Muslims who lived in the historical peninsula had the same feeling about Galata and Beyoğlu. Hasan Âli Yücel, who authored Yakup Kadri's biography, said that the aversion of Muslim people to Beyoğlu was quite old. However, the tone of this aversion changed with the rise of nationalism. Yücel claimed that the majority of the residents of traditional Istanbul beyond the Galata Bridge abhorred Beyoğlu and Galata. Hasan Ali's father had also advised him to stay away from this zone when he was young. However, according to Hasan Ali, the aversion of Yakup Kadri was different from the aversion of other Muslim Istanbulites. They abhorred Beyoğlu and Galata for religious reasons; however, Yakup Kadri abhorred them for national reasons. It was a different city in practice like Calcutta and Beijing within Istanbul for Yakup Kadri.³⁹⁶ Pera and Galata really looked like a separate city such as Calcutta and Beijing. Yakup Kadri continued to emphasize these themes in his essays, articles, and fictive works in the 1910s. Authors of his generation including himself maintained their hostility towards Beyoğlu their whole lives, even after Beyoğlu was Turkified and had lost its old privileges.

³⁹⁶ Ibid., p. 172.

They criticized Beyoğlu by applying cultural dualities and metaphors rather than economic concepts, as per their educational and cultural backgrounds. They maintained these dispositions for a long time. Drawing the line between religious and national aversion was not always as easy as Hasan Ali Yücel stated. In actuality, there was not a big difference between the approaches of “Hasan Ali Yücel’s father” and Yakup Kadri. Both made their criticisms in cultural and moral terms. Yakup Kadri was only stating his ideas in a new literary language.

4. 6. The Nationalism of Young Pens and Their Hostility to Beyoğlu

While the idea of nationalism reached its full prominence among Turkish intellectuals in the years following the Balkan wars, it was already being pronounced by some intellectuals shortly prior to the wars as well. *Genç Kalemler* (Young Pens) was one of the first publication advancing Turkish nationalism. This journal led the way for the other pioneers of the nationalist transformation of Turkish literature. Ali Canip Yöntem, who was one of the three founders of the journal along with Ziya Gökalp and Ömer Seyfettin, who can be said to be the pioneers of the pioneers of nationalism, complained that even Greeks, Armenians, Arabs, and Albanians had national honour while Turks did not. Instead, Turks had individual honour; they esteemed only their individuality. They could not comprehend the importance of nationality while boozing and entertaining themselves in Beyoğlu. Looking at Macedonia was enough to understand this.³⁹⁷ That is, a man could gain his national honour in Macedonia, where Turks and other nations fought in moun-

³⁹⁷ Ibid., p. 213.

tains, but not in Pera, where people of every nation mingled with each other.

Ali Canip saluted Turks living in Macedonia, contrasting them to frequenters of Beyoğlu. However, the Young Turks who had fought in the Macedonia mountains actually liked Beyoğlu and were having fun there. According to Salah Birsell, *Café des Fleurs*, which was opened in the second half of the nineteenth century and which maintained its presence into the twentieth century, was one of the cafés often visited by Young Turks. Many Young Turks in Istanbul came to this café with alcoholic drinks and music for entertainment.³⁹⁸ Even though the Turkish nationalists saw nationalism at the ideological level as a means for saving the state, their traditional and religious lifestyles were broken. Thus, the life in Beyoğlu appealed to them; they could not find the kind of life and entertainment among their familial environments that they did in Beyoğlu.

4. 7. The Womanizer or a Decisive Enemy of Beyoğlu: Mithat Cemal Kuntay

In the previous section, I introduced nationalist and conservative authors like Yahya Kemal and Yakup Kadri as the “pioneers of pioneers of nationalism” in Turkey: The Young Pens. In this section, I will present other nationalist authors who might also be deemed figures of the “supervisory generation”. One of these is Mithat Cemal Kuntay, a decisive enemy and at the same time a lover of Beyoğlu. Even though he had only one novel, he became a well-known person in literary circles and one of the most famous authors of the twentieth century in Turkish literature with this one novel. Hence, his views about Beyoğlu are also im-

³⁹⁸ Salâh Birsell. *Ah Beyoğlu Vah Beyoğlu*, İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür, 1983. p. 19.

portant to understand his own generation. I will now examine some of his newspaper articles and essays.

In these writings, he harshly criticized Beyoğlu and the life in Beyoğlu. The paradox of the abovementioned intellectuals also applies to him. On the one hand, he was criticized for wenching in Beyoğlu. On the other hand, he criticized Beyoğlu himself, identifying it with whoredom and adultery.³⁹⁹ The popular current in newspapers in the 1940s was to criticize Beyoğlu. Whenever women became the topic, luxury and debauchery were also brought up in the newspapers of the era. Whenever these three topics were discussed, Beyoğlu also came up. Beyoğlu had become a feminized and demonized zone. It was also a tempting and weird world. In the words of Kuntay, it was a place which had never belonged to “us.” He says that “I had been seeking the Turk in Beyoğlu since when I was a child. I am still seeking the Turk in Beyoğlu.” For him, a land did not become national with just a police station and two or three restaurants. It could only become national through temples and national monuments. Beyoğlu began with the tomb of Şeyh Galip and ended with the tomb of Mahmut Şevket Pasha. However, there was nothing between these which was national.⁴⁰⁰ In short, he meant that Beyoğlu was “a district without azan.” It could be “conquered” again culturally, if furnished with religious and national monuments. In its present condition, it was the centre of all kinds of immorality and banality. Kuntay exaggerated his evaluation of Beyoğlu to such extent that he concluded that the beauty of Ankara was due to its lack of a district like Beyoğlu. Ironically, Kuntay was the Beyoğlu notary. For this reason, he spent the majority of his time in Beyoğlu. He was even belittled as the

³⁹⁹ Levent Birsel. *Cumhuriyetin Büluğ Çağı*, İstanbul: İletişim, 2008. p. 31.

⁴⁰⁰ Ibid., p. 83.

womanizer of Beyoğlu by Recep Peker, who was the general secretary of the Republican People's Party. His hostility against the place where he lived and worked was remarkable. However, this was a literary hostility and a metaphorical instrument.⁴⁰¹ Criticizing Beyoğlu was almost an essential condition for being an intellectual in early Republican Turkey.

Kuntay himself resembled the character Adnan in his novel *Üç İstanbul* (Three Istanbul). Adnan was trying to write a novel and, in the process, he was showing Beyoğlu to be a disgusting place. When Adnan went to Beyoğlu in real life, however, he did not find it so disgusting. This was the main contradiction of Kuntay's generation. Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar says in a passage in *Beş Şehir* (Five Cities) which he removed in later editions⁴⁰² that "even though we live and have fun in Beyoğlu, we do not love it. This is one of the paradoxes of our life. Our conscience cannot approve of it in any way." This is an extraordinary confession, because Tanpınar was among the intellectuals who had a bad conscience with respect to Beyoğlu.⁴⁰³

4. 8. Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar: Beyoğlu as an Imitation of the West

Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar was the son of a government official; he spent several years in Kerkuk, Mosul, and a number of cities in Anatolia because of his father's duties and could return to his city of birth only by the late 1910s as a university student. After completing his studies at the University of Istanbul Faculty of Letters, he worked as a teacher for

⁴⁰¹ Ibid., p. 84.

⁴⁰² *Türk Edebiyatında Beyoğlu*, ed. by Selahattin Özpalabıyıklar, Istanbul: YKY, 2000. p. 12, 13.

⁴⁰³ Levent Cantek. *Cumhuriyetin Büluğ Çağı*, Istanbul: İletişim, 2008. p. 85.

a while, but soon returned to the university and became a professor in 1939. He entered parliament in 1942 as a deputy of Kahramanmaraş, thanks to the friendly propaganda of Memduh Şevket Esendal, who was in that period influential in the organizing of party lists. He served until 1946 and left parliamentary politics at the outset of the multi-party period. Tanpınar then became an inspector in the Ministry of Education. He returned to his academic career at the university in 1949 and devoted himself to his literary studies until the end of his life.⁴⁰⁴

Tanpınar saw Beyoğlu as a poor imitation of the West and a degenerated space. However, he also spent most of his time in Beyoğlu. The Strasbourg Beerhouse, which the French who lived in Turkey and journalists generally frequented, was one of his favourite places.⁴⁰⁵ Above all, he lived in Beyoğlu, at the Narmanlı complex. To recall Yakup Kadri's words about Refik Halit above, intellectuals of the supervisory generation probably saw themselves in the manner Yakup Kadri saw Refik Halit. They lived and spent their time in Beyoğlu; however, this evil space could not take away their chastity. They struggled with their bodily urges (*nefis*) in Beyoğlu as representatives of morality (*edeb and edebiyat*). They visited entertainment venues and cinemas which were the new *alafranga* (French-like, Europeanized) symbols and tried to teach the younger generations how to remain above the fray in these places and how to utilize these places without being corrupted. Hence, the newspapers of the 1940s were filled with criticisms of new

⁴⁰⁴ Çimen Günay. "Taking up the gauntlet: fictionists in the Turkish parliament", *European Journal of Turkish Studies*, no:3, 2005.

⁴⁰⁵ Salâh Birsell. *Ah Beyoğlu Vah Beyoğlu*, İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür, 1983. pp. 31.

alafranga symbols such as cinemas and modern and fashionable young women.⁴⁰⁶

Although Tanpınar was also among the authors criticizing Beyoğlu, his criticism focused on subjects of “high culture.” One of these subjects was architecture. For Tanpınar, Beyoğlu’s architecture was a threat for both Istanbul as a city and national Turkish architecture in general. In his book of collected essays, *Yaşadığım Gibi* (As I Lived), he criticized an architectural attitude. For him, all architecture plans published in journals of foreign countries were realized in Istanbul, mingling with individual fantasies of architects. This attitude began in Beyoğlu and then spread to Kadıköy and Suadiye. Buildings constructed by these plans were disorganised and incompatible with each other. They were also at odds with any idea of proportion. Architectural characteristics of Beyoğlu created contradictions within the architectural body of Istanbul. Even worse, it did not have a coherent architectural style itself. It was a mishmash of different styles of Western architecture.⁴⁰⁷

Istanbul’s Muslim and Turkish architectural coherence was broken in the nineteenth century. As covered in the previous chapter, since architectural regulations were limited to areas damaged by fires, it could not

⁴⁰⁶ Levent Cantek. *Cumhuriyetin Büluğ Çağı*, Istanbul: İletişim, 2008. p. 29; I mentioned earlier that many Western European intellectuals held a similar attitude towards popular entertainment forms and art products in the nineteenth century. This was the case for European intellectuals in the eighteenth century as well. Just as middle aged conservative authors criticised cinema in the 1940s, they were criticizing theatre in the eighteenth century. They especially took serious issue with scenes of murder and torture in theatre plays. Furthermore, certain erotic interactions on stage bothered them. Daniel Defoe, for instance, saw the theatre as a house of crime (Leo Löwenthal. *Edebiyat, Popüler Kültür ve Toplum*, Istanbul: İletişim, 2017. p. 79).

⁴⁰⁷ Ercan Çankaya. “Reflections of Conservatism and Nostalgia in Yahya Kemal Beyatlı and Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar’s Representations of Istanbul”, Unpublished Master Thesis, Ankara: METU, 2015. p. 66.

acquire a coherent Western architectural appearance either. To Tanpınar, Beyoğlu's resultant eclectic architectural structure was one of most important factors in the corruption of Istanbul's architecture. Its spread needed to be stopped and Istanbul needed to regain its national architectural wholeness.

In his stories, he treated Beyoğlu in a neutral tone. He mentions the Bridge in his story *Yaz Yağmuru* (Summer Rain) and the brothels of Beyoğlu in *Abdullah Efendi'nin Rüyalari* (Dreams of Abdullah Efendi). In *Yaz Yağmuru*, the story is set in the World War II years and people are described as poor and old. The Bridge is crowded. People walk on it, but do not even notice each other.⁴⁰⁸

In *Abdullah Efendi'nin Rüyalari*, the story character goes to a Beyoğlu brothel and had sex with a Greek woman in an old room on a shabby bed and dirty sheets. Her voice sounded like it was sounding from the depths of history. Abdullah Efendi recoiled from both the woman and the filthy room. When he exited the brothel, he wanted to completely forget all of it; the woman, that dirty room and the brothel. In the narrow streets of Beyoğlu, he sought a woman who made him forget both that dirty woman and that dirty room.⁴⁰⁹

4. 9. Peyami Safa or Server Bedi: Two Opposite Representations of Beyoğlu

The next member of the supervisory generation I will touch upon is Peyami Safa (pen name: Server Bedi). Even though he has some unique traits, Peyami Safa can also be evaluated as a classical member of the supervisory generation. Tanpınar's assessment quoted above that "even

⁴⁰⁸ Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar. *Hikâyeler*, 2nd ed., Istanbul: Dergah, 1991, p. 31.

⁴⁰⁹ Ibid., pp. 177- 179.

though we live and have fun in Beyoğlu, we do not love it.” fully applies to Peyami Safa.

Peyami Safa’s life story begins with not being able to receive a decent education because his father had died while he was a child and because he had health problems. Nevertheless, he managed to train himself. Born in 1899; he witnessed World War I, the occupation of Istanbul, and the National Struggle. He started to write while he was a high school student in the mid-1910s. He earned his living working as a journalist, as many members of his generation did. He is recognised as a nationalist and conservative writer and is read more by conservatives. However, he conformed to political authorities all his life. At first, he was a supporter of the CHP but later he switched his allegiance to DP.

He was in favour of a conservative interpretation of Kemalism almost all his life. He even saw himself as an ideologue of the regime and wanted to be recognised as such by the state elite. For this purpose, he even wrote a book: *Türk İnkılabına Bakışlar* (Views on the Turkish Revolution). He waited for an invitation to become an MP from the CHP till 1950. He was eventually nominated as the candidate of Bursa in 1950 but he failed to get elected.⁴¹⁰

He wrote novels and articles under both his real name and under the nickname of Server Bedi. He viewed the novels which he wrote under the name of Server Bedi as popular novels rather than true works of literature. For him, there were two types of novels and writings in general. The first was literary novels and writings, which he signed under his real name. The other was novels and writings which he wrote respecting the inclinations of the people and without airing his own

⁴¹⁰ Tuncay Birkan. *Dünya ile Devlet Arasında Türk Muharriri*, Istanbul: Metis, 2020. p. 180.

thoughts. He signed the latter ones under the nickname.⁴¹¹ It is interesting to note that the first-person singular narrators of novels signed as Peyami Safa and Server Bedi approach the world and life very differently. Their moral norms and value judgements are fundamentally different from each other, as if they were written by two different authors. The nationalist and conservative Peyami Safa speaks in the novels signed as Peyami Safa. In novels signed as Server Bedi on the other hand, the bohemian Peyami Safa speaks. Perhaps, for this reason, Fikret Adil used the name Server Bedi to refer to Peyami Safa in his book in which he told of the Beyoğlu bohemia of the 1930s.

In *Asmalımesçit 74*, Peyami Safa is described as a bohemian artist who usually spent his time in Beyoğlu. Peyami Safa, artists Elif Naci and İbrahim Çallı are depicted as a group of friends. These three were often seen at the Anadolu Beerhouse in Beyoğlu. According to Salah Birsell, one night, when Peyami Safa was drunk as a sow, Halit Fahri had to carry him back to his own house in Firuzağa. The next day, Peyami Safa reprehended him for preventing him from drinking to his heart's content the previous night. He loved to drink in Beyoğlu.⁴¹² According to another anecdote mentioned by Fikret Adil, while he was wandering with a married woman on Glavani Street, they were almost caught by the woman's husband. They saved themselves from the wrath of the angry husband by taking refuge once again in Fikret Adil's house in Asmalımesçit. This woman was mentioned by different names in many Server Bedi novels.⁴¹³ Fikret Adil wrote explicitly that they would smoke marijuana together with İbrahim Çallı, Peyami Safa, and Necip

⁴¹¹ Ibid., p. 128.

⁴¹² Salâh Birsell. *Ah Beyoğlu Vah Beyoğlu*, İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür, 1983. pp. 33.

⁴¹³ Fikret Adil. *Asmalımesçit 74*, 2nd ed., İstanbul: Yeditepe, 1952. pp. 62, 64.

Fazıl.⁴¹⁴ We gather from these kinds of testimonies that he lived a bohemian life in Beyoğlu. On the other hand, as a nationalist and conservative intellectual, he symbolically chose Fatih over Beyoğlu.

In order to demonstrate the conflict between conservative Peyami Safa and bohemian Server Bedi, I will discuss one of Peyami Safa's most famous novels, *Fatih Harbiye* followed by Server Bedi's *Cumbadan Rumbaya*. Neriman, who was the main character of Peyami Safa's *Fatih Harbiye*, says that "my every walk from Fatih to Harbiye is like a trip between two different countries." For Safa, the difference between authentic Turkish districts and Beyoğlu is as big as the difference between Kabul and Newyork.⁴¹⁵ Although Safa saw a chasm between traditional districts and Beyoğlu, he did not see Beyoğlu as part of such a clear-cut contradiction in his novels which he wrote under the name Server Bedi. He wrote about the Beyoğlu which he experienced as a bohemian writer under the name Server Bedi, while he wrote up his representation of Beyoğlu as a Muslim Turkish intellectual under the name of Peyami Safa. The life which she saw in Beyoğlu had fascinated Neriman at the beginning of the novel, however, by the time the end of the novel is reached she preferred Fatih. Although the novel character Neriman eventually chose Fatih, the author of *Fatih Harbiye* loved Beyoğlu and to spend time there throughout his entire life.

According to Daryo Mizrahi, the main problematic around which the story unfolds in *Fatih Harbiye* is change. At the beginning of the novel, the reader is faced with a threat to the status quo. Before the time of the novel, everything was fine and in equilibrium. Then, a threat of change initiates the dramatic action of the novel. Neriman starts out living in

⁴¹⁴ Ibid., pp. 102 - 104.

⁴¹⁵ Levent Cantek. *Cumhuriyetin Bülüğ Çağı*, İstanbul: İletişim, 2008. p. 85.

Fatih with her widowed father. She has had a relationship with Şinasi, whom she had met at the Music Conservatory, for the last seven years. Neriman was playing the *ud*; Şinasi the *kemenche*. Neriman's father would read nothing but Rumi's *Mesnevi* every night. They were all a part of the Eastern way of life and classical Turkish musical heritage. The father and Şinasi spent their evenings admiring the virtues of Eastern culture. They regularly participated in discussions held at a friend's house, together with other defenders of Eastern culture, specifically of its music. Western scholars being more knowledgeable about Islamic history than the young people of Istanbul upset them. In short, Şinasi was spending the evenings less with Neriman than with her father. There were no unknowns in her life prospects, as well as no conflict between her present and future families. Everyone around them accepted this relationship.⁴¹⁶ If this equilibrium was not threatened, there would not be any story to narrate. However, as a result of a third man coming into her life, a threat of change appeared. Throughout the novel, the change as a threat is strived to be prevented.

In the novel, it is not at all love that attracts Neriman to Harbiye, but a certain curiosity for the life outside of Fatih, the Western life across the Golden Horn, and the other side of the city. There is actually no story in the novel. There are two main signified objects: the East and the West. Everything in the text exists as a signifier of either one or the other. Fatih represents the East; Harbiye represents the West.⁴¹⁷

The only European experience that Neriman has consists of trips to the shop showcases and a party at Maxim, where she drinks her first champagne. This was no big deal, but it was enough to ring alarm bells in her

⁴¹⁶ Daryo Mizrahi. "Popular Poetics Discourse on Modernity in Early Republican İstanbul", *Turkish Studies Association Bulletin*, Vol 15, no:1, March 1991. p. 89.

⁴¹⁷ Ibid., p. 90.

milieu. Her fiancé was frightened by the changes in her: the increased attention to her clothes, the décolleté leather shoes, and the bright green coats.⁴¹⁸

The slightest variation in the routine was a sign of much worse things to come for the narrator of *Fatih Harbiye*. On the other hand, in *Cumbadan Rumbaya*, which he signed as Server Bedi, change was positive, not negative. The narrator of *Cumbadan Rumbaya* sounded more like Peyami Safa in Beyoğlu in real life. Even the titles hint at this differentiation: *Fatih Harbiye* announces a dichotomy and a polarization, whereas *Cumbadan Rumbaya* suggests a movement and an evolution.⁴¹⁹

In *Fatih Harbiye*, leaving behind her home and neighbourhood means moving from the East to the West for Neriman. In *Cumbadan Rumbaya*, it is only associated with the material gains of modern life for Cemile, its main character. When she fell in love with a man from Fatih, she wanted to move from the neighbourhood together with him. Love does not introduce a dilemma but reinforces her desires in *Cumbadan Rumbaya* in contrast with Neriman whose new friendship severely upsets the balance.⁴²⁰

In *Cumbadan Rumbaya*, the events do not occur ahead of their narration. The reader feels as if they are witnessing the events together with the characters in the novel. The incidents are told not post facto, but as they occur. The female main character of the novel is strong and has control of her life, contrary to Neriman.⁴²¹

To illustrate the difference between them, an event that is common to both novels can be examined. In *Cumbadan Rumbaya*, Cemile receives a

⁴¹⁸ Ibid.

⁴¹⁹ Ibid., p. 89.

⁴²⁰ Ibid., p. 93.

⁴²¹ Ibid., p. 94.

couple of tickets to a ball from Tahsin, a middle-aged man who tries to flirt with her. Not only do Cemile's whole family accompany her to the ball, but the event is the talk of the neighbourhood. In *Cumbadan Rumbaya*, the ball is told in detail. In *Fatih Harbiye*, there is also a ball, but it is not depicted; it is narrated only through morning-after recollections.⁴²²

In brief, in Peyami Safa novels, change is usually problematic, a deterioration. The modern ways, mostly associated with material gains, threaten to disrupt the spiritual balance of individuals, families, and societies. In contrast, Server Bedi novels accommodate change more readily. Instead of presenting the situation in absolute terms and through metaphors, Server Bedi focuses on characters, suggesting the possibility of change as improvement. Modernity is not necessarily a threat, but a challenge to be met.⁴²³

Peyami Safa as the writer of *Fatih Harbiye* is a conservative and a classicist writer. His characters signify issues of high politics such the problem of the East vs. the West. On the other hand, Server Bedi as a writer of popular novels focuses on ordinary people and how they meet the challenge of modernity. Multiple, conflicting identities were living in a single author and these conflicting identities shaped his work in different ways. These conflicting identities profoundly influenced how he perceived the city space.

⁴²² Ibid.

⁴²³ Ibid., p. 96.

4. 10. Other Well-Known Conservative Literary Figures of the 1940s

Up to this point, I discussed canonical popular writers whose works are still read today. To complete the analysis, I now turn to touch upon authors who were known well in the 1940s, but whose popularity has faded today. All of these authors had similar cultural approaches and interests. To restate, the main dilemma of this generation was that on the one hand, they condemned Beyoğlu, the Avenue and its side streets and on the other hand, they complained about its loud music, warm beer, or poor quality cheese. Indeed, conspicuously, they know all the details of the life in Beyoğlu. The life in Beyoğlu, which could not be experienced in either the rest of Istanbul nor in any other place in Turkey, was exciting to them. Some of them welcomed its attraction; however, while continuing to criticize it. For journalist Ali Rauf Akan, Beyoğlu was Europe and looked like a temptress. It shone brightly with the Parisian perfumes, silver fox furs, and brilliants; however, it was in fact “a hussy whose wounds were suppurating under silk underclothes and her bad smelling skin.” Her appearance was deceptive.⁴²⁴ They feared that this decayed “hussy” would also cause them to decay. On the other hand, they trusted themselves enough that Beyoğlu could not ruin their morality and “chastity”. However, they wanted to supervise the young generations, shielding them from harmful influences of this “hussy”, this temptress.

As intellectuals who were supposed to control their desires and fantasies, they also criticized entertainment and consumption in Beyoğlu. In 1945, dramatist and journalist Refik Kordag was relating the changes

⁴²⁴ Levent Cantek. *Cumhuriyetin Bülüş Çağı*, Istanbul: İletişim, 2008. pp. 86, 87.

women and traditional districts of Istanbul were undergoing to fashion and consumer culture. According to Kordağ, the consumer culture had influenced people on an emotional level. People's expenses were desire-based rather than need-based. Girls who used to knit tambour and play the *ud* in homes which featured windows decorated with basil vases, white cambric curtains, and low ceilings, were now dizzying in front of showcases of shops selling undies and lace stockings. People who used to drink water from streams with the palms of their hands, had now become accustomed to raise crystal glasses in toasts. As a result, old traditional districts of Istanbul like Fatih, Çarşamba, Aksaray, Sineklibakkal, Edirnekapı, and Sultantepe became history.⁴²⁵ The journalistic and literary intellectuals appealed to such Romanesque dualities to highlight the difference between traditional and Western quarters. The duality Peyami Safa established between Fatih and Harbiye was used by every conservative and middle aged literary figure in various ways.

Kordağ was applying another duality in his narration as well: the duality between uncorrupted people in nature and corrupted people in the city. This theme was taken over from the village literature which was shaped under the influence of Ziya Gökalp. In this duality, the city was the centre of civilization while the village was the centre of culture. For Tanpınar, Ziya Gökalp was in favour of an epic and romantic literature which would be constructed by rereading old Turkish sagas. He wanted these sagas to become a part of literary culture.⁴²⁶ These ideas of Gökalp became popular after the foundation of the Republic and became official cultural policy of the state with the establishment of the

⁴²⁵ Levent Cantek. *Cumhuriyetin Büluğ Çağı*, Istanbul: İletişim, 2008. p. 80.

⁴²⁶ Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar. *Yahya Kemal*, 8th ed., Istanbul: Dergah, 2014. p. 60.

Peoples' Houses and the Village Institutes. In the 1940s, this policy was continued and the imagined duality between the uncorrupted person in the countryside and the corrupted person in the city was widely used, as exemplified in Kordağ's text.

Beyoğlu was a corrupted as well as feminized place, often depicted as a woman, to many of the authors. Those who were besotted by this European woman were either feminized themselves and became fancy men like *bobstils*, uncouth countrymen like rich *hacıağas*, or women who did not know anything apart from imitating a foreign way of life. Although the victims of Beyoğlu in the novels knew the truth, they were still attracted by "the beautiful evil". However, they would be enlightened at a certain Romanesque threshold and choose "the Turkish morality based on chastity and honour" against individualism and corruption.⁴²⁷ For example, the protagonist Neriman chose Fatih over Beyoğlu at the end of the novel.

For the old generation, not only ordinary wanderers of Beyoğlu but also young literary figures were *bobstils*. For example, Orhan Veli was also mocked as a *bobstil*. Some poets of the "new poems" school were characterized as *bobstils*. Being a *bobstil* implies dressing in a certain manner. *Bobstils* wore pants with very skinny bottom hems and very long jackets. They also grew a beard. The *bobstil* type was one of the main sources of humour materials for the newspapers. *Bobstil* poets were also ridiculed by famous columnists of the day such as Cemal Refik, İsmet Hulusi, M. Turan Tan, Hikmet Feridun and Peyami Safa. Newspapers were preoccupied with *bobstils* in the Single Party Era in the

⁴²⁷ Levent Cantek. *Cumhuriyetin Büluğ Çağı*, İstanbul: İletişim, 2008. p. 88.

1940s, mostly because they could not treat “more serious subjects” during wartime.⁴²⁸

Another object of humour in those years were *hacıağas*, the rich Anatolian landowners. *Hacıağas* were fully identified with humour in those years. They were represented as men who had a crafty appearance who were usually tricked by procurers, prostitutes, and owners of casino and bars. Their incompatibility with the city life made them into materials for humour. Popular journalism criticized *hacıağas* for their provincialism and lack of manners. However, their class position was not touched upon. Prominent socialist of the era, Mihri Belli, tells in his memories that eleven or twelve year old girls were prostituted on the side streets of Beyoğlu. Their customers were these *hacıağas*. This indicates that they were not merely provincial men lacking manners, but also men of a certain amount of wealth.⁴²⁹ The literary intellectuals who were prone to conservative cultural criticism, however, could not see this side of the corruption in the provincial rich landowners.

The typical *hacıağa* was generally from Çukurova. Their emergence in Istanbul was a result of Çukurova’s economic development. They were big farmers who could corner the market and even create black markets. They spent their money gained from wartime trade in Istanbul in Beyoğlu. The *hacıağas* were spending money recklessly in Beyoğlu while Istanbulian intellectuals were in financial difficulty. Therefore, the intellectuals expressed their criticism in cultural terms.⁴³⁰ Rather than analysing the rise of *hacıağas* in economic terms, they related their presence in Beyoğlu to its Pera past and demonized the district.

⁴²⁸ Mehmed Kemal. *Acılı Kuşak*, Istanbul: De, 1985. pp. 37, 38.

⁴²⁹ Levent Cantek. *Cumhuriyetin Büluğ Çağı*, Istanbul: İletişim, 2008. p. 242.

⁴³⁰ Ibid., p. 243.

Actors and actresses like Muammer Karaca and Renan Fosforoğlu caricatured the *hacıağa* type and transferred it to cinema. The idiom “From the village, I hit the city” became popular in this period. Rich landowners from Adana, masher boys from the provinces who came to Istanbul to study, pavilions, and women singers were all treated in comedic form.⁴³¹ Some of these masher boys from the provinces such as Naim Tirali would become short story writers and write about Beyoğlu. I will examine his short stories later in this study.

As mentioned earlier, the hidden assumption was that real intellectuals could avoid worldly pleasures. No matter how much Turkey had modernized, the representation of intellectuals as persons avoiding worldly pleasures continued. Avoiding worldly pleasures and self-sacrifice were important for many intellectuals of the supervisory generation. Therefore, intellectuals could not openly confess their love for Beyoğlu or their own worldly desires, fantasies, and addictions like their English counterparts could. Confessing this would harm their reputation as loving Beyoğlu was almost identical with ignorance and corruption. Many intellectuals of this generation were spending their time in Beyoğlu cafés with other men of culture like themselves. However, their presence in Beyoğlu was not reflected on newspaper pages. On the other hand, their negative evaluations about Beyoğlu were. No matter how they lived in actuality, intellectuals never renounced their claims to abstinence, self-sacrifice and foresight. They were in fact living a bohemian life in Beyoğlu as amply demonstrated. Their negative judgements about the present time and their criticisms of cinema, fashion, consumption, and youth cultures were all embodied in Beyoğlu.⁴³²

⁴³¹ Ibid, p. 244.

⁴³² Ibid, p. 88.

Nusret Safa Coşkun was an author who carried all the characteristics of an intellectual of the supervisory generation. He was a journalist, published two novels, and served as a deputy for three years. In an essay written for *Son Posta* newspaper in 1948, he reminds the reader of the prohibition on displaying food in the restaurants which was practiced during World War II years in Istanbul. He wanted this prohibition to be practiced in all shop and store windows.⁴³³ Only “necessary products” should be displayed. Even though Coşkun did not mention Beyoğlu explicitly, his point was concerning Beyoğlu. Beyoğlu and the Avenue of İstiklal were famous for people watching shop windows and wandering in front of showcases of stores.

Even though he is not known today, he was mentioned in some books examining the 1940s. According to *Açıksöz* newspaper, he prepared a questionnaire for literary figures. In this questionnaire, he was asking what national literature was. For Safa Coşkun himself, national literature was shortly the literature of the nation. The literature should reflect the scent, spirit, and identity of the country. The nation was a psycho-sociological entity stemming from common language, consciousness, history, and interests for him. The literature should express all the characteristics of this psycho-social entity.⁴³⁴

Fethi Kardeş, a journalist, talks about a girl whose story he heard from his friend in *Akşam* newspaper in 1946. His friend notices a girl in Beyoğlu in front of a cinema. The young girl suddenly extends her arm to his friend and offers to watch a movie together. She says “Do not think further! The movie is very nice. Famous artists are performing. Let’s

⁴³³ Ibid, p. 96.

⁴³⁴ Tuncay Birkan. *Dünya ile Devlet Arasında Türk Muharriri*, Istanbul: Metis, 2020. p. 250.

take a loggia ticket. We'll have fun."⁴³⁵ Such stories were told and urban myths were created to show how degenerated a space Beyoğlu was.

These kinds of urban myths about Beyoğlu were not unique to the 1940s. Before the 1940s as well, they were used to shape the perception of Beyoğlu among the people. Sometimes, they even led to serious consequences. According to news in *Cumhuriyet* newspaper in 1924, two young and beautiful women, who drank in a taproom and got drunk, were slouching around Beyoğlu. They attracted the attention of the police and were taken into custody. Walking in Beyoğlu was of course not a criminal act according to the laws of the era, however, they would remain under arrest for three weeks.⁴³⁶ Negative public perceptions of Beyoğlu and women in Beyoğlu probably influenced the decision of the judge.

Another piece of news in newspapers in 1924 was about a police raid on a brothel. What made this news important was a love affair discovered between an Armenian young man and a married Turkish woman. The Armenian man was Karabet, a jeweller in the Grand Bazaar. The woman's name was not given in the newspaper. There was a forbidden love between them and they were meeting in a brothel in order not to draw attention to themselves. To meet in a brothel in Beyoğlu was probably the Armenian man's idea. However, since the woman was in love with the man, she did not refuse his request. She did not regret what she did and admitted that she had gone there voluntarily. While she was admitting to her "crime", she did not "even cover her eyes with her hands" according to the newspaper. She was married to a merchant who prospered during the War. Even though she was married and well

⁴³⁵ Levent Cantek. *Cumhuriyetin Büluğ Çağı*, İstanbul, İletişim: 2008. p. 131.

⁴³⁶ Hakan Kaynar. *Projesiz Modernleşme: Cumhuriyet İstanbul'undan Gündelik Fragmanlar*, İstanbul: İstanbul Araştırmaları Enstitüsü, 2012. p. 217.

established, she cheated on her husband with an Armenian man. For this reason, she drew the attention of all the newspapers and of public opinion. She was personally questioned by a police commander. After she was questioned by the Chief of Police, she changed her tune and said that she regretted what she had done. And then, a statement was made to the press announcing that the woman was deceived by the Armenian man.⁴³⁷

The reporter of the news was a familiar figure: Mahmut Esat Karakurt, who would become a famous columnist in the 1940s. He was a student when the news was published. As did many literary figures in that era, he also earned his living by way of journalism. Karakurt not only confined himself to reporting the event but also wrote his own evaluations in the news. According to him, women released themselves into the bars and “immoral” spaces of Beyoğlu with the euphoria of freedom. These women were not only breaking bonds with their families but also with their nations.⁴³⁸

To sum up, according to the representations of Beyoğlu which became widespread by way of newspapers, Beyoğlu was the space of all sorts of corruption as a centre of consumption and entertainment. Journalists of this era represented Beyoğlu with a literary language which was full of metaphors, dualities, and contradictions because of their conservative and literary backgrounds. Politics was among their main interests and journalism was an occupation which was closely connected to both literature and politics. Therefore, many of them chose journalism as an occupation. As a result, literary figures who were born at the end of the nineteenth century dominated Turkish press in the 1940s and their

⁴³⁷ Ibid., p. 218.

⁴³⁸ Ibid., pp. 218, 219.

representation of Beyoğlu became popularized. They represented Beyoğlu negatively in both their newspaper essays and literary works with a metaphorical language full of metaphors, dualities, and contradictions although they loved Beyoğlu and spent considerable amount of time there in their daily lives. Their simultaneous literary hostility to Beyoğlu and lifestyle centered in Beyoğlu stemmed from the era in which they were born. Shortly before World War I, they were educated young men of the middle classes. In this period, the intellectual world was militarized and came under the influence of romanticism and nationalism in Europe, too. Turkish intellectuals' world of thought was also shaped in this atmosphere.

5

Literary Discussions in the 1940s about Aesthetic Modernism and the Place of Beyoğlu within These Discussions

In the previous chapter, I discussed negative representations of Beyoğlu among intellectuals in the 1940s and claimed that criticizing Beyoğlu in newspapers was a popular practice. In these years, middle aged authors dominated newspapers. Many of them had witnessed the Balkan Wars, World War I, and the National Struggle. A concept, “the supervisory generation”, which I borrowed from Levent Cantek, described them best. On the other hand, there was a new generation rising in these years. Many of them were born after the 1910s and were children when the Republic was founded. They became adults in the early Republican period. Perhaps for this reason, their understandings of literature and life were not shaped by the feeling of threat, which was the defining characteristic of the supervisory generation.

In this chapter, I will claim that the influence of modernism and modernist authors was increasing in the 1940s and that they sparked fresh debates in literary circles. I discussed modernism in the first chapter lengthily. However, I want to touch upon some of its main characteris-

tics in this chapter again before discussing the literary modernism of the 1940s. One of the most important characteristics of modernism is that it pushes the subject out of nature. Modernism is, before all else, the hegemony of the object. Another important feature is that reason occupies an absolute place of privilege in modernism. The only thing that can grasp the object in its full reality is reason. In the modernist approach, thinking of a subject that is independent from reason is impossible. Identity cannot be defined independent of reason in modernism. Besides, disengagement, dissociation, and secession are the most important patterns of modernist conscience and its discourse. Modernism positions itself against tradition. A modernism reconciled with tradition is impossible. On the other hand, it needs the existence of tradition to be able to position itself in opposition to.⁴³⁹

At this juncture, I want to discuss the trajectory of aesthetic modernism in Turkey. Literary modernism in Turkish literature was born first in poetry. In the 1950s, literary modernism was the rising current in almost every field of literature. Examining the short story writing of the 1950s, Jale Özata Dirlikyapan claims that short story writing of the 1950s generation and the poetry of *İkinci Yeni* was feeding upon each other and that they had common theoretical sources.⁴⁴⁰ I also claim that new poetry and short story writing of the 1940s fed upon each other. Their theoretical sources were also common. In short, there was a close relationship between the changing understandings of poetry and short story writing in the 1940s and 1950s.

The influence of poetry was primary in this mutual relationship. In Turkey, poetry had a very old and deep-rooted history. Compared with the

⁴³⁹ Arnold Hauser, *Sanatın Toplumsal Tarihi*, İstanbul: Remzi, 1984, pp. 402-405.

⁴⁴⁰ Jale Özata Dirlikyapan. *Kabuğunu Kıran Hikâye: Türk Öykücülüğünde 1950 Kuşağı*, İstanbul: Metis, 2010. p. 37.

tradition of poetry, the tradition of prose was very weak. After Turkish literature came under the influence of Western literature, different genres of Western prose such as the novel started to appear and in this way, prose was able to develop gradually along with poetry. However, it could not surpass the precedence of poetry.⁴⁴¹ When compared with the novel and the theatre play which were introduced into the Turkish literary tradition in the nineteenth century, the history of the short story was even more recent. As a genre, it appeared at the beginning of the twentieth century with Ömer Seyfettin. It was either not seen as an art form or it was seen as an inferior art form throughout its short history. As I briefly discussed in the first chapter, in the short story, the urban experience of the superfluous man or the artist is narrated more directly thanks to the characteristics of this genre. In this sense, the short story is the literary genre most suitable to examining how a generation experienced the city and the city space. Therefore, I focus only on story writers and stories of the 1940s generation in this dissertation. Ten short story writers will be examined in this study. Many of these did not qualify themselves as short story writers and saw writing short stories as a secondary occupation, in some cases, only to earn money. In the 1940s, poetry still held an indisputable superiority. For example, Nuruallah Ataç, who was the most famous literary critic of these years, explicitly stated that while he loved novels, short stories, and dramas, he could not view even the most beautiful of them as works of art on the same level of poetry.⁴⁴² This was not merely Ataç's personal judgement; he was channelling public opinion. Therefore, changes in how poetry

⁴⁴¹ Asım Bezirci, Nuruallah Ataç: *Eleştiri Anlayışı ve Yazıları*, İstanbul: Kitapçılık Limited Şirketi, 1968. pp. 137, 138.

⁴⁴² Ibid., p.138.

was understood should be examined first in order to decipher the changes in mentality in the 1940s.

5. 1. Discussions of Aesthetic Modernism in the 1930s

Before discussing changes in the understanding of poetry in the 1940s, I want to briefly examine literary developments of the 1930s to see the continuities and breaks between the two decades. Even though he had died in 1924, the most influential name in cultural policies of the Republic in the 1930s remained Ziya Gökalp. The cultural elements of the nation state in Turkey had its roots in the principles of Turkism set by Ziya Gökalp during the Ottoman period, despite the Republican government claiming that the new state and society represented an irreversible break from Ottoman culture. This was no mere claim; language and alphabet reforms were implemented in order to realize this break.⁴⁴³

In contrast with the claims of and attempts at an irreversible break from the Ottoman past, almost all leading poets of the 1930s, such as Mehmet Âkif Ersoy, Yahya Kemal Beyatlı, and poets of The Syllabist movement emerged and developed their poetics prior to the Republic.⁴⁴⁴ None of the leading poets of the 1930s championed the West and Western culture in this decade. Western culture was deemed important for the technologies it offered, yet it could not be imported in whole. In this period, the syllabist movement based its discourse and poetry on pastoral Anatolian themes. Conservatives like Yahya Kemal and Ahmet Haşim defended the classical nature of Divan literature and only a few

⁴⁴³ Gülce Başer. "The pursuit of new antagonistic discourses: politics in poetry of the 1980s", Published Dissertation, Istanbul: Boğaziçi University, 2016. p. 49.

⁴⁴⁴ Faruk Nafiz Çamlıbel, Yusuf Ziya Ortaç, Orhan Seyfi Orhon, Enis Behiç Koryürek, Halit Fahri Ozansoy

names such as Mehmet Akif radically criticized the regime.⁴⁴⁵ Among these poets, those of the Syllabist movement reflected official ideas of the state; however, conservatives like Yahya Kemal were not excluded from the republican elite either. We saw in the previous chapter how their perceptions of space were shared when it came to Beyoğlu.

I also discussed the self-perceptions of leading poets and authors and how these self-perceptions were shaped by developments following the Balkan Wars. These figures saw themselves as intellectuals guiding society. This was not mere self-perception; a poet was above all seen as an intellectual and was expected to be the pioneer of cultural development in the early republican period. The widely accepted understanding of the period was that young Turkey would grow up through rapid education, development, and revolution in culture. Literary figures would be the pioneers of this revolution in culture. Poets and intellectuals would educate and improve the poor folks.⁴⁴⁶ Villagist and Syllabist poetry were supported by political authorities in order to educate the villagers who made up more than eighty percent of Turkey's population.

There were a range of different ideas among the poets in this decade. The Five Syllabist poets represented the new cultural values of the Republic including responsibility of the intellectual for the education of the poor folk. Yahya Kemal represented the continuity of Ottoman culture and autonomy of the poet while Mehmet Âkif represented a conservative opposition to the new regime. Nâzım Hikmet appeared in the late 1920s as an influential poet who criticized the Republic through his own values as a communist. On the other hand, Necip Fazıl reinforced

⁴⁴⁵ Gülce Başer. "The pursuit of new antagonistic discourses: politics in poetry of the 1980s", Published Dissertation, Istanbul: Boğaziçi University, 2016. p. 49.

⁴⁴⁶ Ibid., pp. 50, 51.

the anti-secular ideology represented by Âkif with “a lyrical depth that Âkif did not possess.⁴⁴⁷”

Political authorities supported the model of the poet as a man of thought and an educator of the masses. For political authorities, literature had to both be interested in social problems and stay away from socialism and not question the social order.⁴⁴⁸ However, this model also turned poets into suspicious men in the eyes of the same political authorities. The 1930s was a turning point with respect to the state’s tolerance of the intelligentsia. The economic crisis of 1929 seriously influenced Turkey in the 1930s. By Atatürk’s directive, *Serbest Fırka* (SF-Liberal Party) was established in 1930. In this way, oppositional voices would be heard and represented legitimately. SF was banned, however, that same year and the regime turned more authoritarian. Certain legislative measures were taken to that end. According to a press act passed in 1931, editors, chief editors, executive editors, and managing editors would have to be university graduates. This meant that many men of letters would become unemployed. Moreover, the act also required the submission of names of columnists, reporters, photographers, painters, and editors to the government. All of them would be recorded. Propaganda in favour of the sultanate, caliphate, communism, and anarchism was banned, as well. Above all, the cabinet council could now shut down any newspaper at any time. In 1930, Nâzım Hikmet was prosecuted for his book *Sesini Kaybeden Şehir*, which supported the taxi drivers’ strike. He wasn’t the only poet which was prosecuted in the 1930s. Hasan İzzettin Dinamo for example, was sentenced to four years imprisonment for a poem which described the soldiers working on the con-

⁴⁴⁷ Ibid., p. 52.

⁴⁴⁸ Hasan Bülent Kahraman. *Türkiye’de Yazınsal Bilincin Oluşumu*, İstanbul: Kapı, 2014. p. 113.

struction of the Sivas-Erzurum railway in 1935. According to Gülce Başer, who wrote a dissertation about politics in poetry, although all political criticism was forbidden, prosecutions were carried out only for left wing antagonists. While the leftist authors and poets were prosecuted, many leftist journals were also closed because of economic and political reasons. After the *Kadro* journal was closed in 1934, no leftist or left-leaning journal remained. These sorts of journals managed to reappear in 1938 even though a supplementary article was added to the press act in this year and publishing a new journal or newspaper was made difficult. According to this supplementary article, a licence needed to be acquired before publishing a newspaper or journal. Thus, only those trusted by the state could publish a newspaper. Prior to the change, informing the authorities used to be sufficient to publish a journal or newspaper.⁴⁴⁹

Another important development that took place in the 1930s was the labour law of 1936. This law forbid strikes and lockouts. Worker protests and demands for economic and political rights were blocked from the get go. General Secretary of the CHP Recep Peker believed that the new law was intended to prevent the birth of class consciousness among the working classes. Thus, expression of workers' problems would be included within the scope of the prohibitions of the penal code.⁴⁵⁰

Silencing of leftist poets was directly connected to the silencing of the left and the labour movement. Among leftist poets, Nâzım Hikmet occu-

⁴⁴⁹ Gülce Başer. "The pursuit of new antagonistic discourses: politics in poetry of the 1980s", Published Dissertation, Istanbul: Boğaziçi University, 2016. pp. 54, 55; Ahmet Oktay. *Toplumcu Gerçekçiliğin Kaynakları*, Istanbul: Tümm zamanlar, 2000. p.30; Tuncay Birkan. *Dünya ile Devlet Arasında Türk Muharriri*, Istanbul: Metis, 2020. pp. 105, 106.

⁴⁵⁰ Oktay, Ahmet. *Toplumcu Gerçekçiliğin Kaynakları*, Istanbul: Tümm zamanlar, 2000. p. 398.

pied a very special place due to his life, poetry, and ideas. Nâzım Hikmet's socialist poetry seriously influenced both his own generation and coming generations. Whereas before him, social issues had occupied an important place in Islamist and conservative poetry, with Nâzım Hikmet, the left gained a monopoly on such themes. For example, elements emphasizing social injustice and poverty were already present in Mehmet Âkif's poetry. The theme of poverty had also been treated in certain poems of Yahya Kemal such as *Kocamustafapaşa*, as well. After Nâzım Hikmet, Islamic and conservative poets abandoned these themes and Sufi themes became more prominent in their poems. For example, social themes appeared a lot less in the poetry of Necip Fazıl, who was Nâzım's contemporary. The emphasis on economic issues, poverty, and social hierarchies became the signature of socialist ideology in Turkish poetry after Nâzım Hikmet.⁴⁵¹

Nazım Hikmet had a lasting influence on young poets of the 1930s and 1940s. Classical Marxist literature had still not been translated into Turkish at the time. Young poets of these generations became leftist through reading Nâzım Hikmet rather than Marxist theory. Many of them, including Hasan İzzettin Dinamo, A. Kadir, Rıfat Ilgaz, Cahit Irgat, Niyazi Akıncıoğlu, Enver Gökçe, and Arif (Barikat) Damar would face prosecution for socialist propaganda. As a result of this political repression, the influence of Nâzım Hikmet on Turkish poetry and his political critiques have remained limited.⁴⁵² However, the fact that some of Nazım's poems could be published in socialist literature journals in the

⁴⁵¹ Gülce Başer. "The pursuit of new antagonistic discourses: politics in poetry of the 1980s", Published Dissertation, Istanbul: Boğaziçi University, 2016. pp. 56, 57.

⁴⁵² Ibid., p. 57.

1940s like *Ses*, *Gün*, *Yürüyüş*, *Yeni Edebiyat*, and *Başak* should not be overlooked. That is, his poems were not completely unreachable.⁴⁵³

One result of this political repression targeting Nâzım and his young followers was that Turkish literature entered the 1940s with a serious change of mentality. As a social group, Turkish literary figures started to position themselves against the state rather than supporting it in the late 1930s. This process, represented by columnists such as Çetin Altan, Emil Galip Sandalcı, and Aziz Nesin was complete by the end of the 1950s. In addition, Orhan Kemal, Yaşar Kemal, and Melih Cevdet Anday started to publish interviews with poor people in newspapers, vividly displaying the shortcomings of the state in carrying out its duties and fulfilling its goals. On the other hand, modernist and pessimist attitudes came to dominate the poetry and story writing of this period, exemplified by poets and authors such as Leyla Erbil, Yusuf Atılgan, Ece Ayhan and Edip Cansever. By the 1960s, this break became a clear and undeniable fact.⁴⁵⁴

Before discussing the characteristics of and effects of this political repression and the 1940s as a transition period in the coming pages, I want to touch upon the modernism of the 1930s in Turkey and the influences of Nâzım Hikmet on this current. In fact, even in Nâzım's first poems in the 1920s in the journal *Aydınlık*, the modernist understanding of art held an important place.⁴⁵⁵ When Nâzım Hikmet published *835 Satır* in 1929, the desire for social change started to crystallize in Turkish poetry. On the one hand, poets like İlhami Bekir (Tez) and Nail V. (Çakırhan) started to follow Nâzım's path. On the other hand, poets like Ercüment Behzat and Mümtaz Zeki became radically influenced by

⁴⁵³ Hasan Bülent Kahraman. *Türk Şiirinde Modernizm*, İstanbul: Büke, 2000. p. 61.

⁴⁵⁴ Tuncay Birkan. *Dünya ile Devlet Arasında Türk Muharriri*, İstanbul: Metis, 2020. p. 52.

⁴⁵⁵ Hasan Bülent Kahraman. *Türk Şiirinde Modernizm*, İstanbul: Büke, 2000. p. 39.

modernist poetry. Syllabic poetry was also transformed in a modernist direction by poets such as Necip Fazıl, Cahit Sıtkı, Ahmet Muhip Dıranas and the poets of *Yedi Meşale*. These attempts at innovation culminated in a generation movement. Many new journals started to be published at the beginning of the 1940s.⁴⁵⁶

This dramatic desire for change was not unique to the field of literature. Leftist and realist approaches started to appear in Turkish plastic art with the establishment of the D Group in 1933.⁴⁵⁷ Nuri İyem and Kemal

⁴⁵⁶ Ahmet Oktay. *Toplumcu Gerçekçiliğin Kaynakları*, İstanbul: Tümm zamanlar, 2000. p. 415.

⁴⁵⁷ In this dissertation, I mainly examine the modernism of the 1940s, therefore presenting how the modernism of the 1930s was perceived by the 1940s generation is necessary. To illustrate, I will briefly summarize and discuss a story by Sait Faik about the D Group.

The title of the story was *D Grubu Sergisi* (D Group Exhibition). The narrator believed that a group by the name of D Group did not in fact exist. Rather, there were some Turkish painters who wanted to come together in order to overthrow the middle aged painters and to fight against those who considered painting unnecessary. In short, this group had appeared as a result of a number of grievances rather than common perspectives on the art of painting. Their most important commonality was their novelty. There was no such thing as the D Group apart from this emotional affinity.

After these introductory remarks, the narrator started to describe the art exhibition held by the D Group. The venue was bursting at the seams. Students of the Conservatory were on one side, and members of the Conservatory on the other. Opera artists, violinists, cellists, young poets, professors, students, famous women, foreigners, journalists, and celebrities were also present. The poor painters got lost in this crowd.

The six painters, who believed they could not achieve anything in the suffocating atmosphere on their own, combined their forces in the 1900s. Since this group was the fourth formation in the world of painting in Turkey, they called themselves the D Group. Their aim was to get the people to love painting and silence the pseudo-artists that came before themselves. In time, their numbers swelled. While they expended their energies in the 1930s trying to deconstruct frozen viewpoints, by the 1940s, they became leading painters. Along this process, however, they lost their rebellious attitudes they had at the beginning.

They loved Turkish people. Many of the paintings were about the people. However, something in these paintings was lacking; the amateur spirit was lost. There was no genuine enthusiasm left in these paintings. They had decent artistic perspectives and

Sönmezler supported an understanding of painting in the Academy of Fine Arts that was interested in oppressed layers of the society. A painting exhibition –*Liman Sergisi*– was put together by the efforts of these two painters in 1940.⁴⁵⁸

In short, Turkey's intelligentsia encountered aesthetic modernism in different fields of literature and art in the 1930s. However, these encounters with aesthetic modernism in the 1930s were "fragmented,

demonstrated advanced artistic abilities. However, the artists favoured calm and tranquillity, which harmed their artworks. Perhaps, they were scared of being misunderstood and they tried to show themselves as sagacious, as belonging to the old school of masters. They got scared of this crowd in the gallery who had not originally cared about their art.

Şekip Tunç stood in front of each painting in a friendly, non-aggressive and fatherly manner. Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar did the same, ascertaining which ones could become subjects of a prospective conference. While he was a great poet and orator, it seemed to the narrator that he was not equipped to assess a modern work of art, just like everyone else in the gallery, except Fikret Adil.

"Gosh, this is a useless crowd", one of the painters said to the narrator. "Never mind the paintings, they aren't even buying a brochure". When the narrator heard these words, he wanted to buy a brochure. He reached into his pocket but came up short on money. Painters suffered from poverty even more than short story writers did. Cemal Tollu showed sympathy to the narrator and gave him the brochure for free. (Sait Faik. *Tüneldeki Çocuk*, İstanbul: Varlık, 1955. pp. 87-96.)

In the story, we see clearly that the narrator was friends with the artists of the D Group. According to the narrator, their first appearance was an attack on the old and conservative understandings of art. However, they were gradually captured and tamed by the same conservative mentality. As a result, the D Group artists lost their amateur spirit they had at the beginning. They needed to regain their old amateur spirit, according to the narrator.

We saw in the end of the story that even though authorities of conservative art influenced their artworks, they did not patronize them. They filled up the gallery, but would not buy any of the paintings. In short, Sait Faik wanted to show that even if D Group's artists were to be rejected by this conservative authority, they would not lose anything.

⁴⁵⁸ Ahmet Oktay. *Toplumcu Gerçekçiliğin Kaynakları*, İstanbul: Tümm zamanlar, 2000. p. 415.

hesitant, and paradoxical.”⁴⁵⁹ Their hesitant attitude had to do with the intelligentsia’s missionary understanding of the poet and of poetry. The idea that poetry and the poet should serve a role in the development and education of society was ingrained in their minds. Therefore, the intelligentsia opted for optimistic, invigorating, and hopeful interpretations of modernism. For the intelligentsia, even if modernist currents of Europe were to be received, they had to be adopted in a selective manner. Optimistic and constructive sides of modernism, not the ill and pessimistic versions had to be adopted.⁴⁶⁰

İsmail Hakkı Baltacıoğlu’s interpretation of modernism was one of the clearest examples of this attitude. He was an academician in the field of pedagogy, a politician, and a man of letters. In *Demokrasi ve Sanat* (Democracy and Art), he discusses the modern person, life and art at length. According to him, cubism had become a part of life in modern countries. Capitalist production, technology, functionality, utility, and practicality were introduced into the world of art by way of cubism. In short, cubism was the art of modern democracies.⁴⁶¹ In the example of

⁴⁵⁹ Duygu Köksal. “Domesticating the avant-garde in a nationalist era: Aesthetic modernism in 1930s Turkey”, *New Perspectives on Turkey*, vol. 52, May 2015. p. 29.

⁴⁶⁰ Ibid., p. 30; According to Niyazi Berkes, the emergence of nationalism among Balkan nations before among Turks in the last century of the Ottoman Empire rendered relations of the Turkish intelligentsia with the state more complex. The adoption of liberalism or socialism among Turkish intellectuals might have led to the disintegration of the state. At the very least, the intellectuals had such a worry. Therefore, they could be Ottomanist, Islamist, or Turkist rather than liberal or socialist. This was inherited by the intellectuals of the Early Republican Period. Perhaps for this reason, the coherence and “progress” of society was more important than ideas itself for them. (Berkes, Niyazi. *Türk Düşününde Batı Sorunu*, İstanbul: Bilgi Yayınevi, 1975, p. 63.)

⁴⁶¹ Duygu Köksal. “Cumhuriyet İdeolojisi ve Estetik Modernizm: Baltacıoğlu, Yeni Zamanlar ve Bauhaus”, *Bauhaus: Modernleşmenin Tasarımı*, ed. by Ali Artun, İstanbul: İletişim, 2009. p. 252.

Baltacıoğlu, modernism in art and architecture was an expression of the new lifestyle in European countries and the symbol of nation states.

However, not everyone was as optimistic about modernism as İsmail Hakkı Baltacıoğlu. According to Duygu Köksal, Turkish intellectuals and policy makers found themselves in a dilemma with regard to artistic modernism between the two world wars. On the one hand, they acknowledged that modernist currents reflected contemporary and avant-garde perceptions of the age. On the other hand, these currents such as Cubism, Dadaism, Surrealism, and Futurism could easily challenge and criticize the bourgeois worldview they were trying to build. They felt themselves trapped in this dilemma and wanted to overcome it.⁴⁶²

Figures such as Nâzım Hikmet, Muhsin Ertuğrul and Sabahattin Âli played important roles in aesthetic modernism's introduction into Turkish literature. Nâzım Hikmet and Sabahattin Âli showed that this current could easily become a threat to the bourgeois worldview that the new state was trying to construct. The entire career of Nâzım Hikmet, who was perhaps the leading figure among these three, was shaped by the revolutionary modernism he encountered in Moscow in the 1920s. Although Russian futurism was suppressed in the Soviet Union in the era of persecution which began with the suicide of Mayakovsky, the influence of this current on Nâzım Hikmet continued throughout his entire career.⁴⁶³ His poetry would be shaped by socialism at the

⁴⁶² Duygu Köksal. "Domesticating the avant-garde in a nationalist era: Aesthetic modernism in 1930s Turkey", *New Perspectives on Turkey*, Volume 52, May 2015. pp. 31, 39

⁴⁶³ While he wrote in *Resimli Ay*, which was a literary magazine in which left-oriented men of letters came together, between 1929 and 1934, he launched the campaign *Putları Yıkıyoruz* (We are smashing the idols!). Russian futurism played a significant role in his challenge against tradition with this campaign. Duygu Köksal. "Cumhuriyet İde-

ideological level and Russian constructivism and futurism at the aesthetic level.⁴⁶⁴ In the 1930s, he became an international figure and remained so until his death in 1963. His socialist modernism was based on a deeply critical, anti-imperialistic, and anti-bourgeois political stance and deemed doubly dangerous by the official ideology, since it challenged not only aesthetic and literary conventions, but also the politics of nation-building in the early republican period.⁴⁶⁵ Nazım's poetry represented an epistemological break. Even though he made use of poets and poetries before himself, his poetry was completely different discursively, structurally, and intellectually from the past poetry traditions.⁴⁶⁶

Nazım Hikmet attempted to create a poetry that would connect the grievances and joys of Turkish people to the concerns of the toiling and suffering masses of the world. Hence, at a very early date, he transcended the nationalist paradigm in Turkish literature which was shaped by the motto that Turkish society was a coherent whole without classes and privileges. Since he wanted to address modern economic and political concerns, a new poetic language and form imposed itself upon his poetry.⁴⁶⁷ He was the first poet to breach both the syllabic and the aruz meters at the same time. However, he made use of these meters' potentials to enrich his own poetry. His poetry was not mere imitation of Russian futurism. According to Attilâ İlhan, he was influenced by Maya-

olojisi ve Estetik Modernizm: Baltacıoğlu, Yeni Zamanlar ve Bauhaus", *Bauhaus: Modernleşmenin Tasarımı*, edited by Ali Artun, İstanbul, İletişim, p. 252.

⁴⁶⁴ Hasan Bülent Kahraman. *Türk Şiirinde Modernizm*, İstanbul: Büke, 2000. p.36.

⁴⁶⁵ Duygu Köksal. "Domesticating the avant-garde in a nationalist era: Aesthetic modernism in 1930s Turkey", *New Perspectives on Turkey*, Volume 52, May 2015. pp. 43, 44.

⁴⁶⁶ Hasan Bülent Kahraman. *Türk Şiirinde Modernizm*, İstanbul: Büke, 2000. p.42.

⁴⁶⁷ Duygu Köksal. "Domesticating the avant-garde in a nationalist era: Aesthetic modernism in 1930s Turkey", *New Perspectives on Turkey*, Volume 52, May 2015. p. 45.

kovsky and Marinetti. However, he did not simply transport this poetry to Turkey unaltered. He also made use of the potentials of thousand year old Turkish poetry and divan poetry.⁴⁶⁸

It should be stated as a short note that he was not alone in utilizing the potentials of traditional Turkish poetry among Turkish social realist poets. Social realist poets of the 1940s such as Enver Gökçe, Niyazi Akıncioğlu, and Arif Barikat also made use of the potential of divan poetry in their poems.⁴⁶⁹

Nazım's leftist internationalism introduced both internationalism and the critique of imperialism into Turkish literature at a very early date. Such a comprehensive anti-imperialist and internationalist discourse would only resurface in the 1960s and 1970s in Turkish literature. His leftist and "optimistic" modernism elaborated upon the fragmentation and pain introduced through the disruptive changes brought on in the twentieth century, but still carried the hope for a better world. In this sense, it presents a sharp contrast to Baudelairean modernism characterized by pessimism, fear, and vanity. Instead of bohemian escapes into aesthetic beauty, he lived in a world of optimistic struggle. In this sense, his criticisms of the republican experience of modernity were in fact connecting the early republican model to worldwide developments in capitalism, industrialism, and imperialist wars.⁴⁷⁰ Things Turkish society experienced between 1928 and 1935 made their way into Nazım's poems. The proliferation of railways and industrialization caused a surge of excitement in society. Ideals of change and modernization had

⁴⁶⁸ Attila İlhan. *Hangi Edebiyat*, İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası, 2002. p. 82.

⁴⁶⁹ Hasan Bülent Kahraman. *Türk Şiirinde Modernizm*, İstanbul: Buke, 2000. p. 52.

⁴⁷⁰ Duygu Köksal. "Domesticating the avant-garde in a nationalist era: Aesthetic modernism in 1930s Turkey", *New Perspectives on Turkey*, Volume 52, May 2015. p. 49.

broad repercussions among the literate strata. All of these themes found their place in the revolutionary poetry of Nâzım.⁴⁷¹

As part of the aforementioned pressures on Nâzım and other leftist poets in the 1930s, Nâzım had been prosecuted a few times before 1938. In 1938, however, he was sentenced to prison for 35 years, accused of inciting soldiers to rebellion. He remained in prison until 1950 when he was released by a general pardon which was declared as a result of international campaigns for his freedom.

Shortly after the prosecution of Nâzım, an amnesty law was passed, the scope of which included one hundred fifty exiles. These persons were harsh critics of the Ankara government and most of them bureaucrats of the Istanbul government during the National Struggle. After the victory of the Ankara government, they were deported from the country. Nâzım also appealed to benefit from this amnesty law; however, his application was not granted. That is, while the regime was forgiving the likes of Refik Halid and Rıza Tevfik, it was trying to silence Nâzım forever. Tuncay Birkan interpreted these developments to mean that the regime did not want vanguard intellectuals anymore. For example, in 1934, the *Cadre* journal was shut down even though they conformed to the directives of state authorities and the state authorities carried out statist economic policies similar to those advocated by the *Cadre* journal. The most prestigious author of the journal, Yakup Kadri, was appointed as an ambassador to Tiran. The Union of Turkish Women was shut down in 1934 on the ground that Turkish women already had all their legal rights. The vanguard intellectual type fell out of favour in the USSR too, which up to then had been the centre of the idea of the van-

⁴⁷¹ Hasan Bülent Kahraman. *Türk Şiirinde Modernizm*, Istanbul: Büke, 2000. pp. 45, 46.

guard intellectual. The new hero of the regime which replaced the vanguard intellectual was the super-worker Stakhanov.⁴⁷²

The Republican elite found themselves amidst a revolutionary process between 1923 and 1940. The state and the intellectuals mutually trusted each other to some extent. The Victory of the National Struggle, the foundation of a new state, Turkism, nationalism, and Turkish language advocacy connected the state and the intellectuals to each other. Everyone thought that the goal of Westernism, grasped at ever since Tanzimat was almost reached. At the end of the 1940s, this mutual trust between the state and the intellectual started to erode, however.⁴⁷³

The regime no longer perceived its old opponents such as the one hundred fifty exiles of the Lausanne Treaty as a threat. According to Peyami Safa, this amnesty law indicated that the regime had reached its period of maturity.⁴⁷⁴ For Falih Rıfkı Atay, freedom of thought was much less restricted in revolutionary Turkey than many other revolutionary countries. After this amnesty law, Turkey became the sole revolutionary country without political prisoners. However, while Falih Rıfkı was writing these words, the judicial commission was discussing leaving those who advocated for a different regime in place of the Republic out of the scope of the law. That is, communist prisoners such as Nâzım Hikmet, Kemal Tahir, Orhan Kemal, and Hikmet Kıvılcımlı would not be able to take advantage of the amnesty law, as made clear in certain newspapers. A nameless journalist in Hüseyin Cahit Yalçın's *Yeni Sabah* explicitly wrote that the list of the one hundred fifty was subject to pardon since they were no longer a threat to the Republic; however, the

⁴⁷² Tuncay Birkan. *Dünya ile Devlet Arasında Türk Muharriri*, İstanbul: Metis, 2020. pp. 47, 49, 166, 167.

⁴⁷³ Ibid., p.376.

⁴⁷⁴ Ibid., p.71.

communists were “rightly” not pardoned since they were, in fact, a danger to the regime.⁴⁷⁵

According to most columnists, the return of men of letters like Refik Halit and “philosophers” like Rıza Tevfik to Turkey would lead intellectual life in Turkey to flourish. However, the majority thought that the Republic had brought up its own educated cadre over the previous fifteen years. For example, while the amnesty law was being negotiated in the Parliament, one of the MPs said that young Turkey had brought up its own authors and philosophers. The pardoned opponents of the regime should not think that they were pardoned because of their intellectual backgrounds. This amnesty law came out of the better nature of the new state. Even so, everyone knew that Atatürk’s personal sympathy for Refik Halit Karay had played an important role in the legislation of the amnesty law.⁴⁷⁶

According to the amnesty law, pardoned people would not be eligible to become state officials and those who had been state officials would not be able to claim retirement benefits. Moreover, they could be expatriated again by cabinet decree if they posed a challenge to state authorities.⁴⁷⁷

In short, the regime was pardoning the intellectuals who lost their claim and power to change the regime on the condition that whenever they were to pose a challenge to the regime again they could be expatriated once more. On the other hand, the regime did not show the same tolerance towards the communists and those who interpreted Kemalism in a leftist point of view.

⁴⁷⁵ Ibid., pp. 72-74.

⁴⁷⁶ Ibid., pp. 103.

⁴⁷⁷ Ibid., p. 104.

5. 2. Garip Poetry and Discussions of Aesthetic Modernism in Poetry in the 1940s

Garip poetry became popular while Nâzım Hikmet was in prison and young poets who were influenced by him were under police prosecution. *Garip* was started by three young poets who were schoolmates from Ankara Boys' High School. Orhan Veli and Oktay Rıfat were in the same grade. Melih Cevdet was a year junior.⁴⁷⁸ *Garip* poetry was deemed "apolitical" for years; it was rapidly accepted and even embraced by the political authority. Moreover, while *Garip* poetry was included in curriculums in high schools, successive developments like the Second New were ignored till the 2000s. The perception of *Garip* as an apolitical poetry current became so widespread that this view has maintained its influence for a long time. Attila İlhan, who was one of the most famous poets of the 1940s generation of whom Nâzım spoke highly of when his first book, *Duvar*, was published,⁴⁷⁹ was one of the most vigorous advocates of the view that *Garip* poetry was apolitical. He claimed that both *Garip* and the Second New emerged in periods of political repression. The poems of these movements were apolitical because their poets shirked from being on the side of political opposition. Attila İlhan called the poetry of *Garip* a disaster because he thought it interrupted the natural evolution of Turkish poetry. For İlhan, if the "disaster" of *Garip* had not happened to Turkish literature, the poetry of Necip Fazıl would have been continued by Cahit Sıtkı and Ahmet Muhip; and the poetry of Nâzım Hikmet would have been continued by Hasan İzzettin. That is, he means that the poetry in syllabic meter would be continued by Cahit Sıtkı and Ahmet Muhip; and the free verses of Nâzım

⁴⁷⁸ Taylan Özbay. *Atatürk ve Devrimin Yönü*, Ankara: Telgrafhane, 2020. p. 84.

⁴⁷⁹ Öner Yağcı. *40 Kuşağı Şairleri*, Ankara: Telgrafhane, 2020. p. 136.

Hikmet would be continued by Hasan İzzettin.⁴⁸⁰ These kinds of claims have had broad repercussions since a long time ago. Even in the early 1980s, Memed Fuat deemed Garip poetry apolitical in the foreword to *Modern Türk Şiiri Antolojisi* (The Anthology for Modern Turkish Poetry).⁴⁸¹

In my opinion, Attilâ İlhan's evaluations about *Garip* had some inconsistencies. On the one hand, he claimed that the poetry of *Garip* changed the direction of Turkish poetry. Yet, he said on the other hand that since this poetry became disconnected from classical Turkish poetry, it could not come into contact with the masses. Since they rejected classical Turkish poetry and its aesthetics, their poems gave the impression of being translated poems.⁴⁸² In this case, the question of how the poetry of *Garip*, which could not come into contact with the masses could change the direction of Turkish poetry remains unanswered.

Mehmed Kemal, who was one of the important leftist poets of the 1940s, had a different opinion than Attilâ İlhan on the matter of *Garip*. According to him, the poetry of *Garip* confronted obstacles to becoming popular. When poems of the *Garip* movement became famous, the state authorities became suspicious about this current, at first. Yahya Kemal was appointed the CHP's cultural supervisor. Ahmet Kutsi Tecer was appointed editor of *Ülkü* journal which was the official journal of *Halkevi* (People's House). Under their direction, a different current rose attempting to counterbalance the influence of the *Garip* movement. Yahya Kemal was a conservative poet who wrote his poems with aruz. He had an urban and conservative tone. On the other hand, Ahmet Kutsi

⁴⁸⁰ Attilâ İlhan. *Hangi Edebiyat*, İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası, 2002. p. 19.

⁴⁸¹ Gülce Başer. "The pursuit of new antagonistic discourses: politics in poetry of the 1980s", Published Dissertation, İstanbul: Boğaziçi University, 2016. pp. 61, 63.

⁴⁸² Attilâ İlhan. *Hangi Edebiyat*, İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası, 2002. p. 359.

Tecer, who was a Kemalist, had a romantic and villagist tone. He was writing in syllabic prosody. According to Mehmet Kemal, while state authorities were favouring Ahmet Kutsi Tecer and Yahya Kemal Beyatlı, they were pushing for classical rhymed and metrical poetry against poetry without rhyme and prosody. After Ahmet Kutsi Tecer started to direct *Ülkü* journal, he discovered the minstrel Aşık Veysel, who was presented to the public as the representative of folk poetry. Ahmet Kutsi Tecer also tried to publicize examples of modern folk poetry. He wrote a poem titled *Orda Bir Köy Var Uzakta*. (There is a village there far away) which begins with the verses “There is a village there far away / It’s our own village / Even if we have not gone to or seen it before / that village is our own.” He also gathered around *Ülkü* the poets who were “prone to discipline and adherent to the goals of the state elite.” These poets like Behçet Kemal, Osman Atilla, Necati Öngay, and Coşkun Ertepinar produced the examples of villagist poetry.⁴⁸³

Under İnönü’s presidency, the political atmosphere was still authoritarian; nevertheless, the new leader of political power did not bother himself with the task of recommending themes to authors. Writers of this period were stimulated by the literary prizes distributed by the party. CHP announced an annual prize for novels and established national competitions in poetry and drama writing in which some contemporary names of Turkish literature made their first literary appearances. Among literary figures who were members of the parliament during the transition period to competitive politics, two renowned novelists came to the fore; Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar and Halide Edip Adıvar, both of whom occupied distinguished places in the history of Turkish literature. The parliamentary experiences of Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar illustrated

⁴⁸³ Mehmed Kemal. *Acılı Kuşak*, İstanbul: De, 1985. pp. 48, 49.

the complexities caused by the principles of party solidarity in the life of an aesthete and freethinker. Similarly, Halide Edip Adivar's engagement with politics, both during the turbulent years of the Turkish nation-state and in the premature years of the multi-party period, "manifested the intellectuals' troubles due to the monocratic attitudes of party authorities."⁴⁸⁴ The political duties assigned to the literary figures went unfulfilled even though the political authority tried to balance the alternative modernist currents, pushing to the fore more conservative-inclined authors such as Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar and Halide Edip Adivar.

The state patronized the literary figures in various ways. It gave the literary journals financial aid. Another form of support was to purchase 300 to 500 of the newly published books for libraries. Besides, literary prizes were awarded and prize-winning people of letters were supported financially. Authors and poets were appointed as state officials to various positions compatible with their educational and cultural backgrounds, such as the translation bureau, libraries, conservatories, or theatres. Making them MPs was another way of supporting them. Lastly, they were included in official delegations and could travel abroad. In the DP era, literary prizes were cut back and authors and poets were started to be supported by way of the black budget. The owners of journals such as Yusuf Ziya, Peyami Safa, and Necip Fazıl were paid a lot of money. Most of these illegal forms of funding were discovered via the Yassıada records. (These were records that came out of an emergency

⁴⁸⁴ Çimen Günay. "Taking up the gauntlet: fictionists in the Turkish parliament", *European Journal of Turkish Studies*, no:3, 2005.

court that was founded to try DP politicians after the 27 May 1960 military intervention)⁴⁸⁵

Since the political authority preferred to supervise literature through patronage rather than political repression except in the case of leftist literature, *Garip* poetry was not directly repressed. But this did not mean that poets of *Garip* were trustful men in the eyes of the political authority. The state authorities did not usually see clear-cut differences between poems openly sympathizing with socialism and Orhan Veli's poems highlighting common people. According to Mehmed Kemal, for a long time, the state viewed leftism as a security issue rather than a current of thought. Numerous secret police attended the funerals of Cahit Sıtkı, Orhan Veli, and Suphi Taşhan. They were dispatched to keep tabs on new literature-lovers, since literature was identified with leftism.⁴⁸⁶ In actuality, only Suphi Taşhan called himself a socialist among these three.

According to Mehmed Kemal, *Garip* was the rising current of the single-party regime after Atatürk. However, its rise was not because of its adoption by state authorities. The state authorities were pushing the villagist and conservative movement to counterbalance the rise of *Garip*. Even Attilâ İlhan accepted that there were a few different literary currents competing with each other in this period. According to İlhan, during the İsmet Pasha era, Western civilization was taken as the model in every field. Western classics were hastily translated into Turkish. The Theatre and Opera of State Conservatory was founded. Literature and art groups appeared around certain journals. Ataç was the most esteemed and reputable critic of this period. Selahattin Eyüpoğlu was also

⁴⁸⁵ Tuncay Birkan. *Dünya ile Devlet Arasında Türk Muharriri*, İstanbul: Metis, 2020. p. 402.

⁴⁸⁶ Mehmed Kemal. *Acılı Kuşak*, İstanbul: De, 1985. p. 12.

a famous critic, whose Graecism and Latinism were more apparent. A number of poets gathered around these two men. The most famous of these were Orhan Veli, Oktay Rıfat, Melih Cevdet, Necati Cumalı, and Bedri Rahmi. On the other hand, there were remaining Anatolianist and villagist poets of Mustafa Kemal's era. These continued to write folkloric poems in syllabic meters around the *Ülkü* journal under Ahmet Kutsi Tecer's direction. Tecer paid generous royalties to the poets of *Garip* in this journal, thereby encouraging them to produce folkloric and villagist poems.⁴⁸⁷

Mehmed Kemal held a different opinion than Attilâ İlhan on this matter as well. While it was true that Ahmet Kutsi was appointed to *Ülkü* to counterbalance the poetry of *Garip*, he failed in this task. He instead had to accept poems and essays for *Ülkü* from new poets. Orhan Veli wrote critiques and reviews in *Ülkü* in the Ahmet Kutsi Tecer era. Socialist and social realist Enver Gökçe assumed technical duties of the magazine; he undertook the redaction of Aşık Veysel's first poetry book. According to Mehmet Kemal, Ahmet Kutsi Tecer was a poet first, regardless of his political thoughts, and he nothing more could be expected of him as a poet.⁴⁸⁸ Furthermore, he proved unable to accommodate himself to the political duties given to him by the political authority; just like Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar and Halide Edip Adıvar.

When the accounts of Attilâ İlhan and Mehmed Kemal are taken together, the picture that emerges shows that the cultural policy of the state in these years did not have well defined boundaries. A conservative poet such as Yahya Kemal, a villagist and Kemalist poet such as Ahmet Kutsi Tecer, a modernist poet such as Orhan Veli, and a social realist poet

⁴⁸⁷ Attilâ İlhan. *Hangi Edebiyat*, İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası, 2002. p. 290.

⁴⁸⁸ Mehmed Kemal. *Acılı Kuşak*, İstanbul: De, 1985. p. 49.

such as Enver Gökçe were all supported financially by the state at the same time. On the other hand, some were privileged over others; while Orhan Veli and Enver Gökçe confined themselves to writing poems and essays for compilations or editing some books and articles, middle aged conservative and villagist poets like Yahya Kemal and Ahmet Kutsi Tecer were appointed to high positions. Therefore, it might be an exaggeration to suggest that the rise of *Garip* was a product of the support of state authorities. Furthermore, political pressures on intellectuals including poets were evidently ongoing throughout the 1930s. These pressures were being felt by poets and authors who were nominally seen as “apolitical” and leftist both. Nevertheless, it can be said that leftist poets faced greater pressures. In the most extreme example, Nâzım Hikmet remained in prison from 1938 to 1950. In a period when the state did not want vanguard intellectuals anymore, the rather individualist poetry of *Garip* encountered less obstacles than leftist poetry.

Even though leftist intellectuals were put under the screw during the 1930s and 1940s, they had a sophisticated relationship with political authority. Although they were repressed by this authority, they did not completely oppose it. They did not wish for a return to the past; however, they wanted to transform the new modernist state and society in a socialist direction. Orhan Kemal was one of the clearest examples of this orientation. He spent the 1930s and 1940s in poverty, exile, and prison. However, when he compared the single party government of these years to the rightist governments of the later decades, he maintained that Atatürk and İsmet Pasha were great men. In one of his letters to Fikret Otyam, where he discussed the memoirs of notable Atatürk critic Rıza Nur, he complained that those who published the memoirs after all

those years were in practice attacking Atatürk and İsmet Pasha, the founders of modern and laicist Turkey.⁴⁸⁹

For Orhan Kemal, Atatürk and İsmet Pasha should not be opposed; only some of their principles could be questioned. One of these was the principle of populism. To him, society consisted of classes and their contradictions. The principle of populism was used for concealing this reality. Moreover, even though he respected Atatürk and İsmet Pasha, he did not trust the members of their party. After the May 27th Military Intervention, Fikret Otyam wrote a letter to Orhan Kemal to ask his idea about whether to publish a magazine with his friends.. In his response, Orhan Kemal recommended Otyam not to trust the members of the CHP in this enterprise and to stay away from them because they might sabotage his magazine. When he had tried to found a magazine in 1946, they had sabotaged his magazine as well.⁴⁹⁰

According to Attila İlhan, the left and leftist intellectuals approached Atatürk sympathetically even under the most authoritarian period of the World War II years. They saw Atatürk as the anti-imperialist hero of the National Struggle who saved Turkey from becoming a colony.⁴⁹¹

Even though Attilâ İlhan, whose opinions I discussed above in detail, claimed that the poetry of *Garip* was the official literary current of the İnönü government, in fact he also accepted that the cultural policy of this period did not have definite boundaries. In *Hangi Edebiyat* (Which Literature), he said that the world of folklore was introduced into Turkish literature by People's Houses (*Halkevleri*). Each people's house had its own folklore team. These folklore teams determined the significant folk dances in their respective zones of responsibility. In the 1940s,

⁴⁸⁹ Taylan Özbay. *Atatürk ve Devrimin Yönü*, Ankara: Telgrafhane, 2020. pp. 172, 173.

⁴⁹⁰ Ibid., p. 175.

⁴⁹¹ Öner Yağcı. *40 Kuşağı Şairleri*, Ankara: Telgrafhane, 2020. p. 146.

folksy items like wool socks, rug weavings and wooden spoons became fashionable among urban middle classes. In the İnönü era, folklore became the official culture of the state and Aşık Veysel was welcomed everywhere.⁴⁹² İlhan thereby recognized that not only *Garip* but also folklorist and villagist currents were supported by the state and became widespread among urban people in this period.

The dissociation of the state and intellectuals started at the end of the 1930s. Authors and poets who born in the first decade of the 20th century such as Nâzım Hikmet, Sait Faik, and Sabahattin Ali, and in the second decade of the 20th century such as Orhan Veli, Melih Cevdet, Oktay Rifat, Rıfat Ilgaz, Orhan Kemal and Aziz Nesin started to put out their works in these years. They adopted principles of Kemalism such as laicism, populism, revolutionism, republicanism and independence; however, they took these principles more seriously than the state elite themselves. The intellectuals tried to simultaneously embrace and expand the boundaries of these principles drawn by the state elite. For this reason, they had difficulty making sense of the hostile treatments they received from the state elite.⁴⁹³

1938 was a turning point in the relationship between the state and intellectuals. This was the year Nâzım Hikmet, Hikmet Kıvılcımlı, Kemal Tahir, and Orhan Kemal were imprisoned after being found guilty at the *Donanma* (Navy) Case where some petty military officers, students of the Military Academy and leftist intellectuals were tried with nonsensical charges such as inciting the military to perform a coup d'état. Moreover, the 9th Office of the Istanbul Police was created and tasked with monitoring newspapers, journals, and their writers. That is, not only

⁴⁹² Attila İlhan. *Hangi Edebiyat*, İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası, 2002. p. 293.

⁴⁹³ Tuncay Birkan. *Dünya ile Devlet Arasında Türk Muharriri*, İstanbul: Metis, 2020. pp. 402, 403.

leftist authors such as Sabiha Sertel, but also all other journalists and authors would be followed and kept tabs on.⁴⁹⁴ Lastly, “banishment” as a method of punishment which used to be carried out in the last decades of the Ottoman Empire and in the 1920s was revived. Marxist critic Kerim Sadi was exiled to Bursa between 1941 and 1944; poet A. Kadir was to Muğla, Balıkesir, Konya, Adana, and Kırşehir between 1943 and 1947; poet Hasan İzzettin Dinamo to Islahiye and Pülümür; journalist Vala Nurettin to Konya in 1942; poet and artist Arif Dino to Develi and Adana between 1941-1945; and Aziz Nesin to Bursa in 1948.⁴⁹⁵

Another turning point was 1948. The murder of Sabahattin Ali led even the authors of the old generations to keep the state at arm’s length. In a literary questionnaire in the *Akşam* newspaper, ill treatment of authors and poets at the hands of the state and Nâzım’s name of were explicitly mentioned by even non-leftist writers such as Halide Edip, Yunus Nadi and Refik Halit. Refik Halit complained that the state did not show due respect to the literary figures. Even Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar spoke highly of Nâzım. The international politics of the time were making the state’s work easier in terms of repression. According to Cem Eroğul, USSR’s diplomatic note in 1945 demanding changes to the regime of the straits spooked the state elite and fuelled anti-communist hysteria which accompanies the process of transition to the multi-party system in Turkey.⁴⁹⁶

The one from among the old generations who spoke most openly regarding the repression of intellectuals was Vala Nurettin. According to Nurettin, every distinguished literary figure was getting beat up by the state. Nâzım Hikmet spent 12 years in prison. Refik Halit spent the most

⁴⁹⁴ Ibid., pp. 404, 405.

⁴⁹⁵ Ibid., pp. 415, 416.

⁴⁹⁶ Ibid., pp. 419-421.

valuable years of his life in exile, as did the Adnan and Halide Edip Adivar couple. Sabahattin Ali, who was one of the most successful story writers of Turkish literature was murdered. Rıza Tevfik was spending his elder years under difficult conditions after his period of exile. Mehmet Akif moved to Egypt since he no longer felt comfortable in Turkey.⁴⁹⁷

The poets and authors of the young generations spoke more openly. Orhan Veli believed that poets and authors could not earn enough money because the people were not literate enough. The people in turn could not get the chance to learn to read since even their children had to work in factories, bazaars, and farms. Moreover, the literary figures did not have the freedom to write about whatever they wanted. In such a country, literary figures with critical views could not live easy. Melih Cevdet Anday also was of the opinion that writers were not free to choose their subjects. For example, when he mentioned the corruption of a state official or the plight of a poor villager, an investigation was opened about him for insulting the state. Sait Faik cited such examples of repression from his own life and mentioned that he was investigated because of the novel *Medarı Maişet Motoru* and the story *Kestaneci Dostum*.⁴⁹⁸

Before I discuss their poetries in more detailed, I'd like to underline that, as seen, the ideas of the poets of *Garip* were not dramatically different than those of the leftist intellectuals as Attilâ İlhan had claimed. They had friendly relations with many socialist intellectuals. Orhan Veli wrote in many famous literary journals of the 1940s, including *Hür*, *Zincirli Hürriyet*, and *Yaprak* which were founded by the socialist politi-

⁴⁹⁷ Ibid., p. 424.

⁴⁹⁸ Ibid., pp. 422, 423.

cian Mehmet Ali Aybar, who would later be known across the country as the chairman of the Workers' Party of Turkey in the 1960s. Orhan Veli said in one of his articles in *Yaprak* that contemporary Turkish poets told of the people to the people. They were persons of the people and conscious of the fact that their own welfare rested upon the welfare of the people.⁴⁹⁹ In these words, we clearly see Orhan Veli's leftist ideas and inclinations.

Reactionism and laicism were two important subjects in Orhan Veli's political articles. For him, Turkey was a country in the process of revolution. Political issues could not be evaluated solely by the principle of democracy. He wrote in 1949 that certain undesirable things were occurring in Atatürk's Turkey. Atatürk had tried to make Turks into a progressive nation, however, his reforms were coming under attack by the reactionary powers. Religious differences and conflicts were being incited among citizens. Some reactionaries were dreaming about Islamic union while Turkish villages lacked schools and the majority of Turkish people were ignorant of positive sciences.⁵⁰⁰

Orhan Veli wrote articles directly attacking Islamist journals, one of which was *Selamet* founded by Ömer Rıza Doğrul. In one article, he used the term reactionary to describe the journal. The journal administration answered Orhan Veli with an editorial and said that their founder had been serving the development of the cultural life of Turkey for years. Orhan Veli replied to this article in an ironic tone and claimed that he had not targeted the owner of the journal in his article. He loved and respected Ömer Rıza Doğrul and had even kissed Doğrul on his cheek in a Beyoğlu taproom. However, Doğrul was very drunk so per-

⁴⁹⁹ Taylan Özbay. *Atatürk ve Devrimin Yönü*, Ankara: Telgrafhane, 2020. pp. 86, 87.

⁵⁰⁰ Ibid., pp. 91, 94.

haps he did not remember. This interaction took place in April 1941 and İbrahim Çallı and Abidin Dino were also in the same taproom.⁵⁰¹

When the Democrat Party won the elections by a landslide, he criticized the administration of the CHP for having made concessions, wavering from the party's principles. Making concessions that contradicted the principles were demonstrated not to lead to a victory in the elections. For Orhan Veli, the elections could only had been won, on the contrary, by insisting on the principles. In one of his last articles published posthumously in 1951, he wrote that Atatürk was not only the saviour of the country and the founder of the Republic but at the same time, a revolutionary who wanted to raise his nation to the level of contemporary civilization. As soon as the Democrat Party came into power, they turned the ezan into Arabic. This was followed by recitations of the Quran on the radio. Quranic education courses were increased and hajj travels were started. Now, they were commemorating Atatürk, without shame, on the occasion of the Republic Day. This was insincerity.⁵⁰²

In short, Orhan Veli did support the Republican project. Yet, he was critical of some policies of Kemalist governments. He saw himself as a socialist as well. Even though he was known as an official critic of the İnönü era, he actually criticized both İnönü and the DP governments.

Melih Cevdet Anday had similar thoughts to his friend, Orhan Veli. He also saw himself as an intellectual who respected the Kemalist revolution. However, he also opposed the principle of populism, just like Orhan Kemal. When he looked back at the 1930s and 1940s in 1992, he stated that he opposed the principle of populism. First of all, this principle assumed a basic difference between the state elite and the people.

⁵⁰¹ Ibid., p. 95.

⁵⁰² Ibid., p. 97.

Furthermore, people not of the state elite were evaluated as a singular mass without class distinctions. For him, the ideal of a classless society could not be achieved by way of denying the existence of classes. In class societies, hiding class contradictions served the dominant classes.⁵⁰³

For Anday, the way forward for a real liberation of Turkey was socialism. (Since the word socialism was forbidden in Turkey, he used socialism (*toplumculuk*) in place of it.) In this model, everyone should work and receive compensation for their work in Turkey. Such a country could be established by cultural and educational means. When the individual believed that their labour was used for the benefit of society, they would be happy to work.⁵⁰⁴

As these examples demonstrate, two poets who were characterised as apolitical literary figures could in fact advocate for things very similar to a socialist author such as Orhan Kemal. All of them could be seen as socialists, although Orhan Veli and Melih Cevdet could not be characterised as Marxists. Since Marxist theory suggests that culture and education are superstructural institutions, Melih Cevdet's thoughts about the transformative role of education and culture contradicts it. As pointed out earlier, the supervisory generation's arguments concerning reforming society were always culture-based. As illustrated, this has remained the case for the young generation of persons of culture serving the role of intellectuals.

I had mentioned young leftist authors and poets who were influenced by Nâzım above. I want to dwell on these authors and poets a bit more. In the 1930s, almost all leftist journals were closed. However, a few

⁵⁰³ Ibid., p. 154.

⁵⁰⁴ Ibid., p. 162.

emerged in the 1940s. Sabahattin Ali, Aziz Nesin, and Mim Uykusuz published *Markopaşa*, a satirical magazine. Rıfat Ilgaz also joined them later. Niyazi Akıncioğlu, A. Kadir, Ömer Faruk Toprak, Cahit Irgat, and Rıfat Ilgaz published the *Yürüyüş* journal. After this journal was closed, they started to write in *Ses*. Arif Barikat, Şükran Kurdakul, Ahmet Arif, Enver Gökçe, Kamuran Bozkır, and Attilâ İlhan made their names thanks to *Yürüyüş* and *Ses*. These journals usually did not live beyond two or three issues and were closed in every whipstitch. Leftist academicians such as Pertev Boratav, Niyazi Berkes, Behice Boran, Mediha Berkes, and Mehmet Ali Aybar lost their positions in universities. Sabahattin Ali was murdered in 1948.⁵⁰⁵ In short, every literary current was able to express its ideas in this period, however, leftists faced the greatest amount of repression. The murder of Sabahattin Âli and the long imprisonment of Nâzım Hikmet were the clearest examples of this. Attila İlhan calls leftist poets of the 1940s the squad of expendables (*fédailer mangası*) of Turkish poetry. These included names such as Hasan İzzettin Dinamo, A. Kadir, Ömer Faruk Toprak, Rıfat Ilgaz, Suat Taşer, Mehmed Kemal, Cahit Irgat, and Sabri Soran. Poets of the following generation were Enver Gökçe, Attilâ İlhan, Ahmet Arif, Arif Barikat, and Şükran Kurdakul.⁵⁰⁶ According to İlhan, young and leftist poets of the 1940s have continued the tradition of missionary intellectuals who had appeared in the nineteenth century. They redefined this tradition from a leftist point of view. Öner Yağcı refers to the same group of poets as the realists of 1940. Even though Attila İlhan's definition is more liter-

⁵⁰⁵ Attila İlhan. *Hangi Edebiyat*, İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası, 2002. pp. 290, 291.

⁵⁰⁶ Ibid., pp. 52, 53.

ary, Öner Yağcı's definition is more precise since it addresses the difference between modernists and social realists of the 1940s.⁵⁰⁷

For Attila İlhan, just as the poets of *Garip* were official poets of the İnönü government, so was Nurullah Ataç the official literary critic, since he worked at the Translation Bureau and was a powerful literary figure. I will examine Ataç's understanding of critique and how he and his understanding of critique was perceived by the young authors shortly. According to Attilâ İlhan, leftist poets of the 1940s disliked Ataç for several reasons. First of all, he was a radical individualist who neglected leftist poets who were crushed under the pressure exerted by the political authorities.⁵⁰⁸

Attilâ İlhan claimed that Orhan Veli owed his fame to Nurullah Ataç, with which almost everyone agreed. According to Salah Birsell, Ataç did everything in his power to popularise Orhan Veli. He started to write about Orhan Veli and his friends Melih Cevdet and Oktay Rıfat from 1937 on. He argued that the poems of Orhan Veli looked like short poems of the Japanese called Hai-Kai⁵⁰⁹ and claimed that this was a totally new genre for Turkish literature that was very well suited to reflecting the lives and problems of little men on the street.

5. 3. A Modernist Literary Critic: Nurullah Ataç

Ataç was not of the generation of the 1940s. However, according to Mehmed Kemal, everyone of the 1940s generation accepted him as one of their own. He was so close to the literary figures of this generation that they did not regard him as an outsider.⁵¹⁰ Attila İlhan described

⁵⁰⁷ Öner Yağcı. *40 Kuşağı Şairleri*, Ankara: Telgrafhane, 2020. p. 111.

⁵⁰⁸ Attila İlhan. *Hangi Edebiyat*, İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası, 2002. p. 179.

⁵⁰⁹ Salâh Birsell. *Ah Beyoğlu Vah Beyoğlu*, İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası, 1983. p. 153.

⁵¹⁰ Tuncay Birkan. *Dünya ile Devlet Arasında Türk Muharriri*, İstanbul: Metis, 2020. p. 414.

him as a Westernist critic. However, his Westernism was different from that of the intellectuals of Tanzimat and the Constitutional Periods. Ataç wrote off the Ottoman culture which Ottoman intellectuals cherished, seeking a new Turkish culture which would be completely constructed on Western fundamentals. According to Attilâ İlhan, he was a very intelligent and well-informed man who had great command of folk and Divan poetries. Nevertheless, he abandoned them for his love of Western culture.⁵¹¹ While no current of literature championed the West and Western culture in the 1930s, this atmosphere began to change in the 1940s. Ataç became the most vigorous supporter of Westernism and supported those young authors and especially poets who were critical of past generations.

His Westernism was compatible with the dispositions of a group of people within the state elite. According to Attila İlhan, while İnönü was in government, the modernization movement of the Republic found a new pace. From the beginning, some intellectuals perceived the modernization movement of the Republic as Westernization. However, after İnönü, the perception of these intellectuals became official ideology. In this period, Western classics were translated into Turkish. Greek and Latin cultures were taken as a basis and direct transfers from Western literature were seen as novel. He called this era neo-Tanzimat.⁵¹²

According to İlhan, Ataç's Westernist attitude paved the way for the *Garip* and 2nd New currents. Asım Bezirci also criticizes Ataç, yet he accepts that Nurullah Ataç made many contributions to Turkish literature as he worked for the rationalization of Turkish language. To Ataç, Turkish needed to be simplified and the difference between colloquial lan-

⁵¹¹ Attila İlhan. *Hangi Edebiyat*, İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası, 2002. p. 182.

⁵¹² Ibid., pp. 210, 284.

guage and literary language had to be abolished. He struggled against stereotypes in the literary world and invited readers to free thought, scepticism, and realism.⁵¹³

His understanding of criticism was individualistic according to Bezirci as well. For Ataç, criticism was an art and the critic was an artist. He expressed his own pleasures, thoughts, and emotions by way of books which he read. His pleasures and emotions were more important than the criticized book itself. The critiques were not to be read in order to learn something. They were to be read for aesthetic pleasure. The critic was also an artist and a creator. For him, a verse or product of art reveals its own meaning. If it cannot reveal its meaning, it is deficient. The duty of the literary critic was not to make up for this deficiency.⁵¹⁴

For Ataç, impartiality of criticism and the critic was unnecessary. When it comes to critiques, the reader sees the critic and not the criticized author as the artist. To Bezirci, this understanding of criticism is impressionist, which Ataç also accepted. For Bezirci, the impressionist criticism of Ataç prevented the objective examination of the literary work.⁵¹⁵ The fact that Ataç's understanding of criticism was in the digressive style discussed in the first chapter of this work can be gleaned from Bezirci's evaluations. He did not analyse the text in a planned manner. Rather, he wrote the impressions which the text made on him. The literary criticism was a source of pleasure in which impressions made by the product of art was concretized by the critic.

Ataç also called himself an essayist and a moralist rather than a literary critic even though everyone saw him as one and he sealed many au-

⁵¹³ Asım Bezirci. *Nurullah Ataç: Eleştiri Anlayışı ve Yazıları*, İstanbul: Kitapçılık Limited Şirketi, 1968. p. 8.

⁵¹⁴ Ibid., pp. 24, 25.

⁵¹⁵ Ibid., pp. 26, 29, 31.

thors' and especially poets' fate with his essays. He thought that the critic should create an essay which could be read as a piece of art itself while writing about a book or a work of art. For this reason, his writings took the form of essays rather than analytical book reviews. He accepted the claims that he was an individualist and that his essays were individualistic. Others merely deceived themselves claiming that their own judgements were not subjective. He would not do this.⁵¹⁶

In time, however, Ataç accepted the necessity of objective criticism. Objective criticism involved dividing up a work of art into its elements and determining the influence of tradition, different literary figures, and currents on this work of art. He acknowledged the value of objective criticism by the 1950s, but it was simply not his type of criticism.⁵¹⁷

His most resonant thoughts among intellectuals were about the West and Westernism in literature. Many authors and poets assumed that Turkish literature changed and fell under the influence of the West after the nineteenth century. However, this was an illusion according to Ataç. While superficial changes took place in appearances and forms, the root and the essence of Turkish literature had not changed. Turks took some forms from Western literature; however, they filled the content of these forms with old ideas and thoughts. Contemporary poems differed from the old ghazels only in their use of language. However, their tone and content were still the same. The moonlight was the same moonlight; the rose and the philomel were the same. They had revolved around the same themes and images for centuries. This literature had to be changed. Hence, Western literature and thought had to be understood

⁵¹⁶ Ibid., p. 39.

⁵¹⁷ Ibid., p. 57.

to their core. However, Turkish intellectuals could not understand the West with their mentality at the time.⁵¹⁸

In fact, Ataç belonged to the generation of early Republican authors such as Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar, Peyami Safa and Mithat Cemal Kuntay. He participated in the publication of the *Dergah* journal and followed Yahya Kemal closely. Even though he had close relations with leading poets and authors of the period, he was not well known in the 1930s. He gained his fame in the 1940s and was closer intellectually to the authors and poets of this generation. One of the popular discussions of this period was whether certain words, emotions, and thoughts were suitable for literature or not. For the authors and the poets of the old generation and their followers, saying “*tin*” in place of “*ruh*”⁵¹⁹ or using the suffix “*sel*” in place of “*’*”⁵²⁰ were not seen as literary. Certain mundane emotions and “ordinary” thoughts were also not seen as literary. For Ataç, this approach limited the literature. These authors and the characters in their prose and poetry were nostalgic, weak, and unrealistic.⁵²¹ While little men became popular subjects of literature in the 1940s, authors of the old generation opposed the idea that ordinary men’s thoughts and emotions had a place in literature. Ordinary people might appear in their fiction, for example, only if they symbolized something greater than themselves. For example, Neriman who was the main character of *Fatih Harbiye* was important since she symbolized the morality and the purity of the East. On the other hand, for the young poets and authors of the 1940s, even the callus of on Süleyman Efendi’s skin could be deemed important subject matter.

⁵¹⁸ Nurullah Ataç. *Karalama Defteri&Ararken*, 7th ed., Istanbul: YKY, 2006. pp. 57-59.

⁵¹⁹ Both words mean spirit. However, “*tin*” is pure Turkish while “*ruh*” is a borrowed word.

⁵²⁰ “*Sel*” is also a pure Turkish suffix used in place of “*’*”.

⁵²¹ Nurullah Ataç. *Karalama Defteri&Ararken*, 7th ed., Istanbul: YKY, 2006. p. 91.

Ata had an important similarity with the early Republican generation. He too was continuing the debate on civilization which had appeared among Turkish Ottoman intellectuals in the modernization era of the Ottoman Empire. The definition of civilization itself was also a matter of debate. Ata's understanding of civilization was closer to Yahya Kemal's. For him, civilization could not be reduced to some technical characteristics. However, for Ata, contrary to Yahya Kemal, literary works produced while under the influence of Eastern civilization could not be a part of new civilization. Such a debate around the issue of civilization sounded very unfamiliar to the authors and poets of the 1940s generation. For example, neither Orhan Kemal nor Sait Faik thought like Ata did about this matter of civilization. The question of whether Turkey is Western or Eastern was not an issue on their literary agendas.

His thoughts about nation and nationalism were also different from the majority of the literary figures of that period. For Ata, the thought that the nation's art was satisfactory was a symptom of the disease of autarchy. However, this line of thinking dominated many different countries' cultural life. For Ata, national thought should continuously be enriched by borrowing from other nations' culture and art. It should not be limited.⁵²²

Nurullah Ata opposed both divan poetry and folk poetry due to this understanding of civilization and nationalism. Apparently, he loved divan poetry and knew many of the poems by heart. Yet, this poetry did not comply with the worldview and pleasures of Western civilization which Turks wanted to become part of. This poetry had been a part of Turks' identity for hundreds of years. Turks had expressed their joys, sorrows, and love through divan verses. These poems appealed to

⁵²² Tuncay Birkan. *Dünya ile Devlet Arasında Türk Muharriri*, İstanbul: Metis, 2020. p. 278.

Turks' emotions and feelings. However, the poetry of the West appealed to wisdom.⁵²³ In another essay, he stated that real art addressed wisdom rather than emotions. A lover of art enjoyed a piece of art because it addressed their mind rather than manipulated their emotions.⁵²⁴ He was a supporter of the Enlightenment, a rationalist, and sceptic. That is, he was a vigorous advocate of modernism. For him, poetry should save itself from poeticness. The literary critic should also evaluate poetry with reason.⁵²⁵

He opposed not only divan poetry but also folk poetry. He disagreed with people claiming that folk poetry had been the first-hand expression of emotions, excitements, joys, and sorrows of people for centuries. For him, folk poets had expressed emotions, excitements, joys, and sorrows of poor and ignorant people; however, their verses were not their first-hand expressions. They expressed these feelings in certain interpreted shapes, forms, and moulds. For Ataç, both divan and folk poetries were products of a stagnant society which had not desired change for centuries. Both poetries were revolving around the same subjects, same poetic themes, and same rules. The only difference of divan poets was that they understood Persian and Arabic and were able to use the aruz meter.⁵²⁶ However, there were no qualitative differences between them.

Ataç did not give up supporting the purification of language throughout his entire career. The current of purification of language appeared at the beginning of the nineteenth century. The main target of advocates of this current who gathered around the Committee of Union and Progress

⁵²³ Nurullah Ataç. *Karalama Defteri&Ararken*, 7th ed., Istanbul: YKY, 2006. p. 97.

⁵²⁴ Ibid., p. 101.

⁵²⁵ Hasan Bülent Kahraman. *Türk Şiirinde Modernizm*, Istanbul: Büke, 2000. p. 81.

⁵²⁶ Nurullah Ataç. *Karalama Defteri&Ararken*, 7th ed., Istanbul: YKY, 2006. p. 141.

was to move towards the people by the way of purification. However, Ataç's interest in purification of language was not for the purpose of going to the people, but for a more rationalized and Westernized language. He supported purification in language not for populism but for modernism. Purification in language was necessary for him to enable the change and renewal necessitated by modernism.⁵²⁷

Before the Democrat Party government in the 1950s, regardless of the position of the Turkish Language Association, moderate purificationists were dominant in the press and publishing world. Even though they supported the purification of language from Arabic and Persian phrases, some Arabic and Persian words which were embedded in daily language could be maintained. These people were gradually taking possession of the Turkish Language Association, as well. When radical conservatives in the field of language increasingly started to use archaic Ottoman Turkish words in newspapers and journals, radical purificationists' influence on the younger generations also grew. Ataç's thoughts on the language issue were adapted to a greater extent in this period. For a long time, purificationism in language was seen as one of the main indicators of leftism in Turkey. However, for example, Nâzım Hikmet was not a radical purificationist of literature. For him, the purified language current gained new Turkish words which had been used in Anatolian dialects but not in the Istanbul dialect, such as *iyimser* (optimist) or *kötümser* (pessimist). On the other hand, the same current attempted to find pure Turkish equivalents for words used by both Is-

⁵²⁷ Hasan Bülent Kahraman. *Türkiye'de Yazınsal Bilincin Oluşumu*, İstanbul: Kapı, 2014. p. 181.

tanbulitans and Anatolian people for centuries. This was an unnecessary extremism for him.⁵²⁸

To conclude, I want to return to Ataç's understanding of criticism and mention his hostility to the feeling of nostalgia. He stated that Abdülhak Hamit Tarhan, Cenap Şahabettin, Mehmet Akif, and Süleyman Nafiz were not poets, but pseudo poets; even though many people who did not understand poetry saw them as great poets. A feeling of nostalgia and the illness of preferring their fathers' time to their own dominated their poetries. For this reason, they had declared that poetry was dead. But in fact, they were dead people living in the past.⁵²⁹

5. 4. "Apoliticality" or the Modernist Individualist Understanding of *Garip* Poets

As discussed earlier, both *Garip* poetry itself and Ataç's critiques were seen by many as "the literature of escapism" That is, they were escaping reality in order to avoid criticizing the government in an authoritarian period. Ahmet Oktay also accepted that the poetry of *Garip* became popular when Nâzım Hikmet was silenced. However, this did not mean that they were supported by state authorities. There was no evidence for that. However, on the other hand, the *Garip* poetry, grounded in the working people of the city, did not conflict with the ideology of dominant classes.⁵³⁰

What follows is an example that shows how Nâzım's imprisonment played an important role in the rise of *Garip*. Nâzım Hikmet and Nurrullah Ataç had a very close relationship till 1938, during which Ataç

⁵²⁸ Tuncay Birkan. *Dünya ile Devlet Arasında Türk Muharriri*, İstanbul: Metis, 2020. pp. 343-345.

⁵²⁹ Ibid., p. 181.

⁵³⁰ Ahmet Oktay. *Toplumcu Gerçekçiliğin Kaynakları*, İstanbul: Tümzamanlar, 2000. p. 30.

wrote many positive critical reviews about Nâzım's works. Nâzım said for Ataç that Ataç was the critic who understood his poems and proses best. However, Ataç stopped writing much about Nâzım after 1938. In Nâzım's letters to Kemal Tahir in the 1940s, Nâzım spoke about Ataç in a distant tone and criticized him.⁵³¹

Even though the poets of *Garip* were characterised as apolitical since they rose in the absence of Nâzım Hikmet, Nâzım did not think that they were supported by state authorities. Nâzım and poets of *Garip* had a steady friendship during their lives. They even staged a hunger strike during the campaign to free Nâzım Hikmet. In 1958, years after Orhan Veli's death, Nâzım wrote these verses about him:

Ve telli bir kavağa benzer Orhan'ım

Yüreciği delik deşik onun da⁵³²

(And my dear Orhan is akin to a trembling poplar

His little heart is perforated too)

The poets of *Garip* introduced the movement with a manifesto in a collective book titled *Garip*. They stated in this manifesto that they wanted to address the lower and middle classes rather than the prosperous bourgeoisie and uttered their admiration for ordinary people. Urban settlers and those who migrated from villages to cities for education were privileged in their poetry. They addressed ordinary people, taking snapshots from their daily lives and glorified jeering, joking, and a childlike point of view. The childlike point of view was deemed worth poeticizing for the first time in Turkish poetry by virtue of them. Moreover, they not only broke from the syllabic meter but also the concept of rhyme in poetry. The syllabic meter had already been breached by

⁵³¹ Tuncay Birkan. *Dünya ile Devlet Arasında Türk Muharriri*, İstanbul: Metis, 2020. p. 175.

⁵³² Taylan Özbay. *Atatürk ve Devrimin Yönü*, Ankara: Telgrafhane, 2020. p. 98.

Nâzım Hikmet. However, they were the first in Turkish literature to oppose the concept of rhyme.⁵³³

The childlike point of view in their poems stemmed from their surrealist attitude. Orhan Veli acknowledges the influence of surrealism upon him and his friends in the introduction of *Garip*. Even though he later said that they were not influenced directly by surrealism, they always conceived of surrealism along with Dadaism and tried to transcend both. Besides, Orhan Veli's adoption of the "bobstil" dress style indicated that he was aware of dandyism.⁵³⁴

Even though the changes in the shape and form of poetry were criticized by figures like Attilâ İlhan, the poets of *Garip* opened the doors of poetry to colloquial language and the urban poor with the changes they brought to the understanding of poetry. The poetry of *Garip* approached poverty with optimism. It served as a way for readers to survive and resist the conditions of the dark years of the war. It influenced the readers and poets of young generations throughout the 1940s until the emergence of the Second New movement.⁵³⁵

Orhan Veli wrote in the introduction of *Garip* that poetry had belonged first to the aristocracy and clergy, and later to the bourgeoisie for the longest time. That is, it spoke to the aesthetical pleasures of dominant classes. However, for Orhan Veli and his friends, new poetry should speak to the tastes of the working classes. This new poetry could not be written using the techniques of old poetry. New techniques had to be developed for the new poetry. The poetry had to be cleansed of aruz

⁵³³ Gülce Başer. "The pursuit of new *antagonistic* discourses: politics in poetry of the 1980s", Published Dissertation, Istanbul: Boğaziçi University, 2016. pp. 62, 63.

⁵³⁴ Hasan Bülent Kahraman. *Türk Şiirinde Modernizm*, Istanbul: Büke, 2000. p. 68.

⁵³⁵ Gülce Başer. "The pursuit of *new* antagonistic discourses: politics in poetry of the 1980s", Published Dissertation, Istanbul: Boğaziçi University, 2016. p. 63.

and the syllabic meter and have a meaning. Moreover, it should be written in colloquial language and everything belonging to daily life should become the subject of poetry. On the other hand, the task of poetry was not to seek or determine the needs of the working classes. Rather, it should seek the tastes of the working classes.⁵³⁶

If that was the case, why were they characterized as apolitical poets? There were a few reasons. Firstly, these poets became famous in the void left behind by Nâzım Hikmet and the young leftist poets who were put under pressure. Secondly, under the influence of Nâzım Hikmet, the political positions of poets and currents of poetry were determined according to leftist criteria in those years. State authorities and critics probably defined politics with reference to leftism. However, most importantly, the poets of *Garip* represented a new intellectual type which had not been seen in Turkey for a long time: The model of the missionary intellectual who wanted to become a pioneer to create a more developed society, that had appeared in the Tanzimat era. The supervisory generation which I discussed in the previous chapter was a type of this kind of intellectual. Missionary intellectuals left their marks on the nineteenth century. According to Ahmet Oktay, this tradition continued into the Republican period as well. Intellectuals of the Tanzimat and Armistice periods wanted to save the fatherland. Intellectuals of the Republic wanted to save the people.⁵³⁷ Nâzım Hikmet not only continued this model of the pioneer intellectual but also defined it from a leftist point of view in the twentieth century. On the other hand, Orhan Veli's *Süleyman Efendi* and other characters in his poems had no hope for a better society and did not inspire the reader to improve anything.

⁵³⁶ Hasan Bülent Kahraman. *Türk Şiirinde Modernizm*, İstanbul: Buke, 2000. pp. 70, 71, 93.

⁵³⁷ Ahmet Oktay. *Toplumcu Gerçekçiliğin Kaynakları*, İstanbul: Tümm zamanlar, 2000. p. 265.

He poeticized the present society through the eyes of a child. Perhaps some contradictions of this society were exhibited from a child's viewpoint. However, since the existing society was criticized in a sarcastic mode, this was not seen as a threat to the order. The model of the poet had changed from Nâzım Hikmet to Orhan Veli. This was a transition from a poet who spoke for "all of us" to an individual poet who spoke only for themselves.⁵³⁸ It can still be argued that *Garip* and their followers had a political message even if this message was shaped by an individualistic point of view which readers found themselves in. Its glorification of infantility was perceived as a form of resistance against the One Party bureaucracy.⁵³⁹ While the bureaucracy tried to suppress and silence the vanguard intellectual, *Garip* poetry was met with less reaction than expected.⁵⁴⁰

In Ataç's words, Orhan Veli and his friends put forward their love of humanity and *joie de vivre*. They used a childlike tone even in their earliest poems. Reality and imaginarieness always went together in their

⁵³⁸ Gülce Başer. "The pursuit of new antagonistic discourses: politics in poetry of the 1980s", Published Dissertation, Istanbul, Boğaziçi University, 2016. pp. 66, 67.

⁵³⁹ Ibid., p. 68.

⁵⁴⁰ Yalçın Armağan puts forward another thesis about the relatively easy acceptance of the *Garip* poetry. For him, *Garip* appears as an acceptable form of poetry when the aesthetic reflexes of Turkish modernization is taken into consideration. However, its textual strategies push the limits of "the acceptable." *Garip* was acceptable with its claims to being understandable and opposed to the old. However, its avantgarde textual strategy led to a transformation in Turkish poetry. (Yalçın Armağan. *İmkânsız Özerklik: Türk Şiirinde Modernizm*, İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, pp. 97-104.) *Garip*'s rejection of the syllable meter in poetry and inheritance of folk poetry in its early period made this poetry different from other currents of poetry which also had the claim to being understandable and against the old. This different textual strategy was closely connected with the rise of the little men and men of letters' turning into little men, which was underlined to a lesser degree in Yalçın Armağan's study.

poems, which was the most important element in creating their child-like tone.⁵⁴¹

Their undisciplined lifestyles also had a significant influence on their preferences. Mehmet Kemal claims that Orhan Veli returned from Ankara to Istanbul because Ankara could not tolerate a poet who grew a beard. That is, he meant that literary circles in Ankara could not tolerate a poet who could not be a good state official. In contrast, Istanbul, which was a more cosmopolitan city, could tolerate a bearded poet.⁵⁴² In return, Orhan Veli did not tolerate Ankara. He worked as a translator in the Translation Bureau between 1941 and 1944. However, when Reşat Şemsettin Sirer became the Minister of National Education, the work environment in the Ministry became anti-democratic. For this reason, he left the job and went to perform his military service, after which he settled in Istanbul.⁵⁴³

He lived the 36 years of his life on the money he earned from part time jobs which was not enough to pay for his necessities of cigarettes, drinks, clothing, and food. He would drink, sans appetizers, at cheap taprooms in Beyoğlu such as Lambo. He wrote many of his poems and proses in the mornings and did not require a quiet working environment; he could write anywhere. In spite of his irregular and short life, he wrote thousands of poems which filled five books, as well as many articles and essays. He made twenty two translations, as well.⁵⁴⁴ He was also living a *flâneur's* life and wrote while loitering, as many young authors and poets of his generation did.

⁵⁴¹ Hasan Bülent Kahraman. *Türk Şiirinde Modernizm*, Istanbul: Büke, 2000. p. 88.

⁵⁴² Mehmed Kemal. *Acılı Kuşak*, Istanbul: De, 1985. p. 31.

⁵⁴³ Baki Süha Ediboğlu. *Bizim Kuşak ve Ötekiler*, Istanbul: Varlık, 1968. p. 150.

⁵⁴⁴ Ibid., p.151.

In the 1940s, there was a literary community in Ankara as well, some members of which travelled regularly between Ankara and Istanbul. Life was harder for those living in Ankara. They were continuously followed by undercover police. Even though many of them were not socialists, all of them were recorded as leftists by the police.⁵⁴⁵ Hence, Istanbul and Beyoğlu was a space of freedom for young “bobstil” poets like Orhan Veli. They spent more time in Beyoğlu because they found people like themselves there. According to Mehmet Kemal, authors and poets of the 1940s generation who lived in Ankara did not know patisseries and coffeehouses, because these did not exist in Ankara. Hence, they would socialize in the taprooms. The stereotypical image of the leftist intellectual who loves drinking alcohol appeared in those years.⁵⁴⁶

Orhan Veli was a poet who could not be tolerated by Ankara. He was a dissident. However, his dissidence was different from Mehmet Kemal’s, who characterized himself as a Marxist. His dissidence was expressed through his “bobstil”, signifying a conflict with the old generation and old understanding of poetry. His poems had a political content that was expressed in humour. This humour reflected the worldview of ordinary men rather than of a radical opposition. Mehmet Kemal and his Marxist

⁵⁴⁵ Mehmed Kemal. *Acılı Kuşak*, Istanbul: De, 1985. p. 64.

⁵⁴⁶ Ibid., p. 124; Literati of this generation suspected certain people of being police informers. At times, their suspicions turned into paranoia that everyone might be police. However, their paranoia was not entirely unmerited. During the 1940s, people of thought lived under police surveillance and were kept records of. These pressures continued into the 1950s after Democrat Party’s accession to power. Democrat Party had promised that there would not be any pressures placed on intellectuals during their government. However, pressures continued in their government era, as well. Their most common method of pressuring intellectuals was to not grant them passports. Aziz Nesin and Oktay Rıfat were among such men of letters who could not get a passport until the coup d’etat of 1960. (Ibid., p. 8.)

friends loved Nâzım Hikmet's poems. However, they were afraid of remaining under his influence and only managing to become his inadequate imitations.⁵⁴⁷ They criticized Orhan Veli because they found his poetics apolitical. However, they were also friends at the same time. In these years, being a young poet or author was identical with being in the opposition. All writers were on the same side in this sense.

Among Marxist poets, there was some who were more harshly critical of *Garip*. One of these was Enver Gökçe. For him, Garip poetry degenerated social realist poetry. The Marxist poets founded the *Ant* journal to fight "the bad influences of *Garip*." They remained few in number and their influence was limited, however. Nevertheless, they believed that they represented the real anti-fascist and revolutionary poetry. In Enver Gökçe's poetry, naive humane emotionality was joined with dead and epic sound of folk poetry. He "sings" his poems for a noble cause as different from the poetry of *Garip*.⁵⁴⁸

According to Ahmet Oktay, Garip poetry's treatment of individual and concrete people rather than abstract imagery influenced not only liberal poets but also leftist ones like Rıfat Ilgaz and Suphi Taşhan. This poetry was different from the poetry of Nâzım. Young leftist poets were unable either to represent or to transcend the poetry of Nâzım with new syntheses, according to Ahmet Oktay. The joy of living in the poetry of *Garip* was the antithesis of the reigning poverty and the war. That is, it served a political function with its content. The joy of living in Nâzım, which advocated for a better society and invited society to a struggle was different from the joy of living in *Garip*. However, both of them displayed a joy of living, which disappeared in the poetry of many leftist

⁵⁴⁷ Ibid., p. 34.

⁵⁴⁸ Öner Yağcı. *40 Kuşaklı Şairleri*, Ankara: Telgrafhane, 2020: pp. 48, 113.

poets who wanted to continue the poetic legacy of Nâzım, and this vacuum was filled by romanticism. This romantic discourse turned into an indicator of leftism.⁵⁴⁹ Moreover, we understand from the words of Mehmed Kemal that leftist poets of this generation were scared of remaining under the influence of Nâzım's poetry.

However, this claim of Mehmet Kemal did not apply to all leftist poets of the era. For example, Nail V. Çakırhan published his first book, *1+1*, with Nâzım Hikmet. He shaped his poetics together with Nâzım from the beginning. Their friendship progressed to such extent that he stayed in Nâzım's home as his housemate for a while. He was even put in prison along with Nâzım in 1932 for the charge of founding a communist organization. This was not the first time Çakırhan was arrested. In his senior year in high school, he was arrested for allegedly insulting Atatürk. However, he was released at Atatürk's request. In reality, he had not insulted Atatürk in any way. In the poem under legal scrutiny, some landholders were likened to feudal lords. For Nail V., Atatürk was no feudal lord, but a great genius. He took Atatürk as an example for himself. Nail V. shared other common ground with Nâzım, as well. For example, he also studied at Communist University of the Toilers of the East (KUTV) in Russia.⁵⁵⁰

Rıfat Ilgaz was also influenced by Nâzım Hikmet. However, he quickly found his own tone and made new technical contributions to social realist poetry.⁵⁵¹ According to Sabahattin Ali, great events and people were not treated in Ilgaz's poems. He focused on ordinary people and daily events. Doormen, petty state officials, patients in a sanatorium, and residents of poor quarters were some of his characters. In most of his po-

⁵⁴⁹ Ahmet Oktay. *Toplumcu Gerçekçiliğin Kaynakları*, İstanbul: Tümm zamanlar, 2000. p. 34.

⁵⁵⁰ Öner Yağcı. *40 Kuşağı Şairleri*, Ankara: Telgrafhane, 2020. pp. 74, 75.

⁵⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 87.

ems, he mentioned his petty problems. However, he poeticized his petty problems such that all ordinary people saw themselves in these poems. These little problems were the common problems of all poor people, highlighting the sociological quality of his work. Ilgaz's poetry was precisely social realist.⁵⁵²

In 1944, he published his famous book of poem, *Sınıf*, which was pulled off the shelf by cabinet decision. Nâzım Hikmet also said that Rıfat Ilgaz was one of his favourites among the young poets. He presented Rıfat Ilgaz as an example to Orhan Kemal when suggesting he discover his own tone in poetry. Behice Boran characterised him as the voice of working people. For Attila İlhan, Ilgaz was one of the most idiosyncratic voices of his generation. A bitter smile could be felt in his poems according to İlhan.⁵⁵³

Suphi Taşhan, who was one of the young poets of this decade who died at the young age of 39 in 1960 was also influenced more by Nâzım than by *Garip*. He participated in a public meeting against the Democrat Party in Kızılay Square and was arrested. How long he was detained and what he encountered in prison was not known since the country was under martial law. After he was released, he went to a doctor complaining of chest pain. Even though the doctor said that he was okay, he died of a heart attack two weeks later. According to Ahmet Oktay, he remained close to Nâzım Hikmet during his life of poesy and valued literary arts as did Nâzım Hikmet. According to Mustafa Şerif Onaran, he did not content himself only with utterance and ways of speech, but took imagery and imaginariness in poetry seriously too. He was not included

⁵⁵² Ibid., p. 49.

⁵⁵³ Ibid., p. 58.

in the curriculums of schools but was instead treated in histories of literature because of his political identity.⁵⁵⁴

Another leftist poet of this generation was Şükran Kurdakul. When he started to write, the poets of *Garip* had gained fame and Nâzım was in prison, but his poems were still published in certain leftist journals under pseudonyms. Nâzım's poems influenced him more than the *Garip* poems. He received Nâzım's books from Attila İlhan who was his schoolmate in high school. On the other hand, he was also scared of losing his originality under the influence of Nâzım like many other leftist poets of his era did. Toward the end of the 1940s, he tried to construct a poetics that was influenced by Nâzım's contributions but which went beyond it.⁵⁵⁵

The personality traits of Orhan Veli also had an influence on the popularity of *Garip*. His self-confidence propelled him and his friends ahead of the various literary currents of the period. Nurullah Ataç did everything in his power to popularise Orhan Veli. However, Orhan Veli quarrelled even with Nurullah Ataç, who had made him widely known in the world of literature and protected him from attacks. Their resentments were very harsh and continued until both of them died. Ataç eventually got so angry with Orhan Veli that he was also annoyed by those who continued their friendship with Orhan Veli. After this quarrel, he bestowed a cognomen upon Orhan Veli: vertical worm (*şakuli solucan*). Orhan Veli was very tall and a bit hunchbacked. There were acne scars on his face left from his adolescence. For this reason, he gave Orhan Veli this nickname.⁵⁵⁶

⁵⁵⁴ Ibid., p. 131.

⁵⁵⁵ Ibid., pp. 165, 166, 169.

⁵⁵⁶ Mehmed Kemal. *Acılı Kuşak*, Istanbul: De, 1985. pp. 31, 72, 73.

Orhan Veli did not pay heed to the hierarchies among authors and poets. When he loved them, he did so because of aesthetical criteria. Apart from his poet friends Melih Cevdet and Oktay Rıfat, one of his most favourite authors from his generation was Sait Faik. He mentioned Sait Faik to people whenever he found the chance. One day, out of the blue, he suddenly told of a play by Sait Faik to Mehmed Kemal. He loved this play very much. In the play, people run up a crowded avenue on a rainy day. The avenue looks like İstiklal Avenue. It is packed with taxies, people, bustlers, women, and girls. There is a man in this crowd with a quilt on his back. He comes in front of the stage, looking at showcases of shops. He puts down the quilt, turns at the audience and says “I am selling”; the single phrase uttered in the entire play.⁵⁵⁷ Mehmed Kemal implied that this play seemed nonsensical to him. However, this showed the proximity of Orhan Veli and Sait Faik’s literary understandings.⁵⁵⁸

⁵⁵⁷ Ibid., p. 35.

⁵⁵⁸ Sait Faik wrote a story about his friend, Orhan Veli which reveals what he thought about him. Its title was *Rakı Şişesinde Balık Olmak* (Being a Fish in a Bottle of Rakı.) This idiom means being very drunk in Turkish and was first used in Turkish by Orhan Veli. It was a verse of one of his poems.

Sait Faik began his story by stating that no poet was discussed as much as Orhan Veli in Turkey. He was sometimes mocked, sometimes rejected, and sometimes accepted. He gained both fame and infamy. He had two very thin legs, a small raincoat, a canary yellow neckerchief, a triangular face, a hump ridge, and a face covered in acne.

The narrator says that literary criticism about his poetry was far it from him. Nurullah Ataç introduced him enough. However, at the time, Ataç said that he was not acknowledging a man by the name of Orhan Veli to exist and vice versa. The narrator wondered when they would make up with each other. Even though they were estranged from each other; Nurullah Ataç said of Orhan Veli that he should give him credit for being a good poet. Orhan Veli in turn said of Ataç that he has good taste in poems.

Certain words and phrases become fashionable in Istanbul, from time to time. Sometimes a song or a single word just catches on. The phrase *Yazık oldu Süleyman efendiye* (What a pity for Süleyman Effendi) by Orhan Veli was one such example in the 1940s. Orhan Veli described himself as an ordinary man who lived his life in an ordinary and simple

manner. He did not write Süleyman Effendi to be quirky. He did not expect that writing about Süleyman Efendi would be received so oddly. Some mocked Orhan Veli for using the word callus in a work of literature. The narrator asked Orhan Veli what he thought about these claims. He got angry and said that the callus was important for people. The narrator asked whether he had a callus issue while writing this poem. He said that after he wrote the poem, he came under Süleyman Efendi's curse and he was also calloused.

The narrator then inquired about *Rakı Şişesinde Balık Olmak*. This poem also narrated the story of a man who was living a poor and an ordinary life. This man desired many things which he lacked including drinking rakı. The narrator asked the poet whether he had guessed that this poem would also make a splash like the poem Süleyman Efendi. He said that he had guessed it would. Moreover, he said that sometimes many beautiful words did not influence the reader. In such cases, the poet should nudge the reader and awaken them from wool-gathering among cliché words. The verse *Rakı Şişesinde Balık Olsam* was written for this reason.

The narrator asked the poet whether he liked rakı. He answered that he liked it a lot. The narrator responded "me too" and asked what he thought about the fall in its price. He still could not believe it. The narrator asked to hear one of the poet's unpublished poems. Veli read him the *Cımbızlı Şiir* (A poem with tweezers). The narrator believed that this poem might freak out literate women. Testing his claim, the narrator read this poem to a woman another day, in the company of Fikret Adil, as well. She resented it very much and replied with another poem whose tone was very harsh.

While the narrator was continuing to interview Orhan Veli, the poet Süavi Taşer joined them. He had thousands of poems which he could not publish as a book since he could not find a publisher. The narrator asked Orhan Veli what he thought of Süavi Koçer and his poems. The two poets exchanged glances. Orhan Veli said that he was wonderful. The narrator asked which of his poems he loved the most. He said that he loved Koçer's untitled poems the most.

The narrator asked when he had started to write poems. This "illness" started in him while he was 11 or 12 years old with classical poems. For him, these were bad poems; he was under the influence of bad poets. After some time, he got disgusted by these old poems. Later, he started to read modern poets after Baudelaire and surrealist poets. He wrote the poems which were regarded as odd in this period.

The narrator asked whether he loved those poems then, which the poet answered in the negative. He found them weak because of their forms. He had come to understand that poetry needed mastery. However, those poems also had to be written to be able to save himself from datedness and the old poetic spirit. The narrator asked him to read his favourite poem, which he did. Following up, the narrator asked whether he considered returning to rhymed poetry again. He answered that poetry should not focus on the

They were lone men wandering on Istiklal Avenue with their quilts on their back; they could sell it without thinking, as well. They were very close friends and this friendship would probably influence their understandings of literature.

However, their personalities were different from each other. Sait Faik generally avoided heated debates. On the other hand, Orhan Veli liked these kinds of debates. He was very self-confident as one of the most popular representatives of the new generation. One day he encountered Yahya Kemal on the ferry. According to Mehmet Kemal, as a classicist poet, Yahya Kemal neither loved nor cared about the poetry of *Garip*. Yahya Kemal asked Orhan Veli if he had written a new poem. There are

rhyme for the present moment but it could be utilized again in the future. The narrator asked why. The poet was thinking on poetry more by the way of the poems without rhythm. By this way, poetry's sphere of influence was enlarging. When rhymed poems were returned again, Turkish poetry would take advantage of this experience.

Orhan Veli looked at the nearly empty bottle of raki languishingly. They each filled their glasses and the bottle was emptied. They the bottle out the window. The bottle shattered with a crash. The broken bottle reminded the narrator of the poetry of Orhan Veli. (Sait Faik. *Tüneldeki Çocuk*, Istanbul: Varlık, 1955. pp. 96-103.)

Sait Faik worked in newspapers as a reporter and interviewer for a while. This story was an interview, but it could be read as a short story as well. In the story, we saw three men of letters who had very warm relationships with each other. They were aware that they represented novelty in poetry and story writing.

Sait Faik asked Orhan Veli every kind of question and he replied to all of them without hesitation. Orhan Veli saw himself as an ordinary man; however, he was very confident of himself as an ordinary man.

The relationships of Süavi Koçer and Orhan Veli were also special. Süavi Koçer came and sat down without hesitation at the tables of Sait Faik and Orhan Veli. Since Sait Faik was sure that he would not say an offending word, he asked Orhan Veli what he thought about Süavi Koçer's poetry. Orhan Veli spoke very fondly about his poetry. Perhaps, their understandings of poetry were different, however, all men at this table were against the old poetry. Hence, they were friendly towards each other.

As an ordinary and little man, Orhan Veli told of ordinary people in his poems. Ordinary men internalized his poems such that some of his verses turned into idioms such as "being a fish in a bottle of raki".

only a few poems of Orhan Veli written in aruz prosody. He read one of these, titled *Efsane*. Yahya Kemal listened to the poem and said that it was very beautiful. He added: “Orhan Bey, if you work some more, you will surpass us in this field”. Orhan Veli responded “my master, we do not take these poems seriously; we are writing them as mockery and scribble”. Yahya Kemal was petrified with astonishment and went black in the face.⁵⁵⁹ Yahya Kemal was one of the most famous and influential poets of the 1940s. He was referred to as Master in the press and literary world. Even though the young poets and authors who examined in this study cannot be listed among them, many young poets and authors deeply respected Yahya Kemal. However, Orhan Veli thought himself superior to Yahya Kemal as a poet.

5. 5. Leftism, Modernism, and the Purge (*Tasfiye*) Debates

As mentioned earlier, some of the Marxist poets were inspired by the aesthetical rather than the political thoughts of Nâzım. These poets, who started to write in the 1940s, adopted a different approach in the 1940s which continued till the 1960s. According to Ahmet Oktay, because they did not foresee the desire for change which appeared at the beginning of the 1940s in Turkish poetry, pioneers of the change in Turkish literature became “progressive” and humanist poets and authors rather than Marxist ones. The refusal of the old tradition of poetry by Nâzım Hikmet in the 1930s was continued by “progressivist and democrat” writers like Gavsî Ozansoy rather than Marxist and leftist poets and authors.⁵⁶⁰

⁵⁵⁹ Mehmed Kemal. *Acılı Kuşak*, İstanbul: De, 1985. pp. 36, 37.

⁵⁶⁰ Ahmet Oktay. *Toplumcu Gerçekçiliğin Kaynakları*, İstanbul: Tümm zamanlar, 2000. pp. 305, 306.

Gavsi Ozansoy became the spokesman of a new generation in 1939 with his declaration *Tasfiye Lazım – A Purge is Necessary*. He asserted the right of his generation with his declaration, demanding to be acknowledged and esteemed, in the *İstiklal* newspaper. According to Ozansoy, the literary world was occupied by owners of literary journals and fame brokers. Readers did not have access to the works of Sait Faik in short story, Cavit Yamaç in prose, and Melih Cevdet, İlhami Bekir, Cahit Saffet, and İlhan Berk in poetry. A new generation had come up in Turkish literature with its own unique taste and culture, however, this generation was not introduced to the reader.⁵⁶¹

Ozansoy saw their movement as a movement of “vitality” and youth. However, he explicitly stated that by “youth”, he did not literally mean being at a young age. According to Ozansoy, the youngest among them was the middle aged İsmail Hakkı Baltacıoğlu. Being young meant to be new in standpoint and understanding of art. For this reason, while the eighteen year old Arif Dino was deemed an outsider, Sadri Ertem, an older figure, was seen to be one of them. They called other senior artists down among their ranks as well.⁵⁶²

Gavsi Ozansoy, the son of villagist and romanticist poet Halit Fahri Ozansoy was a regular attendant of the Nisuzaz café in Beyoğlu. The idea of publishing a declaration was hatched at this café. He left his mark on one of the most important literary events of the 1940s with his friends in Nisuzaz. Gavsi Ozansoy’s essay in the *İstiklal* newspaper caused reactions among the old generation and had repercussions among the generation of the 1940s. Ozansoy declared that the Kemalist revolution had brought the new and mature in place of the old and primitive. The revo-

⁵⁶¹ Ibid., p. 420.

⁵⁶² Ibid., p. 421.

lution could not find its own style of literature and remained loyal to the villagist and romanticist discourse of poets such as Faruk Nafiz. The reign of the old generation led by figures such as Faruk Nafiz was still ongoing. A purge in Turks' criteria for art and pleasure was necessary to break the deadlock.⁵⁶³ New poets and authors could fill this void. Compared to Orhan Veli, their discourse was more political and explicit.

Gavsi Ozansoy was working in *Son Posta* at that time. A literary investigation began among young literary men by way of Ozansoy. Responses by Sait Faik, Cahit Saffet, Abidin Dino, Mümtaz Zeki, Hüsamettin Bozok, Nail V., Cavit Yamaç, and Ziya Osman Saba were published.⁵⁶⁴

Some of the responses were: "Long live the purge!", "When there is a Sabahattin Ali at the standards of Maksim Gorki or there is a Sait Faik at the standards of Duhamel, who needs short story writers of the old generation?", "When there are poets who can compete with European poets in the 1940s generation, who needs the hollow pseudo poems of the old generation?"⁵⁶⁵

On the purge list of the young poets and authors were Reşat Nuri, Fazıl Ahmet, Mahmut Yesari, Mithat Cemal, Peyami Safa, Aka Gündüz, Vala Nurettin, Burhan Cahit, Faruk Nafiz, Orhan Seyfi, Yusuf Ziya, İbrahim Alaettin, Behçet Kemal, and Esat Mahmut Karakurt.⁵⁶⁶

After the purge list was published, the *Akşam* newspaper started to make interviews with the names on it. Yusuf Ziya, who was among the group of syllabist poets on the list, roared back stating that literature was beyond the depth of children who crowed like young cocks and that it was childish to claim someone could not write because they were

⁵⁶³ Salâh Birsal. *Ah Beyoğlu Vah Beyoğlu*, İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür, 1983. p. 137.

⁵⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁶⁵ Ibid., pp. 137, 138.

⁵⁶⁶ Ibid., p. 138.

old. The newspapers *Yeni Sabah* and *Vakit* also joined the debate. According to Burhan Cahit, since these young men grew up on brown bread and broom corn, a Yahya Kemal rising up from among this generation was impossible. Orhan Seyfi Orhon, who was also a syllabist, only mocked the young figures. Nurullah Ataç, who was not on the purge list and was respected by the young generation, confessed that he had not understood what the purge meant. For him, everyone had the right not to read the literary products they did not like. However, they had no rights beyond that. Haliç Fahri Ozansoy harshly criticized the young men at first. However, when all the old generation attacked his son, Gavsı Ozansoy, he started to write articles supporting young poets and authors.⁵⁶⁷

The debate eventually devolved into mutual swearing. In January 1940, the young generation decided to attack the old generation systematically and published a joint declaration on January 24th titled the Joint Declaration of Youth in the *Tan* newspaper. . The declaration was signed by Sait Faik and Abidin Dino in the name of the young authors. Necip Fazıl also helped in the preparation of the declaration. Since Necip Fazıl was friends with Fikret Adil and Abidin Dino, he supported the declaration even though he had criticized Gavsı Ozansoy not too long ago. However, the majority continued to view Necip Fazıl as an opponent of the new current.⁵⁶⁸

In this declaration, they claimed that the post-Tanzimat generations understood neither the East nor the West. They understood neither the past nor the present. The new generation, however, came into contact with both the East and the West and understood all the Western tradi-

⁵⁶⁷ Ibid., pp. 138, 139.

⁵⁶⁸ Ibid., pp. 139-141.

tions of thought from Socrates to Freud.⁵⁶⁹ Necip Fazıl influenced the declaration's tone. In my opinion, the declaration was in a very moderate tone and very different from the first article written by Gavsî Ozansoy. For this reason, the old generation did not react to this declaration.

Sait Faik's articles which appeared in some newspapers after Ozansoy's declaration were harsher. He even mocked the old generation in one of these articles by suggesting alternative occupations for the authors and poets: Orhan Seyfi and Yusuf Ziya should have run a milliner store in Beyoğlu and the store's name should have been Binnaz. Halide Edip should have been the chairwoman of the imaginary languages faculty of the liars world university. Refik Halit should have been the director of the institute for the protection of animals.⁵⁷⁰

Ahmet Oktay saw Gavsî Ozansoy and his friends as the successors of Nâzım Hikmet, due to their rebellion against tradition. According to Oktay, Nâzım Hikmet influenced Turkish poets and authors both politically and aesthetically. However, those influenced by his politics and those influenced by his aesthetics were not the same persons. Those influenced by his artistic and aesthetical side became initiators of the purge movement in the 1940s. The current of *Garip*, which was also influenced by Nazım's artistic and aesthetical side, could live thanks to this purge movement. The leftist poets and authors, influenced by Nazım's politics, would later be called the generation of 1940 or *Acılı Kuşak* (The Grief Generation). However, they reached neither Nâzım's level of political activism nor his level of poetry. Even though Nazım's poetry was simple and understandable, it was not vulgar. His way of speech

⁵⁶⁹ Ibid., pp. 140-142.

⁵⁷⁰ Tuncay Birkan. *Dünya ile Devlet Arasında Türk Muharriri*, İstanbul: Metis, 2020. p. 230.

was simple, but he did not even think of the simplicity of essence and form. His poetry was neither an imitation of the form of ballad or the syllabic meter.⁵⁷¹ However, some leftist poets of the 1940s generation chose simplicity in essence and form, as well. Villagism, populism, and romanticism became central elements of their poetries. Even Attila İlhan, who harshly criticized the modernism of the 1940s, said that the fashion of producing leftist slogans from the poetry of dervish lodges (*tekke şiiiri*) appeared in the 1940s. Figures such as the evil landowner and imam appeared in prose in this period. These figures have long continued serving as the main evil characters of social realist prose as part of a schematic mentality.⁵⁷²

In the villagism of some leftist poets, political pressures also played an important role. As a result of the labour law mentioned earlier, utterance of workers' problems was almost impossible in the 1930s and 1940s. Therefore, the leftist authors and poets adopted villagism as a substitute discourse. Even though they had adopted the villagist discourse at first as a tactic, it gradually turned into a central element of their literature.

According to literary and art critic Hasan Bülent Kahraman too, social realist literary figures of the 1940s were not as interested in capitalism, technological developments, or realities of the Istanbul metropolis as Nâzım Hikmet was. Even though Turkey was not engaged in World War II, the impacts of the War were gravely felt. Since it was a poor country and a significant part of the budget was spent on war measures, the goal of industrialization and discourses about it receded into the background. Faced with such economic conditions, social realist poets and

⁵⁷¹ Ahmet Oktay. *Toplumcu Gerçekçiliğin Kaynakları*, İstanbul: Tümm zamanlar, 2000. pp. 305, 306, 360, 393, 394.

⁵⁷² Attila İlhan. *Hangi Edebiyat*, İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası, 2002. pp. 166, 245.

authors turned to the village. According to Kahraman, Nâzım's poetry was influenced by both Marxist aesthetics and modernism through Russian constructivism and futurism. On the other hand, the poets of the 1940s who were characterized as social realist were neither modernist nor Marxist in the aesthetical sense.⁵⁷³

The poets' and authors' intellectual backgrounds influenced their preferences as much as structural elements did. As said earlier, this generation's authors and poets became leftist through the influence of leftist literary figures like Nâzım rather than Marxist theoretical texts. Perhaps for this reason, whether they treated villagers or workers was not a big issue for them. Rifat Ilgaz said in *Karartma Geceleri* (1974) that when he was a young poet, he was not sure whether he was leftist. All he knew was that he was on the side of oppressed people. Difficulties suffered by these people were exactly the same with his own difficulties. He saw his own emancipation in the emancipation of people. That was all there was to his leftism.⁵⁷⁴

Nâzım's influence on the leftist poets who tried to take him as an example was limited because of several reasons. The first reason was that finding Nâzım's poems was difficult in this period. However, it was not impossible. Even though they could not access all of them, they could read most of the important ones. Another reason was their inadequacy in the artistic and aesthetical sense according to Kahraman.⁵⁷⁵ However, the main reason, which was not mentioned by Kahraman, was their fear of turning into mere imitations of Nâzım, as mentioned earlier.

While leftist poets were interested in villages and villagers, many young poets and authors of the period were interested in poor and lower-

⁵⁷³ Hasan Bülent Kahraman. *Türk Şiirinde Modernizm*, İstanbul: Büke, 2000. pp. 55, 58

⁵⁷⁴ Taylan Özbay. *Atatürk ve Devrimin Yönü*, Ankara: Telgrafhane, 2020. p. 142.

⁵⁷⁵ Hasan Bülent Kahraman. *Türk Şiirinde Modernizm*, İstanbul: Büke, 2000. p. 62.

middle classes in the city. As low-income intellectuals, they believed that they could express their individuality through treating low-income residents of the city in their works. The rising figure of the period was “the little man.”⁵⁷⁶ On the other hand, the concerns of “the little man” in the city were seen as apolitical by leftist authors.

Hence, leftist authors and poets did not take part in the purge movement which was carried out by these “apolitical authors.” Many leftist authors of this period such as Faik Bercmen, Sefer Aytekin, and Yusuf Ahıskalı appeared in leftist journals such as *Ses*, *Yeni Ses*, and *Yeni Edebiyat* with Sait Faik. However, many of their works were not carried into the future. Even Abidin Dino was not carried into the future with his literary products. Some leftist poets of this generation such as Rifat Ilgaz, who would be read by coming generations, were as close to *Garip* as they were to Nâzım. However, this proximity did not rule out leftist content from his poetry. According to Oktay, if the socialist movement followed the policies of the United Democratic Front well, which was implemented in many European countries at the time, and saw the potential in the cities; then, leftist poets and authors could save themselves from the villagist discourse. The purge, which was achieved by individualist, radical petty bourgeois poets and authors, could in turn be achieved by leftist poets and authors. Thus, leftists could shape the literary world in Turkey to a greater extent. However, in Turkey, while politics was made by leftists; literature was made by the petty bourgeois intellectuals.⁵⁷⁷

To Ahmet Oktay, the petty bourgeois intellectuals’ attempt at a literary revival corroborated the social democratic discourse in Turkey rather

⁵⁷⁶ Ahmet Oktay. *Toplumcu Gerçekçiliğin Kaynakları*, İstanbul: Tümsamanlar, 2000. pp. 402, 403.

⁵⁷⁷ Ibid., pp. 403, 404.

than the Marxist one. Both the villagist discourse of leftist poets and authors, and the literature which focused on poor people in the city fed into the populist and social democrat discourse from two different directions. Nâzım Hikmet's poetry could not be continued not only because of political repression but also because of the theoretical and artistic shortcomings of his leftist followers.⁵⁷⁸

5. 6. General Characteristics of the 1940s Generation

Despite significant differences between them, certain common points stood out which united the poets and authors of this generation. Mehmed Kemal believed that their generation was seeking democracy. They were struggling for basic political rights. Since they could not be involved in politics directly, literature became a means of expressing their political demands.⁵⁷⁹ Both leftist writers and those seen as apolitical agreed upon certain fundamental rights.

Another important characteristic of this generation was that most of them were penniless young men. According to Mehmet Kemal, the political authority in the 1940s preferred not employing or funding them. If a poet consistently touched upon social issues, they became unemployed and were followed by police.⁵⁸⁰ Kemal Özer points out that the poets of the 1940s, most of whom accepted Nâzım as their master were arrested and forced into unemployment and poverty, just like their master. They often could not publish their books at all and their poems which they could publish with difficulty were neglected, despised, and not adopted into curricula.⁵⁸¹

⁵⁷⁸ Ibid., p. 436.

⁵⁷⁹ Mehmed Kemal. *Acılı Kuşak*, Istanbul: De, 1985. p. 11.

⁵⁸⁰ Ibid., p. 27.

⁵⁸¹ Öner Yağcı. *40 Kuşağı Şairleri*, Ankara: Telgrafhane, 2020. p. 46.

According to Rifat Ilgaz, the war machine of fascism had reached up to the borders of Turkey in the 1940s. It was running at full speed to keep its engine warm. However, most of the Turkish poets were living deaf to these engine sounds and heedless of the smell of fuel. They were depicted as great poets of the era by some historians of literature even though they did not fulfil their responsibilities as intellectuals and artists. On the other hand, poets who voiced the social problems of their era were neglected and humiliated by these literary critics and historians. They could be discovered by conscious readers only after the 1960s. Before the 1940s, the regime had preferred to employ leftist poets and writers as state officials with high salaries after they complied with the order. In the 1940s, this tradition was abandoned and dissident literary figures were rendered unemployed and penniless.⁵⁸²

Some of the poets and authors of this generation died in exile like Nâzım. Sabahattin Ali was murdered while fleeing to Bulgaria. His student, Fahri Erdiñç, managed to escape to Bulgaria where he died in 1986 since he was relentlessly prosecuted in Turkey.⁵⁸³ Another poet of the era, Zihni Anadol, told of the arrests of the members of the Communist Party of Turkey in 1944 in his book, *Truva Altında İlk Akşam*.⁵⁸⁴ Some of these, like Arif Damar, did their military services in exile regiments.⁵⁸⁵ Most of them could not publish their books in the 1940s and 1950s and were only recognized after the 1960s. Öner Yağcı said that young literature lovers of the 1960s could only become acquainted with the poetry of Ahmet Arif after 1968, for instance, after which his poetry

⁵⁸² Ibid., p. 50; Tuncay Birkan. *Dünya ile Devlet Arasında Türk Muharriri*, Istanbul: Metis, 2020. p. 200.

⁵⁸³ Öner Yağcı. *40 Kuşak Şairleri*, Ankara: Telgrafhane, 2020. p. 97.

⁵⁸⁴ Ibid., p. 103.

⁵⁸⁵ Even though his surname was Damar; he used the surname Barikat in his poems; Yağcı, Öner. *40 Kuşak Şairleri*, Ankara: Telgrafhane, 2020. p. 134.

became a source of enthusiasm in meetings, a symbol of resistance in prisons, and a song of freedom.⁵⁸⁶

According to Mehmet Kemal, the generation of 1940 was a generation of fear. Firstly, they were scared of their fathers. In high school, they were scared of their teachers. After Atatürk died, they started to fear İsmet Pasha. They saw the university as an opportunity for emancipation. Mehmet Kemal entered the Faculty of Language, History, and Geography. However, their fears continued in the university, as well.⁵⁸⁷

Atatürk held a special place in the minds of the literary figures of this generation. He was both feared and respected, like a father figure. Oktay Akbal said that when Atatürk died, they were children and students at the threshold of life. They felt that a great and glorious era ended with his death. They would now have to live in a Turkey without Atatürk.⁵⁸⁸ They also felt the anxiety caused by the loss of the father, just like the middle aged authors of the supervisory generation did. However, their reactions to this anxiety were different.

According to Hasan Bülent Kahraman, this generation was also a generation of hope. When literary books written in the 1940s are examined, it is clearly visible that the main themes were the war, freedom, poverty, pressure, future beautiful days, hope, and optimism about the future.⁵⁸⁹ In short, their literary products alternated between feelings of pessimism and hope.

⁵⁸⁶ Öner Yağcı. *40 Kuşağı Şairleri*, Ankara: Telgrafhane, 2020. pp. 154, 155.

⁵⁸⁷ Mehmed Kemal. *Acılı Kuşak*, İstanbul: De, 1985. p. 200.

⁵⁸⁸ Taylan Özbay. *Atatürk ve Devrimin Yönü*, Ankara: Telgrafhane, 2020. p. 105.

⁵⁸⁹ Hasan Bülent Kahraman. *Türk Şiirinde Modernizm*, İstanbul: Büke, 2000. p. 51.

5. 7. The Short Story Writing of Sait Faik

Short story writers of this generation did not differ from poets with respect to alternating between feelings of pessimism and hope. Concerning this point, I want to dwell on Sait Faik and the short story writers of the 1940s generation, emphasizing their similarities with poets of this generation. For Attila İlhan, Sabahattin Ali and Sait Faik were the two most important names who provided a new direction to Turkish short story writing after Ömer Seyfettin. Sabahattin Ali reshaped the short story writing of Ömer Seyfettin and enriched its content. On the other hand, Sait Faik broke all old frames of short story writing and created a completely new form of short story.⁵⁹⁰

At first, the value of his short stories was not understood by publishing houses founded in the Constitutional Era, such as Semih Lütfi and Remzi. There were no new publishers who wanted to publish works of young authors and poets in this period yet. Later, publishing houses like Varlık, Yeditepe, and Yenilik were founded.⁵⁹¹ Young authors, including Sait Faik, could publish their books in these new publishing houses.

Fethi Naci argues that while Orhan Veli and his friends in *Garip* were reshaping poetry, they had a tradition of poetry on which they leaned. However, while Sait Faik was redefining the short story, there was no Turkish short story writer by whom he could be inspired. While Orhan Veli and his friends were creating free verses in the 1940s, Sait Faik was creating the free stories of these years.⁵⁹²

Sait Faik changed not only the shape and the form but also the content of the short story. He started to write in the second half of the 1930s

⁵⁹⁰ Attila İlhan. *Hangi Edebiyat*, İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası, 2002. p. 246.

⁵⁹¹ Ibid., p. 321.

⁵⁹² Fethi Naci. *Sait Faik'in Hikayeciliği*, 2nd, İstanbul: Yapı Kredi, 2008. p. 92.

and died in 1954, having influenced both the generation of the 40s and the 50s. One of the first articles examining him as a *flâneur* is Talat Halman's *Sait Faik: The Fiction of a Flâneur*. At the beginning of the article, Halman tells an anecdote about Sait Faik to illustrate his understanding of the short story. After his death in 1954 at the age of forty-seven, a newspaper reporter interviewed some of his non-literary friends. He found that these ordinary people –fishermen, youngsters, loiterers, and the owners and patrons of coffeehouses- had little to no idea about his fame and stature as a writer or even about his having been a writer at all.⁵⁹³ He simply lived among these ordinary people and narrated their lives.

One of the above mentioned interviewees was the fisherman Arif Sezgin from Burgazada. He said that they had taken him for a child of the rich who pretended to live like the poor. His humbleness, the fact they he went out to fish and play backgammon and cards pleased them. When they heard of his death, they attended his funeral at the Şişli mosque. They saw many famous men there. Wreaths of embassies and publishing houses filled the yard of the mosque. They did not know him as such a famous man. They were very surprised. Sezgin ended his words with the following: "He was a very democratic man. Pity! He died untimely."⁵⁹⁴

Because Sait Faik lived among these ordinary men and wrote about them, the characters in his short stories are authentic individuals he knew personally. He did not set them up as imaginary characters. The way he saw and depicted them was free and "clear of ideological bias"

⁵⁹³ Talat S. Halman. "Sait Faik: The Fiction of a *Flâneur*" in *Rapture and Revolution: Essays on Turkish Literature*, New York: Syracuse University Crescent Hill, 2007. p. 363.

⁵⁹⁴ Yeşim Özdemir. *Sait Faik'in İstanbul'u*, İstanbul: İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi Kültür A.Ş., 2008. p. 62.

according to Halman. While transposing them from life to fiction, he preserved the integrity of the individual characters and made them live according to their own attributes, idiosyncrasies, and psychological motives. He painted a broad panorama of the life of Istanbul with his stories.⁵⁹⁵ His characters were not representatives of the East and the West or *alafranga* and *alaturka*. He was not a missionary intellectual who aimed to build a better world with his works. He took snapshots of the lives of the ordinary people of Istanbul, living and wandering among them.

Even though he did not paint a picture of a better world in most of his stories, he explained his political ideas and thoughts in some newspaper articles and interviews. For him, the duty of artists was to struggle against unemployment, beggary, injustice, and exploitation. Perhaps for this reason, the artist saw only the bad things in this age. Only negative things provoked their imagination. For him, the state and the prominent people of society should have followed the works of the artists to understand what was going wrong in society. Perhaps the sole duty of the artist was to display the corruption and evil in the society. He also cited an example to explain the duty of the artist more clearly: He had met a man who owned a small factory where forty workers were employed. The workers should legally be employed eight hours per day. However, the owner of factory employed them nine hours per day, making an unjust profit. This factory owner had motorboats, a mansion, and many other properties in Burgazada. However, an important part of this wealth morally belonged to the workers in his factory. Each week, he stole five hours from their lives. He wanted to write about these kinds

⁵⁹⁵ Talat S. Halman. "Sait Faik: The Fiction of a *Flâneur*" in *Rapture and Revolution: Essays on Turkish Literature*, New York: Syracuse University Crescent Hill, 2007. p. 363.

of injustices in society, but then some people labelled him a communist. In fact, he did not understand either daily politics or communism.⁵⁹⁶ Hence, he contented himself with displaying the bad things in society rather than discussing them or pointing to a better world.

For Sait Faik, art should depict the real conditions of society not only to the state and prominent persons but also to ordinary people. In Turkey, typical subjects of popular art for ignorant ordinary people were the queen of Sheba, wrestler adventures, and love affairs of traditional literature such as *Leyla ve Mecnun*. In short, the art did not bring people down to earth, but rather amused them with centuries old narratives. He said that as an artist, he did not place himself above the people. He wanted to live together with the people and narrate them. The duty of the artist was to narrate people and these narratives should in turn be read by the same people.⁵⁹⁷ I had stated in the second chapter while discussing loiterature that the only duty of loiterature was to display the lives of “parasitic” people to the state elite and bourgeoisie. Sait Faik and the poets of *Garip* did not share this view. They were also narrating the parasitic or ordinary people of the society; however, their writings were meant to be read by these same people rather than by the bourgeoisie. Both Sait Faik and the poets of *Garip* stated this clearly in their articles and interviews as well as the *Garip* manifesto.

The most strenuous criticism of Sait Faik came from a group of socialist writers, according to Halman, because of this understanding of literature and the short story. One of these was Bekir Yıldız, a widely read novelist and short-story writer in the 1970s. For him, Sait Faik was a writer who did not involve himself with transforming the established

⁵⁹⁶ Taylan Özbay. *Atatürk ve Devrimin Yönü*, Ankara: Telgrafhane, 2020. pp. 74, 75.

⁵⁹⁷ Ibid., pp. 74 - 76.

order. Rather, he dabbled in the consequences of that order. Instead of settling accounts with the bourgeoisie, he chose to escape to Burgaz Island and take shelter among the poor. For Yıldız, since Sait Faik came from bourgeois origins, he never truly managed to break away from his own class identity. Yet, according to Yıldız, bourgeois ideology could not be renounced by using the man in the street in short stories.⁵⁹⁸ I agree with Yıldız that Sait Faik's characters did not yield a hope for either a better society or a better future for themselves, as was true for the poets of *Garip*.

According to Halman, Sait Faik as a confirmed non-conformist saw himself and his characters as antiheroes – alienated, disenchanted, forgotten, or disfranchised. Virtually all of his characters were on the fringes of society. Like the author himself, his characters were also idlers, mavericks, and people who had chosen not to become “somebody”. They were the outcasts and the jobless, but also poor people. There were innumerable members of the ethnic minorities among his characters.⁵⁹⁹

Sait Faik saw no difference between his characters and himself. Both the narrator of his short stories and the characters were antiheroes. Perhaps for this reason, empathy was his dominant attitude as narrator and protagonist. The heart-breaking scenes in his stories became the extensions of his own self. His despaired peasants, sickly women, abandoned children, pitiable thieves and prostitutes, and outcasts of all sorts are presented as occasionally enjoying life's simple pleasures, as did himself. At the same time, they often suffer in a continual drama which gives glimpses and intimations of tragedy. However, there is no outright

⁵⁹⁸ Talat S. Halman. “Sait Faik: The Fiction of a *Flâneur*” in *Rapture and Revolution: Essays on Turkish Literature*, New York, Syracuse University Crescent Hill Publications, 2007. p. 363.

⁵⁹⁹ Ibid., p. 367.

indictment or any rebellion in his plots.⁶⁰⁰ His optimism was another similarity of his with the poetry of *Garip*. The little man who does not have any hope for moving up the social ladder or for a better society tries to be content with little things. This optimism naturally did not have any similarity with the optimisms of authors in early years of the Republic and especially Nâzım. Of course, in Nâzım's poems and texts, the character might be happy with little things. However, their happiness and hopefulness were generally connected with the big picture. Characters' hopes for themselves were usually connected with hopes of better days for society.

Not only his lifestyle but his writing style also was that of a loiterer. For Melih Cevdet Anday, carelessness was the hallmark of his unique style. He was not sloppy in his use of language. Whatever he did stylistically, he did it for deliberate effect. He probably felt that a story is a microcosm or slice of life. It cannot be, or should not be, more perfect than life itself. However, this carelessness was not only because of his understanding of literature and story writing, according to other critics. He actually wrote many stories in a mad hurry, sitting at a café or on a ferryboat. He never bothered to reread them before rushing them to a publisher. His stories were marked by a restless quest. They had the *flâneur's* alternating between concentration and listlessness.⁶⁰¹ That is, contrary to Anday's argument, in my opinion, the grammar mistakes in his stories were not for deliberate effect. He made these mistakes because of his carelessness, which was a symptom of his irregular life.

Fethi Naci also says that careless use of language in his short stories and obvious grammar mistakes were accepted by everyone. Sait Faik also

⁶⁰⁰ Ibid.

⁶⁰¹ Ibid., pp. 369, 370.

accepted these. According to him, some of them were made by the typist in the printing house while some of them were his own mistakes.⁶⁰²

His language which was somewhat a result of this irregular lifestyle constituted, at the same time, his most important contribution to Turkish literature and language, according to Reşat Nuri Güntekin. He saved the literature and the language from wordplays, metaphors and epigrams. For Güntekin, even the most serious subjects and issues had been treated through these wordplays, metaphors, and epigrams in old Turkish literature. Sait Faik disposed of these literary ornaments in one fell swoop. For Tuncay Birkan, too, this understanding of language and literature reached its zenith with Sait Faik in story writing and Nâzım in poetry.⁶⁰³

The perception and representation of space in his short stories were not independent of his lifestyle. Even though he wrote some stories set in Anatolia, the setting of the majority of his short stories was Istanbul. Naturally, other authors had dwelled on Istanbul before Sait Faik as well. In Turkish literature, figures such as Yahya Kemal Beyatlı, Ruşen Eşref Ünaydın, Abdülhak Şinasi Hisar, Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar, Samiha Ayverdi, Reşat Ekrem Koçu, and Sermet Muhtar Alus could even be called “the writers of Istanbul.” They could even be further characterized as authors of certain specific Istanbul districts. For Yeşim Özdemir, these authors sought an Istanbul with its lost values, traditions, history, and past. Sait Faik however, was not interested in these aspects of the city.⁶⁰⁴

⁶⁰² Fethi Naci. *Sait Faik'in Hikayeciliği*, 2nd ed., Istanbul: Yapı Kredi, 2008. p. 23.

⁶⁰³ Tuncay Birkan. *Dünya ile Devlet Arasında Türk Muharriri*, Istanbul: Metis, 2020. p. 237.

⁶⁰⁴ Yeşim Özdemir. *Sait Faik'in İstanbul'u*, Istanbul: İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi Kültür A.Ş., 2008. p. 8.

Almost all districts of Istanbul are observable in his short stories. However, his main interest was in the European and cosmopolitan districts such as Beyoğlu, Taksim, the Avenue of İstiklal, islands of Istanbul, and poor districts around Beyoğlu and outside the Byzantine walls. According to Mehmet Kaplan, cosmopolitan Istanbul, Beyoğlu, and Burgazada “made him forget the conservative and historical Istanbul.”⁶⁰⁵ To recall Yahya Kemal’s essay *Ezansız Semtler* discussed in the previous chapter, Sait Faik was the narrator of these “districts without azan.”

Mosques of Beyazıt, Süleymaniye, and Şehzadebaşı, the museum of Ayasofya, and churches of Vangelistra and Burgazada are religious places mentioned in his stories. However, Sait Faik does not place an emphasis on their historical and religious qualities. He is interested in different people and especially beggars in the yards of the mosques.⁶⁰⁶

He stated explicitly that he did not love or know Ottoman history well. Historical spaces of Istanbul such as mosques, madrasahs, fountains, mansions, palaces, and waterfront residences, despite their historical values, did not matter to him. He was not interested in spaces left from the Byzantines either. He mentions the Church of Vangelistra in some of his stories. This church by which he often passed is on one of the side streets of Beyoğlu and has no meaning beyond this.⁶⁰⁷

At this juncture, I will touch upon the different periods of his story writing. Fethi Naci examines Sait Faik’s story writing in three periods. He examines Sait Faik’s first three books –*Semaver*, *Sarnıç*, and *Şahmerdan*– published in 1936, 1939, and 1940 respectively, as the stories of his early period. However, his fourth book –*Lüzumsuz Adam*– could only be published in 1948. His novel *Medarı Maişet Motoru* had

⁶⁰⁵ Ibid., pp. 31, 34.

⁶⁰⁶ Ibid., p. 53.

⁶⁰⁷ Ibid., p. 85.

been pulled off the shelves in 1944. He was prosecuted because of two short stories: *Çelme* and *Kestaneci Dostum*. Some researchers relate this 8-year delay to these persecutions. This 8-years break led to some changes in his language, outlook on the world and people, form of his stories, attitudes to social pressures and prohibitions, and understanding of morality and freedom.⁶⁰⁸

Sait Faik would narrate people of poor districts in the early period of his short story writing. He would use words like “strike” or formed sentences like “men in this tiny room seemed to me as if they would make a great revolution” in this period. However, he had neither a Marxist nor any other systematic political attitude in this early period, as mentioned earlier. According to Fethi Naci, he behaved emotionally when it came to these matters. In *Sarnıç*, he stated that society had moved on from times when men of one party killed men from another party. He had sorrowed for both of sides. He did not read about Marxism and did not have enough knowledge about its basic concepts such as forces of production, relations of production, social class, and class struggle, according to Fethi Naci. Poor people were treated as an abstract social group in his early works. There were some nostalgic and romantic approaches in these short stories as well. He said in *Stelyanos Hristapulos Gemisi* in *Semaver* that the joy of life was felt only by poor people since they lived more simply.⁶⁰⁹

As his short story writing developed, he began to focus more on single individuals. After his first three books, he began to refrain from generalizations such as the notion that all poor people are good.⁶¹⁰ In *Lüzumsuz Adam* (The Superfluous Man), working class characters were

⁶⁰⁸ Fethi Naci. *Sait Faik'in Hikayeciliği*, 2nd ed., Istanbul: YKY, 2008. p. 17.

⁶⁰⁹ Ibid., p. 19.

⁶¹⁰ Ibid., p. 20.

few. Outcasts took the place of labourers. The narrator started to put forward himself as a wanderer in the city. "He came to this world to gaze at everything in astonishment."⁶¹¹ He was a *flâneur* wandering in the city at this point.

In his ideal world, labourers can work freely and receive fair recompense for their works. There are no poor people in this world and everyone can enjoy themselves. Young girls are not sold. There is no injustice. People are happy. He explains such views in some of his short stories like *Havada Bulut*. However, he had no idea about how these ideas could be realized. He merely had some utopias built around the petty bourgeoisie and their production activities.⁶¹²

Fethi Naci underlines that Sait Faik lacked the theoretical background that would make him a socialist. His utopianism could rather be explained by the peculiar social conditions in Turkey. In those years, the class of workers was very weak in Turkey. Moreover, both his bohemian life and bourgeois background prevented him from encountering workers personally. In an article in *Varlık*, Sait Faik said that some leftist poets criticized him because he did not mention working classes in his stories while on the other hand praising Orhan Kemal for doing so. Orhan Kemal narrated people whom he was familiar with and knew well. Sait Faik could not narrate Orhan Kemal's people; he did not know them well. Those leftist poets who were criticizing him were also trying to narrate workers. However, their characters were not as real and lively as Orhan Kemal's because of their creator's bourgeois backgrounds

⁶¹¹ Ibid., p. 21.

⁶¹² Ibid., p. 95.

and lifestyles. In short, Sait Faik narrated what he lived and saw. His realism was a “realism of five senses” for Fethi Naci.⁶¹³

In this preference of Sait Faik, Nâzım Hikmet also had an influence. The main character of *Semaver* (Samovar), one of his first stories, was a worker. Nâzım Hikmet criticized him harshly claiming that this worker character was not real. His character looked like an American worker rather than a Turkish worker. When Sait Faik talked about this criticism by Nâzım Hikmet after many years, he said that Nâzım was right: “While writing stories later, I have kept in my mind the point emphasized by Nâzım. I have not written about people whom I do not know well.” Later, Nâzım Hikmet read Sait Faik’s other stories as well and he spoke highly of Sait Faik’s short stories on the Budapest Radio in 1955.⁶¹⁴ Nâzım Hikmet did not care whether he wrote about the working class or not. To the contrary, he urged Sait Faik to narrate people whom he was familiar with.

On the other hand, conservative Peyami Safa was criticizing him because of his bohemian life and claimed that it shaped his understanding of literature. Since he lacked self-discipline, he could not produce works in genres such as the novel. Because of his bohemian and undisciplined life, he died early. For Safa, he was Eastern, aristocratic, and poetic.⁶¹⁵ Even though the tone of his criticism was harsh, in my opinion, Safa was right in his claim about the close relationship between his lifestyle and story writing.

At this point, I want to return to “space” in his short stories and ask whether his representation of space changed in different periods of his short story writing. In 54 stories in *Şahmerdan*, *Sarıncı*, and *Şahmerdan*,

⁶¹³ Ibid., p. 96.

⁶¹⁴ Ibid., pp. 115, 116.

⁶¹⁵ Ibid., pp. 117, 119.

the stories' settings were the city in only 16. In 12 of them, the story space was the Burgaz Island. The story spaces of 8 stories were Anatolian towns. Two of these were on a ferryboat, one of them was in a school, and one of them was on the train. On the other hand, in *Lüzumsuz Adam*, 10 out of the 14 stories took place in the city. The remaining four were on the island. The change in the story spaces influenced the story times as well. While Anatolian towns fell behind with the first three books, story time of all stories in *Lüzumsuz Adam* became the present time. On the other hand, story time was past tense in 26 stories from 54 stories in the first three books.⁶¹⁶

In most stories, he was a *flâneur* who wandered in the city and narrated the city in its present time. For Baudelaire, the real artist as a *flâneur* did not have any agenda apart from seeking beauty. Sait Faik also said that art seeks only beauty; it seeks neither the truth nor the good, but the freedom to create beauty. He made these statements while debating İlhan Tarus, who criticized him in the *Varlık* journal for his linguistic mistakes in his stories. He said for Tarus that his stories, with their perfect language and narration, reflected his academic background and did not make people feel anything, since they lacked artistic quality and the idea of beauty.⁶¹⁷ This beauty could not be found by means of theories learned in the academy or in perfect grammar. The artist found it on their own through their intuition. His interpretation of his own literature showed that his understanding of literature was Baudelairean. He wandered among the outcasts as an outcast himself and narrated them. He did not have any agenda apart from seeking beauty in doing this. His words regarding this were nearly the same as Baudelaire's words in the

⁶¹⁶ Ibid., pp.22, 23.

⁶¹⁷ Ibid., p.24.

Painter of Modern Life. While repression by the state apparatus was increasing, his understanding of modernism was settling into a Bau-dealerian frame.

Even though the carelessness in his use of language continued throughout his entire career, he started to think more about Turkish language with the influence of Nurullah Ataç after the 1940s. In his first three books, sentences were more bookish. He did not use colloquial language that much. He later started to take advantage of colloquial language with *Lüzumsuz Adam* (Superfluous Man) and inverted sentences became more frequent in his stories. In *Sarnıç* (Cistern), there were only three inverted sentences in the entire book while in *Semaver* (Samovar), there were three and in *Şahmerdan* (Ram), there were four. In contrast, there were eight inverted sentences in only the first short story in *Lüzumsuz Adam* (Superfluous Man).⁶¹⁸

He started a war against the conjunction of *ve* (and) in Turkish with *Lüzumsuz Adam* (Superfluous Man). Nurullah Ataç did not use this conjunction in his essays and encouraged other authors to not use it either. Writing without conjunctions required being attentive while writing. Thus, the author could preoccupy themselves with the structure of the sentence according to Fethi Naci, who saw Ataç as his Turkish language teacher.⁶¹⁹ However, the only reason for Ataç to write without “*ve*” was not to write more attentively. The conjunction *ve* was borrowed into Turkish from Arabic. Ataç supported the use of pure Turkish, without borrowed words. He influenced many of the young poets and authors of the 1940s with these ideas.

⁶¹⁸ Ibid., pp. 24, 25.

⁶¹⁹ Ibid., p. 31.

In an interview in 1949, Sait Faik approved of the changes and purifications in the language. According to him, Ataç was working alone towards this goal, but all authors should cooperate in the effort. For Sait Faik, new ideas could not be expressed through old patterns and language. New language was an asset for the new literature.⁶²⁰

I now turn to the final period of Sait Faik's story writing. *Alemdağ'da Var Bir Yılan* (There is a Snake in Alemdağ) is his last book that was published while he was still alive. It came out in March 1954, mere months before his death in May 1954. He changed his story writing with this book to a great extent. Till this book, he had revealed his feelings and sexual orientation in a roundabout way. He wrote his first short story, *İpekli Mendil*, while he was a student at Bursa Lycée. In this short story, he spoke of the children of Bursa whose "brunet breasts smell like hazelnut leaves". In *Sarıncı*, he mentions a boy by the name of Davut. The narrator's interest in Davut is clear, as suggested by the use of the first-person singular. In *Bir Karpuz Sergisi*, he says "I kissed hands, fingers, and fingernails of a brunette boy". Fethi Naci cites these examples to claim that Sait Faik tried to express his sexual orientation from early on.⁶²¹

What then makes *Alemdağ'da Var Bir Yılan* distinct? According to Fethi Naci, in this story, he changed the form to express himself more openly. When saying his words, he started to use a more imaginative language and invented an imaginary friend: "*Panco*". In short, he abandoned his old realist tone in favour of a transparent but more imaginative tone. He took the risk of being characterized as a degenerate and being excluded from society with this book. One of the characters in *Öyle Bir Hikaye* (A

⁶²⁰ Ibid., pp. 94, 95.

⁶²¹ Ibid., pp. 58, 59.

Story at Random) in this book calls out to the first person singular narrator, *Panco's* friend, Faik Bey's son. A page later, the first person singular narrator says "I am only Panco's friend; nothing else." For Fethi Naci, this signified that he abandoned the morality of Faik Bey. In doing so, he abandoned public morality and the value judgements of society as well. In the proceeding pages, he makes reference to the morality of the present society which was suffocating him.⁶²²

His stories in the final period of his story writing were few in number. They could hardly fill a book. In the last four or five years of his life, Sait Faik was bored even with writing. He was absorbed only in living and enjoyed his solitary, bohemian life. In 1953, he received the Mark Twain award. Yaşar Kemal was 30 years old and working as a reporter in these years. Sait Faik was 47. Yaşar Kemal met with him for an interview. He said to Sait Faik: "What is going on, Sait, are you writing stories?" to which he responded: "No, I am only living."⁶²³ The desire of living took precedence over the desire of writing in those years. Nevertheless, at times he could not tolerate life without writing and did write stories in this period as well. The stories in *Alemdağda Var Bir Yılan* were products of this period of his life.

5. 8. Sait Faik and the Young Story Writers in Beyoğlu

In this section, I will focus on his life in Beyoğlu and relationships with the young short story writers of the 1940s generation. As already established, Beyoğlu, with its cafés, gardens, and cinemas was the place of meeting and interaction for young authors and poets in the 1940s. Nisuz was one of the most preferred cafés by authors and poets in the

⁶²² Ibid., pp. 62, 63.

⁶²³ Taylan Özbay. *Atatürk ve Devrimin Yönü*, Ankara: Telgrafhane, 2020. pp. 77.

1940s. Its liveliest hours were the closing time of cinemas at night. Sait Faik met with prostituting women there on some nights. Salah Birsell also accompanied him one night. He narrates Sait Faik bargaining with prostitutes in those nights.⁶²⁴ In short, these men's relationships with each other were not only relationships of colleagues. They shared a bohemian life and the conventional morality of middle classes was suspended within this relationship. Due to the transformation of Pera into Beyoğlu in the first quarter of the twentieth century, the district lost its elite atmosphere to some degree. For this reason, prostitution was accepted as a very normal thing in the 1940s in Beyoğlu and Beyoğlu became the centre of bohemia in the 1930s and 1940s.

Nisuzaz's visitors did not only consist of literary figures. Retired civil servants, businessmen, politicians who came from Ankara for a few days, attorneys, teachers, and doctors usually visited in the afternoon. World War II, the high cost of living, and the black market were the main topics of their conversations. They kept their eyes on the Avenue which flowed like a river. What they wanted from the Avenue was not definite, yet they couldn't turn their heads away from it. They were men who had gone through the mill, in the words of Sait Faik.⁶²⁵ Beyoğlu and its cafes were common spaces of young unemployed poets and men who had "gone through the mill." Living a bohemian life here, watching the crowd, or diving into the crowd meant temporarily suspending the War, the high cost of living, and the black market. They were alleviating the anxiety caused by these social problems by loitering in Beyoğlu.

Sabahattin Kudret, whose short stories will also be examined in this study, would sit at the window in Nisuzaz. He would stay alert to chase

⁶²⁴ Salâh Birsell. *Ah Beyoğlu Vah Beyoğlu*, İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür, 1983. p. 79.

⁶²⁵ Ibid., p. 81.

the girls whom he clapped his eyes on from the window. Then, he would convince them to go to the cinema before they reached Taksim Square. In some of these chasings, Salah Birsal also accompanied him. They went to Saray Cinema with girls and “watched” the movies from the balcony, preferred since there was no one in the balconies towards evening hours.⁶²⁶ We might recall at this point Gogol’s short story of Neva Prospekt. Two young men among the crowd started to follow the two girls and their chasing of the two girls were the locomotive of the plotline of the story. *The Diaries of a Madman’s* character saw the Excellency’s daughter while he was wandering around Nevsky, which started the progression of events that made the short story. The girl who is seen on the street or among the crowd is the locomotive element of many texts of loiterature.

The loiterer artist was suspending social divisions in Beyoğlu. Süavi Koçer, who was one of poets of the 1940s generation, read a poem about freedom to a prostitute who worked during the daytime in Nisuz. Necati Cumalı was also there on that day. There were many prostitutes in Nisuz who were working during daytime from the afternoon to 9 pm. Some of them were married and were handing over their daily earnings to their husbands in the evening.⁶²⁷ That is, these women were among the most exploited people in the society. The poet or the intellectual with limited ability to criticize the political authority was reading poems on freedom to these women. They could not or did not want to do anything beyond that.

On Saturdays, Nisuz turned into a faculty of literature. From the 1930s to the 1950s, Nisuz served as the meeting place of literary figures and

⁶²⁶ Ibid., p. 96.

⁶²⁷ Ibid., p. 93.

academicians of Istanbul University. Among these professors were Suut Kemal Yetkin, Sabri Esat Siyavuşgil, Hilmi Ziya Ülken, Şekip Tunç, and Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar.⁶²⁸

One Saturday in Nisuz, professors inside stood up to welcome a professor who had not come to Nisuz before. Samim Kocagöz also stood up on impulse when he saw everyone stand up. Sait Faik was at elbow's length to Samim Kocagöz. He tugged Kocagöz's arm and made him sit again. Kocagöz did not understand anything. However, he could not ask Sait Faik why. When they were alone later, Sait Faik reprehended Samim Kocagöz. "Have you written books?" he asked Kocagöz to which he responded "yes, I have." "Are you an artist?" went on Sait Faik, to which he said "so it seems." Sait Faik then thundered "why then are you standing up for a hack associate professor?"⁶²⁹

According to Haldun Taner, Sait Faik lived with his anxieties for his entire life. He was regularly unemployed and could not start a family. This made him melancholic at times. He learned to take the rough with the

⁶²⁸ Salâh Bırsel. *Ah Beyoğlu Vah Beyoğlu*, İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür, 1983. pp. 109, 110; Scognamillo also tells of Beyoğlu in the 1940s. He also went to the same places. However, he perceived these spaces differently. For Salah Bırsel, Nisuz was a faculty of literature. However, it is an ordinary Beyoğlu café for Scognamillo. Lebon was not a place where literary talks were made, for Scognamillo. He went there to eat good cake and confectionery and to drink cacao with milk. That applied to Markiz patisserie as well. We understand from the memoirs of Scognamillo that different people were experiencing the places of Beyoğlu differently according to their cultural backgrounds. Moreover, as I said above, regulars of the cafés of Beyoğlu did not consist of a single social group. Ordinary people, men of letters, academics, and scenarists came together in these cafés, sometimes meeting each other, other times not. There were interactions between them but these interactions took place in more indirect ways in some cases. (Giovanni Scognamillo, *Bir Levantenin Beyoğlu Anıları*, 2nd ed., İstanbul: Metis, 1990 March. pp. 132, 133.)

⁶²⁹ Salâh Bırsel. *Ah Beyoğlu Vah Beyoğlu*, İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür, 1983. pp. 117, 118.

smooth in due course. He did not love well-read people. According to Taner, there were two reasons for this. Firstly, both snobbery and ignorance of well-read people about art and literature annoyed him. However, more importantly, he felt himself to be middlebrow in front of the well-read people. Because of his inferiority complex, he was sometimes embarrassed. However, Sait Faik only became Saik Faik because of these personal characteristics he sometimes regarded as burdensome. His idleness and lack of discipline made him the writer that he was.⁶³⁰ Sait Faik kept track of the different human landscapes of Istanbul; Beyoğlu, the islands, etc. "Parasitic knowledge" informed the elite about "parasites" of the society, however, this type of knowledge did not provide social status or money for its producers, as seen in the case of Sait Faik.⁶³¹

Sait Faik was a regular at many cafés of Beyoğlu. Sait Faik, Samim Kocagöz, and Salah Birsell met in cafe Petrograd five nights in a week to go to the cinema between 1940 and 1944. At times, Sabahattin Kudret and Cavit Yamaç accompanied them. On Mondays, they generally went to İpek; on Tuesdays to Sümer, on Wednesdays to Melek, on Thursdays to

⁶³⁰ Haldun Taner, *Ölür İse Ten Ölür Canlar Ölesi Değil*, Istanbul: Cem, 1979. pp. 153, 154.

⁶³¹ Aziz Nesin also became a regular at Nisuz. When he came to Nisuz, he spent time with Sait Faik the most. Since Sait Faik could not get rid of the obsession of earning his living by his writings, Aziz Nesin tried to find a regular job for him at the Tan newspaper. However, Sait Faik misunderstood his efforts. Aziz Nesin was offended and when Sait Faik tried to get closer again, he openly expressed his resentment. Sait Faik responded by asking: "why are you taking offence at my words? I am crazy." And then he showed him his certificate of exemption from military service. (Salâh Birsell. *Ah Beyoğlu Vah Beyoğlu*, Istanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür, 1983. pp. 124, 125.) Aziz Nesin saw on the certificate the term "paranoid." Regular unemployment, getting short shrift, and other problems made him a depressed and paranoid man and these psychological problems influenced his relationship with his friends.

Saray, on Fridays to Lale.⁶³² Cinemas were important in the social life of Beyoğlu and had an important place in this generation's life, as well.

Many cafés and other significant places of Beyoğlu are mentioned in Birsell's book. Sait Faik is seen in all of them. According to Birsell, Sait Faik usually came late in the afternoon to Beyoğlu and stayed until midnight. He would enter a café and stay there for 15 to 20 minutes before leaving it for another one where he would stay for 15 to 20 minutes, as well. In this manner, he wandered many cafés, cinemas, theatres, and taprooms within a single day touring the Avenue of İstiklal recurrently. He visited many cafés during his tour: Mehdi Baba, Nisuz, Petrograd, and Moskova. He also went to many taprooms like Nektar, Tuna, Balkan, Orman, Cumhuriyet, and Özcan. In early mornings, he started to wander in Istanbul. His short stories were products of these wanderings. The pool in the short story of *Havuz Başı* is in Beyazıt Square. When he travelled toward the Bosphorus from Beyoğlu, he wrote *Menekşeli Vadi*. When having ventured outside the old city wall, he wrote *Sur Dışı Hayat*. Ordinary people he saw in the streets, Yüksekaldırım, Gülhane Park, or any other place in Istanbul became characters of his short stories.⁶³³

Sait Faik generally did not go to Beyoğlu on Saturdays and Sundays. He stayed at his mother's home in Burgazada in the weekends where he spent time with the fishers and other people of his own village. These folks made it into his short stories as well. Sait Faik got closer with some people in order to make them into characters of his short stories. However, he would not immediately become intimate with these people. Not every person had a story. A good writer must find the person

⁶³² Ibid., pp. 187, 188.

⁶³³ Ibid., p. 193.

who has a story and know how to extract the story from this person. Sait Faik declared this understanding of the short story genre to a group in *Çiçek Pasajı* (Flower Passage) which included Tahir Alangu, who would write the book “For Sait Faik” later.⁶³⁴

Çiçek Pasajı where Sait Faik declared his understanding of the short story genre was the inspiration source for many short story writers. Haldun Taner said that he wrote many stories based on what he had seen in *Çiçek Pasajı*. For Haldun Taner, *Çiçek Pasajı* was one of the liveliest taprooms not only of Beyoğlu but also the world. Incurable hashish addicts and snob intellectuals, smiling tourists and pessimistic artists, a careless vagabond and a fresh research assistant have been together in this space. At its Beyoğlu and Balıkpazarı doors, there were sellers of shrimp, grilled sheep’s intestines, and mussels. When a man came there on a melancholic day, he became relieved and cheerful. It was a fantastic heaven for a story writer.⁶³⁵

On another occasion, Sait Faik told a young literary critic that he wrote his short stories blindly and randomly at the Ephatalos Coffeehouse. This young literary critic, Ferruh Doğan, resided on the street where the Lambo taproom was located at Balıkpazarı. He lived and breathed Beyoğlu. He was born at a home on the street of Piremehmet in Beyoğlu. He drew vignettes for journals. He met Sait Faik in Beyoğlu that day when they had a talk. When Ferruh Doğan saw Sait Faik in Beyoğlu, he did not want to miss the opportunity to introduce himself. When they walked on the Avenue of İstiklal, they came in front of Ephatalos Coffeehouse, where Sait Faik offered to sit. He often chose to sit at one of the front tables overseeing Taksim Square and the Atatürk Monument

⁶³⁴ Ibid., pp. 194, 196, 197.

⁶³⁵ Haldun Taner. *Ölür İse Ten Ölür Canlar Ölesi Değil*, İstanbul: Cem, 1979. pp. 225, 226.

when he came there, usually in the mornings when he wrote his short stories.⁶³⁶ He would narrate his meeting with Ferruh Doğan in his short story *Ephatalos'un Kahvesi*.

Birsel says that he talked with Ferruh Doğan in a very modest manner. His modest personality shaped all his relationships according to Salah Birsel. He abstained from showing himself off as a great author. He wanted to be seen as a fisherman, a horse thief, a grilled chestnuts seller, a shoe shiner, a retired civil servant, or a loiterer rather than an author. However, he was living twenty four hours a day as a man of letters as he told Tahir Alangu.⁶³⁷

According to Samim Kocagöz, Sait Faik did not love speaking much. He was always seen as dismissive. However, when he did want to talk, he talked about art in an authoritative manner, better than everyone else, but only in front of people he took seriously and after he had drunk at least five to ten beers. Celal Silay, a poet of the generation of the 1940s, also agrees with this observation by Samim Kocagöz. Sait Faik would approach tables where philosophers like Kant or Comte were being discussed, tap on the knee of one of the debaters and say "let's stand up. Let us wander." At other times, he enthralled people with his knowledge.⁶³⁸

Sait Faik recognized lots of people in Beyoğlu. Whenever he was walking on the Avenue, he was greeting tens of people. People he greeted ranged from peddlers to apprentices, from workers to children, from the elderly to the disabled, and from prostitutes to poets.⁶³⁹

⁶³⁶ Salâh Birsel. *Ah Beyoğlu Vah Beyoğlu*, İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür, 1983. p. 195.

⁶³⁷ Ibid., p. 198.

⁶³⁸ Ibid., p. 199.

⁶³⁹ Ibid., pp. 199, 200.

People who knew Sait Faik well did not see him as a man of letters. He was seen as a joe public. He was also seen as a pretty, joyous, fatherly, and an ordinary man who sometimes wrote short stories. He did not participate in discussions of literature and literary and theoretical issues. He usually did not comment on the works of other authors and poets. He disregarded discussions and laughed them off.⁶⁴⁰

When Mehmet Kemal met him, he was in trouble with the police. Under martial law, the military commission court summoned him to give his statement because of a weak soldier character in his story *Kestaneci Dostum*. Since he did not think about matters other than living and writing, he was afraid of these kinds of things. He was summoned to the police station to divulge who this seller of roasted chestnuts was in his story.⁶⁴¹

Sait Faik was a lonely man supported only by his mom, both emotionally and economically. His father wanted to make him the inheritor of his lumber business. He sent him to study in Switzerland as well. However, when he failed to study there and returned to Turkey, he started to think that his son was a useless man. In contrast, his mother became both his sponsor and his most intimate friend.⁶⁴²

His relationships with women were also different from the majority of literary figures around him. Birsell tells an anecdote about this matter, as well. The time was January or February of 1941. Sait Faik joins Sabahattin Kudret at a table at Nisuz. He says to Sabahattin Kudret: “there are these two girls. Will you come with me?” According to Birsell, Sabahattin Kudret never rejected these kinds of offers. They go to Nektar, a café in Beyoğlu. Shortly after they arrive, the girls also walk in;

⁶⁴⁰ Mehmed Kemal. *Acılı Kuşak*, Istanbul: De, 1985. p. 55.

⁶⁴¹ Ibid., pp. 54

⁶⁴² Haldun Taner. *Ölür İse Ten Ölür Canlar Ölesi Değil*, Istanbul: Cem, 1979. p. 155.

Alexandra and Katina. First they drink alcohol, and then they dance together. They go to the Tevhit Bilge Theatre which was across Lale Cinema and rent a loggia there. While they were “watching a play”, they made love with the girls in the loggia. They even switched partners with each other.⁶⁴³

Katina and Alexandra were not only sex partners for Sait Faik. He had a weakness for these two girls. At times, Samim Kocagöz accompanied him when he met them. They usually met in Tuna which was also a café in Beyoğlu. Alexandra was a tall brunette. Her hair style was urchin cut. She was a bit masculine. Katina was, on the other hand, bulky. Sait Faik said of Katina in a short story that she smelled like vanilla, chocolate, almond, and hot semolina since she worked at a patisserie. For Birsel, she in fact smelled like a goat. The reality which he perceived with his five senses went into his short stories filtered through his emotional world. Sait Faik loved Katina; however, he was more obsessed with Alexandra. According to Birsel, if Sait Faik’s short stories are read carefully, the district Alexandra resided in can be deciphered. Her name usually appeared as Yorgiya or Elani in these short stories.⁶⁴⁴

Her real name of Alexandra was mentioned in the short story *Falci Matmazel Todorî* and the poem *Bir Masa*. Sait Faik describes the district where Alexandra lived in *Falci Matmazel Todorî*. There are dark slopes and poor houses on its two sides. Some of these houses are brothels. Mussel hunters, electric workers, vinegar makers, carpenter apprentices, waiters, barbers, accordionists, guitarists, revue walker-ons, and tailor apprentices were living in this district. Turks, Russians, Armenians, Greeks, Nestorians, Arabs, Gipsies, French, Catholics, Levantines,

⁶⁴³ Salâh Birsel. *Ah Beyoğlu Vah Beyoğlu*, İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür, 1983. pp. 205, 206.

⁶⁴⁴ Ibid., pp. 210, 211.

Croats, Serbs, Bulgarians, Persians, Afghans, Chinese, etc. lived there all together. There are little walker-on girls in this district, as well. While they and the tailor girls walk, barber apprentice boys follow them. Alexandra's house in this district is close to the Ziba street, famous for its brothels in Beyoğlu. They pass a street parallel to Ziba Street and an avenue with a pavement which looks like an Anatolian town to reach Alexandra's house. When they quarrel, Sait Faik wanders in the district. All residents of the district know the weakness of Sait Faik for Alexandra and mock him.⁶⁴⁵

In 1946, Sait Faik was also attracted to a college girl whose name was Vedat. The physical appearance of this girl resembled Alexandra. She was a short and curly haired brunette. However, she had a different personality. She was a "snob college girl." While he went out with this girl, his clothes changed and they started to go to places like Park Patisserie where middle classes spent their time. Sait Faik seemed like a mannequin clothed in new clothes which made his appearance theatrical rather than serious and middle class.⁶⁴⁶

Even though he had found a new girl who looked like Alexandra, he could not forget her and started to meet her again. One day, while he was walking passed the Hachette Bookstore in Beyoğlu with Alexandra, he saw Nail V. There were nail scratches on Sait Faik's face. "Look what this girl has done to me!" he announced to Nail Çakırhan. "Just see what more I will do to you!" Alexandra added. Sait Faik wanted to marry this girl and rebelled against his mother for the first time because of her.

⁶⁴⁵ Ibid., pp. 212, 213.

⁶⁴⁶ Ibid., p. 216.

Since the girl cheated on him, however, he gave up the idea of marrying her.⁶⁴⁷

After he broke up with Vedat, Sait Faik would at times remember Alexandra again. Once, while he was boozing in Beyoğlu with Aziz Nesin, he suddenly remembered Alexandra and said to Aziz Nesin “let’s go!”. Even though Nesin did not know where they were going, he followed Sait Faik. While they were on the way, he told Aziz Nesin that they were going to Alexandra’s home. However, when they came to her district, they saw Alexandra with another man and turned back.⁶⁴⁸

Sait Faik would see Alexandra for the last time four days prior to his death. He encountered Sabahattin Kudret in Beyoğlu on May 7th 1954. He said that he was going to the dentist and asked Sabahattin Kudret to accompany him. The office of the dentist was in Aynalı Passage in Beyoğlu. Alexandra was working at the dentist. Sabahattin Kudret recognized her, but did not say anything.⁶⁴⁹ She was one of girls whom they switched with Sait Faik in the theatre loggia. Anyway, everyone had learned of the obsession of Sait Faik with this girl.

His long obsession with Alexandra gave important clues about his personality and life. Many young literary figures were going beyond social norms in their relations with women in this era. Beyoğlu was the zone of freedom where they could live the bohemian life they desired. However, Sait Faik was different from them in his obsessive and anxious personality. Perhaps for this reason, he could not leave behind this bohemian life until he died.

I had mentioned earlier his “different” sexual orientation and its influences on his literature. There was a rakish relationship between Orhan

⁶⁴⁷ Ibid., p. 214.

⁶⁴⁸ Ibid., p. 217.

⁶⁴⁹ Ibid., p. 218.

Kemal and Sait Faik. Orhan Kemal could make lewd jokes, trusting in their mutual sincerity. When Sait Faik was chosen as a member of the Mark Twain society, he pointed out to Sait Faik that authors who had different sexual orientations were chosen to this society, referencing Mark Twain's sexual orientation. Sait Faik rejected Orhan Kemal's claim thinking that Orhan Kemal was doing this out of envy. Then on, he swore at everyone who congratulated him for his title, since he thought that Orhan Kemal was putting people up to mock him.⁶⁵⁰

5. 9. Salah Birsell, Fahir Onger, Oktay Akbal and Naim Tirali in Beyoğlu

Sait Faik was particularly anxious and obsessive compared to his friends. However, obsession became a general characteristic of this generation in their bohemian life because of the repressive character of the era. Sait Faik often went to Elit Coffeehouse in Asmalımesçit, which was in fact a tripe soup and offal restaurant. He loved it there; they would not throw out the remaining half of his lemon when he squeezed it into his soup. He would use that second half of the lemon when he came in the following day. Since they were respectful of this preference of his, he preferred this tripery. Fahir Onger also loved Elit. Oktay Akbal, Salah Birsell, and Naim Tirali were also among the regulars of Elit. All sorts of customers came to Elit. However, the majority of its customers were non-workers. When they played bezique there, they tried not to "beat" the people whom they suspected to be a police informer.⁶⁵¹ It is very interesting that they were scared of police informers while living

⁶⁵⁰ Haldun Taner. *Ölür İse Ten Ölür Canlar Ölesi Değil*, İstanbul: Cem, 1979. p. 135.

⁶⁵¹ Salâh Birsell. *Ah Beyoğlu Vah Beyoğlu*, İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür, 1983. pp. 236, 241, 242.

this bohemian life. They were living their bohemian and unconventional lives in Beyoğlu under fears and anxieties. Perhaps Beyoğlu was not really a space of freedom for them, contrary to common views.

The Elit coffeehouse was associated with a literary journal published by the young authors and poets who patronized it: *Yirminci Asır*. Its owner Fikret Akdora had published another journal before *Yirminci Asır: Amaç*. In this journal, authors like Oktay Akbal, Orhan Hançerlioğlu, Özdemir Asaf, Fikret Adil, and Salah Birsell had written. Naim Tirali, Behçet Necatigil, and Necati Cumalı were also among its authors. Naim Tirali published his short story *Büyük Cadde* (The Big Avenue) in *Yirminci Asır*. This journal could only put out five issues.⁶⁵² Literary figures who spent time in Elit would learn from Sait Faik whenever Orhan Veli came from Ankara to Istanbul. There was a warm friendship among them, as mentioned earlier.⁶⁵³

⁶⁵² Ibid., pp. 246, 253.

⁶⁵³ Ibid., p.248. Another regular of Elit who came from Ankara was Salim Şengil. He was the owner of *Seçilmiş Hikâyeler Dergisi* (Selected Short Stories Magazine). When he came to Elit, the regulars of Elit were very pleased, because he paid good money for poems and proses which were published in his magazine. He paid 15 liras for the shortest poem. A man could drink for two nights with this money. However, Şengil cringed with embarrassment while giving this money since he thought that this money was not enough. However, magazines paying royalty fees were very few in this period. Yaşar Nabi's *Varlık* was one of them. However, Yaşar Nabi found ways not to pay for many of his authors. Salim Şengil both gave more money and paid regularly. While *Varlık* was paying 15 liras for each short story to Sait Faik in 1951, Salim Şengil offered him 25 liras. Sait Faik was walking on air. He told Salim Şengil that he had never seen 100 liras in one bunch before. He would send Şengil four short stories and asked him to be paid in bulk for them.

Since Salim Şengil was also a man of letters himself, he protected and supported authors. One day he gave Orhan Kemal 100 liras in Eminönü Halkevi (People's House). Orhan Kemal questioned what that money was for. He said that he had increased the royalty fees for books. He would pay 250 liras for books from then on. He had given Orhan Kemal 150 liras for *Grev* (Strike). Now he was giving him the remaining 100 liras. Orhan Kemal

Another place in Beyoğlu popular among literary figures of this generation was the Tepebaşı Garden, which was often visited by Oktay Akbal, Naim Tirali, and Salah Birsell. These three men spent most of the 1940s together and shaped each other's understanding of literature. Naim Tirali and Oktay Akbal were among the most mentioned names in *Ah Beyoğlu Vah Beyoğlu* except for Sait Faik who was the role model of this generation.⁶⁵⁴

Salah Birsell's memoirs are very important for this study. Even though he did not write short stories, he was friends with Oktay Akbal and Naim Tirali. He influenced the short story writing of these men and was in turn influenced by them. In 1942, he published a poem in the *İnkılâpçı Gençlik* (Revolutionary Youth) journal. Because of this poem, a legal investigation was opened about him. The verses of the poem were as follows:

"Sen şimdi kocanın evinde oturursun
 Ve saçların artık eskisi gibi değil
 Geceleri yemekten sonra
 Çorap söküşü dikersin
 Belki de ellerin soğan kokar
 Senin kocan bir suratı çirkin adam
 Ağzı açık uyur
 Ve senin vücudun bozulur çocuk doğurdukça"
 (Now, you reside in the house of your husband

was surprised and at a loss for words. He celebrated in surprise what kind of publisher he was! We can deduce from these testimonies that living on income from writing was very hard in this period. Except for a few, there were no publishers paying royalty fees.

(Ibid., pp. 253, 254, 257.)

⁶⁵⁴ Ibid., p. 71, 72.

And your hair is not (beautiful) like before
 After dinner at nights
 You stitch the splits in the old socks
 Perhaps, your hands smell like onions
 Your husband is one ugly faced man
 He sleeps open-mouthed
 And your body deforms as you birth children)

Salah Birsel was explicitly criticizing the family in this poem as an institution oppressing women. The holy mother turned into the oppressed woman in his poem. This was an explicit rebellion against the conventional values of the society and the old generation. It was harshly criticized in journals. The first reaction came from one of the authors of the *Ulus* newspaper, Sabahattin Sönmez, who would later become a member of the Democrat Party. For him, even if young literators' understandings of new literature and new poetry were tolerated, this harmful propaganda of theirs could not be. For Sönmez, Birsel was making anti-marriage propaganda. After the article by Sönmez, Birsel would be criticized by the authors of many Istanbul, Ankara, and Anatolian newspapers. For Refik Halit Karay, this poem was not only disparaging marriage but also repelling young girls from the idea of marriage. Birsel was seeing young girls only as a mean of entertainment. Birsel responded to these criticisms with an ironic tone: "I opened the door of my bachelor room in Beyoğlu like a criminal. I look at the mirror on the wall to understand whether my face looks like a murderer or not!"⁶⁵⁵ Authors of the young generation were questioning society's and old generations' conventional norms and when they were criticized harshly, they did not

⁶⁵⁵ Ibid., p. 185.

step down. This poem by Salah Birsal was one of the clearest examples of the modernism of the 1940s.

Oktaç Akbal, Naim Tirali, and Salah Birsal were very close friends in the 1940s and their friendship continued till the end of their lives. Literary critic Fahir Onger was a close friend of these three men. Sait Faik had a great influence on all of them but usually quarrelled with and was offended by his friends. However, his friendship with Oktaç Akbal continued till his death. Sait Faik was a dangerous writer to emulate for a young writer, since he was very original and carved out a field for himself with his originality. In his short stories, the story space was as important as the storyline. He crafted this with a distinctive mastery. Many short story writers who were influenced by him were unable to create their original style of short story writing and fell into oblivion. Oktaç Akbal was not one of these authors. Even though he was influenced very much by Sait Faik, he managed to find his original narration style.⁶⁵⁶

⁶⁵⁶ Ömer Ayhan. "Oktaç Akbal'ın Yarım Kalmış Modernizmi", *Türk Dili*, August 2016, Year: 68th, 800th issue, p.35; Oktaç Akbal told Sait Faik in his story *Kendimden Bahsediyorum* (Talking About Myself). Since this story is important to understand how he saw Sait Faik, I want to summarize and discuss it shortly.

The narrator was sitting at a wooden table in a room. Sait Faik was writing something, seated across the narrator. There was a white sheet of paper in front of the narrator too. In his mind, there were plenty of story characters to write on the paper. However, one of them was outweighing the other ones. All his thoughts and dreams were focused on that woman. Nevertheless, he only managed to draw her name, face, and hair onto the paper. He finished his last cigarette, as well. Sait Faik's cigarette smoke was like a curtain flowing between the narrator and the woman. Sait Faik was continuously writing something on very small pieces of paper with a pointed pencil. The narrator did not know what Sait Faik wrote. However, he was sure that his friend probably mentioned people, their love interests and every kind of idleness. He was mentioning either Yüksekaldırım or Galata Bridge or Burgazada.

Sait Faik continued to write; however, the narrator could not write any significant thing about the above-mentioned woman. He could not remember the colour of her eyes, the streaming of her hair, and crook of her lips. He could not recall anything which belonged to her. She was just living in a desolate place inside of him and watching him. She was probably having fun with this state he was in, sitting with an empty sheet of paper and a pencil at the table across a story writer whom he so admired. He wanted to root out the woman and put her down on paper. He wanted to tell something to her and make her speak in a story. He wanted to make her laugh and cry. However, nothing came to his mind. There was a table in front of him, Sait Faik across him, and the sound of Kenan Harun whistling at another edge of the room. That was all.

He remembered that he and the woman had sat at such a wooden table a long time ago. On that day, too, his thoughts were messed up, his hair was miserable, and his appearance was that of an idler's. There was a piece of paper and a pencil in front of him. There was a lamp above. He was sitting in a broken chair. The woman was across him. She was saying something. He started to watch her eyes, hair, and hands. And then he closed his eyes and visualized her in his mind. Now, he wanted to see her in place of Sait Faik, who was probably writing a *Yüksekkaldırım* story. Sait Faik was removed from his sight with his blond hair, childish eyes, closed lips, and thoughtful face. And then a merry girl replaced him with her lips, bright eyes, and light hair. Just then, she started to say something and reach her hands out to the narrator, when Sait Faik suddenly coughed. The woman disappeared. There was just the narrator, the chair, Sait Faik, and cigarette smoke again.

He wanted to remove the woman from his dreams and write a story without this woman and love. He thought of an avenue with trees. However, that woman was now walking under those trees. He started to write another story about the dark nights of the city. However, she appeared from among the darkness. He tried to mention only himself. However, he could write only her name as the first sentence.

He was grappling with himself while sitting at the chair with his legs crossed. On the other hand, Sait Faik was continuing to write his story easily and at peace. Perhaps he also was grappling with his own thoughts and dreams; however, he succeeded in silencing them. Maybe he also felt a young girl's glances and smell inside. Maybe he also thought about the city's avenues with trees, bus stops, or music halls. However, his pen was running effortlessly.

Lots of people were going down a very narrow slope. Probably all of them were living their lives like the narrator, Sait Faik, and Kenan Harun. However, none of them thought of writing stories and poems. They came to the world to live, love, and to be loved. Boys were thinking, loving, and kissing young girls. Young girls were also thinking, loving, and kissing boys. They were smiling at each other. They were dancing with each other and going onto ferries and trams joyfully. They did not have any other trouble. Trou-

bles, loves, sadness, and thoughts of other people did not matter to them. Their own joys and sorrows were enough. Meanwhile, three men in that room were creating a world by way of a pen. The narrator and his friends Sait and Kenan were trying to live the world of people who were unaware of many things. They strived to say some new things to these people. When they could not say these new things, they fell into sorrow. Troubles of other people were mingling with their own troubles.

He imagined the woman with her friends from the university while she was climbing up a high slope. Of course, she was not thinking about “this miserable young author” and his inability to write. She wandered many times in places where the narrator passed. Any time the narrator saw a woman who resembled her, it sent a jolt through his heart. However, the woman was not aware of these. She was also seeking a person who confined himself to only his own joys and sorrows as other people wandering in these streets did. What she wanted was an ordinary man who wandered with his combed hair and ironed suits and smiled and cried for herself. She did not want men like the narrator and his friends who were fouling clear pieces of paper at a crooked table under a dull light.

The narrator could not begin his story that day. He just thought about that woman and her different states. However, he could not write anything about her. He could not make her eyes and hairs speak. He could not remove her from his mind and write her down on the paper. While Sait Faik was writing something with Arabic letters and Kenan Harun was crooning an a la turka song, he thought about that woman. However, he could not write anything about her. (Oktay Akbal. *Aşksız İnsanlar*, İstanbul: Varlık, 1949. pp. 92-96.)

The story in fact was on not being able to write a short story. While the narrator was not able to write a story, he was looking at Sait Faik with admiration, who was sitting across him and writing a story easily. He narrated a day spent with his friends Kenan Harun and Sait Faik. Even not being able to write a story could be the subject of a short story, which was a novelty brought into Turkish story writing by way of the authors of the generation of 1940.

The narrator and his friends were three young men who approached their middle ages. They were three penniless and bachelor young men. For the narrator, they were unhappy men writing about ordinary and happy people and trying to show these people different aspects of their ordinary lives.

As a lonely man, he was imagining a woman. However, the reader could not understand anything about this woman. He was trying to imagine a woman, however, he was so lonely that he could not do so. He was a man without love.

Sait Faik was also a character of the story as much as the narrator. No information was given about him except his writing activity during the whole story. He was a figure both admired and envied by the narrator. The narrator did not know what he was writing

An anecdote indicates clearly that he saw Sait Faik as his master. Oktay Akbal, Orhan Veli, and Sait Faik once went on a Bosphorus trip on a small boat. They traveled till the Beykoz shores and stopped in front of a small coffeehouse next to the Anatolian Fortress. Just then, Sait Faik turned to Akbal and offered him a story writer's challenge, suggesting they both say what the most remarkable thing in that coffeehouse was. Oktay Akbal took a glance at the coffeehouse. Four men were playing cards at a table. Some painted carpets as well as portraits of the Shah of Iran and Atatürk were on the wall. He said that he would narrate the portraits of the Shah and Atatürk. Sait Faik replied "buddy, the real story is not the portraits." An old man was sitting separately from the four men playing cards. His head was turned towards the sea. He seemed as if he was distressed. He was not watching the sea nor the ferryboats even though his head was turned toward the sea. He was watching the dirty puddle in front of the coffeehouse. This man was a subject of a story for Sait Faik. He talked about this man throughout the rest of the trip. Oktay Akbal said years later that Sait Faik saw the subject of a story as soon as he looked at a space.⁶⁵⁷

Like Sait Faik, Oktay Akbal also wrote short stories which focused on the story space more than the story line. However, he could distinguish himself from Sait Faik because of two reasons. Firstly, his usage of language was not as inattentive as Sait Faik's. Even his early works did not have language errors and his word choices were newer. Even though Sait Faik also tried to purify his Turkish, Oktay Akbal was more success-

about. However, he was probably writing about the Bridge, Yüksekaldırım, or the Burgaz Island. Sait Faik generally wrote about these places and his pen flowed like water. In the eyes of one of his close friends, he was an admired and beloved writer of Beyoğlu or of the Islands.

⁶⁵⁷ Taylan Özbay. *Edebiyatımızın Ustalarının Gözünden Atatürk ve Devrimin Yönü*, Ankara: Telgrafhane, 2020. pp. 75, 76.

ful in this matter. Sait Faik turned to surrealism in the last period of his short story writing. Oktay Akbal, however, did not prefer surrealism at any point in his career although he tried different ways to express his imaginary world through lively images.⁶⁵⁸

He was indisputably a modernist. His tone resembled the impressionist attitude in painting. The feeling of empathy had an important place in his short stories as it did in Sait Faik's. Characters in his short stories resembled their creators. They were sensitive, urban, and educated male characters from poor quarters of Istanbul. For Ömer Ayhan, his longing for the beautiful if poor days of his childhood and youth was damaging for his modernist approach. I disagree with him. As I said in the first chapter, nostalgia for childhood days was one of main characteristics of modernist literature.⁶⁵⁹

He was also accused by leftist authors of being apolitical. For Atilla İlhan, his characters are life fugitives who dreamed, but were not able to realize their dreams. Leyla Erbil criticized him more harshly. For her, in the face of the myriad political and social dilemmas, his passive characters were taking refuge in dark cinemas, fictions, and their childhoods and pasts. To Ayhan, Akbal was not an author who stayed away from politics. He had written many political articles in newspapers throughout his life. He was put in prison after the September 12 Coup d'Etat because of his newspaper articles. However, he saw literature and politics as two different fields. He chose not to confuse them with each other.⁶⁶⁰

⁶⁵⁸ Ömer Ayhan. "Oktay Akbal'ın Yarım Kalmış Modernizmi", *Türk Dili*, August 2016, Year: 68th, 800th issue. p. 36.

⁶⁵⁹ Ibid., pp. 36, 37.

⁶⁶⁰ Ibid., pp. 37, 38.

Still, his literary texts were not independent of his political thoughts. At the beginning of *İnsan Bir Ormandır* (The Human is a Forest), he mentions the newly constructed Taksim Monument. The first person singular narrator of the novel recognizes only two from among the five men in the monument: Mustafa Kemal Atatürk and İsmet İnönü. He does not recognize Soviet generals Frunze and Voroshilov. What he sees when he looks at the Taksim monument provided clues about his political thoughts.⁶⁶¹ He was not a socialist. He was not persecuted in the 1940s contrary to many other leftist authors and poets. For this reason, Attilâ İlhan and Leyla Erbil saw him as apolitical. He was among the low-income bohemian intellectuals of the 1940s. He did not oppose the government of İsmet Pasha and loved İsmet Pasha throughout his life.

He was not a socialist. However, he interpreted Kemalism from a leftist point of view. For him, the Turkish revolution was incomplete. If it did not continuously progress, it might regress to a point more backward than its starting point. It would either reach its peak or turn out as if it had never happened. The path of the Atatürk revolution was lost for him. The urgent task was to find this path again. It seemed to everyone that they were left as a few intellectuals missing the Kemalist revolution. However, just because the majority of Turkish intellectuals and people were quiet, that should not lead us to think that they did not miss the Kemalist revolution. A feeling of intimidation had created this silence. However, the majority of people would also return to the path of the Kemalist revolution with a slightest movement.⁶⁶²

Oktay Akbal's close friend, Naim Tiralı had a very different life from his friend. Oktay Akbal was born in one of the poor quarters of Istanbul in a

⁶⁶¹ Ibid., p. 40.

⁶⁶² Taylan Özbay. *Atatürk ve Devrimin Yönü*, Ankara: Telgrafhane, 2020. pp. 110, 112.

lower middle class family. On the other hand, Naim Tirali was born in Giresun to a rich family. His great-grandfather had taken the title of *ayan* in the Mahmut II era. His father Abdullah Bey had bought properties from the exiled minorities at a cheap price after the National Struggle and had prospered further. He started to work as a journalist in his first year in the university. Cihat Baban and Ziyad Ebüzziya, who were older schoolmates in Galatasaray Lycée, helped him find a job in the *Tasvir* newspaper as an intern reporter. Later, he published a local newspaper by the name of *Karadeniz Postası* (Black Sea Post) in Giresun. After two years, he shut down this newspaper and found himself in Beyoğlu again. At the end of the 1940s and the beginning of the 1950s, his stories were published in newspapers and journals. Later, he went to Paris to study, however, he did not finish school because his father died. He founded the Yenilik Publishing House in Istanbul which published books by authors such as Tarık Buğra, Suut Kemal Yetkin, Fazıl Hüsnü Dağlarca, Oktay Akbal, Salah Birsell, Bedii Faik and Nurullah Ataç.⁶⁶³

The *Yenilik* journal was published in 1954, contained literary criticisms, poems, stories, and essays of authors such as Fahir Onger, Fazıl Hüsnü Dağlarca, Salah Birsell, Samim Kocagöz, Naim Tirali, Edip Cansever and Attila İlhan. *Yenilik* was published as sixty two issues for five years. Compared to its counterparts, it was a long-lived literary journal. After this journal was discontinued, they bought shares of the *Vatan* newspaper with Oktay Akbal and Fazıl Hüsnü Dağlarca. Translating an article of the American journalist Eugene Pulliam got him imprisoned in 1960. After May 27, he was released.⁶⁶⁴

⁶⁶³ Sefa Yüce. *Naim Tirali'nin Hikayeciliği*, Istanbul: Kurgan, 2012. pp. 33, 36.

⁶⁶⁴ Ibid., pp. 40, 41.

For this generation, journalism was an occupation which enabled them to live more freely. Fikret Adil, the author of *Asmalımesçit 74*, stated that he worked as a journalist to be able to afford idleness well. He was able to spare more time for a bohemian life working as a journalist.⁶⁶⁵ Moreover, they could earn more money than a petty or middle civil servant and felt themselves freer. On the other hand, journalism was usually a career of the supervisory generation and a means of rising in the state apparatus, too. Young authors such as Oktay Akbal and Naim Tirali, who appeared in the 1940s, broke the monopoly of authors of the supervisory generation on journals in the 1950s.

Naim Tirali came to literature from journalism. He confessed that he had not read many of the classics of World and Turkish literatures. For example, he had read only Chekhov and Gogol from Russian literature and not even all of their books. Books which he had read from English, French, German, and American literature numbered no more than ten. There were two authors of whom he read all their books: Sait Faik and Oktay Akbal. When he was a child, he did not have a reading habit. For example, he read *Pardaillans* of Michel Zevaco after forty. Even though he loved these books, he could read only two of them.⁶⁶⁶ That is, he did not love reading.

He defined himself as a realist when it came to his understanding of the short story genre. He clearly expressed that he was an opponent of surrealist attitudes. In Turkish literature, few authors who used surrealist themes in their works became successful; many of the short stories that included surrealist themes were incomprehensible and dark for him. Surrealism was understood in Turkey to be writing depressive stories

⁶⁶⁵ Fikret Adil. *Asmalımesçit 74*, 2nd ed., Istanbul: Yeditepe, 1953. p. 23.

⁶⁶⁶ Sefa Yüce. *Naim Tirali'nin Hikayeciliği*, Istanbul: Kurgan, 2012. p. 44.

read by few intellectuals. For Tirali, when short stories were published in newspapers and their yellow paged supplements, their authors had had to address ordinary people who were the readers of these newspapers. Short story writing had developed in Turkey in this way. After short stories started to be published only in literary journals, writers also started to address them to a small intellectual group. Their languages and tones became blurry and dark; contents became depressive.⁶⁶⁷

For him, his earlier short stories had a documentary quality. In some of them, the story spaces were Beyoğlu's bars, brothels, and music halls and Giresun's park and pier, and Piraziz's coffeehouse. Tirali published his first book in 1947. This book was followed by two other books published in 1949 and 1954. After his third book, he did not publish for a long time, since he engaged in journalism instead till the 1980s. After 1961, he served as a deputy for four years. He was able to write other short stories after 1982 when he had a heart attack. Oktay Akbal encouraged him to start writing short stories again. His fourth book was published in 1984: *Aşka Kitakse*. In this book, there was a short story in which five days of Sait Faik in Paris are narrated. Sait Faik, who was ill of his liver, came to Paris for treatment. He met there with his friends such as Naim Tirali. When he went to the hospital, he learned that he was to have a biopsy there. He was scared of the biopsy and returned to Turkey.⁶⁶⁸

Sait Faik's visit to Paris is told by Salah Birsal in *Ah Beyoğlu Vah Beyoğlu*, as well. I mentioned above his dependency on his mother. For Birsal, his fondness of his mother was a psychological dependency. In

⁶⁶⁷ Ibid., pp. 45, 46.

⁶⁶⁸ Ibid., pp. 46, 47, 53, 56, 159.

his photographs with his mother, this dependency can be seen clearly. His friends said that whenever his mother was speaking, he was listening admiringly and respectfully. According to Birsell, he was a childish man who could not escape his childhood. When he went to Paris for treatment in 1951, he returned to Turkey within five days, since he was not only scared of the biopsy operation but also missed his mother. This dependency did not bother him. Actually, he feared losing this dependency. As an introvert, he chose solitude as a lifestyle. His fondness for crowds and people was an effort to avoid loneliness, yet he was alone even among crowds. Naim Tirali wrote that the crowd and the noise in Paris scared him since he was accustomed to Istanbul's less dense crowd. While he was leaving Paris, he gave Naim Tirali his book *Lüzumsuz Adam* (Superfluous Man) and wrote on its first page the following: "I am giving you the duty of solving my incomprehensible days in Paris. Maybe you might understand." In short, even though he knew that leaving Paris without treatment was unreasonable, he still did. As he gave another one of his books, *Havada Bulut* to Naim Tirali, he said that he would write the novel on the five days in Paris and his madness in leaving Paris. As soon as he stepped onto Istanbul after Paris, he realized what he had done. His mother would also get angry since he returned without even a medical examination. For Birsell, his confessions to Tirali showed his sincerity in trying to save himself from the superfluous man in himself and wanting to live.⁶⁶⁹ He did not want to be a childish man or a *flâneur*; however, he could not escape from this life. To return to Naim Tirali again, he also wrote about the feelings aroused by what he saw and experienced within the city, just like Sait Faik but in

⁶⁶⁹ Salâh Birsell. *Ah Beyoğlu Vah Beyoğlu*, İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür, 1983. pp. 203, 204.

no period of his life did he do so as much as Sait Faik. He wrote to share his thoughts and emotions about what he saw and experienced. He never thought of writing stories about the lives of famous people. Ordinary events and people interested him more. The characters in his short stories were not really different from his readers.⁶⁷⁰

His book, *Yirmi Beş Kuruşa Amerika*, consists of biographical short stories which narrates his life in Beyoğlu. The main characters of the twelve short stories in the book are girls and women. These women work in bars, casinos, honky tonks, and whorehouses. Young boys who contact these women are high school and university students. After the World Wars, Gide significantly influenced young people in Turkey as in the world, with his work *The Fruits of Earth*. After the destructive effects of the World Wars, young men started to experience a bohemian life and sought refuge in entertainment.⁶⁷¹

The first encounter of Mehmet Kemal with Salah Birsal, Fahir Onger, Oktay Akbal, and Naim Tiralı was in Asmalımesit at the Tuna Coffeehouse, one of the cheap and small coffeehouses of Asmalımesit in which penniless young artists usually spent time. According to Kemal, these four young men always hanged out together. Naim Tiralı and Oktay Akbal were short story writers, Salah Birsal was a poet, and Fahir Onger was a literary critic.⁶⁷²

Fahir Onger was among the literary critics of the generation of the 1940s and a very close friend of Birsal, Tiralı, and Akbal. Mehmed Kemal said that the generation of the 1940s resisted the World War II atmosphere and reflected this onto their works. Fahir Onger was also one of the important representatives of this generation. When he published

⁶⁷⁰ Sefa Yüce. *Naim Tiralı'nın Hikayeciliği*, İstanbul: Kurgan, 2012. p. 48.

⁶⁷¹ Ibid., p. 107.

⁶⁷² Mehmed Kemal. *Acılı Kuşak*, İstanbul: De, 1985. pp. 60, 61.

his review of *Bugünkü Şiirimiz* (Our Poetry Today), the readers were surprised. Since newspapers and journals were in the hands of the old generation, the majority was unaware of this new poetry. In the book, twenty nine new poets with a novel understanding of poetry are examined and these poets are not introduced as “bobstil”s or degenerate young men since the critic himself was one of them. He lived a bohemian life in Beyoğlu and was a poor intellectual like them. Since he could not earn his living with his pen, he started to work at a bank after he published his book. He started to write in the second half of the 1960s again. He died in 1971.⁶⁷³

According to Birsell, 1946 was an important turning point in Onger’s life. His book *Bugünkü Şiirimiz* (Our Poetry Today) was published in this year. The book sold out in a few months. Onger appeared as a capable critic of the new poetry, which, until 1946, was mocked and introduced to masses like a bogymen.⁶⁷⁴ This did not mean that Onger did not criticize the poems of this generation. For him, earlier examples of new poetry, which had characteristics that challenged the old poetry, could be found in Nâzım Hikmet, Ercüment Behzat, and Mümtaz Zeki. Besides, the claim that new poetry was founded by Orhan Veli and his friends was false. They gained fame since they knew how to appear likeable and they created fine rather than beautiful poetry due to the element of humour in their poems.⁶⁷⁵ I had mentioned earlier that the poetry of *Garip* influenced the short story writing of the 1940s. However, this influence was not direct. The poetry of *Garip* influenced the short story writing of Sait Faik, while Naim Tiralı and Oktay Akbal, who were influ-

⁶⁷³ Ibid., p. 63.

⁶⁷⁴ Salâh Birsell. *Ah Beyoğlu Vah Beyoğlu*, İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür, 1983. pp. 224, 271.

⁶⁷⁵ Mehmed Kemal. *Acılı Kuşak*, İstanbul: De, 1985. p. 63.

enced by Sait Faik, were close friends of Fahir Onger. Their short story writing was influenced by the modernism of the 1930s via this indirect channel.

The way these four men experienced Beyoğlu is particularly interesting. Cennet Bahçesi (The Garden of Eden) was a popular place in Beyoğlu in the 1940s. It was close to Park Hotel and Park Patisserie and had an entrance from the Kazancılar Slope. Uskudar shores and The Maiden's Tower could easily be seen from the Garden. It was the preferred summer café of the younger generation. They were spending time in Nisua, Petrograd, and Viyana cafés in the winters. They would go to the Suna Coffeehouse in the later years, as well. The Garden was the summer café of choice especially for Samim Kocagöz, Sabahattin Kudret, Fahir Onger, and Oktay Akbal.⁶⁷⁶

The Garden's visitors were not limited to these four men. Salah Birsnel met with Melih Cevdet in the Garden in 1941. He came there with Sabahattin Kudret. The book *Garip* was also discussed at this first encounter. They learned in this encounter that Orhan Veli named the book *Garip* without consulting any of his friends. However, Melih Cevdet did not utter any negative words about his friends in spite of insistent questions of others.⁶⁷⁷ Other young poets of this period did not like Orhan Veli, probably because of his popularity and self-confidence.

In 1946, one of the popular cafés close to Beyoğlu was Suna Coffeehouse, located in Halaskargazi, Osmanbey. Fahir Onger, Naim Tirali, Oktay Akbal, Tahir Alangu, and Salah Birsnel were among its regulars.⁶⁷⁸

⁶⁷⁶ Salâh Birsnel. *Ah Beyoğlu Vah Beyoğlu*, İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür, 1983. p. 223.

⁶⁷⁷ Ibid., p. 228.

⁶⁷⁸ Both of them were from Giresun. Fethi Naci finished high school and gained a scholarship from Sumerbank and started to study at the Istanbul University Faculty of Economy; Salâh Birsnel. *Ah Beyoğlu Vah Beyoğlu*, İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür, 1983. p. 265.

One of the regulars of Suna Kiraathanesi was Tahir Alangu. Everyone called him “Father Tahir.” He performed each task slowly in a fatherly manner. Even his speaking was slow. He was slow when he wrote his essays too; this slowness was due to the attention he paid to them. When he planned to prepare an anthology of a short story, he sent letters to a great deal of short story writers in Istanbul and waited for their responses, for example. After examining their responses one by one, he gave up on the study. His study about the rough literature in coffeehouses shows how Alangu was a meticulous writer according to Birsel.⁶⁷⁹ Alangu would also write a biography of Sait Faik later. Critics who wrote biographies and memoirs of Sait Faik like Fethi Naci and Tahir Alangu were in the immediate surroundings of the 1940s generation. Sait Faik was a common value of this generation. Oktay Akbal, who was one of the regulars of Suna, wrote poems, one of which is *Sokaklar* (Streets). Oktay mentions streets in his short stories as well. There are people who puff cigarettes on the streets in his short stories. Actually, according to Salah Birsel, he did not smoke himself; however, he always carried cigarettes in his pocket and was seen with cigarettes in all his photographs. Perhaps, since he wanted to seem an ordinary man, he wanted to be seen with cigarettes, including in photographs.

The decision to found the journal *Yenilikler* was made at the Suna Coffeehouse. The first Kafka short story in Turkish was published in this journal, translated by Naim Tiralı. The fact that he translated Kafka is interesting, since he did not love surrealist themes in short stories. According to Birsel, Tiralı always came to this café with exuberance and told womanizing stories. After telling these stories in Suna, he usually turned them into short stories, which filled three books in five or six

⁶⁷⁹ Salâh Birsel. *Ah Beyoğlu Vah Beyoğlu*, İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür, 1983. p. 278.

years. Later, he surprisingly disappeared from the literary community.⁶⁸⁰

Salah Birsal remembers Cumhuriyet (Republic) Patisserie in association with Naim Tiralı's dream to found a literary journal. Tiralı showed up to the patisserie with different journalistic projects every time. In 1952, his dream came true. He published a journal which ran for sixty two issues. He named his journal *Yenilik* (The Novelty) to show his loyalty to *Yenilikler* (The Novelties). From time to time, Sait Faik also came to Cumhuriyet. Özdemir Asaf was one of the artists closest to Sait Faik in the beginning of the 1950s.⁶⁸¹

To state a general observation; even though Oktay Akbal and Naim Tiralı lived a bohemian life in their youth and this experience shaped their understandings of literature, they became middle class intellectuals in their middle ages and got accustomed to the middle class family life. However, changes in their lifestyles did not change their literary attitudes. I mentioned the influence of literary genre on the author's productions in the first chapter. The genre was autonomous from the author who re-produced this genre in their products. Therefore, the change in authors' lifestyle was not directly reflected in their literary production. They had been loiterers of Beyoğlu while they were young. Even though they had more conventional lives in their later years, their literary production over the course of their entire careers can be examined under the rubric of "loiterature." The difference of Sait Faik was that he lived the life of the *flâneur* until the very end and always wrote like a *flâneur*. As mentioned earlier, Oktay Akbal was very attentive to language even in his early short stories. His hastiness and sloppiness in

⁶⁸⁰ Ibid., pp. 277, 278.

⁶⁸¹ Ibid., pp. 281, 282.

his short stories was a preference. The sloppiness of Sait Faik was a product of his lifestyle.

5. 10. Cahit Sıtkı Tarancı and Ziya Osman Saba in Beyoğlu

Cahit Sıtkı Tarancı and Ziya Osman Saba were also among the short story writers of the 1940s even though they are known more for their poems. Cahit Sıtkı wrote forty three short stories between 1937 and 1945. Sadık Aslankara, who collected his short stories, says that his short stories were not the typical short story exercises of a poet. Actually, his identity as a poet did not harm his story writing. He was careful about the dramatic integrity of his short stories in each short story, arousing the feeling of adventure and provoking the sense of wonder. Aslankara gave an example to prove his argument. *Haydi Abbas* (Come on, Abbas) was one of Cahit Sıtkı's most famous poems. Abbas in the poem was his equerry while he served as a reserve officer in the military. He wrote a short story about Abbas, as well. In the poem, Abbas was only an image addressed to the imagination of the reader. He did not narrate Abbas or any other thing. On the other hand, Abbas was a non-figurative character in the short story.⁶⁸² He was not an image addressing the imagination of the reader. As a poet, he could differentiate between poetry and story writing and knew that while the story genre addressed the feeling of wonder, poetry addressed the imagination.

Salah Birsell associates the Petrograd Patisserie with Cahit Sıtkı. In the 1940s, the Petrograd Patisserie took the name of Ankara. It was run by White Russians and was very popular among literators. Cahit Sıtkı was one of the regulars of Petrograd with his ideas about new poetry. For

⁶⁸² Sadık Aslankara. "Introduction" in *Gün Eksilmesin Pencereden* by Cahit Sıtkı Tarancı, 2nd ed., Istanbul: Can, 2006. pp. 12, 13.

him, the new poetry should live its own life and enforce its own form rather than depend upon the particular forms of certain classical poems. Cahit Sıtkı's ideas about form in poetry corresponded with those of the new generation. Yet, since he was not interested in voicing his ideas, he could not become a symbol of the new generation.⁶⁸³

His business life was similar to many other members of his generation, who worked in short part-time jobs. He worked as a speaker in Paris radio's Turkish service between 1938 and 1940. Fascism was spreading all across Europe in those years. While he was working as a speaker, he was discussing fascism and its evils on the radio. While Paris was being bombed by Germans, he fled Paris with a velocipede and was barely able to reach Geneva. He was accompanied by Oktay Rıfat on this velocipede trip. He was able to return to Turkey with great difficulty under war conditions.⁶⁸⁴

Later, he started to work as a translator first at the Anatolian News Agency and then at the Ministry of Labour in Ankara. One night he drank too much with his friend, the poet Fethi Giray, at the *Yeni Bar*. When some literature lovers gathered near him, Fethi Giray recited some of Nâzım Hikmet's poems. A research assistant sitting close to them reported them to the police. Fethi Giray and Cahit Sıtkı were first taken to the police station and later were released at the court. However, this event scared Cahit Sıtkı very much. He was not seen at Ankara taprooms for a while.⁶⁸⁵

⁶⁸³ Salâh Bırsel. *Ah Beyoğlu Vah Beyoğlu*, İstanbul, Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür, 1983. pp. 158, 159, 168.

⁶⁸⁴ Mehmed Kemal. *Acılı Kuşak*, İstanbul: De, 1985. p. 13; Ediboğlu, Baki Süha. *Bizim Kuşak ve Ötekiler*, İstanbul: Varlık, 1968. p. 156.

⁶⁸⁵ Mehmed Kemal. *Acılı Kuşak*, İstanbul: De, 1985. p. 15.

Cahit Sıtkı was a successful student at the time he was studying at Galatasaray Lycée, however, he had to quit school while he was a student at the School of Political Science. After he published his poems in literary journals to positive acclaim; he started to think that one could not be both a poet and a civil servant. He did not care about his lessons in the Faculty of Political Sciences and was finally expelled. He lived a bohemian life for a while after he left school.⁶⁸⁶ He had not wished to be a bureaucrat, but later he would work as a petty civil servant for years.

Cahit Sıtkı developed a passion for leftism for a while, however, it did not progress much. Working as a state official, peer pressure, and his personality which was not inclined towards radical views prevented him from engaging in leftist activities and his poetry was not influenced by this leftist inclination. For him, poetry itself was more important than writing a poem for a goal.⁶⁸⁷

It can be clearly seen from his short adventure that he had an antifascist and a Left-Kemalist political inclination. However, the oppressive atmosphere of the period limited his political views to literature. His literature focused on little men's little problems. He wrote short stories for *Cumhuriyet*, *Haber*, and *Vakit* newspapers under either his own name or a pen name. Cahit Sıtkı wrote these short stories to earn money and did not consider them as works of high literature. Hence, he published them under pen names such as Cevat Sadık and İrfan Kudret. He told the poet Baki Süha Ediboğlu that he was writing many short stories to afford his cigarette and drink expenses. Not only Cahit Sıtkı but also other young authors of this era were writing their short stories to earn money. Even Sait Faik wrote his short stories to afford his cigarette ex-

⁶⁸⁶ Baki Süha Ediboğlu. *Bizim Kuşak ve Ötekiler*, İstanbul: Varlık, 1968. p. 106, 114.

⁶⁸⁷ Mehmed Kemal. *Acılı Kuşak*, İstanbul: De, 1985. pp. 15, 16.

penses.⁶⁸⁸ In his short story *Kafa ve Şişe* (Head and Bottle), the character of the short story asked the first person narrator what his occupation was. He replied that he had a job which was not seen as a job which brought in only cigarette money.⁶⁸⁹

Although he did not see his short stories as works of art, they shaped his understanding of poetry. In these very short stories of four or five pages, his priority was to reflect an ordinary man in an ordinary situation. His short stories drew the attention of the famous short story writer Hüseyin Rahmi Gürpınar. Hüseyin Rahmi read one of his short stories which narrates the very small, but nice taproom in Beyoğlu Parmakkapı to which Cahit Sıtkı regularly went. He thought that the author of this short story must be middle aged and a good observer. When he learned from Doğan Nadi that he was a young man around 24 or 25 years old, he wished to meet with this young writer. But he died after a short while before Doğan Nadi could fulfil Cahit Sıtkı's wish.⁶⁹⁰ Apparently, an important author such as Hüseyin Rahmi had understood the literary value of his short stories. Yet, since he considered himself a poet and writing poems was a more esteemed occupation in this period in Turkey, he did not continue writing short stories after 1945.

His short life that spanned 1910 to 1956 was full of sufferings, distresses, and failures in relationships with women and his days and nights seem to have passed in bed-sitting rooms.⁶⁹¹ He was a little man who was writing the stories of other little men.⁶⁹² Many young poets of this

⁶⁸⁸ Baki Süha Ediboğlu. *Bizim Kuşak ve Ötekiler*, İstanbul: Varlık, 1968. p. 113.

⁶⁸⁹ Sait Faik. *Bütün Eserleri 7: Alemdeğda Var Bir Yılan*, 2nd ed. İstanbul: Bilgi, 1976. p. 84.

⁶⁹⁰ Baki Süha Ediboğlu. *Bizim Kuşak ve Ötekiler*, İstanbul: Varlık, 1968. p. 110.

⁶⁹¹ Ibid., p. 113.

⁶⁹² Mehmed Kemal. *Acılı Kuşak*, İstanbul: De, 1985. p. 17.

era died at young ages. Their long bachelorhood, and poor and bohemian lives took their toll.⁶⁹³

Cahit Sıtkı was a strict follower of Sait Faik, Oktay Akbal, and Orhan Kemal in terms of his understanding of the short story genre. The first person singular narrator was prioritised in his short stories as well. His narration style was self-centred. Moreover, Cahit Sıtkı Tarancı was also a short story writer of Istanbul as were these three men.⁶⁹⁴ His characters are more similar to the characters of Sait Faik and Oktay Akbal rather than of Orhan Kemal. The characters of Orhan Kemal often faced

⁶⁹³ Authors' and poets' deaths at young ages were discussed in detail in the 1940s, too. Osman Cemal Kaygılı and Mahmut Yesari died in 1945, when Kaygılı was 55 and Yesari was 50. These two writers worked superhumanly to make ends meet their entire lives. They could not even become petty state officials and earned their lives writing in newspapers and magazines and writing books. Authorship was an occupation which brought in little money so they had to work hard. They lived irregularly and drank a lot to keep up with their busy schedules. For this reason, they died at young ages. After they died, their friends wrote really touching essays about them in newspapers and brought up the issues of the poverty of men of letters and copyright. For example, according to Vala Nurettin who was a columnist, the publisher who published Kaygılı's novel *Çingeneler* (Gypsies) for the second time made thousands of liras off this book but he only sent 50 liras to Kaygılı who was sinking fast in hospital. After Mahmut Yesari died, similar things were written about him. In short, he also died because of poverty and carelessness. Famous writers and journalists such as Sabiha Sertel and Burhan Cahit periodically discussed the issue of the writer and copyright during the 1940s. According to Sabiha Sertel, literary works were seen simply as commodities. Publishers tried to increase their profits, decreasing the wages of labourers, the men of letters. Men of letters should recognise their positions in the modern market and struggle against their exploiters. For Burhan Cahit, the quality of literary works was decreasing because of publishers since they paid writers too little and encouraged them to produce too much in a too short spans of time. Just like how dealers were exploiting the villagers by buying their products on the cheap, the publishers were exploiting the writers in the same way. (Tuncay Birkan. *Dünya ile Devlet Arasında Türk Muharriri*, Istanbul: Metis, 2020. pp. 353, 356, 357, 384, 385, 389, 393.)

⁶⁹⁴ Even though Orhan Kemal told of Çukurova in his novels too, the story spaces of most of his stories were in Istanbul.

financial difficulties. Sait Faik and Akbal's characters faced other existential and daily problems as much as they did financial difficulties.⁶⁹⁵ Even though there were differences between them, the concept of the "little man" left its mark on all of them in the 1940s. The concept became common after Hans Fallada's novel *Little Man, What Now* had been translated into Turkish in 1938. Another important novel, which was translated in this period, was Henry de Montherland's *The Bachelors*. In the novel, a loitering, lazy, introverted, diffident, and sleepyhead man is narrated. The theme of the little man was first shaped by way of these kinds of translations. It first made its way into Sait Faik's short stories, and then diversified into Orhan Kemal's writings. The little man would become "the suffering little man" with Orhan Kemal, according to Salah Birsell. Orhan Kemal published his work, *My Father's House* in 1949. Its subheading was *Notes of a Little Man*.⁶⁹⁶

Tarancı's characters were also loitering, diffident, sleepyhead figures like Henry de Montherland's or Hans Fallada's. They were lonely little men who did not have families. In the short stories of Tarancı, the first person singular narrator did not have a house. There were three sites of his short stories: the government office in which he works as a lower rank civil servant, the taproom to which he went after getting off work, and different spaces of Istanbul such as streets, trams, pudding shops, and cinemas. The narrator rarely mentions his house. The narrator is either at work or on the streets or in taprooms.⁶⁹⁷

⁶⁹⁵ Sadık Aslankara. "Introduction" in *Gün Eksilmesin Pencereyden* by Cahit Sıtkı Tarancı, 2nd ed., Istanbul: Can, 2006. pp. 15, 18, 20.

⁶⁹⁶ Salâh Birsell. *Ah Beyoğlu Vah Beyoğlu*, Istanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür, 1983. pp. 171, 172.

⁶⁹⁷ Sadık Aslankara. Introduction in *Gün Eksilmesin Pencereyden* by Cahit Sıtkı Tarancı, 2nd ed., Istanbul: Can, 2006. p. 17.

In many of Cahit Sıtkı's short stories, the first person singular narrator lives in Istanbul; however, his family live elsewhere. Even when this is not said explicitly, it is implied in various ways. The narrator protagonist of the short stories is a bachelor man living alone in Istanbul. The feeling of loneliness is felt in almost all of his short stories. For the narrator, his position in the civil service is always a source of unhappiness. Objects such as the desk, signature book, collar, and tie appear in almost all stories. Directors, salaries, and salary deductions are also mentioned in almost all stories.⁶⁹⁸

Ziya Osman Saba, who was a close friend of Cahit Sıtkı and whose understanding of literature was very similar, was always mentioned together with Cahit Sıtkı. He was actually a poet and wrote short stories on the side. He graduated from Galatasaray Lycée and the Istanbul University Faculty of Law. Yet, he worked in modest white collar jobs throughout his life. For example, he worked in the accounting office of *Cumhuriyet* newspaper for a while. Although he earned a very humble salary, he was happy with his job. He was married and his wife was patient. He had many problems in his life; however, he always seemed happy despite these problems. He was the youngest member of the school of *Yedi Meşaleciler* (Seven Torchers). When this group published their collective book in 1928, he was 18.⁶⁹⁹ After this collective book, he published his second book in 1943. For this reason, he might be seen as an author of the generation of 1940. He was only two or three years older than members of this generation.

His private life was simple and routine. He resided around Kalamış-Kızıltoprak. His life was between his home and the newspaper office.

⁶⁹⁸ Ibid., pp. 17, 21, 23.

⁶⁹⁹ Baki Süha Ediboğlu. *Bizim Kuşak ve Ötekiler*, İstanbul: Varlık, 1968. pp. 92, 94.

While many poets and authors of the 1940s generation were having fun and chats in the cafés and patisseries of Beyoğlu, his interest was in his children, flowers, books and his wife at home. He only came to Beyoğlu a few times a year, however, more than half of his short stories collected into two books, were about Beyoğlu. In one of his poems, he said “I want to smell the odour of the Tunnel”. He went to Beyoğlu a few times a year to recall the glory days of his youth at Galatasaray Lycée, watched the showcases of photographers, and returned to his home via the 18:30 ferry.⁷⁰⁰ Thanks to these Beyoğlu trips, he went out of his routine life and breathed in a different atmosphere. All in all, the narrator in his short stories was not a happy man. He was an unhappy man watching photographs of happy people and missing the beautiful days of his childhood.

After his death, many poets and authors wrote articles in his memory. He recalled his childhood by way of his poems according to Abdülhak Şinasi Hisar. His childlike emotions shaped his poetry and he longed for his childhood in each moment of his life.⁷⁰¹ His expectations from life were also very modest. A small two-roomed house and small gifts for his children was enough to meet his expectations.⁷⁰²

Before marriage, he resided in Beyoğlu Yüksekkapı as a fresh graduate. Ceyhun Atuf Kansu visited him with Cahit Sıtkı.⁷⁰³ He was a man who

⁷⁰⁰ Ibid., pp. 95, 97.

⁷⁰¹ Abdülhak Şinasi Hisar. “Ziya Osman Saba’nın Ölümü” in *Değişen İstanbul* by Ziya Osman Saba, İstanbul: Varlık, 1959. p. 87.

⁷⁰² Sabri Esat Siyavuşgil. “Ziya Osman Saba İçin” in *Değişen İstanbul* by Ziya Osman Saba, İstanbul: Varlık, 1959. p. 93.

⁷⁰³ Ceyhun Atuf Kansu, “Untitled” in *Değişen İstanbul* by Ziya Osman Saba, İstanbul: Varlık, 1959. p. 100.

lived in his past and childhood, and had broken his ties with the future, according to Kansu. When he looked at the future, he saw only death.⁷⁰⁴ While he was living in Kalamış with his family, he sometimes came across Bekir Sıtkı Kunt on the Kadıköy-Eminönü ferry. It seemed to Bekir Sıtkı that he wanted to escape even from him. He was a man who wanted to be alone among crowds.⁷⁰⁵ Haldun Taner remembered his Galatasaray days. All children would chase after balls and played football. He however, would stand in a corner, shy and unsociable. However, he always smiled. He seemed to Haldun Taner that he had descended to the earth from another world.⁷⁰⁶ He had latched on to the tiniest things in life. He lived like a saint, according to Tahsin Yücel.⁷⁰⁷ He was a little man who could afford himself and his family and found happiness in the tiniest things. He narrated himself and other little men like himself in his stories. He reminds me of Pushkin's character, Evgeny who desired a wife, a few children, and a small house. He found these things and did not want to lose them.

Cevdet Kudret was a friend of him from the *Yedi Meşale* (Seven Torches) group. At times when they met to discuss literature, they would first meet at home, talk about different subjects, and then go to a café or public house. Since he generally did not have any money, he would not

⁷⁰⁴ Ceyhun Atuf Kansu, Ziya Osman Saba ve Bir Ankete Cevabı, in *Değişen İstanbul* by Ziya Osman Saba, İstanbul, Varlık, 1959, p. 102.

⁷⁰⁵ Bekir Sıtkı Kunt, Ziya Osman Saba in *Değişen İstanbul* by Ziya Osman Saba, İstanbul: Varlık, 1959. pp. 103, 104.

⁷⁰⁶ Haldun Taner. "Ziya Osman İçin" in *Değişen İstanbul* by Ziya Osman Saba, İstanbul, Varlık, 1959. p. 111.

⁷⁰⁷ Tahsin Yücel, Ziya Osman Deyince, in *Değişen İstanbul* by Ziya Osman Saba, İstanbul, Varlık, 1959. pp. 103, 104.

partake in the latter. He would always invent a pretext for not coming along.⁷⁰⁸

He came from a family who had been living in Istanbul for a few generations and he loved Istanbul very much. At some point, the bank in which he was a civil servant appointed him to Ankara. He could not endure living in that city. He found a new job in Istanbul as a lowest rank civil servant. His greatest pleasure in life was to live in Istanbul, according to Akbal.⁷⁰⁹

5. 11. Haldun Taner in Beyoğlu

Haldun Taner was another short story writer of this generation. Even though he was renowned for his plays, he did not see short story writing as a mere hobby and always introduced himself as both a dramatist and short story writer. As far as I can see, the relations between Haldun Taner and the generation of the 1940s were not tight. Firstly, his main occupation was theatre and most of his friends were in this field. Secondly, he lived in Kadıköy and only went to Beyoğlu rarely. Hence, he was mentioned less often in the Beyoğlu memories of men of letters of the 1940s generation. However, his understanding of the short story genre and his short stories set in Beyoğlu had many commonalities with this generation.

As for his childhood, his father died while he was five years old and he was raised by his mother and grandfather. The grandfather of Haldun Taner founded a printing house by the name of Hamid Matbaası after he had retired from the directorship of the State Printing House. Many au-

⁷⁰⁸ Cevdet Kudret. "Ziya ile Geçen Zaman" in *Değişen İstanbul* by Ziya Osman Saba, Istanbul: Varlık, 1959. p. 111.

⁷⁰⁹ Oktay Akbal. "Aramızda Bir Ermiş Yaşadı" in *Değişen İstanbul* by Ziya Osman Saba, Istanbul: Varlık, 1959. p. 111.

thors would visit this printing house, including Ruşen Eşref, Yakup Kadri, Celal Esat, Burhan Cahit and Ahmet Rasim. As a child, Taner watched these authors with interest and admiration. The image of the author in his mind was not really shaped by such figures as Yakup Kadri, Ruşen Eşref, Celal Esat, and Burhan Cahit; his role model was Ahmet Rasim. He decided while he was a child that this man was a great author. Ahmet Rasim had presented him with a pen, and he recalls: “I began authorship with this pen and I wrote my entire life.” For Haldun Taner, unless authors like Ahmet Rasim and Hüseyin Rahmi Gürpınar became a role model for forthcoming generations, Turkish literature would follow the path of “snob and elite authors” like Halit Ziya.⁷¹⁰ Ahmet Rasim and Hüseyin Rahmi Gürpınar wrote their city impressions in realist and humorous tones. These authors constituted a point of departure that shaped Haldun Taner’s understanding of the short story genre. Sabri Esat Siyavuşgil also had an important role in his recognition as a short story writer. He was one of the seven founders of the *Yedi Meşale* group and as a well-rounded man, he was different from the intellectuals of the supervisory generation. His fields of interest were not limited to literature and politics. He was a poet but also a scientist in the field of psychology. Moreover, he was a researcher of theatre history, a columnist, and the president of PEN Club of Turkey. The *Yedi Meşale* group appeared as a reaction to the syllabist movement’s village romanticism. When Haldun Taner published his first short story book, he thought that this book would probably not arouse attention. However, Siyavuşgil, a meticulous critic, praised Haldun Taner’s book *Yaşasın Demokrasi* (Long Live Democracy), in his article *Yaşasın Hikayeciliğimiz* (Long Live our Story Writing) in *Yeni Sabah*. When he first wrote this

⁷¹⁰ Haldun Taner. *Ölür İse Ten Ölür Canlar Ölesi Değil*, İstanbul: Cem, 1979. pp. 244, 245, 247.

article, he did not even know of Haldun Taner.⁷¹¹ Haldun Taner's recognition as a short story writer owed a lot to this article.

Haldun Taner's favourite café in Beyoğlu was Markiz. He went to this café not to meet, speak, or debate with anyone; but to spare time for himself, read newspapers and books, and take notes, according to Salah Birsal. Markiz was a suitable café for working alone. Since he lived in Kadıköy, as soon as he crossed to the European side, he could get to Markiz using the tunnel metro. When Abdülhak Şinasi Hisar, the famous author, saw Taner in Markiz, he invited him to his table and they had talks for hours. Taner was not troubled by these invitations. For Birsal, Abdülhak Şinasi Hisar in principle was not getting closer with the generation of 1940. However, he loved talking with Haldun Taner very much, who was of the generation of 1940. He learned from Taner what was going on in the literary world.⁷¹²

Taner went to Pelit café in Tepebaşı whenever he did not go to Markiz until it closed down in 1969. It was a small café with seven or eight tables. Probably Haldun Taner loved it since it was less crowded and more suitable for working alone. Salah Birsal came generally came there in the mornings. Some academicians like Macit Gökberk, Bedia Akarsu and Nermi Uygur often visited. The patisserie Pelit was visited mostly by opera chorists. They would have a quick bite and make back stage gossip.⁷¹³ Cafes introduced the possibility of interaction between different artists and writers. The modernism of the 1940s in Turkey was partially the result of the coming together of different artists from different fields in a special space: *Beyoğlu*.

⁷¹¹ Ibid., pp. 160, 161.

⁷¹² Salâh Birsal. *Ah Beyoğlu Vah Beyoğlu*, İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür, 1983. pp. 39, 40.

⁷¹³ Ibid., p. 40.

5. 12. Sabahattin Kudret Aksal

The short story writer Sabahattin Kudret was also a poet first. At first, he was under the influence of the famous poets of the time. However, he gradually found his own tone. He told stories through his poems, in which he embraced different moments and colours of life. He pushed the envelope of the classical structure of poetry in order to do so. However, poetry was not always a suitable genre to tell stories. For this reason, he told some of his stories which he could not tell through poetry in the form of short stories.⁷¹⁴ He had two books; *Gazoz Ağacı* and *Yaralı Hayvan* and some short stories which did not make it into any book.

5. 13. Afif Yesari in Beyoğlu

Afif Yesari was another author of short stories and poems who will be examined in this dissertation. He was also one of the regulars of Nisuz, according to Salah Birsal. He started to be seen in Nisuz after 1945. He wrote almost two hundred detective novels. However, his claim to fame was writing thought theatre plays. In these plays, there were no dialogues. Rather, the thoughts of characters are vocalized by speakers.⁷¹⁵ Since he wrote short stories, detective novels and plays of thought theatre to earn money, he was always mentioned as a popular writer. He might have been a little inattentive to the language used in his short stories but otherwise he met all the necessities of this genre.

⁷¹⁴ Baki Süha Ediboğlu. *Bizim Kuşak ve Ötekiler*, İstanbul: Varlık, 1968. p. 209, 210.

⁷¹⁵ Salâh Birsal. *Ah Beyoğlu Vah Beyoğlu*, İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür, 1983. pp. 124, 125.

5. 14. Aesthetic Modernism of 1950s and the Baylan Patisserie

Before finishing, I want to briefly mention the changing atmosphere of literature in the 1950s and the Baylan Patisserie. Baylan Patisserie became popular at the end of the 1940s. Whenever someone visited the place near evening in 1948, they definitely would see Fahir Onger, Oktay Akbal, Behçet Necatigil, Orhan Arburnu and Salah Birsell. However, Baylan Patisserie was best remembered for the presence of Attila İlhan. He started to visit after 1952 or 1953 according to Salah Birsell. Attila İlhan was writing cinema critiques in the *Vatan* newspaper in those years. This occupation necessitated dwelling in Beyoğlu. One day, Attila İlhan encountered Orhan Kemal, who urged him to go and drink coffee in Baylan “like the bourgeoisie.” They entered Baylan together. After this, Attila İlhan did not leave Baylan for years. Baylan became not only a meeting place but also a place for work.⁷¹⁶

Attila İlhan started to write essays about social realism toward the end of 1955 and the beginning of 1956. Artists who spent times in Baylan were captivated the most by these essays. His essays were embraced as the products of social realist art. Before *Zenciler Birbirine Benzemez* (Negroes Do Not Resemble Each Other) was published in 1957, regulars of Baylan had heard it from Attila İlhan. When Attila İlhan asked whether they read *Sokaktaki Adam* (The Man in the Street) which was published in 1953, they responded “we had not read, but rather memorized it.”⁷¹⁷

As Baylan was becoming popular, something in Turkish literature was changing as well. Demir Özlü, Ferit Edgü, Ahmet Oktay, Orhan Duru,

⁷¹⁶ Ibid., pp. 312, 313.

⁷¹⁷ Ibid., p. 319.

Ülkü Tamer, Şükran Kurdakul, and Sezer Özlü (later Duru) can be numbered among the regulars of Baylan and they changed the literary atmosphere of the 1940s. For Demir Özlü, Baylan was a worldview. They approached each object and event ironically. For Birsell, this irony was because of their openness to the West. Apparently, the old vs. new conflict was still continuing in the 1950s. However, they did not only quarrel with the early Republican period's literary figures, many of whom were still alive. Authors and poets of the 1940s like Orhan Veli, Fazıl Hüsni, Oktay Rifat, Oktay Akbal, Haldun Taner, Melih Cevdet, Necati Cumalı, Sabahattin Kudret and Salah Birsell also did not escape the criticisms of the regulars of Baylan. This attitude of theirs stemmed from Attila İlhan's harshly critical tone, according to Birsell. He had a peevish tone in his articles, essays, and speeches which he also used in his struggle against the old. "Hold firm ye idols, hold firm!" (*Sıkı durun putlar, sıkı!*) Attila İlhan commanded in a journal, playing a pun on Nâzım Hikmet's campaign "we are destroying the idols." According to Birsell, while Nâzım and the artists of the 1940s generation were attacking poets of an old world, Attila İlhan was attacking the artists who paved the way for his own generation. In this aspect, what Attila İlhan did was different from what Nâzım and the generation of the 1940s did.⁷¹⁸

While these intergenerational conflicts played out, literature matinees became popular in those years and many authors and poets from different generations participated in them. Sabahattin Kudret, Orhan Hançerlioğlu, Oktay Akbal, Haldun Taner, Özdemir Asaf, Attila İlhan, Behçet Necatigil, Salah Birsell, Nezihe Meriç, Asaf Halet Çelebi, Naim Tiralı, Tahsin Yücel, Orhan Murat Arıburnu, Türkan İldeniz, and Edip Cansever led the way as regular participants. Many of these were above

⁷¹⁸ Ibid., pp. 314, 315, 322.

30 at that time. Only Tahsin Yücel and Türkan İldeniz were younger than the rest.⁷¹⁹

The Union of Turkish Literators (*Türk Edebiyatçılar Birliği*) also organized a literature matinee on April 2nd 1956. A protest was expected to take place against it and measures were taken to stifle it. Indeed, this protest had been planned at Baylan on March 30th. Asaf Çiyiltepe, Hasan Pulur, Kıl Güngör, Bağırsak Süha, Cemal Hoşgör, Fikret Hakan, and Demirtaş Ceyhun gathered to organize a protest against Behçet Kemal Çağlar on the night of April 2nd.⁷²⁰

Tahir Alangu recited all the details of this night in Naim Tiralı's *Yenilik* journal. First, Yakup Kadri took the stage. Later, Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar came and made a very academic and "boring" speech. They were not protested. While Yahya Kemal's poem *Endülüste Raks* was read, some mobilization in the audience started. Especially, the verses

Gül tenli, kor dudaklı, kömür gözlü, sürmeli

Şeytan diyor ki sarmalı, yüz kerre öpmeli

(Rose skinned, ember lipped, charcoal black and bolted eyed

The Devil temps to embrace and kiss a hundred times)

were mocked by protestors in the gallery.

The second part began with Nurullah Ataç's speech. For Birsel, this was one of Ataç's most successful speeches. (Since he had a stutter, he was not normally a successful speaker.) He also managed to escape the protests. When Zeki Ömer Defne started to read his own poems, protests began. When Behçet Kemal Çağlar went on the stage, protests deepened and became stronger. Nationalist students began to attack the protestors calling them "communists!" Behçet Kemal called the police on the

⁷¹⁹ Ibid., p. 323.

⁷²⁰ Ibid.

grounds that a communist provocation was to take place on literature night. Protestors were kept all night at the Beyoğlu police station. The next day, photographs of Demirtaş Ceyhun and Hasan Pulur were in the newspapers: “Communists kicked up a fuss in Dram theatre!”⁷²¹

Attila İlhan was also brought to the police station as the leader of the protest. The chief of police was an understanding man and he released Attila İlhan. Incidents seemed to calm down at first, but in fact, nothing was calmed down. Newspapers continued to rail against the protestors. Peyami Safa qualified young literators as traitors, servants of Moscow and communists.⁷²² After two or three days, Baylan protestors were summoned for another police interrogation. No one was arrested, but this scandal was not forgotten.

This protest and the following developments show how the old vs. new debate in literature could turn political and provoke violent struggles. After the Cold War began, conflicts between the different literary generations and different authors turned into a conflict between nationalists and communists. As I mentioned earlier, this conflict started in the second half of the 1940s with the lawsuits of Turkism and Turanism, Sabahattin Âli and Nihal Atsız, and Hasan Âli Yücel and Kenan Öner. In the 1950s, the fact that it became permanent and chronic was explicitly visible. In this typical conflict, many intellectuals who were not communists were labelled as such. Recall the previously mentioned dilemmas and suspicions of the state elite against modernism in the 1930s and 1940s. Some authors and poets used these suspicions against the new poets and authors in the Cold War atmosphere.

⁷²¹ Ibid., pp. 328, 329, 330.

⁷²² Ibid., p. 331.

The painter Yüksel Aslan was another one of the regulars of Baylan. His father was a grocer in Eyüp. He ran the grocery shop of his father and studied at the faculty of fine arts in Istanbul. When he gained a bit of fame as a painter, he quit both his father's grocery shop and school. He would travel from Eyüp to Baylan on foot during daytime and walk back in the evenings.⁷²³ Beyoğlu and its cafés had many visitors like Yüksel Aslan who generally lived in traditional districts of Istanbul and came from the lower middle classes. These young men who were interested in arts did not earn money from their interests and did not do any business in their districts. Every day, they came to Beyoğlu with their very limited budgets. Many such characters are seen in the short stories of the 1940 generation.

At the end of the 1950s, Selahattin Hilav and Sencer Divitçioğlu also started to come to Baylan. The literators' Baylan saga ended by 1964 when the old regulars of Baylan had left. Demir Özlü says that the desire to live well and be more bohemian became more prominent. After the 1960s, those who wanted to discuss art and literature in Baylan were mocked.⁷²⁴ In the 1940s, Nisuz's academic visitors were more conservatively inclined men like Mustafa Şekip Tunç and Hilmi Ziya Ülken. In the 1950s, Baylan's academician visitors were more leftist, younger, and less conservative. While the literary world was changing, the academy was probably changing too.

Attila İlhan was very influential among the regulars of Baylan due to his personality. Almost all young literators in Baylan accepted his leadership in the early years. However, they were not eager to follow him in producing social realist literature. A different generation was born both

⁷²³ Ibid., p. 336.

⁷²⁴ Ibid., p. 337.

in the fields of poetry and short story writing. Although the 2nd New in poetry was influenced by the poetry of Attila İlhan, they followed a different route from him. Short story writers like Demir Özlü, Ferit Edgü, Orhan Duru, and Adnan Özyalçiner who made a move in short story writing went in the direction of a more abstract literature and created anxiety literature.⁷²⁵ They were modernist rather than social realist. However, they perceived modernism differently from the generation of the 1940s. Surrealist and existentialist themes were more prominent in their works.

Demir Özlü even wrote two short essays criticizing Attila İlhan in *Pazar Postası* (Sunday Post). Cemal Süreyya also criticized Attila İlhan in the same journal. After these essays, Attila İlhan wrote an essay opposing abstract poetry in the *Dost* journal. He claimed that the current was not new or coherent. It conflicted with the development of Turkish society and art. İlhan criticized Orhan Duru because of his short story book called *Bırakılmış Biri* (An Abandoned One) in the same review in 1959, as well. He claimed that the realist inclination in his first short stories had been lost.⁷²⁶

As mentioned earlier, new techniques which Sait Faik used in *Alemdağ'da Var Bir Yılan* (There is a Snake in Alemdağ) influenced short story writers of the 1950s generation. Surrealism was the rising current of the 1950s which influenced all leading poets and authors including poets of the 2nd New, Attilâ İlhan, Orhan Duru, Demir Özlü, Leyla Erbil, and Yusuf Atılgan. However, this change cannot be explained only by Sait Faik's influence. Selahattin Hilav says that young authors and poets of this period could follow changes in literature in

⁷²⁵ Ibid., p. 338.

⁷²⁶ Ibid., p. 339.

the West contemporaneously for the first time in Turkish literature. Existentialism and psychoanalysis had an important place in their works. They were influenced by contemporary Western authors such as Camus and Sartre.⁷²⁷

The period between 1950 and 1960 is characterized as the golden age of the short story genre in Turkey. The number of short story writers and short stories increased, and their qualities improved.⁷²⁸ The 1940s might be examined as the latent period of this golden age. The short story writers of the 1940s introduced the little man into the literature. They narrated the little man with a realist attitude. Sait Faik recognized in the last period of his short story writing that this little man had some problems which could not be told through a realist attitude. His sexual orientation shaped the surrealist turn in his short story writing.

In this chapter, I have discussed aesthetic modernism in Turkish literature from the 1930s to the 1950s, focusing on the 1940s and short story writing. In the 1930s, the leading figure of this current was Nâzım Hikmet. His long imprisonment, political repression in the 1940s, personal characteristics of leftist poets, and their theoretical and literary backgrounds curbed the influence of Nâzım. The revolutionary modernism of Nâzım Hikmet left its place to Baudelairean modernism in the 1940s. The leading current of poetry in the 1940s was *Garip*. At first, they became popular with the support of Nurullah Ataç, who influenced Turkish literature with his Westernist, individualistic, and modernist ideas in the 1940s and 1950s. They remained the leading current of poetry throughout the 1940s. The modernist uprising led by Gavsî Ozansoy also had an influence on the rise of modernism in the 1940s. The short

⁷²⁷ Jale Özata Dirlikyapan. *Kabuğunu Kıran Hikâye: Türk Öykücülüğünde 1950 Kuşağı*, İstanbul: Metis, 2010. pp. 11-14.

⁷²⁸ Ibid., p. 13.

story writing of Sait Faik and the poetry of *Garip* fed into each other from the beginning. The short story writing of Sait Faik, which was completely new for Turkish literature, influenced two generations of short story writers in Turkish literature. His short stories prioritised the story space as much as the story line. Many short story writers of the generation of 1940 did the same. Their bohemian life in Beyoğlu influenced the content and form of their short stories. Many modernist authors and poets of this generation died at young ages. They wrestled with economic and psychological problem all their lives. These men who treated little men in their short stories were little men themselves.

6

Middle Class Intellectuals Discovering Beyoğlu and its Poor People

So far, I examined the appearance of modernist literature in nineteenth century Europe, especially in France; Beyoğlu and Galata in the second half of the nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth century; the conservative and nationalist representations of Beyoğlu by the old generation in the 1940s; and discussions on literary modernism from the 1930s to the 1950s in Turkey. Thus, we saw the generation of 1940 and its story writers within a broad context and understood their particular representations of Beyoğlu and why their representations of Beyoğlu were important. From this chapter on, I will analyse their representations of Beyoğlu with reference to examples from their short stories under the light of the theoretical concepts I discussed in the second chapter, such as literary modernism, loiterature, *flâneur*, superfluous man, digression, and metropolitan miniature. In this chapter, I will examine middle class intellectuals discovering the city and its poor people through stories set in Beyoğlu. At the same time, I will focus on certain locations of Beyoğlu such as the Galata

Bridge, Y ksekaldırım, Tunnel metro, Taksim Square, The Avenue of Beyo lu (or Istiklal Avenue or the Big Avenue) and some specific spaces of Beyo lu such as cinemas and caf s. I will examine these spaces in relation to various themes such as women, hacia as, the disabled, street urchins, loiterers, etc. Thus, I will give a panorama of Beyo lu in the 1940s, filtered through the imaginations of different story writers.

As I examine representations of different spaces of Beyo lu, I am going to follow a sequence. First, I am going to focus on the Galata Bridge since it was perceived both as a gate linking the historical peninsula and Galata to each other and as a border between them, in the manner described by Derrida which I discussed in the third chapter. The Bridge is the outmost and the main door of Beyo lu. Just as the Galata Bridge was a door and a border between the historical peninsula and Galata, the ferry ports around it were doors which linked Galata to  sk dar, other small Anatolian districts, and the Bosphorus villages. Hence, after the Bridge stories, I am going to examine stories set in ferry ports. I will then focus on other “doors” and “borders” of Beyo lu: Y ksekaldırım, the Tunnel metro and Taksim Square, The Avenue, cinemas, caf s, and brothels.

As I mentioned in previous chapters, the “supervisory generation” supported the mentality that the national identity supersedes individual identity and they criticized young generations for prioritizing individual identity in the 1940s. Intellectuals of the supervisory generation consisted of people who generally supported the National Struggle, and then became a part of the state elite. Their understanding of literature emphasizing national identity appeared in this context. Links between the state elite and young literary figures weakened in the 1940s, however. Young literary figures of this generation were not part of the state elite and generally led a poor and penniless life at least in their youth.

Therefore, they focused more on their individuality. As stated in the previous chapter, they expressed their individuality by treating low-income residents of the city in their works as low income intellectuals. The rising figure of the period was “the little man.” Beyoğlu was a space of freedom for intellectuals with middle class origins in this period, where they could see and observe every kind of person. In this part of the thesis, I will focus on how they represented Beyoğlu’s poor and little people in their stories. Focusing on certain specific places of Beyoğlu, I will demonstrate in the coming pages that different spaces of Beyoğlu influenced representations of different people.

6. 1. People, Hours, Times and Seasons of the Bridge

I will focus first on stories which are descriptive about the Bridge, starting with Oktay Akbal’s *Köprü Üstü* (Upside of the Bridge). The story begins with the sentence “this Bridge connects two different worlds with each other”. There are different kinds of people on the bridge each hour. The narrator knew its evening and midnight hours better. He was not there in the mornings and only imagined them. The narrator liked the Bridge so much that he always wondered how many people were passing over its sidewalks, how many of them were women and how many of them were men, what they were thinking and where they were going.⁷²⁹

We might understand the narrator’s social position from the first paragraph of his story. He crossed the Bridge in the evening and at midnight, while he was going to Beyoğlu and returning from Beyoğlu. He probably lived in one of the traditional quarters of Istanbul beyond the Bridge. Beyoğlu was a different world for him. It was different from his quarter

⁷²⁹ Oktay Akbal. *Önce Ekmekler Bozuldu*, Istanbul: F-K, 1946. p. 54.

and other traditional quarters of Istanbul. That is why the story begins with that particular sentence. He also represented the Bridge simultaneously as a border and a door, separating two different worlds from each other and linking them to each other.

For the narrator, the people of this bridge were not seen anywhere else. The narrator recognised new faces each time he crossed this Bridge. There were many factories and ateliers on the shores nearby the Bridge. Workers and naval cadets were crossing therefrom all the time. Since it was a by-pass road, petty civil servants also mingled with the crowd of the Bridge. The narrator came across all these people toward evenings on the Bridge.⁷³⁰

After the narrator talks about the Bridge itself, he starts to describe the people of the Bridge. Some people walked on the Bridge with packages and bags in their hands. Others walked freely without carrying anything. Girls went out to this Bridge, their hairs carefully done in the latest style. They ran toward the Bridge, shaking their short skirts, smiling. Naval cadets also came out from one of the streets heading to the Bridge. They walked in their white pants with their hands in their pockets and cigarettes on their lips. Their happiness could be read on their faces. They were happy because they were on leave. They thought and dreamed about how they would spend their hours in Beyoğlu. They hoped to meet with labourer girls and to spend one or two happy hours with them.⁷³¹

Little children who sold water, roasted chickpeas, hazelnuts, peanuts, and fruits as well as an old wafer vendor waited for people who were returning from work at two different entrances of the Bridge. They all

⁷³⁰ Ibid.

⁷³¹ Ibid., pp. 54, 55.

appeared when the it started to get dark except for the old wafer vendor remained on the Bridge all day long. This Bridge could not be conceived without him. He had become like a part of the Bridge.⁷³²

Each sidewalk of the Bridge had particular pedestrians. Naval cadets always travelled on the left. Craftsmen and petty state officials preferred the right side. Worker girls were very frivolous; along with the loiterers, which side they would walk on could not be predicted. The narrator consistently walked on the left side. He did not know exactly why he loved the Bridge. Perhaps he loved it because it was a vantage point from which to observe many places of the city worth seeing. Piers, fishing boats, little rowboats, barges lined up in rows, shuttle boats, minarets and sepulchral monuments could be seen from the Bridge.⁷³³

The bridge assumed a different character at night time compared to its evening hours, with different people occupying it. The night time occupants walked there, yelling or singing songs. In these hours, the Bridge belonged to the drunkards. They would walk on its sidewalks in groups of at least two. According to the narrator, a drunkard man walking alone had never been seen. They generally walked in pairs. They sometimes leaned onto the rails of the Bridge and watched the dark sea, sometimes swore and sang songs. People who went out from cinemas at late hours ran up the Bridge with rapid steps. Some couples especially chose the dark and desolate places of the Bridge to walk slowly.⁷³⁴

The narrator went to the Bridge for idleness. He also walked slowly and watched the sea and people. He strolled the Bridge and listened to voices coming from the minarets at twilight. Moreover, he watched the

⁷³² Ibid., p. 55.

⁷³³ Ibid.

⁷³⁴ Ibid., p. 56.

apartments at the other side of the Bridge.⁷³⁵ The Bridge was between Galata, the silhouette of which was dominated by big apartment buildings and the historical peninsula, the silhouette of which also included mosques and minarets.

On that day, too, the narrator had gone to the Bridge to pass time. Once down at the Bridge, he looked at the windows and balconies of apartments. He was walking along, watching Greek women on chairs in front of their houses' doors knitting and girls chatting and smiling on the sides of streets. His steps were very slow. Everyone was passing by him; first a woman, and shortly after her, a man. They turned the corner of the street. He removed his gaze from the windows and balconies of the apartment buildings. He also made it to the corner of the street, walking a little more rapidly. The man held the woman by her arm a bit ahead of the street corner. The woman shrugged him off and freed her arm. The man started to calmly tell her something. They started to walk together. They moved towards the Bridge. The man was continuously talking about something. The woman was listening, but not speaking. When the narrator made it near them, the man became quiet, however, now the woman was speaking: "it's all over now, don't beat the air." The narrator passed them. He was resisting the urge to turn his head to look at them. On the other hand, he wondered what had happened and what they were talking about. He walked on, watching the clouds for a moment. He forgot about the woman and man, and then he stopped and looked back. The man was walking alone. The woman was gone.⁷³⁶

A narrator who walks with slow steps and carefully watches the crowd is a very common theme in almost all short stories examined. To recall

⁷³⁵ Ibid.

⁷³⁶ Ibid., pp. 56, 57.

the *flâneur's* tortoise-like steps mentioned in the second chapter, the narrator of this story also analysed the crowd of the Bridge, walking in such tortoise's steps. Some people were walking slowly and others speedily, preferring one or the other side. Many of them, especially worker girls, wore their most beautiful clothes for crossing the Bridge. The *flâneur* analysed this crowd of the Bridge as the chronicler of the city and plucked the story out from the lives of a couple among this crowd.

He continued following the couple, but while following them, got distracted and plunged into watching the clouds again. When he looked at them once more, the man was alone. While he was puffing his cigarette, the man approached him and asked for a light. The narrator observed his face while he was trying to light his cigarette. His gaze drifted downward. He noticed his pants were not ironed. After he lighted his cigarette, he thanked the narrator and walked away.⁷³⁷

There were other people also crossing the Bridge. The hour had gotten late. Small ferries were passing under the Bridge. Whistles of factories started to blow in unison. The owners of the two sidewalks would soon appear. Worker girls, indecisive, were continuously switching the side they walked on. Other workers were carrying nylon bags which were full of food which they had bought by working all day long. State officials were carrying packages under their arms. They were walking exhaustedly with their faded hats on their heads. There were naval cadets off duty again. The sidewalk on the left side belonged only to them.⁷³⁸

The narrator started to walk again when a naval cadet came by him. He was walking rapidly and whispering a song. The Parallel Bridge, Unka-

⁷³⁷ Ibid., p. 57.

⁷³⁸ Ibid. p. 57.

pani, appeared from afar to be a different world. Tramways, automobiles, and people were shuttling about it like toys. There were boats, barges and motorboats on the sea. Voices and outcries could be heard from all quarters.⁷³⁹

Two boys passed him. One of them asked the other whether he had seen the girl – he had. People poured onto the Bridge to pass from one side of it to the other as if a district was invading another. People were smiling and speaking loudly with each other. Everyone was happy with their life. A gust of wind which was unique only to the Bridge ruffled the hairs of people on the Bridge. Clouds blocked out the sun. It would be fully dark soon. Everywhere would fall silent and desolate. No one would be left on the Bridge apart from the unemployed, loiterers, and lovers.⁷⁴⁰

In this short story, the Bridge is treated from the narrator's perspective. Even though he does not mention himself, the mood of the narrator is felt in each line of the story. The narrator, who wandered on the Bridge, is a lonely man. He lives in a poor part of Istanbul beyond the Bridge. This man wants to see happy people. He mentions the tiredness and poverty of petty state officials and workers. Despite their tiredness and poverty, he describes them as happy people. The narrator himself is different from them; he is more educated. However, he is an unemployed man and lives in the poor part of Istanbul. He wanders on the Bridge in tortoise's steps and observes the little people of Istanbul on it. Lastly, I want to say that in this story by Oktay Akbal, the Bridge is stressed as a door and border between two Istanbuls, the site of loitering and relaxation for people getting off work, and a workplace for peddlers.

⁷³⁹ Ibid., 57, 58.

⁷⁴⁰ Ibid., p. 58.

Another story involving the Bridge is *Üç Gün ve Bir Cinayet* (Three Days and A Murder) by Sabahattin Kudret Aksal which is one of his earliest stories. Although a murder and three days are mentioned in the title, what was meant by these cannot be understood. Most likely, it was intended to be one of the long stories of the author to be published in parts. However, its other parts could not be published. The first person singular narrator of the story is also the main character of the story. The other character is a girl. In the published part of the story, which I will examine, the coming of spring and its effect on the Bridge is told.

When spring arrived to the city, it felt like summer already on the Bridge, for the narrator. He stood on the Bridge, contemplating the struggle between people and the Bridge, even though people were unaware of this struggle. The Bridge, baked under the Sun, belonged to people and to life. The city moved and breathed on the Bridge, whether distressed or cheerful, hopeful or hopeless, hungry or satiated. People stood up on the rails of the Bridge, looked out at the sea, longing for something or someone. Contrasted to its upper side, its underside was very cool. Chill or heat, the smokes of ferryboats, and empty barges at the opposite side were not important. What was important was people on and under the Bridge.⁷⁴¹

For the narrator, the Bridge was the moving and breathing part of the city. While the city was breathing, naturally its residents were also breathing. The Bridge was also the centre of the struggle between people and the city. Only the loiterer author who lived as an ordinary man among ordinary people could observe this struggle of which people were unaware. The one character of the story was the narrator, who

⁷⁴¹ Sabahattin Kudret Aksal. *Gazoz Ağacı ve Diğer Öyküler*, 15th ed., Istanbul: Yapı Kredi, 2013. pp. 289, 294.

was wandering on the Bridge, longing for someone or something. In the story, the Bridge was a passageway. However, as distinct from Derrida's door or passage, it was not a passage linking Eastern and Western Istanbul to each other. Rather, it was the concentration point of the city. The Bridge was a space where people going from work to home came together and face to face with each other. Istanbul was a working city; that is, it was a city where the majority of people were living on their own labour. The Bridge was the centre of this working city. In both stories, the Bridge was treated as a space on which working people gathered. The narrators were living among these working people, but were different from them. Since they were different from them, they could observe them realistically and they could detect the story hidden in the ordinary lives of these little people. However, their realist representation was photographic. For Kracauer, who I mentioned in the second chapter, the photographed slide of life passes through the lens of the photographer. The photographer's mood and individual choices influences the structure of the photograph. The realist representation of the life on the Bridge was filtered through the psychological mood of the narrator. It was filtered through the melancholic mood of the city's intellectual loiterers.

6. 2. A Place Like in the Movies

As mentioned above, the Bridge was the centre of working Istanbul and a place of wandering and loitering for workers. In *Mavnalar* (Seagoing Barges), Sait Faik tells the story of two workers. The narrator begins the short story with the image of two men looking at Üsküdar from atop the Bridge. For them, Üsküdar was a place which could be viewed from a distance, but could not be reached. One of them says to his friend that

his aunt lived in Üsküdar and that one day, they might visit her, as the other agreed⁷⁴²

They then started to watch a motorboat, without speaking. Its rear end was loaded with wheat and barley, covered by linoleum. The worker thought that it probably presented a soft landing and wanted to jump down on it. He confessed his desire to his friend. His friend responded: “just like in the movies, isn’t it?” He did not reply, but smiled!⁷⁴³

It was a winter night in the month of Ramadan. They turned their heads from Üsküdar to the Istanbul side and watched the mosques and their lights. One of them declared how beautiful the lights of the mosques were! His friend agreed that they were truly so!⁷⁴⁴

At weekends, one of them would travel to Galata while the other would go to Şehzadebaşı. Seldomly, they would go to the Bridge and watch the night. They would observe the lights of Üsküdar, motorboats, and ferries. On such nights, they felt that they were good friends.⁷⁴⁵

The worker repeated to his friend each time they visited the bridge that he felt like jumping on the motorboat passing below and his friend would repeat the line “just like in the movies, isn’t it?” After their visits to the Bridge, they either went home to sleep or to a cinema in Yüksek-kaldırım. They would watch the film from the front row seats. They did not care about the content of the film; every film pleased them. They did not speak when they came home. One of them envisioned himself kissing his partner in Galata like the man in the film. The other one did the same, but imagined himself in Şehzadebaşı.⁷⁴⁶

⁷⁴² Sait Faik. *Sarmış*, Istanbul: Sertel Matbaası, 1939. p. 37.

⁷⁴³ Ibid., pp. 37, 38.

⁷⁴⁴ Ibid., p. 38.

⁷⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁷⁴⁶ Ibid.

One day, one of them was dismissed from his job because of an altercation with a wharfinger. The wharfinger called him son of a donkey, to which he answered with a punch. His friend told him he shouldn't have done that. These words of his friend offended him. He went hungry for three days, however, he did not appeal for his friend's help. After three days, he found a job at the Paşabahçe glass factory. He was to stay at the barracks of the factory from then on. They kissed each other and parted. At their last evening, they went to the Bridge again. He looked at the motorboat passing underneath the Bridge, but that night, he did not feel like jumping on it.⁷⁴⁷

In this short story, the characteristic of the Bridge as a door between three traditional settlement zones of Istanbul is stressed explicitly. The protagonists of the story resided in a bachelor room near the Historical Peninsula. Üsküdar was a seldomly-visited place for them; they went to Beyoğlu to watch movies in cinemas of Yüksekaldırım. Besides, one of them had a girlfriend in Galata. They came to the Bridge to watch three different Istanbuls and motorboats passing underneath the Bridge. Watching the Bosphorus and the lights of the city made them forget their tiredness caused by work and allowed them to relax. They digressed from the discipline of daily life on the Bridge in night hours. The Bridge was the site of loitering for them, as well as a border. They sometimes went to the cinema in Yüksekaldırım or one of them visited his girlfriend in one of the poor quarters of Galata. However, neither of them ventured beyond Yüksekaldırım. They did not go to the expensive cafés and cinemas of Beyoğlu. They wandered only in Yüksekaldırım or on the Bridge.

⁷⁴⁷ Ibid., pp. 39, 40.

In the story, the characters expressed a desire to jump on the motorboats passing underneath the Bridge, as in movies. In fact, many other Istanbulitans also shared this fantasy. Director Lütü Akad says that while he was a child, he watched these scenes in movies with admiration. He used such a scene in one of his first movies, *Kanun Namına* (In the Name of the Law).⁷⁴⁸

In the above mentioned stories by Oktay Akbal and Sabahattin Kudret Aksal, the Bridge was treated as transition and loitering places of working people. In Sait Faik's *Mavnalar*, the story of concrete worker characters is told. As touched upon in the previous chapter, the difference of Sait Faik from social realist authors like Orhan Kemal was that Sait Faik did not narrate the worker in their site of production, because he believed he was not familiar with this world. Instead, he narrated them in their loitering spaces such as the Bridge. As workers who spend most of their active hours at the workplace, they had limited leisure time activities. These were to watch Istanbul and the motorboats on the Bridge, to go to the cinema in Yüksekaldırım and to meet with their girlfriends in Şehzadebaşı or Galata. In short, their loitering and relaxation place almost entirely consisted of Beyoğlu. And their different loitering activities were in interaction with each other. While they were at the cinema, they thought of the Bridge during movie scenes. While they were on the Bridge, they thought of the movie scenes. The Bridge was a place like in the movies for them.

6. 3. Men Who Could Not Hold Onto the City on the Bridge

Satılık Dünya (The World for Sale), tells the story of a petty state official named Emin who decides to steal for the first time in his life. However,

⁷⁴⁸ Lütü Ö. Akad. *Işıklı Karanlık Arasında*, 2nd ed., Istanbul: İletişim, 2018. p. 128.

he had previously thought about stealing three times. First, he had considered stealing while he was marrying. Second, he thought about stealing while his wife was dying. Third, he considered stealing while his child was dying.

He felt the most powerful urge to steal when his child was dying. Toward evening on that day, he abruptly threw himself onto the street. The street was crowded and lively. He wandered in the streets and threw himself into a coffeehouse. The coffeehouse was in his quarter and the regulars of the coffeehouse knew him. "Emin Effendi, come, let's play fitil" (a card game), called out some men. While Emin Effendi was playing fitil, he swore like a madman. His behaviour pleased his friends. They colluded with each other in the game to defeat Emin. Emin knew this, but continued to play. When he eventually lost the game, he refused to pay the bill. His friends paid in place of him. This had turned into a game among them. On the one hand, he desired to steal; on the other hand, he turned a blind eye to his friends so they could go on cheating.

Shortly after his child died, he thought to steal again. However, while he was wandering around the Bridge, he thought that there was no reason left to steal. After a year, his aunt died. She was his only relative and they were living together. They had a home with two rooms in Tophane. After she died, he rented out one of the rooms. He came to his room only to sleep at nights. His marriage, child, and everything else seemed to him a dream. He had married and had had a child. But where were his child and his wife now? In his latest attempt, he succeeded in stealing. He stole a bag full of money and got caught. He was sent to forensic medicine for evaluation since he was thought to be mentally unstable. "I wanted to buy the world with this money" he only said to the doctor of

forensic medicine. The last time the narrator saw this man, he was sitting in the corner of a coffeehouse in a miserable condition.

Emin was different from the characters of *Mavnalar*. While two workers are described in *Mavnalar*, a petty state official is narrated in this story. Both the mood and the economic conditions of Emin were worse than the workers in *Mavnalar*. At this time, the protagonist wandering on the Bridge was a man who had lost his wife and child. He wanted to steal something with which to buy the world, however, even if he had bought the world, no one was around him to share it with. He was wandering on the Bridge as if he had lost consciousness.

As a man living in Tophane, he did not venture beyond the Bridge even though Beyoğlu presented a very suitable target for theft with all its exuberance. The Bridge was underlined as a border in this story, too. The protagonist of this story was a petty official dreaming of marriage and having a child, just like the protagonists of Pushkin and Gogol. He at first succeeded in marrying a woman and having a child, but ultimately, he lost both. His act of theft can be evaluated as a revolt against the society at the same time. In the same way Evgeny revolted against the Bronze Horseman in a moment of delirium, he stole a bag full of money despite not knowing what he would do with it. He did not want to be defeated at the gambling table anymore. He wanted to defeat other people.

I want to underline the position of the first-person singular narrator, as well. He revealed himself at the end of the story as a protagonist. He himself was also a *flâneur* who wandered around poor coffeehouses of Istanbul among little people and sought stories of mad people under miserable conditions at the edges of coffeehouses.

Çöpçü Ahmet (Garbage man Ahmet) was a short story of a worker who failed to become accustomed to the city and had to return to his village.

Ahmet was a villager who worked at the Bridge as a garbage collector for a while. When he started to work, the head of the garbagemen told him “do not loiter (*dalga geçme*) while you are working!” Ahmet did not know the meaning of loitering at the time. He supposed that the headman said “do not lean out of the rails of the Bridge, you might fall down to the sea, and the waves (*dalgalar*) might carry you off.” The narrator made a word play here; the word *dalga* had two different meaning in Turkish.⁷⁴⁹

Ahmet cleaned the road of apples, pieces of paper, phlegm, and all sorts of residue left on the Bridge for a while. He sometimes thought of collecting the unsmoked cigarette butts. He felt like taking them, but he did not smoke. Sometimes he looked at people smoking cigarettes when the Bridge was nearly clear toward evenings. On one of these occasions, a bunch who looked like they were gentlemen offered him a cigarette: “my hometown buddy, shall I give you; do you smoke?” He thanked them, took the cigarette, but did not smoke. He did not look at them, since he felt like smoking. He looked at everyone curiously. He looked at steamboats to learn where their whistles were and when they sounded. Sometimes he looked at women in miniskirts curiously and wondered whether their legs got cold. One time, he looked at a young boy and wondered why he did not have a buskin.⁷⁵⁰

He was happiest when no one bothered him. In such moments, he leaned on his broom and watched the crowd like a shepherd watching his flock. He watched the crowd, the sea, ferries, rowboats, Üsküdar, and people curiously. In those moments, he did not think about if he

⁷⁴⁹ Sait Faik. *Bütün Eserleri 2: Şahmerdan*, 7th ed. Istanbul: Bilgi, 1987. pp. 58.

⁷⁵⁰ Ibid., pp. 58, 59.

would go hungry if the headman fired him. He fantasized while watching the surrounding.⁷⁵¹

One day, while he was leaning on his broom and watching around; their chief kicked at his broom and asked why he was loitering. That's when he understood what loitering meant. He laughed it off. Another day, the bridge was very filthy. After his work was finished, he left his broom in his hut in Tophane and was on his way to the coffeehouse when he fainted on the road. When he recovered, a crowd had gathered around him. An old woman was saying things like "oh dear!" and "what a pity!" He wanted to sleep and felt very exhausted, but suddenly, his exhaustion faded away and he got up. The crowd cleared the road for him. He decided to return to his village on that night. This dirty job was not for him.⁷⁵²

Ahmet had come to the city recently. He did not have any profession. For this reason, he had to do a "dirty job"; garbage collecting. However, he would do this dirty job in a very beautiful place, the Bridge. Every day, multitudes of different people were crossing the Bridge. While he was collecting garbage on the Bridge, he could watch these people.

Ahmet was different from Emin Effendi in *Satılık Dünya*. Emin Effendi felt himself defeated before life and the city. Ahmet, on the other hand loved the city and life on the Bridge even though he had come there from his village recently. He had the curiosity of a *flâneur* regarding everything which he saw on the Bridge. However, Ahmet also felt defeated by the end of the story. His body would not endure the hard work which he performed on the Bridge. However, even if he felt de-

⁷⁵¹ Ibid., p. 59.

⁷⁵² Ibid., p. 60, 61.

feated by the city, he still loved life. He would decide to return to his village; as distinct from Emin Effendi, he had a village to return to.

In both stories, protagonists who could not succeed in holding onto the city are narrated. In the first story, the protagonist had no place to return to and went mad. In the second one, the protagonist decided to return to his village. The first-person singular narrator revealed his identity at the end of the first story. He was a wanderer in the city who observed the marginal lives of people at the edges of coffeehouses. In the second story, the narrator does not reveal himself. However, in the story, a character who did not arouse anyone's attention in the city is narrated. A new kind of narrator who looks at the city and its poor people with a different eye is at stake.

The marginalized intellectual of the 1940s looks at marginal people of the city with a different eye from the Early Republican Period's literary figures. In these two stories, characters are narrated with a photographic approach that stems from their emphatical attitudes towards their characters. The feeling of empathy was a product of the narrator's belief that he was himself marginalized, just like his characters. He also could not hold onto the city, just like his characters. Hence, he wandered in the city and took photographs of people with marginal lives.

6. 4. Disabled Men on the Bridge

Ahmet the garbageman could not endure the dirty job on the Bridge. Another story character who could not endure the hard work on the Bridge was the protagonist of *Kestaneci Dostum* (My Friend the Chestnut Vendor). His name was also Ahmet. The protagonist of *Kestaneci Dostum* was also a character who could not hold on to life in the city.

He had just learned that he was 24 years old. He had not yet looked in a mirror. Rather, he observed his reflection in the showcase of a tobacco

shop, since he did not own a mirror. He could not believe what he saw, because his friends were little children distributing newspapers, beggars, and little porters. After his mother died, his grandmother apprenticed him to Salim Usta, the owner of a coffeehouse in the quarter. When he became an apprentice, he was 11 years old. He had not grown up. He still looked like a child when perhaps, he had reached military age.⁷⁵³

Ahmet neither gained weight nor grew taller since he was 11 years old. Only his beard had become darker a bit. As a result, Ahmet went to perform military service when he was 21 years old. When he returned at the age of 24, he found the coffeehouse was closed. A grocery was opened in place of it. Old Salim Aga had died. He was totally lost in Istanbul. He had not eaten anything. He went to the Bridge toward evening. There were red clouds in the sky. Minarets of mosques could be seen. And there was a black cloud behind the brilliant dome of Süleymaniye. People were seized by the evening rush.⁷⁵⁴

As soon as the young man in *Kestaneci Dostum* learned that Salim Aga had died and he had now become homeless, he went to the Galata Bridge. It was evening. While he was wandering, he saw a dowdy man like himself who was carrying loads across the Bridge. When he saw this man, he decided to do this job. He worked for 7 months on the Bridge. He was eating little, but carrying heavy loads. Sometimes his temperature would climb higher than 36.5 degrees; however, he did not realise it. One day, his body could not tolerate the temperature anymore and he fainted. People assumed that he was drunk and he was sent to

⁷⁵³ Sait Faik. *Mahalle Kahvesi*, Istanbul: Varlık, 1954. p. 95.

⁷⁵⁴ Ibid., p. 96.

police station. The commissar realised he was ill and he was hospitalized.⁷⁵⁵

While he was leaving the hospital, he had 15 liras in his pocket. The nurses gave him a further 7 liras. They told him that he was a very good kid and that he should start a business. Another woman told him how cute a child he was; she wondered whether he was 18. One of the women said that he was 24 according to his identity card. He was thinking about what he could do with these 22 liras. While he was wandering, he saw a chestnut vendor. He was holding tongs in his hand. He filled chestnuts into paper bags. He was shouting, announcing his hot, grilled chestnuts. He started to sell chestnuts the next day. While he was selling chestnuts, sometimes he remembered Salim Usta.

The narrator also recognized Ahmet. He had sometimes been to Salim Aga's coffeehouse. Ahmet's stall was at the edge of a nightclub. The narrator showed this place to Ahmet. Sometimes, while he was going out from the nightclub, he would take a handful of chestnuts from Ahmet. Ahmet did not ask for money. One night, he wanted to give money to Ahmet anyway, however, Ahmet ran up to him and gave back the money. Another night, some rumblings coming from the street were heard in the nightclub.

Officers were shutting down Ahmet's stall because pedlar's trade was forbidden there. Ahmet was having a break down. He screamed and took down the stall. He handed over the grill to a child who was trying to collect the chestnuts. He gave those to the child as well. He was screaming, saying that he did not want anything anymore. Months later, while the narrator was working as a crime reporter in one of the newspapers, he saw Ahmet. His hands were cuffed. The narrator pretended

⁷⁵⁵ Ibid., p. 97.

not to notice him to avoid shaming him. However, Ahmet called out to him in a pert voice. He asked for a cigarette and for money from the narrator. The narrator did not want to ask why he was arrested. However, he said without any embarrassment that he was arrested for selling drugs.⁷⁵⁶

This story became one of the well known stories of Sait Faik since the author was interrogated because of this story. He narrated how an unlucky boy who had not hurt anyone ended up as a drug dealer. This story aroused the police's attention and its content was seen as leftist. The protagonist of the story was an outcast who did not have a family. He took refuge at the Bridge as many outcasts did and worked as a porter. However, his weak body could not bear the weight of this job. He found a new job suitable for himself with the help of nurses. However, he could not do this job either because it turned out to be against the law. All these conditions forced him to become a criminal. In this story, the Galata Bridge was both a home and a workplace where the protagonist, a homeless young man, could work as a porter.

Although it was seen as leftist by the police, nothing was told in *Kestaneci Dostum* except the story of Ahmet. Sait Faik narrated an innocent young man and how he turned into a criminal. In this one too, the feeling of empathy is the dominant attitude shaping the story, as in many other of his stories. The narrator neither belittled nor magnified the protagonist. Rather, he only told the turning points in Ahmet's life and how he became a drug dealer.

His feeling of empathy enabled a photographic realist approach in this story, as well. The story is a realist story, but its realism stems from the empathy of the narrator rather than his socialist or leftist agenda. In the

⁷⁵⁶ Ibid., pp. 97-100.

story, how an innocent young boy is pushed to the margins of the society is told. This story is narrated by an author who was pushed to the margins of the literary and political elite. The narrator is a *flâneur* in this story; he wanders in the city and takes snapshots of lives on the margins of the city and society.

The protagonist of the story was a disabled boy. His body was not developing. This was an important factor in shaping his life. He was able to remain an apprentice for Salim Usta for a long time since he did not look his age. Since he looked pretty, Salim Usta and the regulars of his coffeehouse loved him. Till he was 24 years old, he avoided homelessness. However, he could not continue portering because of the weakness of his body. At that point, his developmental problem became a disadvantage for him. Later, he managed to find a job suitable for his physical conditions as a chestnut vendor. But the interference of the constabularies turned everything upside down for Ahmet. In the end, he became a drug dealer.

In my opinion, his nervous breakdown was also because of his physical disability. Till he became a soldier, he had been treated like a child. When he saw the “real world” of people as an adult, he lost his innocence.

The next story is from the volume *Son Kuşlar* (Last Birds), which is one of Sait Faik’s last books: *Gün Ola Harman Ola* (Tomorrow is A Brand New Day). Earlier, I mentioned Sait Faik’s love for people who earn their living through their own manual labour. *Gün Ola Harman Ola* is a classic Sait Faik story in this sense. Its protagonist is a man who went blind because of the difficulty of his occupation. The narrator begins *Gün Ola Harman Ola* with a question: “Have you ever loved a man whom you have not met until two minutes earlier because of his name and occupation?” Until two minutes prior, he did not even know that

such a person existed in Istanbul. However, now he wanted to hold the hands of Mercan Usta who lived in Bakırköy and whose eyes did not see. Even though the narrator was ill in his liver, he wanted to drink with Master Mercan at a seashore pub. If anyone were to ask him with whom he would want to be together with in that hour, he would have said that he wanted to be with Mercan.⁷⁵⁷

Why does the narrator love this man because of his name? His name is Mercan. Mercan is the Turkish word for the sea animal known as coral. This animal reminds the narrator of the seas and of Burgazada where he lives. He loves the islands of Istanbul about which he wrote many stories very much. He wanted to hold his hands with which he earned his living. He was engaged both in shoe shining and colouring shoe shining boxes like they were corals. Perhaps he had lost his sight because of the fine craftsmanship necessary for operating the shoeshine box.

The narrator wanted to drink two glasses of raki and engage in an afternoon chat with Mercan Usta. He wanted to see the saws and drills, and especially the hands of Mercan Usta. Probably he was a tough man as many other men who had faith in their art were. However, he immediately softened up after talking a bit. Mercan Usta was probably fond of fishes and sea food and hauled in some toward evening.⁷⁵⁸

The narrator continues to tell of Mercan Usta. He loved very much and always sang an old canto: *Yanağında Bir Beni Mutlaka Olsun*. Either Mercan Usta or his madam was Armenian. However, whether he was of Armenian or Tunisian origin was not important. For the narrator, he was one of the Turkish people of Istanbul.⁷⁵⁹ There are many poor mi-

⁷⁵⁷ Sait Faik. *Son Kuşlar*; Istanbul: Varlık, 1952. p. 39.

⁷⁵⁸ Ibid., p. 40.

⁷⁵⁹ Ibid.

nority characters of Istanbul, who earn their livings by their handicrafts in Sait Faik's stories. Master Mercan was one of them.

Mercan Usta's own shoeshine box, which was inlaid with bone, was 20 years old. When his eyes went blind, he quit the shoeshine work. He was working under the staircases of the Galata Bridge. He was born poor and would die poor. The narrator was advertising Mercan Usta, even though he did not need advertisement. For the narrator, if you watched Master Mercan operate the shoeshine box and it didn't make you want to drink a little raki with the master, you should not be living in Istanbul.⁷⁶⁰

In this story, the protagonist Mercan Usta lost his sight because of the fine craftsmanship necessary for shoe shining boxes. The narrator's feelings toward this protagonist are beyond the feeling of empathy seen in *Kestaneci Dostum*. He admired Mercan Usta because of two reasons: He loved Mercan Usta like he loves every man who earns his living by his handicraft. More importantly, he admired Mercan Usta's art on the shoeshine box.

Even though the narrator's feelings towards his protagonist were beyond empathy, the feeling of empathy dominated this story, too. The narrator loved Mercan Usta because of his art. He himself was also an artist. His art of writing was also underappreciated just as Mercan Usta's art was. His feelings for Mercan Usta were not only empathy, but admiration; he valued manual labour more than intellectual labour, as we will see some of his other stories.

Mercan Usta was also disabled like Ahmet in *Kestaneci Dostum*. However, his disability was rather different from Ahmet's. Mercan Usta went blind as a result of doing his job skilfully. He was among the majority of

⁷⁶⁰ Ibid., p. 41.

society who earned their living by their own manual labour and professional skill. However, the same professional skill made him blind. On the other hand, Ahmet could not acquire a professional skill. He became a drug dealer and was pushed to the margins of society. One of the most important causes of his exclusion was his disability.

The Bridge was a workplace for both Ahmet and Mercan Usta. However, for Ahmet, it was not only a workplace but also a shelter. After Ahmet learned of his master's death, he took shelter in the Bridge like many homeless persons of Istanbul. For Mercan Usta, it was only a workplace. Mercan Usta was working under the Bridge like many other people living by their own labour.

Another story by Sait Faik which features the Bridge as a workplace is *Uzun Ömer* (Tall Ömer), whose main character is Tall Ömer. But, contrary to Mercan Usta, Tall Ömer was disabled from birth. This story appears in the book *Tüneldeki Çocuk*, (The Child in the Tunnel) which was published after Sait Faik died. *Uzun Ömer* is the story of a man who sold lottery tickets on the Galata Bridge. He was at least one meter taller than the tallest, half a meter wider than the widest, and 150 kilos heavier than the heaviest person. However, he was not worse than the worst person. He was not more unthankful than the most unthankful person. He was not more intelligent than the most intelligent person. He was five times better and five times more modest than the best and the most modest person.⁷⁶¹ In short, the narrator tells the story of a man of moderate means in this short story as well. He is different from other members of society in his physical appearance. However, he is a good and modest person like Mercan Usta. I want to draw attention to the fact that the narrator used the term "intelligence" pejoratively, along with

⁷⁶¹ Sait Faik. *Tüneldeki Çocuk*, Istanbul: Varlık, 1955. p. 105.

worseness and unthankfulness. Being an intelligent person meant for him the ability to manipulate and use other people for one's own purposes. The narrator does not like such people. Perhaps, he sympathised with the disabled Tall Ömer since he challenged people's perception of body perfection by presenting his disabled body.

The narrator continues to describe Tall Ömer: "Think about a man, who needs 8 meters of fabric to make a dress. The shoes for this man could only be made in exchange for 150 liras." The narrator then starts to talk about the Galata Bridge. He wondered whether there was any other place resembling the Galata Bridge in the rest of the world. Was there any place such as the Bridge, for example, in China? This bridge was home to barbers, shoe shiners, sellers of nuts, water and bagels, cheap restaurants, and night clubs. It was an open-air hotel for homeless people. It was a poetic and unique thing. Sait Faik did not use common descriptions for the Bridge such as by referring to the flow of colours and humans. However, he delved into the details of this flow. In *Kestaneci Dostum*, I mentioned that the protagonist took shelter in the Bridge as soon as he found himself to be homeless. And in this story, the narrator explicitly said that the Bridge was an open-air hotel for homeless people. It was the home of hawkers and small retailers, too.

Tall Ömer was selling lottery tickets under the Bridge in a small shop. His surname was Özkan. However, he was known by his cognomen rather than surname: Tall Ömer. This young man was recognised by almost all Istanbulites. Every provincial person came to the Bridge to see him after getting off the train at Haydarpaşa. They watched Ömer on the Bridge. The little children watched him for hours, as well. The children were right to be astonished. This man was two, three, or four times big-

ger than their fathers and elder brothers. However, when watched for an extended period of time, he was saddening.⁷⁶²

After the narrator described the Bridge as a breathing space for residents of the city who came there to wander idly and loiter, he continued to tell of Tall Ömer. He earned his living selling lottery tickets in his small shop; that is, he was also a little man like Mercan Usta. However, Mercan Usta had aroused only the narrator's attention. Tall Ömer aroused everyone's attention. He was one of the main elements which made the Bridge interesting to provincial and urban loiterers. He himself was not happy with this interest.

Tall Ömer was a real character. Characters of many short stories in *Tüneldeki Çocuk* were real people. While Sait Faik was working as a journalist, he conducted interviews for the *Yedigün* journal. However, these interviews were actually stories rather than newspaper interviews. They were no different than many of Sait Faik's other stories.

Apparently, the narrator asked Ömer some questions as a journalist. One of these was regarding how much an item of clothing for him cost. Ömer replied "don't even go there." Tailors would not sew any piece of clothing for him for less than 500 liras. "What about shoes?" he then asked. No shoemaker would make a shoe for him for less than 150 liras. Furthermore, his shoes would wear off in three months. How many meters of cloth were necessary for his clothes, the narrator then asked. He replied that at least 8 meters were needed. How much did he weigh, the narrator then asked. He said 170 kilos.⁷⁶³

He asked Ömer whether he ate a lot. He said that it might be a lot for the narrator; however, it was not much for a man of his bulk. In fact, he ate

⁷⁶² Ibid., pp. 105, 106.

⁷⁶³ Ibid., p. 107.

a three-course meal and a 100-gram loaf of bread in one go. This was not too much for a man of his bulk. The narrator asked how tall he was. He replied that he was 2.25 m. He had stopped growing taller since three years prior. If he continued to get taller, it would be harmful to his health. The narrator asked how old he was. He was born in 1337 (1921) and was from the Abbaslı village of Bilecik. Some of his relatives had also grown abnormally like him. What did he like most, the narrator asked. He said he had never thought of that before. What could he like as a villager? What made him angry, the narrator asked. He looked at the face of the narrator. His eyes were so companionable, childlike, sweet, and humanly that the narrator felt a revolt stir in himself against nature's play on this man. Friendship, trust, and sadness could be seen in his eyes. He got angry at children who would watch him for hours, but injustice infuriated him the most. The narrator asked whether he was subjected to any injustice. He replied: "Is there anyone who has never seen injustice in the world?"⁷⁶⁴

Ömer had problems with his physical appearance. He was bothered when he was watched by people and especially children. However, he was most annoyed by injustices, as were all ordinary people. He had a sense of justice which appeared in a world dominated by inequalities. He was not against all inequality. However, there was a limit. When this border was crossed, he was angered. Otherwise, he accepted that he was a peasant and did not have "advanced pleasures as a villager." He was against only deep injustices.

The narrator continues to describe the physical characteristics of Ömer. Ömer had a deep voice. There were three naevuses on his forehead and face. His nose, brows, and mouth were three times bigger than a normal

⁷⁶⁴ Ibid., pp. 107, 108.

person's. His moustache was newly growing. There were many men which were very tall in his village, including his grandfather, but his father was only around 1.65 m. The narrator also wanted to ask him about women. Women were scared of him. He wanted to marry a simple woman. Some women were mocking him, teasing him with questions like "Ömer Effendi, when will you marry me?" He said for them that even if they really did want to marry with him, he would not marry them.⁷⁶⁵

Ömer had a simple life as do many ordinary people. When it got dark, he closed his lottery ticket outlet. He climbed up the stairs of the Bridge, dreaming. He looked at people 60 to 70 cm. shorter than him in the tram with eyes full of disappointment. He went to his home in Beşiktaş. His wooden bedstead was broken because it could not support his weight. He was sleeping on cushions.⁷⁶⁶ In short, Tall Ömer was no difference from any other ordinary man in Istanbul except for his height. However, his height was influencing all of his life.

The protagonist of this story is also similar to *Kestaneci Dostum's* protagonist in certain ways. His disability shapes his life, just like Ahmet in *Kestaneci Dostum*. Ömer had a job. He was an ordinary person in all respects. If he wasn't disabled, he could marry a woman and start a family. Moreover, children and women were sometimes mocking him. These two things were very sorrowing. The narrator chose Tall Ömer for his story (or interview) because of his disability. Even though he was an ordinary person in all ways, his disability made him different

⁷⁶⁵ Ibid., pp. 109, 110.

⁷⁶⁶ Ibid., pp. 110, 111.

from other people. Sait Faik focused on little people in his stories; however, he embraced them with all of their different sides.⁷⁶⁷

⁷⁶⁷ Sait Faik has another story that is very similar to *Uzun Ömer in Tüneldeki Çocuk: Diş ve Diş Ağrısı Bilmeyen Adam* (The Man Who Does Not Know Teeth and Toothaches). The setting of this story is also Beyoğlu, but not the Bridge. It is set in a coffeehouse in Beyoğlu. The short story is about a man who does not have teeth. According to the narrator, everyone who loved drinking beer and spent time in beer houses in the evenings definitely recognised this protagonist in Beyoğlu. He had a black moustache, brilliant eyes, and a long chin. He spoke speedily and could not pronounce certain syllables. He was probably the sweetest and kindest man in the world.

The story space is a small coffeehouse at the end of the Anatolian Passage, which is on the İstiklal Avenue. In this coffeehouse, coffee beans were grinded by hand. It had three or four coffee fiend regulars. A typewriter was on one of the tables in this coffeehouse. He was the man without teeth and the sweetest as well as the kindest person in the world. Some people are blind or deaf-mute from birth. Some people are born missing limbs. This man was without teeth from birth. In fact, everyone is born without teeth, but this man never grew teeth. His name was Ferit Yazgan. His surname was coherent with his occupation, considering he was a typist.

People blind or deaf-mute from birth were seen as disabled. But how could being without teeth be seen as a disability... Being without teeth might even be seen even as a good thing. For example, Ferit would not have toothaches and spend time on dental chairs. He would not wake up from his sleep with toothaches at night. He was born without teeth and would die without teeth. He could not eat plums when he was child. He was grating cucumbers and crushing nuts before he ate them. He could not taste the blessings of the world the way everyone else did. However, he tasted everything a bit. When the narrator asked him which foods he liked, he replied: "Soft ones, naturally".

Teeth were not a word in Ferit Bey's book. He was a very docile man. He did not have too many interests. If he loved a man, he spoke with him delightfully. The narrator loved him. He probably also loved the narrator, because he spoke with the narrator delightfully. He was 49. He had not suffered from stomach aches for most of his life, however, he started to get them that year because he could no longer digest foods very well.

The narrator asked him whether he liked food such as rice pudding. He did not even like them. He loved water and liquid foods. He was born in Sultanahmet in 1899. He graduated secondary school in Sultanahmet. After he graduated, he did not perform his military service. He repeatedly postponed it. He got married and had two children. His children had teeth. No other member of his family was without teeth. He was examined in different hospitals and faculties of dentistry. His nerves in his jaw were very sensitive. No dentist was successful in putting prosthodontics in his mouth. They even

I examined three stories the protagonists of which are disabled men on or under the Bridge: *Kestaneci Dostum*, *Gün Ola Harman Ola*, and *Uzun Ömer*. All three stories focused on little men. In the first story, the disability of the protagonist pushed him to the margin of society. In the sec-

took a radiogram of his mouth and sent it to Paris. A prosthodontic implement was sent from him from Paris, but it did not fit his mouth.

He was a moderate man. He earned his living with elbow grease throughout his life. He ate less than everyone. He worked as a recorder in Beyoğlu at first. And then he started to work in a court in Sultanahmet. He was a very nice man after he drank two or three beers. (Sait Faik. *Tüneldeki Çocuk*, Istanbul: Varlık, 1955, pp. 71-76)

The protagonist of this story was also an ordinary man. His lifestyle was no different from the majority of people in society. However, one physical problem distinguished him from the rest of the society, like Tall Ömer. He was born without teeth and could not have prosthodontics installed in his mouth because of a physical deformity in his palate. He was born in a low income family and was a low income man. He was earning his living as a typist. Even his surname was Yazgan, which means a person who loves writing in Turkish. His family life and pleasures were also ordinary. In short, he was a little man which could be seen everywhere. The only extraordinariness in his life except his lack of teeth was his continuous postponement of his military duty.

He had many problems in his life. First of all, he had financial difficulties his entire life. Besides, he had health problems. His lack of teeth led to stomach problems. Despite everything, he was able to hold onto life with his few pleasures. He drank coffee at the coffeehouse in the Anatolian Passage and chatted with the owner of the coffeehouse and other regulars of the coffeehouse. Or he drank a few beers with his friends after work. These were enough to make him happy. He enjoyed life despite all the problems. As mentioned in the previous chapter, the concept of *joie de vivre* was one of the central themes in Sait Faik's stories. Many of his stories told of little men who held onto life despite all problems. This story was also one of them.

In terms of the position of the narrator within the story, there was in fact no difference between being a correspondent and a story writer for him. He was wandering in the city sometimes as a newspaper correspondent and sometimes as a story writer. While he was wandering as a story writer, he was watching or observing people and while he was wandering as a correspondent, he was doing the same. He was doing what he could do best. He was observing ordinary and little men of the city and narrating them.

Lastly, I want to discuss the story space. It was a small coffeehouse in one of Beyoğlu's passages. His customers knew each other. Most of them were poor and men of modest means. The narrator of the story was a penniless intellectual wandering among penniless people of the city.

ond story, the narrator was an ordinary man; his occupation made him blind. In the third story, too, the narrator was an ordinary man; however, his disability made him different from ordinary people. In all three stories, the Bridge was the workplace of the protagonists. However, for Ahmet in *Kestaneci Dostum*, the Bridge was not only a workplace but also a shelter.

6. 5. The Beyoğlu of Poor People: Yüksekaldırım and its Musicality

Up to here, I focused on stories set in the Bridge. Next, I will examine stories set in Yüksekaldırım. Yüksekaldırım was similar to the Bridge in many aspects. First of all, it was mainly preferred by poor people, just like the Bridge. Second, it served as the door of Beyoğlu located between the Bridge and Istanbul beyond the Bridge and the centre of Beyoğlu around the Avenue and Bridge and Istanbul beyond the Bridge. Like every door, it was both a border and a transit point. It was the Beyoğlu of poor people who did not usually go beyond the Yüksekaldırım to the Avenue. That is, it was a transit area separating Beyoğlu from the rest of Istanbul.

The first story about Yüksekaldırım which I will examine is *Yüksek Kaldırım* by Sait Faik. This is the story of Yüksekaldırım itself rather than of a specific character. The short story begins with the following sentences: “Beyoğlu became desolate on Sundays during summer months. Only three or four tired men slowly pass through Beyoğlu. Three or four children go into the cinemas. Two madams dressed in

black clothes go out from the church. A few retired men doze off behind coffeehouses' showcases. There is no one else in Beyoğlu."⁷⁶⁸

In summers, people in Istanbul rushed to the beaches and forests. However, Yüksek Kaldırım became crowded on Sundays in summertime too. It was usually visited by soldiers longing for their villages, apprentices, dough kneader men, cooks from Anatolia, penniless people who could not go to the beaches, and those who did not like beaches or forests. In Yüksek Kaldırım, songs were listened to freely. Lemonade cost not 75 liras, but 7.5. Cherry flavoured ice cream, which cost half a banknote in Beyoğlu, was only 10 kurushes in Yüksek Kaldırım.⁷⁶⁹

Melodies of songs by Münir Nurettin, Tino Rossi, Safiye Ayla, and Bing Crosby were all heard there. With each step, the melody would change and a different song would be heard. It was even possible to hear melodies by Hafız Burhan. After a short walk, a coffeehouse was seen on the Slope. On a white fabric in front of this coffeehouse, there were pictures of an eskimo, a kayak, and a seal. There was an announcement, full of grammatical mistakes. It advertised the exhibition of a half human half monster creature. The alleged creature was 2 meters tall and weighed 190 kg. It had three tails, two hands, and three fingers on two of its hands. The exhibition fee was 10 kurushes.⁷⁷⁰

There was a pool in the middle of the coffeehouse whose corners were covered by mosquito nettings. The voice of a seal was heard. Its owner was Haydar Efendi. He bought the seal from fishermen who had caught it in Karabiga. It had probably lost its way. He called the seal Marika at first; and later, Mercan. He converted it to Islam, in his own words. He fed it fish. A fortune teller who used animals to tell fortunes sat by the

⁷⁶⁸ Sait Faik. *Havuz Başı*, Istanbul: Varlık, 1952. p. 40.

⁷⁶⁹ Ibid.

⁷⁷⁰ Ibid., p. 41.

door of this coffeehouse. The narrator pulled a piece of paper out of the mouth of a rabbit. He saw his fortune. He would lose in matters of love, but would win some amount of money soon.⁷⁷¹

He walked some more and arrived in front of a man performing fire breathing. There were many different kinds of people arrayed in front of him: soldiers, civilians, children, boys, women, men, and elders. They were from Beypazar, Eskişehir, Adana, Erzurum, Manavgat, Hayrabolu, and Mudurnu. He passed by and went to where there was a man who let people shoot a target for a fee. He had a banner hanging there with words of wisdom written across such as “Citizen! Your most important duty is marksmanship” or “Women and men, learn the art of marksmanship!” When he passed by this man, he arrived in front of a billiards place. He passed by and came across a whore.⁷⁷² The story ends here without treating any specific character.

As mentioned in the third chapter, Beyoğlu would empty out in summers in the second half of the 19th century. This remained the case into the 1940s, too. Yüksekaldırım was the exception, which remained crowded and lively in summers as well as winters. It was like the second centre of Beyoğlu, suitable for ordinary people and people of modest means. Besides, it was the border of Beyoğlu beyond which poor people ventured seldomly because it was expensive.

At this juncture, I want to dwell on the narrator’s position as well. As distinct from many other ones, in this story, the narrator withdrew his own ego presented a panorama of a quarter, like a kaleidoscope. His story is like a monography of Yüksekaldırım,⁷⁷³ which portrays it in

⁷⁷¹ Ibid., p. 41-43.

⁷⁷² Ibid., pp. 43-45.

⁷⁷³ There are some other stories by Sait Faik written on other quarters or districts of Beyoğlu which might be evaluated as monographies. In his story *Dolapdere*, he tells of Dolap-

dere, one of the ghettos of Beyoğlu. He begins the short story by saying that Istanbul's districts had very good names. Dolapdere (Wardrobe Creek) was one of these. It could be accessed from every street of Beyoğlu. The author reached it from Elmadağı Street, whose name (Apple Mountain) was also very nice and poetic.

Elmadağ was a very steep slope. Beyond this slope lied Dolapdere where poor people lived in huts made of wood, stones, and cardboard. There were naked children running around in this ghetto. Residents of this quarter spoke in a different accent. They were Gypsies. Dolapdere was like a fairground. Sounds of timbals, zurnas, and violins were continuously heard there. There were very beautiful girls in this quarter. On the other hand, it seemed to him that centuries of mud had accumulated in this quarter. Its bad smell nauseated people who were not accustomed to it. A strong odour of ammonia was felt near the edges of the walls.

There was a factory close to Dolapdere. Many young males worked in this factory. Around the factory, there were miserable houses and unpaved streets. The streets smelled like ammonia and excrement. Next to Dolapdere was Yenışehir. The church of Vangelistra on the right side stood like a Medieval chateau. Young Christian girls of this quarter usually worked in Beyoğlu. They worked as cheap as dirt at tailors, barbers, night-clubs, garderobes, patisseries, bars, seamstresses, furriers, and cinemas. Stonemasons, painters, apprentices of jewellers, machinists, button makers, carpenters, locksmiths, and their apprentices were people of this quarter. There were penitent pickpockets, heroin patients who had recently come out of the hospital, fortune tellers, old fire brigades, new handsome rough men, shoplifters, extortionists, gigolos, mothers selling their daughters, and husbands selling their wives.

In evenings, amorous whispers in Greek could be heard at the darker edges of this quarter. When it rained, this quarter flooded. In summer nights, while breezes were blowing in other quarters, Dolapdere and Yenışehir were hot and airless. Their coffeehouses and taprooms were big and beautiful. But its bazaar smelled like grilled sheep intestines, fried mussels, clams, radishes, parsleys, fried livers, wines, grilled fishes, and raki. (Sait Faik. *Bütün Eserleri 7: Alemdağ'da Var Bir Yılan*, 2nd ed., Istanbul: Bilgi, 1976. pp. 94-96.)

No event was narrated in the story. It can be viewed as a monography for Dolapdere and Yenışehir and resembles Sait Faik's above mentioned story *Yüksekkaldırım* which I examined as a monography for Yüksekaldırım. When we read the story, we can clearly see that the narrator knew Dolapdere and Yenışehir very well. As mentioned above, Alexandra whom Sait Faik fell in love with platonically lived in Dolapdere. When they quarrelled with each other, he went to Dolapdere and wandered around Alexandra's house. Even the residents of the quarter mocked him. He knew Dolapdere well for this reason.

almost all its aspects. In this “monography”, we explicitly see that every kind of entertainment for poor people was available there such as fortune telling, shooting at a target, watching sirens, etc. Prostitution was also available there; however, prostitution and drinking alcohol were not the only forms of entertainment, in contrast to some of the side streets of Beyoğlu. Hence, every sort of person could be found there.

The narrator as an intellectual treated Yüksekaldırım like a conscious kaleidoscope. Since he was also like the people loitering in Yüksekaldırım, he could narrate their lives in Yüksekaldırım in all their detail. However, he was different from them in his observatory abilities and intellectual knowledge. This was a parasitic knowledge empowering his ability to observe poor people, such as those in Yüksekaldırım. Young literary intellectuals in the 1940s were excluded from the state apparatus and they, at least in the case of Sait Faik, did not have the knowledge of the state, in contrast to intellectuals of previous generations. Their ability to observe little men of the city did not enable them to move up the social ladder. They were no longer of the state elite.

In another story by Sait Faik, *Bacakları Olsaydı* (If He Had Legs), the narrator begins the story by stating that he loved Yüksekaldırım very much. The majority of people also loved it there. It had a humble fame

Muddy streets were brought up in this story too, as was the case in Tarlabası stories. However, the muddy streets of Dolapdere and Yenışehir were different from streets of other poor quarters. They were the poorest quarters of Beyoğlu. It seemed to the narrator that their mud had accumulated for centuries. Since these were quarters where Gypsies lived, municipal services were probably not brought there. They were areas of hardship, some of whose residents engaged in illegal activities because of poverty.

I described loiterature in the second chapter like a journey over short distances. Everyone knew that Beyoğlu had quarters like Dolapdere and Yenışehir in Beyoğlu. However, no one visited them except their residents. Sait Faik described these quarters in their all detail like a monography. Thus, “the parasitic realities” of these areas of hardship were revealed to the middle class reader of literature.

among other fashionable districts of Istanbul such as Nişantaşı, Maçka, Adalar, and Moda. The names of the streets were also very beautiful in Yüksekalkaldırım. For example, Alageyik (fallow deer) street was one of these. An aura of humanity emanated from Alageyik to the whole of Yüksekalkaldırım. In evenings, the song “*Bir İhtimal Daha Var*” (There is Another Possibility) was sung by the owner of the coffeehouse at the entrance of the street and a woman, Aysel, in apartment number 6. Those who travelled down Yüksekalkaldırım met happiness. At the top end of Yüksekalkaldırım, you were attracted by the song “*Şimdi yâr olmayı istersin ama*” (Yet You Would Wish to Be a Lover Now). In this district, you heard different songs every two or three steps. The narrator loved the showcases of bookstores in Yüksekalkaldırım very much, many of which were run by old Levantine men.⁷⁷⁴ In this story, too, the narrator underlined the importance of music in the social and cultural life of Yüksekalkaldırım. Bookstores, which will also be mentioned in some other stories, had a significant place there, too.

The narrator continues his story after this descriptive introduction. A man sat down in the middle of the slope. He took off his artificial leg and put it on his back. He was in fact a stalwart man. He had wide shoulders, a black moustache, and a wide breast. It seemed to the narrator that he had lost his leg because of a woman. He must have had lost his lover along with his leg, as well. He looked like a sad “Chaplin.” He was slowly swaying while sitting. Two children were looking at his artificial leg.⁷⁷⁵ The man was smiling to passers-by. Some passers-by were giving him money and he was pocketing the money without looking. He caught the eyes of the narrator for a second. He smiled at the narrator, as well. The

⁷⁷⁴ Sait Faik. *Bütün Eserleri 2: Lüzumsuz Adam*, 7th ed., Istanbul: Bilgi, 1987. pp. 159, 160.

⁷⁷⁵ Ibid., p.160.

narrator stepped aside and started to watch him. First, a woman passed in front of him. He looked at her legs. And then, he looked at a man's legs, as well. The narrator noticed that he looked at the legs of each passer-by. If he had legs, he could do whatever he wanted.⁷⁷⁶

A shoe shiner was sitting 10 meters ahead of the crippled man. The narrator thought to ask him about the beggar, but refrained. If he had asked the shoe shiner, he could learn from him that this crippled beggar earned 10 to 15 liras per day. That is, he made good money. He did not let other beggars enter the area. He sat there till midday. In the afternoon he took a rest at his home. He was married to a beautiful Jewish woman. He was very jealous of his wife and gave no respite to the woman. Around 19:00 to 20:00, they ate dinner. The beggar opened a bottle of raki. If it was not too late, they went to the cinema. When he was going to the cinema with his wife, he used a different artificial leg. This artificial leg was so comfortable that those who saw the beggar with this leg did not even recognize his disability.⁷⁷⁷

This story was like a supplement to the first story. In the first story, the narrator described Yüksekaldırım like a sociologist, writing a monography about a quarter. In the second story, he continued to describe Yüksekaldırım and its crowd; and then chose a person from among this crowd and narrated him.

Why did the narrator choose this man to write about? When discussing the stories set in the Galata Bridge, I claimed that the narrator focused especially on the people who were physically or psychologically different from the rest of people. In this story, too, he focused on a disabled man.

⁷⁷⁶ Ibid., pp. 160, 161.

⁷⁷⁷ Ibid., pp. 162.

In this story, the narrator focused on his own narration process, as well. At first, he chose a disabled man to narrate from among the crowd. He inconspicuously observed this man from among the crowd. As he watched him, he felt compassion for him because of his disability. Then, when he was putting his observations down on paper, he thought that he probably made enough money begging in that crowded place and that he was probably married. On the other hand, he also misguided the reader. He could have asked the shoeshine man about the real life story of this man, but didn't. Perhaps he actually did ask him but he wanted to convey to the reader that there was more than one possible narration of him.

In this story too, the intellectual narrator wanders among the poor people of Yüksekaldırım as one of them. First, he describes the crowd of Yüksekaldırım and how music shapes the spirit of this quarter. Then, he chooses a man from among this crowd and narrates him.

6. 6. A Sorrowful Young Man at a Crossroad on Yüksekaldırım

Yüksekkaldırım also appears in Sabahattin Kudret Aksal's *Büyükannenin Ölümü* (The Death of My Grandmother). The main character of the story is the narrator. His grandmother had been hospitalized three days prior, and he couldn't manage to visit her during those three days. In fact, he had not been busy and could have seen her whenever he wanted. However, he did not go to visit his grandmother. For the narrator, people who had regular jobs were free outside of working hours. They did what they wanted to do in their free time more easily than loiterers. They went to wherever they wanted. On the other hand, this was not the case for loiterers; at any moment, something worth seeing might come about for them. It seemed to them that if such things were not

experienced immediately, life would have no meaning. These things varied from a woman to a ferry or from a light to a shade. Even the fight of two street children might be worth seeing for idlers.⁷⁷⁸

One morning, he finally decided to go to the hospital. He went up from Yüksekaldırım at 11:00. He passed through poor streets which were full of Greek and Jewish homes. Colourful clothes were hung out to dry on the windows and balconies. He walked, watching the insides of these homes from open balcony doors and windows. There were folding beds, dusky-coloured consoles and dingy sofas with bed bugs in almost every room. Young girls woke up at 7:30 in this quarter. They had light breakfasts and sat in front of mirrors. As they hummed songs, they put on makeup and went to work. They generally worked as salesclerks. In this quarter, women who covered their heads with muslin dusted and wiped the windows almost every day. While dusting and wiping the windows, they were talking with each other from window to window. Their bodies were ungainly and their faces were torvoused. Windows were adorned with dusty curtains made of thick fabrics. Some women were bargaining with sellers who sold vegetables or yoghurt in front of their doors. In fact, there were few people in their homes in this quarter during these hours since many of its residents were salesclerks in hosiery, drapers, or tailors and workers at shoemakers. Only middle aged housewives remained at home.⁷⁷⁹

The narrator was unhappy on that day, but he did not know why he was unhappy. While he was walking among these homes, he was dreaming that a girl would spring out from one of those homes. They would appear familiar to each other without knowing where they had met be-

⁷⁷⁸ Sabahattin Kudret Aksal. *Gazoz Ağacı ve Diğer Öyküler*, 15th ed., Istanbul: YKY, 2013. p. 42.

⁷⁷⁹ Ibid., pp. 42, 43.

fore. They would get on a bus and go to a remote edge of the city. Or maybe none of these things would happen. Instead, the girl would invite him to her home and offer him liquor.⁷⁸⁰

Actually, he did not like these homes which did not receive sunlight and were full of dark coloured housewares. These homes looked strange to him. However, something had happened to him that day. Every person or thing which he saw was attracted him.⁷⁸¹

He went into the hospital. Caregivers, with their collars unbuttoned, were boredly running around. Even though he had not been to this hospital before, he found the way easily. He went up to the room where his grandmother was staying. She was operated on her eyes which were now bandaged. Some relatives were staying with her. The hospital room seemed to him like a hotel room. They behaved as if they were in a hotel in a foreign city.⁷⁸²

His grandmother had pneumonia, likely due to old age and lying on her back excessively. The atmosphere of death penetrated into the room, but no one was aware. They were very calm, or tried to seem as such. But it seemed to the narrator that his grandmother was becoming detached from life with each wheezy breath.⁷⁸³

He went out from the hospital. He had not seen a dying person before and had always avoided this scene. He went up to Beyoğlu, walking slowly from Yüksekaldırım. The time was 6:00 p.m. He must have stayed in the hospital for a long time. Although it was summer, the Avenue was crowded. Previously mentioned sales clerk girls filled the Avenue. It was obvious from everything that the daytime was very hot. Cin-

⁷⁸⁰ Ibid., p. 43.

⁷⁸¹ Ibid., p. 44.

⁷⁸² Ibid.

⁷⁸³ Ibid.

ema banners were very faded and dusty. People in coffeehouses were tired and exhausted. However, the wind started to blow gently.⁷⁸⁴

He sat in a café from where all the Avenue and its crowd could be easily seen. He ordered a coffee. He thought that his grandmother had led a rather good life. However, she lived her last years in a wooden house in an average quarter of Istanbul. Whenever he thought of Istanbul's wooden houses, he remembered his childhood and fell into a feeling of melancholy.⁷⁸⁵

When he looked at the Avenue from a seat in an avenue-front café, he always perceived the world and people to be beautiful. Today he was wondering about the life and the occupation of the person which was sitting at the next table. He tried to reach some conclusions about that person. Shortly after, he thought that he was mistaken in his intuitions. Later, he tried to form some opinions again. He had been to this coffeehouse before, with his friends. When was here with his friends, he did not think about such things. He lost track of time in such times and had spent beautiful times in this coffeehouse. However, he felt bad today because of loneliness and boredom. The hospital room, fussy voices in front of the hospital room, and his family members with their strained eyes were in his mind.⁷⁸⁶ At first, when he watched the man, he tried to act like a writer of "psychology." However, after a short time, he renounced the claim that he could ascertain the life and occupation of an ordinary man. He was not a writer of "psychology", but a young man loitering in the Avenue, grieving for his family.

He went out from the café and started to walk on the Avenue. He thought of a black haired and coloured eyed girl he had fallen in love

⁷⁸⁴ Ibid., pp. 44, 45.

⁷⁸⁵ Ibid., p. 45.

⁷⁸⁶ Ibid.

with. After two days, on 25th of June 1943, he would see her again. Maybe they would go somewhere on that day. She had always wanted to go to the island. He hoped that day would be sunny and the sea would be calm. They would sit in a coffeehouse of Heybeliada or Burgazada. There would be white cheese, tomatoes, cucumbers, cigarettes, and beer. They would hear wishes from afar in the midday heat. They would have a nice chat.⁷⁸⁷

The streets got rather dark. He found himself in front of his house. He was tired and knocked on the door with bated breath. His aunt-in-law opened the door. As soon as the door was opened, he saw the bed which was prepared for the dead. His grandmother would be brought to the house with an automobile and placed on that bed.⁷⁸⁸

The narrator said in the story that he did not like the narrow streets and low-ceilinged homes of Yüksekaldırım. But that day, the phenomenon of death penetrated into his life more than ever before. His grandmother was about to die. This experience changed the narrator's representation of the space. The narrator was a tired and exhausted young man. He alleged different pretexts for his tiredness and exhaustion. However, the confusion and the fear caused by his encounter with death for the first time dominated the story. After he visited his grandmother in the hospital, he fell into nostalgia for his childhood days. The wooden house of his grandmother precipitated his memory. His mind did not restrict itself to his childhood; memories followed one another, and he also remembered his black-haired ex-girlfriend. When his grandmother died, he would lose one of the liveliest memories of his childhood. He would in fact lose his childhood forever.

⁷⁸⁷ Ibid., pp. 45, 46.

⁷⁸⁸ Ibid., p. 46.

At the beginning of the story, he characterized himself as a loiterer. He was a young, unemployed bachelor. He was the son of a middle class family; they had probably become impoverished over the years. He said that his grandmother had lived under better conditions for most of her life, except her last three years when she lived a more modest life. The narrator as a young boy from a middle class family was at a crossroads. His memories from his childhood, like his grandmother, would disappear one by one. He would either choose the loitering life and become a *flâneur* whose occupation was loitering or start to work and marry. If he chose the loitering life, he would narrate the poor people of Yüksek-kaldırım as a man coming from a middle class origin.

In Sait Faik's two stories, Yüksek-kaldırım's poor visitors were the main subjects. In this story, its residents were. In daytimes, only middle aged housewives would remain in this quarter. Men and young women of the quarter went to work. After they left work, they wandered in the Avenue, in contrast to the poor visitors of Yüksek-kaldırım. Visitors of Yüksek-kaldırım were poor residents of Istanbul. The residents of Yüksek-kaldırım were the poor people of Beyoğlu. Hence, they did not refrain from going to the centre of Beyoğlu. A panorama of Yüksek-kaldırım is presented in three stories. It was a poor but lively quarter of Beyoğlu and the centre of Beyoğlu for the poor people and provincial residents of Istanbul.

6. 7. A 'Childlike' Experience: Travelling Underground

Yüksek-kaldırım was a transit area linking the Bridge and Galata to the centre of Beyoğlu. It was a slope consisting of an acclivitous street and side streets opening onto it. The Tunnel metro was constructed to shorten this route and it was to remain the single metro line in Turkey till the 1980s. It would provide a different transportation experience for

both the residents and visitors of Istanbul. Hence, it would become known for its characteristic of being a loitering area rather than its function, which was reflected in stories.

Sait Faik was among those who discussed the character of the Tunnel metro as a different transportation experience rather than through its function. In *Tüneldeki Çocuk* (The Child in the Tunnel) by Sait Faik, the main character of the story was a child. The narrator had to live in one of Istanbul's districts. After 9 pm, lights were out in this district and it became very silent. No one was seen on the streets. There were two generators which were run by a Greek entrepreneur in the district that provided it with electricity. When he could not agree on the price with the municipality, he shut off the generators and abandoned the streets of the district to darkness. Since dwellers of the district loved only their wives, they locked themselves in their homes in the evenings. It seemed to the narrator that they were thinking about tricks of tomorrow, smoking at window sides.⁷⁸⁹

Children however, sometimes lighted torches, wandered by the seashore and collected crabs. Homes close to the seashore were enlivened a bit by this. There was a woman who studied in college and could speak English and French in the town. She said that even darkness was too much for those people. Among "those people", were Greek fishermen with bushy moustaches, bare-footed skinny children, Kurdish porters, 90 years old Greek women, mailmen and apprentices of grocers. The narrator did not discuss this matter with the well-educated woman since she was the close friend of the qaimaqam.⁷⁹⁰

⁷⁸⁹ Sait Faik. *Tüneldeki Çocuk*, Istanbul: Varlık, 1955. p. 3.

⁷⁹⁰ Ibid., p. 4.

The short story focused on a child who the narrator saw in the Tunnel on a day he went down to Istanbul. He got on the Tunnel metro from the Beyoğlu entrance. He was in the second-class car. At one edge, there were three soldiers. On the other side, an old woman and her bride were seated. A group of Armenians were sitting behind them. They were talking about how they could get to the ferry on time. The other two passengers of the metro were the narrator and the child.⁷⁹¹

Since the child did not have shoes, he tried to hide his feet beneath the seat where he sat. His mouth was open and his hands were dirty. However, his fingernails were extremely white. Perhaps they appeared to the narrator to be extremely white because his skin colour was dark. His clothes were old and torn. His nose was curved. His mouth, which was watery, opened with astonishment. His eyes were big and brown. They were very innocent. His hair was dishevelled. There were cigarette ashes on his clothes.⁷⁹²

When the doors of the metro closed, he raised his head and looked at the narrator who stood next to him. When the narrator noticed that the child was looking at him, he turned his head away. In fact, he was watching the child. After the child dropped down his head, he continued to watch the child. He was smiling sincerely and licking his lips. The narrator recognised that this 12 years old child was on the metro for the first time. The joy of the child was very beautiful. He tried to hide his joy. He recognised again that the narrator watched him. He felt uneasy. When the metro neared the exit, his excitement increased. The mingling of darkness with the light at the end of tunnel excited him. While his smile increasingly widened, he suddenly turned his head. This time he

⁷⁹¹ Ibid., pp. 4,5.

⁷⁹² Ibid., p. 5.

caught the narrator watching him. His smile faded. The doors opened. While he was leaving the Tunnel, the narrator caught up with him. He was watching the crowd with astonishment. His mouth was slightly open. He walked with pleasure in Beyoğlu. Even the wide and torn trotters of his pants seemed happy. His black legs mingled with the crowd. It was evident in all aspects that he lived in Edirnekapı in a tin house. He was pleased to be on the Tunnel metro for the first time. That night, a mother in Edirnekapı would listen to the story of how her child had gotten on the metro for the first time. The child would say that he could not enjoy the metro enough because a big-eyed man was staring at him.⁷⁹³

The big-eyed man lived in a district of Istanbul he was bored of. He came to Beyoğlu to relax and enjoy himself. He saw a poor, dark, and weak child who probably got on the metro for the first time and narrated him. The first-person singular narrator was Sait Faik himself. He wanted to reveal this, openly stating that the narrator of the story was a big-eyed man wandering in Beyoğlu who lived in a district of Istanbul. People who did not have the time to go up the Yüksekaldırım slope used the Tunnel metro in the interest of saving time. However, the metro was used not only by those who wanted to save time but also those who wanted to experience the different atmosphere of the first and only metro of Turkey. It enabled the passenger to travel underground, which could not be experienced anywhere else in Turkey. According to the representation of the narrator, the passengers of the metro could be separated into two groups. As an example to the first, a group of Armenian people got on the metro to catch the ferry. After they got off the metro, they probably got on the tram and went to the Eminönü or the

⁷⁹³ Ibid., pp. 6-8.

Beşiktaş pier. As an example to the second, the old woman and her bride got on the metro for a change of scenery. They were not trying to get somewhere on time. The narrator and the child were also among those who got on the metro for pleasure. The narrator came to Beyoğlu to loiter and probably got on the metro to observe different types of people. The child would get on the metro for the first time to experience a unique thing such as travelling underground. The author represented both the feelings and physical characteristic of the child in a very detailed way and presented the feelings and physical characteristic of the child to the reader. He served the parasitic knowledge of a poor child and his experience of getting on the metro to the reading public. He even described the fingernails of the child.

Even though he did not say it openly, the author probably lived on Burgaz island. This was one of the islands of Istanbul where Sait Faik lived with his mother. Besides, it was a cosmopolitan small community. Even though he intentionally mentioned Burgazada positively in many other stories, he represented it as a boring and suffocating place in this story. On the other hand, he saw in Beyoğlu the innocence of a child who took the metro for the first time. There were still beautiful things to see in the city, in contrast with the boring island. *Tüneldeki Çocuk* was published after Sait Faik's death. In this book in which his stories written in the last period of his story writing was collected, there was a more pessimist Sait Faik who did not even mention the name of the place where he lived. However, even though he criticized the people in Burgazada, when the educated and rich woman mocked them, he was annoyed. He still loved them. He was a little man himself; a *flâneur* whose business was loitering in the boring town and Beyoğlu. When the rich woman mocked the little people of little town, he was annoyed, for this reason.

Another story by Sait Faik in which the Tunnel metro is mentioned is *Havuz Başı* (The Poolside). Its story space is Beyazıt Square. The narrator is a middle-aged man. He was sitting in a park bench in Beyazıt Park and waiting for a young girl who would pass through the park. If he could see her, he would get as excited as a 20-year old boy. However, everyone through the Park except the girl in question. His eyes filled with tears. He was trembling, not knowing if it was because of the cold, sadness or excitement.⁷⁹⁴

It was midday. The water of the pool was cloudy. There was no one on the park benches except the narrator. As the tram was passing, the narrator was questioning if there was anyone who fell in love with anyone else in this city. It seemed to him that no one love anyone. Meanwhile, a couple came and sat on the park bench next to the narrator's. The husband smiled at the narrator. He did not respond to the smile of the man at first. He was still waiting for the girl and wondering whether she was ill.⁷⁹⁵

He responded to the smile of the man after four or five seconds. The man stood up and came near the narrator. He asked what the name of a nearby mosque was. Since the narrator was still thinking about the girl, he could not remember the name of the mosque immediately. He wondered whether she might have taken a different path. He remembered the name of the mosque eventually and replied "Beyazıt Mosque". The man then asked which structure was the "Ali Sofya". He pointed towards the left with his hand. As the man was inquiring about the "Ali Sofya", his wife joined them. They did not understand where "Ali Sofya" was; however, they did not say anything. There were many great build-

⁷⁹⁴ Sait Faik. *Havuz Başı*, Istanbul: Varlık, 1952. p. 3.

⁷⁹⁵ Ibid., pp. 3, 4.

ings on the left side. Which one was Alisofya? They asked whether it was far away. “No, it is close by”, the narrator told them.⁷⁹⁶

The man was over 50 years old. His face was earth coloured and had unusual facial lines. He gestured toward his wife and said that he brought her from their villages to show her around in Istanbul. The woman was clothed in a black burqa. Her face was crumpled and white like rice pudding. The man had seen Istanbul a few times. However, the woman had never seen it before. They were from Lüleburgaz. They wanted to visit the mosques. The narrator recommended them to go to Taksim as well. They affirmed that they would go to Beyoğlu as well. They asked whether Beyoğlu was closer than Taksim and whether they should get on the tram. The narrator suggested that they do. They said that they wanted to go via the “Tonnel”. But the “Tonnel” was closed, said the narrator. They were dismayed.⁷⁹⁷

They had bought copper kitchenwares from the Grand Bazaar. They showed them to the narrator and had a chat with him. They wondered whether the pool of Beyazıt sprang from the underground. The narrator told them that the water of the pool came in by pipes. While the narrator was talking with them, he was relieved of his boredom.⁷⁹⁸

As seen, the story space was Beyazıt Square. The story was about a five pages long dialogue between the narrator and a provincial couple from Lüleburgaz. They had come to Istanbul for one day. They had visited the Grand Bazaar first and then had come to the Beyazıt Square.

The narrator’s position in the story was that of a lone man sitting in the Beyazıt Square. He waited for the girl whom he had fallen in love with

⁷⁹⁶ Ibid., pp. 4, 5.

⁷⁹⁷ Ibid., pp. 5, 6.

⁷⁹⁸ Ibid., pp. 6, 7.

platonically. Considering he could sit in Beyazıt Square in daytime, he probably did not have a job. He came upon a provincial couple in the Beyazıt Square, talked a little bit with them, and turned this conversation into a story. This conversation relieved him and made him forget his sorrow, as well.

In both this story and *Tüneldeki Çocuk*, he narrated people who took or wanted to take the Tunnel metro for enjoyment and to experience a different form of travel rather than people who took it to make it to work or home on time. The narrator whose only occupation was loitering chose characters for his stories from among loiterers who looked like himself. The narrator was a little man waiting for a young girl. He was no different than other people in Beyazıt Square except for his power of observation and putting his observations down on paper. Speaking with these people and writing about them was relaxing to him.

In *Tüneldeki Çocuk*, the character was an actual child. In the second story, while a provincial couple were narrated, they were wandering Istanbul with a childlike wonder, asking the narrator naïve questions about “*Alisofya*” and “*Tonel*”, and when they learned that the Tunnel metro was closed, they were disappointed in the manner of a child. The narrator felt relaxed after he spoke with them and he saw the childlike naivety of this couple. In the story, he said, no one loves anyone in this city. However, when he saw the naïve loyalty of this couple towards each other, he forgot his sorrows for a while. This couple had something which he did not have; they were a family and loved each other. But even though the narrator was a middle aged man, he had neither a job nor a family. No one loved him in this city. But these provincial man and woman loved each other.

6. 8. Lonely and melancholic men and women in Taksim

In *Havuz Başı*, the first-person singular narrator was sitting in Beyazıt Park. Istanbul's parks and squares are represented as the space of lonely and melancholic men in many stories, as in *Havuz Başı*. Beyoğlu's parks and Taksim square are also mentioned in stories with their lonely and melancholic men.

The Taksim Square and Gezi Park, which were collectively referred to as *İnönü Gezisi* in the 1940s, were places for breathing and loitering for people living in Beyoğlu and other quarters of Istanbul back then, just as in the present. Taksim and Tepebaşı Gardens which were older than *İnönü Gezisi* and Taksim Square also maintained their characteristic of being the loitering and breathing place since the late 19th century.

Taksim Square was a big, empty plot of land till the 18th century when in 1731, a cistern was constructed on it. Large cisterns, which were water distribution centres, were called *maksem* in Ottoman Turkish. The name Taksim was derived from this root word. At the end of the 18th century, under the reign of Selim III, a military barracks, *Topçu Kışlası*, was constructed on the land where Gezi Park stands today. In the lot where the Atatürk Culture Centre resided, there were stables for horses. The empty land across the barracks was the training place of soldiers. Later, this place was converted into a quarter called Talimhane. The Topçu Barracks was emptied vacated in the 1920s and 1930s and the area started to be used as a soccer field. In these years, the empty land across the stables and barracks started to be used as a parade field in national festivals. In 1928, a monument to the Republic was installed. The Topçu Barracks was demolished in 1940 and replaced by the newly constructed Gezi Park. This park had marble staircases, durable and elegant benches, and well-kept grass pitches. The Bosphorus could be

viewed comfortably from this park. These characteristics made the new park a centre of attraction.⁷⁹⁹

On the other side of Gezi, “Park No.2” was constructed which extended from Nişantaşı to Dolmabahçe. A small bridge was also built to link these two parks which remained in place till 2013 when it was demolished shortly before the Gezi Protests broke out. Thus, Tepebaşı Gardens and Taksim Gardens which were constructed in the 1870s became parts of Park No.2. However, this park did not survive for long. Hilton Hotel was built on the land of this park during the government of the Democrat Party. Istanbul’s then governor Fahrettin Kerim Gökay even resigned because his opposition to the construction of Hilton Hotel was ignored by the Democrat Party government. Thus, the connection of Park No.2 to Nişantaşı and Dolmabahçe was broken and it became a part of İnönü Gezisi.⁸⁰⁰

As I briefly mentioned in the third chapter when discussing the expansion of Beyoğlu toward the north in the second half of the nineteenth century that there were non-Muslim cemeteries between these new quarters and Beyoğlu. These cemeteries had gradually been moved in the second half of the nineteenth century. The last non-Muslim cemetery was moved in the 1940s and Gezi Park and Park No.2 were built to replace them. Thereby, Istanbul came to have a large square and park in its centre. These became the doors of Beyoğlu, separating it from quarters such as Harbiye and Kurtuluş. For people living in Kurtuluş, Harbiye, or Gümüşsuyu; Taksim Square and İnönü Gezisi were where these neighbourhoods ended and Beyoğlu began.

⁷⁹⁹ Kemal Tayfur. “Gezi Parkı’nın Geçmişi”, *Atlas*, <https://www.atlasdergisi.com/kesfet/kultur/gezi-parkinin-gecmisi.html> , date accessed: 14.05.2020, 21.07.2013.

⁸⁰⁰ Ibid.

In Oktay Akbal's story *Meydan* (The Square), set in Taksim Square, the narrator begins the story by describing the Square and narrating its impressions on him. For him, this square stuck on the centre of the city like a stain. At first blush, it made an impression that it was a hole which was hollowed out by a very big meteor. There was neither proportion nor likeness among buildings surrounding the square. Quite narrow shops and large stores stood side by side in this square. A grand apartment leaned against a mansion. There was a music hall a bit further. All of them were spread out across the square disconcertedly.⁸⁰¹

The square had been a site of regular fire damage before it was constructed as a square. At times, circuses and travelling theatres settled in the clearance. "One day a famous city planner thought that this place was the most suitable place to become a square in the city." A park was constructed to the edge of it and a monument was constructed at its centre, making it into a square.⁸⁰² As discussed in the third chapter, Beyoğlu witnessed many fires in the nineteenth century. Even though this land was not considerably built-up in this period, it is likely that some buildings might have been damaged by fire there. For example, Topçu Barracks was ruined to such an extent at the end of the 1930s that it was impossible to restore it. For this reason, too, the park was built on its land.⁸⁰³

After describing the Square, the narrator continued the story. He was sitting in a café and could see all of the square from his seat. The Square, which was without motion and life an hour prior, started to slowly liven

⁸⁰¹ Oktay Akbal. *Önce Ekmekler Bozuldu*, İstanbul: F-K, 1946. p. 59.

⁸⁰² Ibid.

⁸⁰³ Kemal Tayfur. Gezi Parkı'nın Geçmişi, *Atlas*, <https://www.atlasdergisi.com/kesfet/kultur/gezi-parkinin-gecmisi.html>, date accessed: 14.05.2020, 21.07.2013.

up. Automobiles and trams started to shuttle; the number of people on it increased. He was wondering why all the people were rushing about. He wondered whether they were running to get to a destination; probably not, he concluded.⁸⁰⁴

According to the narrator, people did not know what they were after and why they flurried about. Although they would deny it, all people resembled each other. For example, even the narrator, who could not get all these strange thoughts out of his mind, did not know why he sat in this broken chair of the coffeehouse and curiously watched the square. The narrator was also living randomly, as did each person, and was sacrificing himself for the sake of nothing.⁸⁰⁵

He skimmed through his eyes the different edges of the square again. Each person appeared a world of their own to be dwelled on carefully. However, rapidly shuttling tramways, happy laughs of some, and cries of the radio diverted his attention away.⁸⁰⁶

He turned his eyes to the gate of the park next to the square. There was a woman on the pavement in front of the gate and a man a bit further. The woman had an ordinary face which could be seen everywhere. She was continuously looking at the clock in the square and walking in circles. She must have been waiting for someone. The man who was standing a bit further unbuttoned his jacket and gave himself to the wind. He leaned against the rails and was shaking a chain in his hand. Both of them were waiting for someone.⁸⁰⁷

Minutes and hours went by. The narrator looked at the man and the woman again. They were still waiting in front of the park's gate. The

⁸⁰⁴ Oktay Akbal. *Önce Ekmekler Bozuldu*, Istanbul: F-K, 1946. pp. 59, 60.

⁸⁰⁵ Ibid., p. 60.

⁸⁰⁶ Ibid.

⁸⁰⁷ Ibid., pp. 60, 61.

man tried to appear calm. He was sometimes walking, sometimes trying to whistle, and sometimes throwing a glance at the clock. Suddenly, he summoned a paper boy and bought a newspaper. He glanced at the first page of the newspaper, then folded it up and put it in his pocket. Shortly after, he took it out again and started to shake it in his hand. He leaned against the rails and started to read the newspaper. He glanced down to the centrefold and looked at the advertising pages. Then, he rolled the newspaper into a ball and threw it into the wastebasket. He wrung his hands. He circled. For a moment, he glanced at the woman. She looked at the watch. She was not moving about as much as the man, but rather standing calmly. However, she suddenly stirred and took a few steps. She carefully looked at someone who was drawing near; but then she returned to her old spot.⁸⁰⁸

Time was flowing fast. The square was running like a factory. People gathered in front of cinemas and were watching the movie posters admiringly. The sun played hide and seek with the people. At last, it hid behind a black cloud. The man and the woman were still waiting. The narrator admired their patience. The man surely intended to meet with a woman. However, he was probably stood up. Perhaps he was waiting for another man. He took out his watch from his pocket in a flurried movement. The woman averted her eyes from the clock on the square. She first looked at the Avenue and then she turned to the man. The hopeless glances of two miserable people were attached to each other. Then, the woman walked toward the gate of the park. She hesitated a bit at first. And then she took a step past the gate and disappeared. The man followed her with his eyes. He also took a few steps toward the woman. But then, he stopped and returned. He retrieved his cigarette

⁸⁰⁸ Ibid., p. 61.

box from his pocket and took out a cigarette. He hesitated for a while and finally turned his head to the square. He took a good look at the people who passed through the square and the clock on the square. Lastly, he threw out the cigarette, walked rapidly to the gate, went into the park, and disappeared.⁸⁰⁹

The narrator was waiting curiously. He was wondering about both of them. He felt intimate with this man and woman. He was thinking about their lives and lifestyles. He reached some judgements in his mind, and then dropped all of them since he did not like any of them. They were no different from any other ordinary person who one might come across any other place. However, the narrator warmed up to this man and woman. They were his own people and his own protagonists. Time passed quickly. Many people frequented the park. The square started to get dark. He was tolerating the unendurable noise of the radio in the coffeehouse for the sake of this man and woman. Packed trams were continuously shuttling back and forth. A few drunkards appeared in the square and their cries started to be heard.⁸¹⁰

At last, two shadows appeared at the gate of the park. They were the narrator's man and woman. The woman had taken the man's arm and was smiling. They were speaking about something; who knew about what... He wished to be near them and hear their words. They walked toward the square with joyful steps. They passed through the square and started to walk on the Avenue. The narrator desired to run after them, but restrained himself. He left them alone. It had been getting

⁸⁰⁹ Ibid., pp. 61, 62.

⁸¹⁰ Ibid., p. 62, 63.

progressively darker. The square would soon belong to night idlers and drunkards.⁸¹¹

The square was a character in the story as much as the narrator himself, the man and the woman. In Oktay Akbal's *Köprü Üstü* I discussed above as well, the most important "character" of the story was the Bridge. The narrator told at length which sidewalk of the Bridge was used by whom and in which hours of the day the Bridge was visited by which people. In that story too, he tried to narrate a couple who he randomly saw on the Bridge. However, since his attention was diverted and the couple quarrelled with and left each other, he could not narrate them at length in that story. He told only of the impression the Bridge made on him. However, since this couple waited in the Square for a long time, he was able to observe and narrate them in this story.

In the story that focused on the Bridge too, the story time was set in the evening. The narrator stated that he knew the evenings and nights of the Bridge but had not seen its mornings before. In short, the narrator of these two stories was wandering in Beyoğlu at evenings and nights. He was probably sleeping till noon. He was an unemployed, educated, and penniless man. He was narrating people whom he randomly saw or the impressions of different places of Beyoğlu on him. He was the *flâneur* of Beyoğlu, living in a traditional quarter of Istanbul. For him, Beyoğlu was a different world which should be narrated.

Oktay Akbal underlines the identicalness of people in almost all stories including this story. In the modernist age, it is accepted that human beings do not have major differences from each other. As a modernist writer, he was aware of this fact. Moreover, as a writer, he knew that he was not different from the little people of whom he told. He was also

⁸¹¹ Ibid., p. 63.

penniless, unemployed, and in need of love like most of them. Perhaps for this reason, he stressed his similarity with other people. Like other young authors of his generation, he was excluded from the state elite and subjected to poverty. Hence, he narrated little people like himself. In this manner, he discovered his individuality, telling of “his own people.”

Lastly, I want to discuss how Taksim Square was represented in the story. The protagonists of the story, the man and the woman, came to Beyoğlu to meet their friends, only to end up wandering in Beyoğlu. Their shared beginning point of their Beyoğlu trips was the Square; that is, the Square represented a door and an entrance point in the story. It was also a meeting point. They intended to meet with their friends in the Square which was a meeting point in Istanbul throughout the twentieth century and still is in present day too. But the Square was not merely a meeting point but a loitering place too. In this story, the narrator came to the Square to sit in a café and to watch the Square and its crowd. That is, his purpose was to loiter in the Square itself rather than any other place. For the narrator, the Square was not a starting point for a Beyoğlu trip but the destination itself.

In Oktay Akbal’s story, the lonely narrator narrated a lonely woman and man in the Square who would meet each other at the end of the day. Its space was the Square. In *Parkların Sabahı, Akşamı, Gecesi* (Mornings, Evenings, and Nights of Parks) by Sait Faik, the space is Gülhane Park and Taksim Garden. In this story too, the narrator was a lonely man. The narrator states on the first page of the story that the mornings, middays, evenings, and nights of parks and national gardens are different from each other. He was wondering about the nights of Gülhane Park and was imagining that he would loiter there in the spirit of Şarlo (Charlie Chaplin) in Gülhane Park. He would love people madly, but also

be wary of them since he always suffered evil at their hands and was repulsed by them. He would sleep on a bench under the stars at summers and under the snows at winters.⁸¹²

As he would be sleeping in Gülhane Park at night under a eugenia tree, the night watcher would sound his whistle. He would wake up and see the starry night above. He would be unable to sleep again. He would want to hold a person's hand. He would imagine a mother. His grandfather would appear under a tree.⁸¹³

While the narrator was imagining a loiterer spending the night in Gülhane Park, he was in Taksim Garden. He was lying on a bench. The moon was out in the sky. The weather was very cool. There were two loiterers who were sitting on the next bench. They were talking. He listened in on their talks. One of them was telling his friend that his father was a driver and that he had come across him a day prior. He had taken his son into his car and asked whether he still hadn't abandoned vagabondage. His friend asked him how he answered his father. He had told his father that he had already abandoned vagabondage. His father had led him home. He could not sleep at night on the comfortable bed. He could only sleep on bare wood. He left home at dawn.⁸¹⁴

His friend asked him whether he was incapable of domestic life. He replied that he was indeed incapable. His friend had never known a comfortable house bed. He had never slept on a real bed before. "Were you born on the street?", he asked. His friend told him that it seemed so. They continued to talk. They mentioned one of their friends who died at a young age. The driver's son asked if he had died of heroin. His friend said that he had died of natural causes. They looked at the narrator sit-

⁸¹² Sait Faik. *Havuz Başı*, İstanbul: Varlık, 1952. p. 90.

⁸¹³ Ibid., p. 91.

⁸¹⁴ Ibid.

ting at the next bench. One of them asked whether he was sleeping. "So what?" the other replied. He said that if he was asleep, they would rummage through his pockets. If he was not asleep, they would ask him for cigarettes. The other one told him to let it go; if he was not penniless, he would not be there.⁸¹⁵

The nightwatchman of the park showed up and blew his whistle. He announced to all of them that sleeping in the park was forbidden. The narrator woke up and smoked a cigarette. He wandered in the park for a while. SnORES were still heard in some places. He then went to his house and slept some more and returned to the park early in the morning. The benches were full of sleepers. The nightwatchmen had probably grown tired of waking up the sleepers. But shortly after the narrator came, they all suddenly blew their whistles and woke up everyone.⁸¹⁶

The park would now belong to children and their nannies. Toddlers were playing with the dirt and pebbles. An old madam was reading a book. A little later, couples arrived. They gazed into each other's eyes on the pretext of watching the sea. In daytimes, the park was everyone's. However, it belonged to loiterers at night times. The short story ended with a dialog. The narrator called out to the watchmen and told them that they should not bother loiterers at night. Keeping an eye on them would be enough.⁸¹⁷

There were three characters in the story: The first-person singular narrator and two loiterers. One of the loiterers was very similar to the narrator. He also had a home, like the narrator; however, he preferred to live in parks and to sleep on park benches. They could imagine their mothers or grandfathers on a park bench or wanting to hold hands with

⁸¹⁵ Ibid., p. 93.

⁸¹⁶ Ibid.

⁸¹⁷ Ibid.

people; however, not marrying or starting a family. At the same time, they could not be the offspring their parents wanted to see. Hence, they were no different than the other boy who did not know his family. They were vagabonds or loiterers sleeping uneasily on park benches and loitering in Beyoğlu in daytimes and at nights. The narrator was the *flâneur* of Beyoğlu who at the same time made his life in Beyoğlu a part of his art.

The narrator was wondering about the nights at Gülhane Park. However, the night which he planned to spend in Gülhane Park would not have been any different from the night in Taksim Garden. He would again be woken up by nightwatchmen's whistles. He would not be able to sleep again after he was awakened. He would imagine his family and holding hands with someone again. In the story, we saw that the first person singular narrator of the story lived at walking distance from the Garden. This information matches up with the biography of Sait Faik. He did not always live with his mother in Burgazada. Sometimes he was living with his friends in Beyoğlu or he rented rooms or small homes in Beyoğlu, as we will see some of his other stories.

Taksim Garden was represented in the story as being occupied by vagabonds at nights and as an "insecure" place for ordinary people. For example, two young vagabonds next to the narrator thought of kidnapping him. Perhaps for this reason, the narrator did not want to the Garden to be without nightwatchmen; but, they in turn should only supervise the vagabonds, not wake them up or throw them out. In daytimes, the Garden was visited by every kind of person. In short, it was not as elite and "elegant" a place as in the times when it was built at the end of 19th century. This place, next to Beyoğlu and with a front facing the Bosphorus was opened to the people in the 1940s. If I may say so, it was not different from Gezi Park in the 2000s.

The story time was set at night. As mentioned in the previous chapter, Sait Faik usually came to Beyoğlu after midday and wandered in the many cafés, coffeehouses, cinemas, and taprooms. He did not stay more than fifteen minutes or half an hour in any single of them. So to say, he shuttled among many different places of Beyoğlu. After cinemas closed their doors and Beyoğlu got emptied, he probably went to the Square and parks. In those hours, the Square and parks around it belonged to the drunkards and vagabonds.

The narrator was a lonely man wandering in Beyoğlu at daytimes and nights. His entire occupation was to wander in the city's squares, parks, and streets like other loiterers. His specialty was his ability of writing. He could make his "occupation" a part of his art. In short, he was the *flâneur* of Istanbul. He was the artist who was "on the market" without a patron. He was under the patronage of neither the state nor the bourgeoisie. What he did was to narrate those sleeping in the parks of Istanbul. The intellectual's lack of a patron due to the political atmosphere of the 1940s changed the story writing, the subjects of the short story, its characters, and their representation. Nights of Istanbul's parks and their residents were becoming subjects for the story writer since he was also a nocturnal resident of these parks.

6. 9. A "Monography" for the Avenue

Thus far, I discussed places around Istiklal and Beyoğlu's outer quarters such as Yüksekaldırım, using Derrida's door metaphor. From here on, I will discuss the centre of Beyoğlu: The Istiklal Avenue, its cinemas, cafés, etc. Before discussing stories, I want to briefly touch upon the different names of Istiklal Avenue. As I said in the third chapter, it was alternately called *Grand Rue de Pera* or *Cadde-i Kebir* in the nineteenth century. The names of streets and avenues were in French in 19th cen-

tury Pera. That is, the official name of the Avenue was *Grand Rue de Pera*. In the Early Republican Era, Pera's name was changed as Beyoğlu and *Grand Rue de Pera*'s name to Istiklal Avenue. Its official name became *Istiklal Caddesi*. However, the name *Istiklal* is seldomly used in our stories. Instead, the street is sometimes called *Büyük Cadde* or *Beyoğlu Caddesi*. Other times, it is referred to only as *Cadde*. In some stories, it is cited as "the most crowded Avenue of the city."

Köprü Üstü by Oktay Akbal and *Yüksekkaldırım* by Sait Faik which I examined above were both "monographical" stories. That is, they described a specific space –i.e. the Bridge or Yüksekaldırım– in detail rather than narrating specific characters. *Büyük Cadde* (The Grand Avenue) by Naim Tirali also describes the Avenue of the 1940s in all its liveliness.

For the narrator, the Grand Avenue had a fascinating, attractive, and irresistible appearance, sound, and movement. Women, girls, children, the young and the old, and many different people from close and remote districts of this big city were fascinated by the Grand Avenue. They felt an incomprehensible passion for the Grand Avenue and got there in no time flat.⁸¹⁸

On weekends, the inflow of people to the Avenue increased. There was nothing extraordinary on weekdays on the Grand Avenue. It was almost the same people on those days from 5 in the morning to midnight. The doors of cinemas were the workplaces of "women of ill repute". The same black marketeers always haggled in front of box offices. Waiters of all the beer houses recognised their customers. The girl who ate ice cream on winter days in that opposite patisserie was familiar with the waiters. Students who returned from the school toward evening were

⁸¹⁸ Naim Tirali. *25 Kuruşa Amerika*, Istanbul: Yazko, 1983. p.12.

sure that they would see the old man who smoked a water pipe in the coffeehouse with steamed windowpanes. They were not surprised by the fat old man who stood motionlessly like a trinket in a confectioner's shop at the edge of the street.⁸¹⁹

The Avenue was like the property of its regulars. For example, everyone on the Avenue espoused the photograph of the young girl on the showcase of a photographer like it was a photograph in the living rooms of their homes. It was the common property of those who lived on the Avenue. The young university student and the red headed girl whom he came across three times a day greeted each other even though they had not never spoken with each other before. The milliner who always put posters reading "Large Discount" on the showcase of his shop smiled at the regulars of the Avenue as if he wanted to say that these posters were not for them, but for the foreigners of the Avenue. Apprentices of the barber at the edge of the street knew who bought newspapers from the Levantine bookseller whose store was at the entrance of a passage.⁸²⁰

The side streets of the Grand Avenue were barely wide enough for two automobiles to pass simultaneously. There were cheap restaurants, tap-rooms, and bars on these streets. On the Grand Avenue and its side streets, there were different kinds of places that people from different classes could afford. There were every kind of brothel on these side streets, including both more expensive and cleaner ones and cheaper and dirtier ones. Women from every race and religion in these houses strived to increase the number of their customers.⁸²¹

⁸¹⁹ Ibid.

⁸²⁰ Ibid., p. 13.

⁸²¹ Ibid.

The Avenue was full of friendly women and curious men who spoke with each other in different languages. While barbers and manicurists were doing hairs and nails in the latest fashion, dirty clothed shoe shiners shined shoes. The narrow pavements of the Grand Avenue were accompanied by many different unemployed people at weekends. The traffic increased to such extent that trams and cars could end up moving slower than passers-by.⁸²²

Beer houses, music halls, big restaurants, fast food restaurants and sandwich shops were there to serve these people. Bald bosses or beautiful girls sat at the cash desks of these shops. If the weather was warm, women wore their thin silky socks. They wandered with their short skirts in the Avenue in these warm weathers. When there was no man accompanying them, some other men would catcall them. They would turn a deaf ear to these calls.⁸²³

People watched the nylon shoes and transparent women's undergarments in the showcases on the Grand Avenue. The child selling lottery tickets shouted with his all strength. He dreamed that work would end and he would throw himself onto the balcony of the Alkazar Cinema. Cinemas of the Grand Avenue were suitable for every pleasure. The crowd, who wandered up and down throughout the Avenue, either waited to go into the cinema or had just gone out of the cinema. Entrances of cinemas were full of photographs displaying beautiful women's legs, fighting men, guns, and exploding bombs.⁸²⁴

Wives and daughters of petty civil servants and craftsmen in suburbs of the city came to the Avenue during Bairams. They went to the cinemas, watched romantic movies, and cried their eyes out. When they went out

⁸²² Ibid., p. 14.

⁸²³ Ibid.

⁸²⁴ Ibid., pp. 14, 15.

from the cinema, they would be surprised because it would be dark and all the lights on the Avenue would be turned on. Colourful advertisements, flashing marquees, and the crowd of the Avenue were no different from a fairy tale world for them. How bright and beautiful the lights were on the Avenue... The showcases of furniture shops were bigger than their homes' living rooms. They watched the showcases of toy shops with astonishment. However, they did not idle around the Avenue for long, in order not to be late to get home. They rapidly passed by the patisseries where beautiful scents of cakes filled the air, mingled with people waiting in tram stations, and left the Avenue by trams.⁸²⁵

Some men came to the Avenue to watch the girl on the poster of the hosier rather than the movies. She was lifelike and her calf was pink. They drooled while watching the girl. Men with money went to revue theatres and night clubs rather than watching the girl on the poster. Finding an empty seat in revue theatres and casinos were impossible at weekends.⁸²⁶

When it was past midnight, the Grand Avenue would become tranquil. In night hours, a different sort of people appeared on the Avenue, who did not look like the people of daytimes. Procurer old women paced the Avenue with young girls by them who worked for those old women.⁸²⁷

In the story, the narrator did not tell of any specific event. He did not mention his own feelings either. He only narrated the Avenue in all its details. From what he told about the Avenue, it can clearly be seen that the narrator of the story was familiar with its every hour. He knew its daytimes and nights, its weekdays and weekends, and even its bairam

⁸²⁵ Ibid., pp. 15, 16.

⁸²⁶ Ibid., pp. 16, 17.

⁸²⁷ Ibid., p. 17.

times. He knew all of its places and recognised all kinds of its residents and visitors.

Naim Tirali went to secondary school and high school in Galatasaray, and his teenage years passed in dormitories in Beyoğlu. He went to university in Istanbul too. Perhaps for this reason, he does not represent himself as a visitor of Beyoğlu in his stories about Beyoğlu, including this one. In his stories, places such as the Bridge, Eminönü pier, and the Tunnel metro are not mentioned. In his real life, too, he probably seldomly used these passageways extending out to Beyoğlu since he lived in Beyoğlu anyway. In *25 Kuruşa Amerika* (America in Exchange for 25 kurushes), there was only one story whose space was not Beyoğlu and that was set in Beyazıt Square; near the university that he went to. The spaces of most of his stories were the Avenue, its side streets, and Tarlabası. As a young provincial boy coming from a rich family, he spent all his time around Beyoğlu in cafés, coffeehouses, cinemas, and whorehouses. There was no one to prevent him from idling around Beyoğlu in Istanbul. This story also showed that he knew the Avenue very well, down to the last detail. He both lived and loitered there.

6. 10. The Avenue: Cafés and Cinemas

The Avenue was the centre of Istanbul in the 1940s thanks to its cafés, cinemas, and showcases. Its cinemas in particular were very central in the social life of Beyoğlu. In previous chapter, I mentioned Sait Faik's love of cinema and his adventures in the cinemas of Beyoğlu. For other short story writers of this generation, too, cinemas of Beyoğlu held great importance. Sebahattin Kudret Aksal, Saim Kocagöz, Naim Tirali, and Oktay Akbal were regulars of Beyoğlu cinemas. However, to claim that cinemas of Beyoğlu were extensively covered in their short stories

can be an overstatement. Cinemas of Beyoğlu were mentioned in only a few of their stories.

One of these is *Saatler* (Clocks) by Sabahattin Kudret Aksal, in which both a café and a cinema is mentioned. The main character of the story had lunch in a restaurant on one of the side streets of Beyoğlu. He was walking to the Avenue at a leisurely pace. He saw the clock across the Parmakkapı bus stop. It was five past one. He would go to the half past two matinee of a cinema. He felt himself so free that day; he did not have a thought or worry on his mind. If anyone were to ask him to describe himself at that moment, he would not know what to say. He was like a hooky player who had put all his worries aside. One day seventeen or eighteen years ago, he had thrown himself onto the street in early hours of the morning. He had crossed the Bridge and gone to Gülhane Park. He had sat on one of the park benches and looked at the heart which was scratched onto a tree with an arrow piercing through it. He remembered now what he had thought about this heart back then. When he was a child, he had learned about love from flowery poems and paintings. The heart which was scratched onto a tree signified nothing to a child who was influenced by corrupt and flowery kinds of art. He had belittled it. Later, he learned simpler and more aesthetic forms of art and started to enjoy them. He had gone to the half past two matinee of a cinema on that day as well. For this reason, he loved the half past two matinees very much; they reminded him of the days of idleness in his childhood.⁸²⁸

Since there was one and half hour before the half past two matinee, he went into one of the Avenue-front cafés. He ordered a coffee and lighted

⁸²⁸ Sabahattin Kudret Aksal. *Gazoz Ağacı ve Diğer Öyküler*, 15th ed., Istanbul: YKY, 2013. p. 157.

a cigarette. He plunged into watching the Avenue. A man was sitting across his table who was also watching the Avenue. Perhaps he had also just had lunch and was waiting for the half past two matinee in this café, like the narrator. For a while, the narrator got tired of watching the Avenue and started to watch that man instead. The man also got tired of watching the Avenue and started to repeatedly flip over a watch in his hand. It was a woman's wristwatch and it was wrapped in tissue paper. He was examining the watch from its different sides. Sometimes he glanced back at the Avenue for a while before returning his attention to the watch. The narrator was wondering why this man was so interested in a watch and what the significance of a woman's watch was for him. He wondered whether this watch might belong to the man's ex-girlfriend or ex-wife. However, shortly after that, he got bored of watching the man and returned his attention to the Avenue.⁸²⁹

He plunged into watching the Avenue again. He watched a 45 years old whore who was seeking customers in front of the cinema across the street, before turning to read a newspaper. However, ultimately, he started to watch the man at the opposite table again. The man laid out a piece of paper and wrote something on it. He wondered what the man wrote and tried to look at the paper. The man was writing a letter which began with the phrase "To my Beloved One,". He thought that the woman's watch in his hand might be for his girlfriend. And then he was able to read the first sentence of the letter: "After you gave me your watch for repairing, I sat at one of the Avenue-front cafés of Beyoğlu as soon as I left you." The watch did belong to his girlfriend. Moreover, they were not separated from each other. But why was he writing a letter to this woman? Maybe the woman had gone to another city. He wanted to read

⁸²⁹ Ibid., p. 158.

the second sentence, but because the man turned his back to him, he could not see. He continued to think about the man and his girlfriend. Perhaps she had not gone to another city and might still be in Istanbul. Since the man would see her in a few days, he was writing her a letter.⁸³⁰

Since he could not read the letter, he would put himself into the man's shoes and rewrite it. He copied the first sentence of the man exactly and then he continued the letter with his own sentences. "I ordered a coffee. As I waited for the coffee to be delivered, I took out your watch from my pocket. I am looking at it now. I am experiencing the enthusiasm of primeval eras, childhood, and early youth when people find a different value in inanimate wares." He continued to write the letter and mention watches throughout four or five paragraphs. By the time he finished the letter, the man had left. He looked at the watch which; it was twenty past two. He tore out and crumpled up the paper and went out from the café to go to the cinema.⁸³¹

In this story, the story space is an Avenue-front café. The narrator who sat at an Avenue-front table was watching the Avenue and customers of the café. Firstly, let us consider the position of the narrator within the story. While watching the Avenue and a man across his table, he tried to write this man's letter in his own words to pass the time and entertain himself. The act of writing turned into a means of passing time for him in this one and a half hour. That is, the act of writing was at the same time the act of loitering. Since he wrote the letter merely as a pastime activity, he tore it up before going into the cinema. For the man at the opposite table, too, the act of writing was the act of loitering. If he had

⁸³⁰ Ibid., pp. 158, 159.

⁸³¹ Ibid., pp. 160, 161.

not been sitting at this coffeehouse, he probably would not write a letter to his girlfriend.

For the narrator, loitering was not only a leisure time activity. It was a part of the nostalgia he felt for childhood and adolescence. In this story too, the character of the story is a little man. Since he had to work, he could not normally loiter in daytimes. He did not have to work on the day told in the story. Like many little people of Istanbul in the 1940s, going to the cinema was a very enjoyable leisure time activity for him. He preferred one of the cinemas on the Avenue since those were probably the most famous cinemas of Istanbul. The Avenue was identified with cinemas in that time.

Another popular entertainment space of the Avenue was its modern cafés. Sitting in a café and watching the crowd of the Avenue was a form of entertainment specific to Beyoğlu. Watching the crowd from an Avenue-front café was a highly desirable loitering and leisure time activity. Beyoğlu's cinemas and cafés were not easily reachable for everyone in 1940s' Istanbul. For some residents of Istanbul, they were dream objects. In the following section, I will discuss stories which treat characters for whom cinemas of Beyoğlu appear as dream objects.

6. 11. Story Characters Who Dream about Beyoğlu and Its Cinemas

One of these stories was *Kalorifer ve Bahar* (The Radiator and Spring) in *Sarnıç* (Cistern) by Sait Faik. A young boy, who was born in one of Istanbul's ghettos outside the Byzantine walls, and his first visit to Beyoğlu are narrated in this story. For the narrator, getting from this quarter to the centre of Istanbul was a more difficult prospect than traveling from Istanbul to Ankara. People did not refer to themselves in regular names such as Ahmet, Mehmet, Apostol, Yorgi, Avram, Şalom, etc. in this

quarter. Rather, everyone was called by a cognomen which was usually a name of an animal or a plant. Sometimes, a physical characteristic of the person became their cognomen as well. In this quarter, people called each other by cognomens such as *hıyar* (cucumber), *çukur göbek* (potbelly), *barbunya* (red mullet), *zargana* (needlefish), *baldudak* (honey lips), and *kıllı* (hairy). Since everyone was called by their cognomen, no one knew who was Muslim, Christian, or Jewish. They had a different dialect which consisted of a mix of basic words in Turkish, Hebraic, and Armenian.⁸³²

Women of this quarter were born in this quarter and died in this quarter. Men of this quarter were born in this quarter too; however, they did not die in this quarter. Some of them died in prison, some of them died up against a wall, and some of them died in a mosque yard. However, they all died outside the quarter. Some children in this quarter were missing thumbs. Their thumbs were surgically cut in an operation similar to a circumcision ceremony in order to raise them as skilful pickpockets. Some of them lacked legs. They avenged their inability to run by pickpocketing passengers in trams and busses.⁸³³

The short story was about how people of this quarter were acquainted with the radiator. One day, a blue eyed little boy would go to the centre of the city. He had only seen the lights of the city until that day. He did not even know how to get to the centre of the city. The tram line threw him from one station to another. At last, he managed to get to the Bridge.⁸³⁴

He went down from the tram onto the Bridge. He watched the people who spent their days watching ferries and listening to whistles of fer-

⁸³² Sait Faik. *Sarmış*, Istanbul: Sertel Matbaası, 1939. p. 11.

⁸³³ Ibid., p. 12.

⁸³⁴ Ibid.

ries on the Bridge. There were large buildings ahead of the Bridge. He took his time walking on the Bridge; he loved its hectic bustle. There were fishermen and people who looked like residents of his quarter on the Bridge. While he was watching the fishermen, the idea of the cinema occurred to him.⁸³⁵ As discussed in the section on the Bridge, the Galata Bridge was represented as the place of people who loved watching other people, ferries, and lights of the city in Sait Faik's stories. He underlined this characteristic of the Bridge in this story too.

One day, the little boy had asked his friends in his quarter what a cinema was. They had ridiculed him; however, they also could not give a satisfactory answer. Hence, he always wondered what kind of places cinemas were. He crossed the Bridge and went into a narrow street to go to the cinema. He was surprised. What was such a crowd of people doing on such a narrow street? That's when he saw the signboard of Santral Cinema. The conductor, who noticed that he had never been to the cinema before, invited him in and made him sit at the corner by a radiator. He leaned his feet on the radiator. It was very hot. The conductor told him what the radiator was and how it worked. The next day, he would tell his friends of his cinema adventure and explain to them what the radiator was. His cognomen in the quarter used to be "Japanese". After that day, his cognomen would become "radiator".⁸³⁶

The radiator remained a winter phenomenon. In springs, young boys of this quarter left their quarter to work and earn money elsewhere. In the following spring, Japanese also did the same. He worked in coffeehouses to earn money and wandered in the city hatless and shoeless. He never returned to the quarter again. Every winter, young boys who went to

⁸³⁵ Ibid., p. 14.

⁸³⁶ Ibid., pp. 15, 16.

work at the beginning of spring and who did not return at the end of summer were spoken about in the coffeehouse of this quarter. That winter, only two cognomens were heard in the coffeehouse: Japanese and radiator. Those who did not know that the cognomens Japanese and radiator belonged to the same person might have supposed that the Japanese did not return to the quarter because of a radiator.⁸³⁷

Not only Japanese or the radiator but also other boys of the ghetto did not return to their quarter, because they were attracted by the life in Beyoğlu. Japanese was also attracted by the liveliness of the Bridge, the crowdedness of the narrow street, big buildings, the cinema and the radiator in the cinema. This short story which crystallizes Sait Faik's identity as a *flâneur* is among his best. As previously discussed, the *flâneur* was a man who wandered in the centre of the city in passages or streets. He saw people and things that were invisible to the middle class and ordinary people in the centre of the city. Street urchins and boys were also among these invisible people seen and understood only by *flâneurs*. Sait Faik also told of one of these boys in this story. Since he saw many street urchins and boys in Beyoğlu, he could understand how they broke away from their original quarters and he could write their stories even though he probably did not see those quarters in person. Such a literary understanding could have appeared because men of letters as intellectuals were dismissed from among the elite and middle classes in the 1940s, as mentioned in the previous chapter. As the literary figures were being swept out of the elite and middle class, they directed their attentions to the people at the margins of the society.

In some of Sait Faik's stories, the story space is not Beyoğlu, but the protagonist's dreams about Beyoğlu are one of the main themes of the sto-

⁸³⁷ Ibid., pp. 18, 19.

ry. *Bir Define Arayıcısı* (A Treasure Hunter) by Sait Faik is one of these kinds of stories. A woman's inability to go to Beyoğlu cinemas is told in this story. The protagonist is Fındık Ali (*Fındık* means hazelnut in Turkish). He is a fisherman who acquired a second-hand boat fourteen years prior and started fishing. He had engaged in portering, dyeing, newspaper distribution and theft until that time. However, after he was able to buy this boat, he decided on fishery which was both a pleasure and an occupation for him. He did not work after he had earned enough money for his daily expenses anyway.⁸³⁸

He was married but he did not get along well with his wife since she was a bit arrogant, not only towards her husband but also towards other people around her. She was running a small coffeehouse. Sometimes Fındık Ali could not earn enough money for his daily expenses. On such nights, his wife would not give him money for wine. This was an issue because Ali only had three pleasures in life: Drinking wine, reading old newspapers, and smoking the water pipe. He smoked the water pipe only if he made enough money from fishing. If he could not drink wine, his mood would be affected.⁸³⁹

In addition to having done portering, dyeing, newspaper distribution, robbery before he bought a boat, Ali had also been a military academy student when he was a young boy. He was expelled from the academy however, after which he started to drink. He later became a Unionist⁸⁴⁰ and ran schemes for them. He made the directorate of Arifiye station, as well, after which he became a police officer during the Armistice Era. He got married to his wife when he was a police officer. His wife loved bulky and rowdy men like Ali. She had been a whore before having mar-

⁸³⁸ Sait Faik. *Bütün Eserleri 2: Şahmerdan*, 7th ed. Istanbul: Bilgi, 1987. pp. 35, 36.

⁸³⁹ Ibid., pp. 36, 37.

⁸⁴⁰ A member of *İttihat ve Terakki Cemiyeti* (Union and Progress Party)

ried Ali. After Ali married this woman and lost his job as a police officer, he worked as a footman in the mansion of a nobleman. After he lost this job too, he did the above mentioned jobs like portering, dyeing, newspaper distribution, and engaged in theft. He recounted his old adventures, even his footmanship with pride. However, after he was beaten up by a fisherman in the middle of the bazaar, everything changed. He could not find his old former state unless he drank at least a gallon of wine. He later disappeared and was not seen again in this fishing village.⁸⁴¹

In actuality, Ali had not left the village because he was beaten up in the bazaar. In the second part of the short story, the first person singular narrator went to the coffeehouse of Ali's wife. He learned there that Ali left the village because he saw his wife and 17 years old daughter with two men one night. When he saw the scene, he did nothing. He took his fishing devices and abandoned the village on his boat. Ali was already suspicious of his wife and daughter earlier. Sometimes he had beaten them because of his suspicion. Ali did not completely disappear, in fact. He had gone to *Hayırsız Ada* (A small island close to Istanbul). The fact that he had gone to *Hayırsız Ada* was rumoured among Greek fishermen. His wife also heard these rumours. Another rumour about him among Greek fishermen was that he had found a treasure in *Hayırsız Ada*. When his wife heard this rumour, he went to *Hayırsız Ada* to bring him back to his village. If he had really found a treasure, they could buy an apartment and go to cinemas in Beyoğlu every day. However, when she got to the island, she saw that a group of men were torturing Ali to find out the place of the treasure. She could not go out from the spot

⁸⁴¹ Sait Faik. *Bütün Eserleri 2: Şahmerdan*, 7th ed. Istanbul: Bilgi, 1987. pp. 37, 38.

where she hid, because there were too many men. At the end of the short story, Ali was killed by his torturers.⁸⁴²

This is the story of an unsuccessful man who could not make it in life and an old whore who wanted to become rich. Ali found a treasure, which could realize his wife's dreams of becoming rich. And what would she do when she became rich? She would live in an apartment house in Beyoğlu and go to the cinema every day. This was her only dream for the future. When Ali was killed, her dreams collapsed.

The story space was a small island of Istanbul. The first person singular narrator was living on this island; he was unemployed and a loiterer who was spending his days unemployed. In short, the life of the narrator had similarities with the biography of Sait Faik. His protagonists were again people excluded from society: an old whore, an old criminal, and their daughter. An author who was living an excluded life on a small island with his mother was writing about other excluded people of an island of Istanbul. His protagonists had little dreams, just like every little person: having an apartment and going to the cinema in Beyoğlu.

In Sait Faik's two stories mentioned above, the characters did not live in Beyoğlu. They lived in ghettos or poor quarters far from Beyoğlu. They either came to Beyoğlu for the first time or rarely came there. Beyoğlu meant two things to them: big buildings and cinemas. In the first story, the main character opted for leaving his own quarter and started to live in Beyoğlu to be able to be close to big buildings and cinemas. In the second story, Fındık Ali's wife intended to make up with his husband and persuade him to settle in Beyoğlu. They would buy one of the big buildings of Beyoğlu and go to the cinema every night. However, like

⁸⁴² Ibid., pp. 39, 40.

most superfluous people, she also could not make her dreams come true.

In the first story, the narrator narrated his characters without getting involved in the fiction. In the second story, the narrator got involved in the fiction in the second part. In both stories, the narrator was narrating poor people of poor quarters. Both stories were among the early period stories of Sait Faik. One of them was from *Sarnıç* (Cistern) and the other was from *Şahmerdan* (Ram).

Another story by Sait Faik in which characters' Beyoğlu dreams are told is *Ekmek mi Francala mı* (Bread or French Bread). In this story, Beyoğlu is mentioned twice. Recai Efendi was a man of moderate means. He had a tobacco shop in Üsküdar where he sold lottery tickets as well. He placed the tickets into empty rolling paper packages. The porters and shoe shiners of Üsküdar loved these concealed tickets. In fact, everyone loved lottery tickets in this poor quarter of Üsküdar, including Recai Efendi. When he hit the jackpot, he could open a shop in Beyoğlu where he could sell Arabian papers. Since the residents of Beyoğlu loved Egyptian movies, they ought to love Arabian papers, as well.⁸⁴³ (In Turkey, some rolling papers are called Arabian papers which have of a good quality compared to other rolling papers. They are usually made in Arab countries)

Recai Efendi's younger son Hamdi had a friend who was a street urchin. They used to talk about movies they watched in the quarter's cinemas with each other. In their quarter, there was an empty plot of land from where all the lights of Istanbul including lights of the Beyoğlu cinemas could be seen. When they met in this empty plot of land, they felt as if

⁸⁴³ Ibid., p. 47.

they were at Beyoğlu Yüksekkapı. In some evenings, Hamdi brought Ahmet to their home where Recai Efendi's wife gave him food.⁸⁴⁴

Ahmet slept at the Üsküdar port at nights. Since he was a very ugly and aggressive child, no one loved him in the quarter except Hamdi and his family. One day, Ahmet started to compulsively think about lottery tickets. When he won the lottery, he would first throw out his old clothes. Then he would switch to eating French bread rather than normal bread. Actually, French bread was not very expensive; it was merely a little more expensive than ordinary bread. Some residents of the quarter including Recai Efendi sometimes gave him money. However, he feared that if he bought French bread rather than ordinary bread with money they gave him, they might have gotten angry at him. One day, Ahmet bought a lottery ticket thanks to Hamdi and won the lottery. He took the money and hid in the courtyard of the quarter's mosque. He removed all his clothes in the middle of the mosque's courtyard and started to think about whether he should buy French bread or normal bread with his newfound money. This went on for six months in the psychiatric hospital he ended up in. When he got out from the hospital, he could not find his money in the mosque's courtyard. Recai Efendi gave him French bread every day so that he would not think about whether he should buy French or ordinary bread again.⁸⁴⁵

The narrator told the story of a street urchin and a poor quarter of Üsküdar in this story. Their dreams of Beyoğlu were limited to Yüksek-kaldırım, like many poor İstanbulitans. Hamdi's father Ahmet Efendi also had a dream of opening a tobacco shop in Beyoğlu. Everyone in the story dreamed about Beyoğlu. Beyoğlu meant cinemas for all of them.

⁸⁴⁴ Ibid., pp. 48, 49.

⁸⁴⁵ Ibid., pp. 49, 50.

Even Recai Efendi thought that residents of Beyoğlu who loved Egyptian movies would love his Arabian papers.

In all three stories in which people dreaming about Beyoğlu are told, characters who could not succeed in establishing themselves in life were treated. In *Kalorifer ve Bahar*, the protagonist was a child living in a ghetto. In *Bir Define Arayıcısı*, the characters were an old criminal and his whore wife pimping out their daughter. In this story, two characters, Recai Efendi and his son, were ordinary members of society. They had an ordinary family. However, the protagonist of the story was a street urchin who would go mad at the end of story. In short, dreaming about Beyoğlu was usually for those who could not make it in life. As discussed earlier, the author was focusing on people at the margins in his stories.

6. 12. Dreaming about being a shopkeeper in Beyoğlu

In the previous section, I discussed three stories in which characters dreamed about Beyoğlu. In those three stories, Beyoğlu meant big buildings and cinemas for characters. However, for some other characters who dreamed about Beyoğlu, Beyoğlu meant elegant shops. Below, I will discuss two such stories which feature characters who wish to own a shop in Beyoğlu.

The first story is *Hikayemiz* (Our Story) by Afif Yesari. This story also treated characters dreaming about Beyoğlu. Before discussing it, I present a summary: The short and weak, white haired, shock-head, old shoemaker rubbed the knife with which he cut leather. He looked at his partner. He told his partner that he would get his house built on the other side of the sea. It would have two storeys. There would be the sea in front of it and a garden behind it. In the Garden, there would be red roses. His partner warned him to be careful when buying rose saplings.

There were many kinds of roses including wild and worthless ones. He should not buy wild rose saplings by mistake. A garden without roses was akin to a penniless man. It was not worth a rap.⁸⁴⁶

The shoemaker breathed in the air of the shop which smelled like leather as if he was drawing in the scent of roses. He then started to speak again. He would not let anyone to go into his garden; he would put a fence around it. Besides, there would be a wolf dog in this garden. If a man had a lot of money and his wife had jewellery, there should be a dog in his garden, he thought. His partner totally agreed with the shoemaker. The partner was adopting the ideas of the shoemaker as if they were his own. The shoemaker's ideas made his partner happy, too. Yes, he said, a man like the shoemaker should have a plucky dog. However, why was he not depositing his money in the bank? Because then, he could earn interest.⁸⁴⁷

For the shoemaker, banks were not trustworthy. They could go bankrupt. Or when a war broke out, the state could seize the money in the banks. The best option was to keep the money at home. His partner approved of this idea, too. The shoemaker continued his words. He would convert most of his money into gold. While he was talking, he was continuing to repair shoes. Now he was repairing the shoes of Clerk Halil Effendi. He had repaired these shoes twice before. This was the third time. Since their poor owner could not afford new shoes, they were repeatedly sent to the shoemaker for repairs.⁸⁴⁸

His eyes did not see well due to old age. He showed the shoes to his partner for him to check whether his stitching was done well. His partner said that it looked fine. Even shoemakers in Beyoğlu could not do

⁸⁴⁶ Afif Yesari. *Hafta Tatili*, Istanbul: Sulhi Garan Matbaası, 1954. p. 5.

⁸⁴⁷ Ibid., pp. 5, 6.

⁸⁴⁸ Ibid., pp. 6,7.

better than this. The shoemaker's eyes lit up bright with desire. He said that of course shoemakers in Beyoğlu could not make these. Anyone could make a beautiful shoe with brand-new stout leathers like the ones in Beyoğlu.⁸⁴⁹

They kept silent for a while until the shoemaker continued to speak. There were big stores with bright showcases in Beyoğlu. He would open such a store and hire apprentices. Besides, he would also buy a hand calculator that processed perfectly. His partner interrupted him with a lecherous laughter. He said he should also hire a Greek girl as a cashier. The shoemaker also laughed in crisp tones. He imagined a big store with bright showcases. A Greek cashier girl was accompanying the many apprentices in her brand-new dark blue clothes.⁸⁵⁰

After a short silence, the shoemaker continued to speak again. He could not make it up to his wife if his life depended on it. The poor woman had patiently endured great difficulties for many years. She always said that if she were to die without wearing five pieces of gold, she would die in disappointment. She was housekeeping all day. Doing the laundry and dishes and sewing were taking up all of her time. He would furnish his wife from head to toe as first order of business when he opened a store in Beyoğlu. He would take care of the five pieces of gold then.⁸⁵¹

While passing by a furniture store, he saw large and comfortable sofas. He would buy one of them for his new house. In the evenings, he would ensconce himself in this comfortable sofa and listen to the radio. His partner could not resist asking reproachfully what he would buy for him. The shoemaker shouted cheerily, saying that he'd buy him whatever he wanted. They had been partners for many years. They would run

⁸⁴⁹ Ibid., pp. 7, 8.

⁸⁵⁰ Ibid., p. 8.

⁸⁵¹ Ibid., pp. 9, 10.

the new store together, as well. The evening azan was being recited. The shoemaker decided to continue the repairs of the shoes the next day. He stood up holding his knees. He told his partner that he had grown rather old. When he sat motionless for a few hours, his joints would ache. His partner took out a few small coins from his pocket. They split them equally; 225 kurushes for each. The shoemaker said that when he won the lottery, they would not account for money in kurushes. They pulled down the shutter and walked together till the fork in the road. From then on, the shoemaker continued to walk alone dreaming about the hot haricot beans cooked by his wife.⁸⁵²

In this story too, the characters were dreaming about Beyoğlu. They were two shoemakers who were partners. Neither of them had any opportunity to make it in Beyoğlu. Especially the old shoemaker had neither the money nor the time to settle in Beyoğlu. His only hope was to win the lottery. Maybe for this very reason, his dreams of Beyoğlu were so lively. The old shoemaker's lively dreams were exciting his young partner, as well. Both of them were poor and living in a poor quarter of Istanbul. Beyoğlu was their dream object.

As I mentioned in the previous chapter, the writer of this story, Afif Yessari, lived in poverty his entire life. He never had a regular job and wrote hundreds of books to make ends meet. Perhaps for this reason, people of poor quarters who dreamed about establishing a middle class life became subjects in his stories. The space of dreams about middle class life was Beyoğlu.

To return to Sait Faik, in his last story, *Kaçamak, Papağan, Karabiber* (Escapade, Parrot and Black Pepper) he narrated characters dreaming about Beyoğlu as well. In this story, the characters dreaming about Be-

⁸⁵² Ibid., pp. 10-12.

yoğlu would succeed in settling down in Beyoğlu. However, their roots in their old poor quarters would prevent them from making a good life for themselves in Beyoğlu. Below, I briefly summarize the story.

Rıza was living in a poor quarter close to Beyoğlu. There were only two blue-eyed people in this quarter, where everyone else was dark skinned and weakly. One of these was Rıza. The other one was a girl. Since people died at young ages in this quarter, neither of them had a father. Their mothers were tobacco workers. Rıza was a vagabond. The girl was a madcap. According to the narrator, blue-eyed and blonde people fell in love with brunets and brunets fell in love with blondes. All the boys in this quarter were in love with the girl and all the girls in the quarter were in love with Rıza.⁸⁵³

Rıza worked in many jobs that ranged from newspaper distribution to portorage. He even became a dope-addict for a while. Later, he grew up into a man and opened a small grocery store in one of Beyoğlu's secluded and less-inhabited places. The story of these two young people began with this event. The blonde girl put his brunet lovers off. Whether she fell for the grocery shop or Rıza was not certain. However, she was very clever. She had another admirer, nicknamed Karabiber (Black Pepper). He was also very handsome, but worked in a dirty job. He smelled like animal tissue. Rıza, whose cognomen was Papağan (Parrot), was chubby, blond, and clean.⁸⁵⁴

When Rıza moved to Beyoğlu, a fuss was kicked up in the quarter! The blonde girl, who was called Kaçamak (Escapade) Fatma in the quarter, claimed that she was pregnant from Rıza. The residents of the quarter did not love Rıza because he did not like the quarter. They threw the

⁸⁵³ Sait Faik. *Bütün Eserleri 2: Lüzumsuz Adam*, 7th ed. Istanbul: Bilgi, 1987. p. 151.

⁸⁵⁴ Ibid.

book at Rıza. He had to marry Fatma. The newly-married couple moved to Beyoğlu. The story did not end there. The now grocer Rıza did not love Fatma. She was beautiful; however, he wanted a wife who had at least an average level of education and at least a daughter of a civil servant. Rıza did not deny that he had sex with her. However, their marriage was the result of a trick played by his old neighbours.⁸⁵⁵

Fatma was happy with her life. She usually took her new phonograph, went to her old quarter, and listened to music with her friends. When she returned home in the evenings, Rıza would slap her one or two times out of jealousy. However, she did not mind that. One day, Fatma got sick and a doctor was called. This young doctor came to their apartment four or five times. Fatma recovered from the illness. She made her hairs undulated and went to the quarter to show her friends. She was carrying her phonograph to the quarter again. One day, her milk mother got sick. She told her that they knew a doctor, that she would call him and that he might hospitalize her. Karabiber's sister was also present while she was saying these there. She reported what Fatma said to her brother. His brother went to Rıza's grocery. He told Rıza that his wife intended to meet with the doctor. Rıza took a knife and caught his wife while going out to the doctor's office. He stabbed her seven times and killed her.⁸⁵⁶

The first person singular narrator was the crime reporter of a newspaper. He went out from the printing house of the newspaper to collect photographs and information about Papağan Rıza and Kaçamak Fatma. A photographer went along with him. They reached the quarter in the evening hours. The photographer said that no photograph could be tak-

⁸⁵⁵ Ibid., pp. 151 -153.

⁸⁵⁶ Ibid., p. 153.

en in the light conditions and that he would return early in the morning. When the photographer returned, the narrator started to walk in the square of the quarter. A dark skinned and weakly man suddenly appeared in front of him and asked the narrator why he was wandering in that quarter. The narrator said that he was a journalist and that he came for the murder of Fatma. He told the narrator that he should buzz off from the quarter!⁸⁵⁷

As the narrator was leaving, he looked at the face of the man. He cooled down. He asked the narrator why he wanted to print the miserable girl's photograph in the newspaper. The narrator answered it was to satisfy the curiosity of the readers. What of the curiosity of the people for the narrator, the man asked! The narrator said that this was his job. The man questioned what kind of supposed occupation that was. He got angry again and repelled the narrator. The narrator also got angry and said "what's it to you?"⁸⁵⁸

The man said that he should not disgrace the girl. The issue was not that particular girl, but to save everyone from this quarter. This quarter should burn. He both wanted to say something and was getting angry at the same time. The narrator thought that he might have been a relative of Papağan's. It was getting dark. The narrator started to walk again, intending to leave the quarter. While he was going up the slope, the man came back and asked the narrator which direction he was going. "Upward!" he answered. They started to go up the slope together. They sat at a park bench at the end of the slope.⁸⁵⁹

The man asked the narrator whether he knew who he was. He was a hound! He was the one who reported Kaçamak to Papağan. That is, he

⁸⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁸⁵⁸ Ibid., p. 154.

⁸⁵⁹ Ibid., p.155.

was Karabiber. He was the real murder. If the narrator wished, he could print his photograph in the newspaper. Why were they displaying that miserable girl? Then, he narrated the incident. When Fatma visited his milk mother, Karabiber's sister was also there. As the narrator had said, when Fatma came, his sister stayed a little longer and left without saying goodbye! She told his brother that Fatma visited her milk mother and would summon her own doctor for her. Karabiber's sister had always been jealous of Fatma. Karabiber went to Papağan's shop in Beyoğlu. Papağan was dealing with a customer in the shop. He ignored Karabiber. This made Karabiber angrier. He told Papağan that he would of course ignore people from his old quarter. He was friend with doctors anymore. While Karabiber was leaving, Papağan was trembling like a leaf out of anger.⁸⁶⁰

At the end of the story, he regretted giving his photograph to the narrator. He started to say that if the narrator printed his photograph in the newspaper, he would deny everything. The narrator told him that he should not be upset and gave him a cigarette. Karabiber tried to say some other things. However, he could not. He stood up, walked away, and disappeared. The narrator turned Karabiber's photograph over and over in his hand and tore it up. He left the quarter.⁸⁶¹

As just seen, the story had four important characters: Papağan Rıza, Kaçamak Fatma, Karabiber, and the narrator. Their cognomens represented their physical and personal characteristics. Rıza was "yellow" and had colourful eyes like a parrot. Fatma was a flirtatious girl which was why she was called Escapade Fatma. Since Karabiber was a dark skinned and weakly boy, he was called Black Pepper. Recall that Sait

⁸⁶⁰ Ibid., p.156.

⁸⁶¹ Ibid., pp. 157, 158.

Faik had narrated in *Kalorifer ve Bahar* (The Radiator and Spring) a quarter where people were called by nicknames which represented their physical and personal characteristics rather than their real names, as well. In this story, too, the narrator was narrating such a quarter.

Rıza was both physically and personally different from other residents of the quarter. He was not dark skinned but blond and was not weakly but chubby. Besides, he did not like his quarter and its residents. He did not want to live there. Perhaps other residents of the quarter did not want to live there either; however, they did not confess this to each other. Rıza would go to Beyoğlu and become Grocer Rıza rather than Parrot Rıza.

Escapade Fatma was the most beautiful girl of the quarter. She did not deem herself fitting to this quarter. She found a way to save herself from it and married Rıza with the help of the residents of the quarter. However, she wanted to show off her new and beautiful life to the residents of her old quarter. This would lead to her death and Rıza would be put in prison. Their attempt to save themselves from the quarter and climb up the social ladder would prove unsuccessful.

The person responsible for Fatma and Rıza's tragedy was Karabiber (Black Pepper). He was jealous of both Rıza and Fatma. He was jealous of Rıza because he was both able to make a life for himself outside the quarter, in Beyoğlu, and he stole the girl whom he had fallen in love with. He believed that Fatma cheated him because she married Rıza and left the quarter without him. His jealousy led to Fatma's death.

The narrator character was a crime reporter as in some of his other stories. However, he found emotional ties with people whose life stories and crimes he was investigating, unlike many reporters. That is, he was a bad journalist, but a good story writer. He was wandering in the poor quarters around Beyoğlu. Everyone knew these quarters, but no one

visited them except the narrator who was the *flâneur* of Istanbul. He did not belittle any of his characters. He loved both Fatma and the male characters Rıza and Karabiber. He grieved for all of them. In the story, he reflected their desire to save themselves from that quarter. Rıza and Fatma were different from other dwellers of the quarter in both their appearances and personalities. They were uttering their desires of leaving the quarter. At the end of the story, they were punished by the quarter. Fatma was murdered and Rıza would be put in prison. The quarter took its revenge on Rıza and Fatma through Karabiber who would live with the feeling of self-reproach for the rest of his life. By the end of the story, some died and some were imprisoned, and no one who wanted to save themselves from the quarter was left in the quarter.

The narrator presented a panorama of society through the lens of a poor quarter. Society at large also destroyed, rehabilitated, or rendered invisible its unconforming characters, like the quarter in the story. The author of the story was also an unconforming man in the society which he lived. He started to write in a period when literary figures were excluded from the state elite. As a writer, he was a non-functional member of society. His entire occupation was to display the invisible lives of residents of poor quarters to satisfy the curiosity of the literary public. In order to be able to carry out this goal, he had to make use of the anonymity of city space and render himself invisible as a *flâneur*.

Beyoğlu was a dream object for the characters in the story. As I stated earlier, Kaçamak and Papağan's roots in their old quarters prevented them from creating a good life for themselves in Beyoğlu. In this study, we saw that Beyoğlu was usually the loitering space in stories. However, especially for Papağan, it was a part of the dream of a petty bourgeois life. In fact, his dream was to marry a more educated girl than Ka-

çamak. However, residents of his old quarter prevented the realization of this dream.

In Afif Yesari's story, only the Beyoğlu dreams of a poor quarter's poor people was narrated. In Sait Faik's story, not only the Beyoğlu dreams of Kaçamak and Papağan, but also their poor quarter itself was narrated along with their misfortunate lives.

6. 13. The Non-Conformity of Loiterers: Those on the Inside and Those on the Outside

Beyoğlu was the place to visit or dream about for the vagabonds living in the ghettos and poor quarters of Istanbul. However, in stories, not only people visiting Beyoğlu but also people living there are narrated. In *Cezayir Kahvesi* (Algeria Coffeehouse) by Sait Faik, vagabonds of Beyoğlu are the subjects. The story space is a coffeehouse in Beyoğlu. The story time is between 3 and 4 p.m. In these hours, Cezayir coffeehouse would become desolate along with the street it was on. People would be in cinemas, workplaces, and schools and the street would be left to the vagabonds. The coffeehouse was also left to people who looked like the narrator.⁸⁶²

For the narrator, there were vagabonds both inside and outside the coffeehouse. Those inside the coffeehouse were hopeless, while those on the street still had hopes. Even the old whore on the street had a hope. Maybe a sucker would come and lead her to a cinema loggia. A generous person might have given 500 kurushes to the street child in front of the cinema door and he could watch a film in the cinema. One day, the one-eyed hunched man might have made a friend to whom he could make himself understood. The difference of those in the coffeehouse was that

⁸⁶² Sait Faik. *Havuz Başı*, Istanbul: Varlık, 1952. p. 94.

they had little money in their pockets. On the other hand, those on the street did not have money but had hopes.⁸⁶³

Two old men were sitting in the coffeehouse. One of them was recommending a doctor to the other one, renal patient. However, he insistently claimed to this friend that he was not a renal patient, but that he just had a liver disease. His friend tried to say that the source of his disease was in his kidney. However, he did not let him complete his sentence. He was a retired pasha. While he was in Diyarbakır, he had sent a student abroad to study medicine. When this student returned from abroad, he proscribed the pasha a medication. The old army officer was recommending this medication to his friend.⁸⁶⁴

The narrator was also ill in his liver, which is why, he tried to listen in on old men talking. For a moment, he made out the words Algeria, rain, and date palm. While he was trying to understand what was being said, the retired pasha started to tell how his liver disease of came around again. After a short while, the Pasha and his friend left the coffeehouse. However, chats were continuing between other people. The narrator heard something about condominiums.⁸⁶⁵

In the story, the narrator asks whether those on the street or those in the coffeehouse were vagabonds. His answer is that all of them were vagabonds, but those in the coffeehouse and those on the street were different from each other. The ones in the coffeehouse were ordinary people who had little income. Some of them were retired military officers who were talking about their health. Some of them were low-incomers talking about condominiums. They were probably dreaming of owning a house taking advantage of the newly enacted law of con-

⁸⁶³ Ibid., p. 95.

⁸⁶⁴ Ibid., p. 96.

⁸⁶⁵ Ibid., pp. 97, 98.

dominiums. They were spending time in this coffeehouse to relax. The coffeehouse was a place of loitering for them. The time which they spent in the coffeehouse was leisure and loitering time in which they did not produce anything for society. Some of them were already retired. They no longer served any “function” for society. On the other hand, those in the street were people excluded from society such as street urchins and whores.

There was another kind of loiterer in the coffeehouse, as well, who was observing and writing about the two kinds of loiterers mentioned above; the narrator. The narrator was also a non-worker, like retired men. His occupation did not grant retirement benefits anyway. His entire occupation as the *flâneur* was to write about the loiterers of the city.

To conclude, I would like to make one more remark regarding the story space. It was a coffeehouse preferred by retired men and men of modest means. Even though where this coffeehouse was in Beyoğlu is not mentioned, it was probably in a central location. There were cinemas around it and whores waiting for customers. The contrast between the coffeehouse and the street was one of the main subjects of the narrator.

6. 14. Antifascist Little Men in a Beyoğlu Taproom

As stated in the previous chapter, Turkish literature saw the rise of modernism and little people as subject matter in the 1940s. While little people, vagabonds, and loiterers were showing up as characters of short stories, the photographic realist attitude came to dominate, because the feeling of empathy influenced story writing. Narrators treated their characters with an emphatic inclination. Even though the empathy created between the narrator and their characters gave the story a realist tone, the realism was photographic, because the narrator limited

themselves to their characters and their feelings. Since the literary figure was excluded from among the state elite and they could not yet challenge them, the interaction between socialism and realism in literature was limited. However, some authors began to be influenced by socialism in this period. One of these was Samim Kocagöz. He would also treat little people, but with an antifascist and anti-imperialist understanding. I now present a discussion of his story *Kir Spiro* in which the story space is a Beyoğlu taproom.

One of the characters of the story was Shoemaker Cemil Usta. On summer nights, he drank raki and snacked on lettuces at the window of his bachelor room which oversaw the Golden Horn. On winter nights, he was too lazy to climb up to his room which was on the fifth floor. His room was on one of the narrow streets of Galata. He visited Apostol's taproom rather than going to his room on these nights. With each glass, he would remember his cold room, hometown, and sad loneliness. He did not drink more than four or five glasses per night. Only on Sunday nights, he drank until he became blind drunk. In addition, he drank a lot at nights of the days when he had a quarrel with his boss. However, he had friends who consoled him during such times.⁸⁶⁶

Cemil Usta made new friends in Apostol's taproom in the February of 1942. These friends increased his curiosity about the course of events in the world. Speaking with them about the war and thinking about the future of humanity were more pleasurable than listening to the news on the radio. When Cemil Usta came to the taproom on that night, it was desolate except for one of his intimate friends, Barba, who was there. Cemil Usta greeted him and sat at his table. Barba introduced his friend, Leonidas, to Cemil Usta. Leonidas was an old but vigorous man who had

⁸⁶⁶ Samim Kocagöz. *Sığınak*, Istanbul: F-K, 1946. pp. 91, 92.

fled Greece, as had Barba who had done so earlier. Leonidas had fled only two months prior. As long as they were getting tipsy, their conversation progressed. Leonidas was drinking excessively to cheer up. However, he could not get into a happy mood whatever he did. He was speaking Turkish somewhat well. He was only unable to pronounce the “ş”, which was the case for all Greeks. Suddenly, Barba blurted out that Leonidas had dodged military service. Leonidas’s face went as white as a sheet. His eyes filled with tears. He remembered the Greek mythological hero Leonidas by the same name. However, he failed to take part in war to die for the sake of the fatherland.⁸⁶⁷

Barba had a different story. He said, he had lost his children in the war. In fact, Barba did not have a child. All Greek boys were his children. He had a coffeehouse in one of the quarters of Athens. He resided in an apartment above the coffeehouse with his wife. Even though they had no child, Barba was very happy. All the boys who came to his coffeehouse were like his own children. He found happiness in their insignificant successes. He advised all of them and tried to solve their problems. These boys told all their secrets to Barba. They told Barba even about their girlfriends. When they got out of work in the evenings, they certainly visited Barba’s coffeehouse to “give a report” to him about their jobs.⁸⁶⁸

When Italians attacked Greeks one midnight, suddenly the fat hit the fire. All the boys dolled themselves up in military fatigues and came to the coffeehouse to kiss Barba’s hand. Barba wrote off all of their debts. He even gave pocket-money to those who did not have any. He went to the train station to bid them farewell. No sad news arrived in the first

⁸⁶⁷ Ibid., pp. 92, 93.

⁸⁶⁸ Ibid., pp. 94, 95.

few months. However, when Germans also went into the Balkans, news of the death of one of them was heard. Another returned from the front missing a leg. More sad news followed each other from then on.⁸⁶⁹

The war came to a complete boil. Even the youngest boys were enrolled as soldiers. One week before Germans occupied Athens, four boys returned from the front. They came to Barba's coffeehouse. They would flee to Egypt to join the patriots to fight against Germany. Later, three more boys also returned from the front with intention to flee to Egypt. Barba also decided to go to Egypt. He sent his wife to live in the village of his relatives. He made preparations and told the boys that he would also go with them.⁸⁷⁰

They embarked on a tramp steamer from the Piraeus port three days before the occupation of Athens. However, their tramp steamer was sunk by German planes. Before the steamer was sunk, he was very happy with his "children" on the steamer. However, when the steamer was sunk, he lost all of them. He was forced to return to Athens. There, he heard the names of his children cited on the radio. They had not died. He decided to flee to Egypt again. However, he only made it as far as Turkey. He finished his speech saying that it was up to God from then on.⁸⁷¹

Cemil Usta, Grocer Yusuf, and Electrician Kamil were listening to Barba carefully without even pausing to breathe. Leonidas was paying no attention. Barba got excited. He ordered two more beers. He split one of the beers between his friends' glasses and he excitedly raised his glass

⁸⁶⁹ Ibid., pp. 95, 96.

⁸⁷⁰ Ibid., pp. 96, 97.

⁸⁷¹ Ibid., p. 97.

in a toast. "My friends, to better days!" he announced, Those in the taproom stood up and drank to better days. Barba burst into tears.⁸⁷²

Leonidas crushed his glass in his hand covetously. He suddenly stood up and said that he was leaving. Everyone turned to him in astonishment. Barba asked what happened to him and where he was going. Those in the taproom got hold of him and made him sit down. He said that he was not worthy of this group. They forcibly made him sit down again. After he sat down, he put his head between his two hands. He had harmed Turks a lot while he was a young military officer twenty years prior. Cemil Usta interrupted him, saying that he should let bygones be bygones. Then, Leonidas turned to those at the table and said that he wanted to bring up the War of Independence. One of those at the table said they should let him talk so that he could feel better. Leonidas was not listening to them anyway and continued speaking. He made a comparison between his arrival on Anatolian seashores twenty years prior and now. He had come to the Anatolian seashore twenty years prior, lacking food and care. However, now; bed, food, and employment were provided to him. Cemil Usta interrupted him again, saying "get over with it, sweetheart." He started to sing a song. They sang and danced the *halay*. They made Leonidas get out of his seat, too and then, all those at the table started to dance. It was getting close to 2 am. Cemil Usta said to Apostol: "Apostol, pull down the shutters! Let us drink all night long."⁸⁷³

The story space of *Kir Spiro* was a taproom. Its tone, narration, and representation of the story space were different from many of the stories in this study. First of all, the atmosphere of the World War was reflected

⁸⁷² Ibid., p. 98.

⁸⁷³ Ibid., pp. 98-100.

very clearly in this story. Furthermore, the political opinions of the author were more consistently and comprehensively represented. Internationalism, anti-imperialism and patriotism were the main elements of the story. The two main topics talked about in the taproom were the fight of Greek youth against fascism and Leonidas's adventure during the National Struggle.

Although Samim Kocagöz's story is different from many other ones discussed in this study, it had many common characteristics with them, as well. One of these similarities is regarding the Cemil Usta character. Cemil Usta was a worker who lived alone in Galata in a bachelor room. His pleasures were very limited. His only pleasure was to drink a little beer after work. Even how many beers he drank never changed. He only drank a little more when he was particularly joyous or sad. He did not have any difference from the other little men in the other stories.

His life was not different from any little man living and spending time in Beyoğlu, however, the taproom which he incidentally went to was usually visited by leftist people. He went there to relax and drink after work. He might have gone any other place as well; however, he went to that taproom and became friends with people whose political evaluations seemed to him more reasonable than what he listened to on the radio.

The other two important characters in the story are Barba and Leonidas. Barba was an ordinary owner of a coffeehouse in Greece. Since he did not have a child, he took an interest in the boys in his quarter. When they were enrolled in the army because of the World War and some of them died or returned with disabilities, Barba's ordinary life changed. He intended to go to Egypt to participate in the antifascist movement. However, he incidentally ended up in Istanbul. Leonidas was a poor Greek. He came to Turkey for the first time when the Greek army was

occupying West Anatolia in the 1920s. His second arrival in Turkey was because of economic reasons. He probably could not make a living in Greece and came to Turkey to work. All of the characters met incidentally, however, their familiarity went beyond taproom friendship, as a result of the political atmosphere of the period.

In the story, the political atmosphere of the era was treated by narrating one night of a group of Greek and Turkish little men at a taproom. However, they were not described in a photographic realist tone. The narrator did not restrict himself to reflecting the political atmosphere of the era around the mood of his characters with a feeling of empathy. The dominant feeling in the story was hope. A group of Greek and Turkish men were in a taproom. They were friends and had similar political views despite the bad memories left over from the National Struggle, which created hope for the future. In the World War II years and a world dominated by fascist and nationalist ideologies, their antifascism gave birth to this feeling of hope for the future.

Communist parties followed a broad democratic front policy against fascism during World War II years supporting an antifascist and democratic line rather than socialist policies in capitalist countries. As I discussed in the previous chapter, the influence of the broad democratic front policy on Turkish literature was limited, contrary to literatures of many other countries. Samim Kocagöz was a member of the illegal Communist Party of Turkey. This story was one of the few concrete examples of the influence of broad democratic front policies on Turkish literature.

Why was Beyoğlu chosen for such a story? As discussed earlier, Beyoğlu had a large non-Muslim population. It was the most cosmopolitan zone of Istanbul. Hence, it was the most suitable district of Istanbul for encounters between Greeks and Turks or Christians and Muslims to take

place. Beyoğlu was a highly apt choice for a story built around Greek and Turkish characters and their friendship.

6. 15. Summer Heat and the Showcases and Loiterers of Beyoğlu

Stories like *Kir Spiro* might be seen as exceptions when most of the stories in the 1940s are considered. Little men, vagabonds, or loiterers are generally not treated in stories with themes of hope about the future; on the other hand, they were treated in their daily boredoms and joys. In addition to the Avenue, a coffeehouse and taproom we have already seen, next, I will discuss a story whose space is the front of a showcase in the Avenue: *Barometre* (Barometer) by Sait Faik.

To briefly summarize: The weather had been foggy in the city for two days. It was the beginning of June. When the fog lifted towards middays, the sky became clear as glass. However, the morning smog was still suffocating the city and its dwellers. In these hours, people always contemplated grave and boring matters. In such mornings, the narrator wanted to stand like a tree in the street and wait for an imagined tram with an uncertain destination. He wanted to wander in the streets, drawing in the sweet air. He would wander with sleepy steps, but a thought-free mind. He would watch people in stores and look at the unnecessary goods on display in the showcases. Paper boys would come running out of streets. They would be dripping with sweat. They would run with their nimble legs as if there were thousands of people wanting to buy a newspaper. The trams would move more rapidly. Little girls would run holding their skirts. He would pass through the Jewish quar-

ters which would be lively and bizarre. In foggy mornings, however, even these quarters fell silent.⁸⁷⁴

The narrator was in Beyoğlu. The intense weather was making even walking difficult. People would melt into the pavements because of the heat and humidity. He came in front of a showcase; or rather, he got stuck on the pavement in front of a showcase. There were two other people in front of the showcase in addition to him: a fire brigade sergeant and a Greek man. The Greek man, looking at the woman's corset, said that the weather was very intense. The indicator of the barometer was continuously dropping in the morning. The narrator said that even quicksilver disliked this weather. The Greek man chuckled. The fire brigade sergeant who was looking at a silk underwear turned to the narrator and asked him whether he was a bachelor. The narrator replied in the affirmative. He then posed the same question to the Greek man. He also was a bachelor. The fire brigade sergeant was also a bachelor. They kept quiet for a while. The level on the barometer continued to drop. There was probably no one who was not sweating in the city in these hours. The fire brigade sergeant pointed at the blonde mannequin and said that he wished it could be theirs. The narrator did not ask what he would do with the mannequin. The weather was hot. The narrator was incurious. The fire brigade sergeant repeated that he wished it would be his. He wished to carry her away to his home. As the Greek man and the narrator started to move on, the fire brigade sergeant continued to stare at the mannequin.⁸⁷⁵

The story consisted of a chat between three men in front of a showcase. In fact, they did not say anything significant or particularly meaningful.

⁸⁷⁴ Sait Faik. *Mahalle Kahvesi*, Istanbul: Varlık, 1954. pp. 68, 69.

⁸⁷⁵ Ibid., p. 70.

They simply did not have anything meaningful to say on such a hot and humid day. In foggy and hot weather, they did not have any work to do, either. Moreover, they could not wander in the Avenue because of the intense weather. Rather, they were loitering by holding meaningless chats rather than by wandering in the Avenue. The immobility, heat, and moisture had aroused the sexual impulses of the fire brigade sergeant. His weird words scared the narrator and the Greek man, so they had to leave the spot with the showcase and the fire brigade sergeant. As I had pointed out earlier, Beyoğlu was emptied of people in summers because of the hot and humid weather and people went to their summer houses. In summer months, Beyoğlu was left to vagabonds like the narrator and the fire brigade sergeant. The story narrated Beyoğlu on such a day.

At this juncture, I want to discuss another story in which loiterers and showcases of Beyoğlu are once again at the centre: *İlk Gençlik Sevdaları* (Loves of Early Youth) by Oktay Akbal. This is the story of two teenage boys. One of them is the narrator, the other is his friend. The friend of the narrator had two passions: the bicycle and cinema. The narrator was not interested in bicycles; however, he pretended to be for the sake of his friend.⁸⁷⁶

His friend's family used to be rich. However, his father falling sick turned their lives upside-down. They became impoverished and ultimately moved to the quarter of the narrator where poor people were living. Once upon a time, his father was running a big cinema in a provincial town. He always talked about his father's cinema to the narrator. He used to sit in the ticket office with his father and sell tickets. Later, they lost their all their possessions including the cinema. Only his child-

⁸⁷⁶ Oktay Akbal. *Bizans Definesi*, Istanbul: Yeditepe, 1953. p. 42.

hood memories were left behind, along with many cinema and movie catalogues.⁸⁷⁷

They would browse movie and cinema catalogues one by one on Sundays. Both of them loved cinema very much. They recognised all the actors. The catalogues contained pictures of movie posters and actors from the early times of the talking film. They recognized each actor and actress who was of the period, as well as all the films. When they got bored of looking at catalogues, they would start to dream: They would construct a big cinema on Beyazıt Square. They would buy a made-in-Germany cinematograph for that purpose. According to the narrator's friend, made-in-Germany machines were best. He knew the names of all such machines and the German firms in that field. Their cinema would have two doors and a large lobby. They would always play two movies simultaneously. One of them would be romance themed and the other would be an adventure movie. Other genres were not necessary. There would be a platinum blonde girl in the ticket office, as was the case in Beyoğlu cinemas. There would also be two red lipped girls to serve as ushers.⁸⁷⁸

These dreams carried the narrator away to remote years. He and his father also had the dream of opening a cinema. While he was daydreaming with his friend, he was remembering those sweet memories. They had also thought about opening their cinema on Beyazıt Square. His father would build a special loggia for children and place comfortable seats in it so that children could sit comfortably. They seriously did future plans as father and son. They decided to go to see the plot of land which they would buy in order to build a cinema on. Of course, these

⁸⁷⁷ Ibid., pp. 42,43.

⁸⁷⁸ Ibid., pp. 43,44.

dreams would never come true. Another dream of the narrator's friend was to have a bicycle. He told the narrator about his blue bicycle which he had possessed once upon a time. He told him how he had gone down slopes and outdistanced his friends in competitions. He recited many bicycle brands; the best ones were French-made according to him.⁸⁷⁹

Both of them were penniless. Their clothes and shoes were worn. However, they had a strong liking for life and the world despite everything. Avenues, showcases, and stores of their big city provided a unique broadness of vision and clarity to their dreams. They let themselves flow in the city along the tram route on hot summer days, going out from their remote quarter. While the city slept in and people were tired of life, they went to the circus in Yüksekaldırım. Its cost of entry was five kurushes. Lifeless crowds typical of hot days, and sweaty and bored non-workers were on the streets. A man swore at and chased away porters. A Greek tango was heard in the near distance.⁸⁸⁰

They looked at showcases of bookstores and phonograph and radio stores. The narrator looked at books. His friends looked at radios. They stared at all sorts of technological devices. After they drank cold lemonade on a street corner and made themselves more presentable, they went out to the Avenue. Going out to the Avenue seemed to them like a big adventure. They would see different clothes, shirts, bras, corsets, socks, and neckties. They compared cinemas of Beyoğlu with their own imagined cinema. They discussed where the doors, ticket office, and showcases of their cinema would be. Couples waited in front of cinemas. There were children who tried to collect money for a cinema ticket, begging 5 kurushes from people. They looked at people who refused

⁸⁷⁹ Ibid., p. 44.

⁸⁸⁰ Ibid., pp. 44, 45.

to give five kurushes to children and swore at them. A fat woman wandered on the pavement in front of the cinema and some strange man approached and walked away from her. They did not idle around the cinema for long. They left behind the cinemas, cowboys, naked women, and guns. They then went in front of a store which sold the most beautiful bicycles. This store was at the edge of the Avenue. His friend looked at the bicycles and gulped. He explained the differences between his old bicycle and these bicycles. They did not dare go into the store to learn their prices. There were French, German, English bicycles in that store. The narrator watched the bicycles without feeling much. He even got bored in front of the showcase; however, he did not say anything to his friend.⁸⁸¹

After that, they passed over avenues and wandered in front of other showcases and stores. It seemed to them that automobiles and bicycles at the back of showcases would come to life and start to speak. They ruminated in these moments. The narrator thought to ride one of these bicycles and to go down the quarter of his childhood from the steepest slope of the city. He wanted to pass the house of the girl who he liked. The narrator and his friend did not speak about such things much in those times. They did not open wide doors for their dreams. They kept their dreams to themselves. It was their early youth. There was only the name of the war. The streets were still crowded and showcases were still lit. There was still felicity and happiness inside of them.⁸⁸²

Both *Barometre* and this story were set in the summer. When residents of Beyoğlu left in hot and humid summer months, it was left to the loiterers like the narrators. In this story, two young men who longed for

⁸⁸¹ Ibid., pp. 45, 46.

⁸⁸² Oktay Akbal. *Bizans Definesi*, Istanbul: Yeditepe, 1953. p. 46.

their childhoods are told. The narrator's friend longed for his happy and wealthy childhood. The narrator was already poor when he was child. However, he also longs for his happy if poor childhood. They were children of a poor quarter and of poor families. Everything out of their quarter caught their attention. In summers, they went to Beyoğlu to loiter. They would first go to Yüksekaldırım, like many characters from poor quarters in our stories. There were more people who looked like them in Yüksekaldırım. While Beyoğlu was empty and people were bored on hot summer days, they loitered in Yüksekaldırım and Beyoğlu.

In the story, the Avenue is represented as a different world. Before passing onto the Avenue from Yüksekaldırım, they made themselves more presentable. The most interesting thing for them were the showcases on the Avenue. They did not possess anything which they saw in the showcases, which is why they stared at everything in them.

To focus on the narrator's position further, one of the most important characteristics of loiterature was the nostalgia for childhood and days of youth. In this story too, two characters were longing for their childhood days. However, the narrator did not long only for his childhood days. He longed for his early youth which he narrated in the story as well. He wrote this story during the darkest days of World War II. He missed the early days of the war when people were not as unhappy as in the darkest days of the War. In the darkest days of the war, the poor and unhappy narrator was longing for the happier if still poor days of the recent past. He was a literary figure who started to write during the beginning of World War II. He did not have memories from before that war.

6. 16. Little People of Galata: Melancholic Intellectuals, Street Children and Sailors

Poor or homeless children in Beyoğlu were a popular subject in the story writing of the 1940s. Both the above-mentioned *İlk Gençlik Sevdaları* and *Tüneldeki Çocuk* by Sait Faik focused on child characters. Another story by Sait Faik which focused on a child is *Balıkçısını Bulan Olta* (The Fishing Rod Which Found Its Fisherman).

A summary of its most important points follows: The city fogged up toward the evening, starting from the Golden Horn. First the seagoing barges and then the steamboats, bridges, towers, and stores disappeared under the fog. Some whistles were heard in the port at first, but then they also disappeared. The narrator was filled with joy. He looked at the port. It was as if the waters were flowing in darkness. He leaned against the lamppost and placed his feet on the rails of the dock. He was smoking. There was no one except him at the port. Two steps from the lamppost was a hashish den. After forty steps beyond this hashish den, he found a coffeehouse where women and ruffians played cards. Marika and Mad Hurşit, who were bedfellows of each other, were there. Marika was a daredevil and tart-tongued woman since she was under the protection of Hurşit.⁸⁸³

The narrator liked reading novels. He read about taprooms, whores, murderers, hotels, and dilly-dalliers of port cities in novels. At the Istanbul port, there were neither great whores nor awesome negroes and Chinese men, in contrast to the novels. When people saw the silent, narrow, muddy, and dark streets of Istanbul, they might have assumed that the city and its resident were asleep. However, Marika and Mad Hurşit

⁸⁸³ Sait Faik. *Son Kuşlar*, Istanbul: Varlık, 1952. p. 48.

kept the Istanbul port awake. On a foggy Istanbul night, he was thinking about Mad Hurşit and Marika. He looked went through his pockets. He found a fishing rod. He spent all his money on this fishing rod. He would catch fish, sell them, and drink alcohol with the money he made selling these fish. His occupation was writing, but he did not want to write anymore. He needed the freedom of love, madness, and unbridled thought to be able to write. Otherwise, he could do nothing but beat about the bush.⁸⁸⁴

He had bought a fishing rod for five liras and installed its jerkbait and gudgeon. Before the weather fogged up, he had cast the fishing line into the sea. Since he could not catch any fish, he gave up fishing for the day. He came by the lamppost and leaned against it. He placed his feet on the stones of the dock and pondered what to do. His decision was certain. Even if he could not catch any fish that night, he might catch some the next day. The fishing rod was honest, fish were silent, and the sea was blurry. “Long live freedom!” he said. After giving the lamppost a kick, he found himself on the Bridge. He then went down under the Bridge and sat down by the side. There was a boat with its shining oil-lamp, an old man drinking brandy, and a feeble child in front of him.⁸⁸⁵

While he was trying to catch fish, a child approached him. He pointed at some others and asked the narrator whether they were catching bluefish. “Yes, bluefish” the narrator affirmed. The narrator then looked at the face of the child. His face was dirty. His teeth were dark. He had a thin and long neck, a torn flat cap, and long, dirty, and beautiful fingers. The narrator asked him where he was from. He did not respond. The narrator then gave him the fishing rod and went to buy a bagel. When

⁸⁸⁴ Ibid., p. 48, 49.

⁸⁸⁵ Ibid., pp. 49, 50.

he returned, the child wanted to give back the fishing rod. "Keep it, I will take a rest!" said the narrator. The child was experienced in fishing. When he recognized that the narrator was looking at him, he said that he did not own a fishing rod and that if he had a fishing rod, he would make a good fisherman. The narrator felt like one more bagel. He went to buy one again. He ate the bagel as he watched the child from across the street. The child did not see him through the darkness. He looked behind him. When he did not see the narrator, he picked up the fishing rod and fish and walked away. When the narrator confronted him, the child was not surprised and said there was more fish there. After a short while, he narrator disappeared again. The fishing rod had found its fisherman.⁸⁸⁶

The narrator actually told of himself in this story. His occupation was writing. However, he did not want to write anymore. He needed the freedom of love and unbridled thought to be able to write; however, he did not have this freedom. Hence, he chose fishing as a new occupation. However, the child with whom he came across under the Bridge was more successful in catching fish. Therefore, he gave his fishing rod to the child. He was a man without an occupation. He could not even succeed in fishing. He could be successful only in writing. However, he did not have the freedom of love to be able to write.

The subject of freedom merits further emphasis. This story was in *Son Kuşlar* (The Last Birds) which was Sait Faik's last book before *Alemdağ'da Var Bir Yılan*. In *Son Kuşlar*, he stated several times that he did not want to write anymore. What he meant by the freedom of love was a man's freedom to love another man. Since he could not write about his love for other men, he beat about the bush, which is why he

⁸⁸⁶ Ibid., pp. 49-51.

did not want to write anymore. However, he found a solution to his predicament in his last stories collected in *Alemdağ'da Var Bir Yılan*. He changed the form of his stories and expressed his homosexual love in a surrealist and symbolist tone.⁸⁸⁷

At this juncture, I want to focus on the Galata Port as a story space. For the narrator, Galata was not as lively a port as others of the world at the beginning of the 1950s. The presence of Marika and Mad Hurşit at the port reminded him of the lively days of the port. Marika was a whore and Mad Hurşit was her bedfellow and protector. Thanks to the protection provided by Hurşit, Marika was a highly self-confident whore and hence she was able to brighten up Galata with her self-confidence and joy of life.

To return to the narrator, at the beginning of the story, he was a lonely man standing under a lamppost at the port. He did not know what to do. He did not want to write anymore. While he was thinking about what to do, he went to the Bridge. As told earlier, the Bridge was a frequent destination of penniless story characters who did not know what to do and where to go.

Like in many stories in this study, the narrator of the story lost his meaning of life, did not know what to do and took to wandering around the Galata Port. Why did he lose his meaning of life? He wanted to write about the freedom of love, but he couldn't. His life was "against public morality." Moreover, his occupation of writing brought him neither money nor respectability in society. As told earlier, young literary figures were not a part of the state elite in the 1940s anymore. The literary elite who were excluded from among the state elite still could not find a "patron." They were excluded from the bureaucracy, but not a part of

⁸⁸⁷ Fethi Naci. *Sait Faik'in Hikâyeciliği*, 2nd ed. Istanbul: YKY, 2008. pp. 51, 55.

the bourgeoisie, either. However, they were not a part of the socialist movement except for a few examples like Samim Kocagöz. There was no longer a powerful socialist movement in Turkey. In this respect, they were in a point of suspension and indecision characterized their texts.

The other character was a street child. When the narrator could not catch any fish, he gave his fishing rod to a street child. The narrator in the street could not make it in life by catching fish, but a street child could. Therefore, he left his fishing rod to the child who wanted to steal it. As in the story *Tüneldeki Çocuk*, the happiness of a street child diminished the melancholy of the narrator.

Kaptanın Namusu (The Honour of the Captain) by Haldun Taner is also set in Galata, but this story is rather different from *Balıkçısını Bulan Olta* because it tells of “real” residents of Galata, the seamen.

A summary of this story follows: The Yücel Motorboat which was carrying charcoal from Bulgaria sank because it hit a floating mine. There were seven crew members on the motorboat. Only two of them could be saved. The other five, including the captain, could not be found. Two crew members who could be saved would be dispatched to Istanbul on the next day. One of these was Kıvırcık Recep who slept along the journey. The other one was Rizeli Sadık who could not get a moment's sleep. He was sad and exhausted. He cried and grumbled all along the journey saying “dash it, what a pity”. The policeman who accompanied him and his friend tried to console him. He told the policeman that he tore his heart out. His five friends were also sturdy men, especially his captain who was very brave. He treated all crew members like they were his children. Sadık's sincere sorrow for his captain and other friends touched the policeman, too. He could not find any words to say.⁸⁸⁸

⁸⁸⁸ Haldun Taner. *Tuş*, Istanbul: Varlık, 1951. pp. 48, 49.

When they reached Istanbul, the policeman took them to the prosecutor's office. After they were interrogated there, they were released. The two friends first went to Galata after they got out of the prosecutor's office. They ate their fills in a restaurant. Sadık told Recep that he should go to Kasımpaşa and inform his wife about the captain's death. He would meanwhile go to Halıcıoğlu, where the home of one of the dead crew members was. This was their last duty towards their friends. Recep said that he could not find the captain's home so they went to his home together. The two friends walked from Şişhane to Kasımpaşa. They could not find the captain's wife at home, however. Sadık wondered where she might be wandering idly. This was her new habit. Whenever his husband set sail, she started to wander from door to door. Someone rumoured that she consorted with other men while his husband was absent. Sadık did not know whether the captain knew about what his wife did. However, the captain loved his wife very much. He bought different gifts from each port for her. He was spending all his money for his wife with pleasure. Sadık had seen the captain's wife a few times. Her name was Şaheste. She was a fat and short woman, whose breasts were saggy. He did not understand how the captain loved her. In fact, he was not married to Şaheste. She was his mistress. However, he introduced her to everyone as his wife.⁸⁸⁹

The two friends could not find the captain's wife on that day. She had gone to a wedding ceremony. They went to Halıcıoğlu crossing the Unkapanı Bridge. The dead sailor's wife was doing the laundry in front of the house. She paused when she saw Sadık and Recep. She understood that they brought sad news. As she was crying, her neighbours came and filled up the house. After a while, Recep and Sadık asked for per-

⁸⁸⁹ Ibid., pp. 49-51.

mission to leave and walked away. They did not speak along the way because they could not get the cries of the woman and children out of their minds. They returned to the coffeehouse in Galata again. Sadık told Recep that he should go to Kasımpaşa again the next day and find the captain's wife.⁸⁹⁰

Sadık supposed that Recep had found Şaheste and informed her about the captain's death. However, Recep did not go to the captain's house the next day. Since Şaheste did not know of her husband's death, she was continuing her old lifestyle. She was wandering and having fun, thinking that the captain would return after a while. One day she went to Üsküdar with a man. She had the beautiful habit of always choosing a place outside of her own quarter when cheating on her husband. Sadık saw them in a pudding shop next to the Üsküdar pier and could not believe his eyes. Even infidels would not do what Şaheste did. Her husband had died only a few days ago. After he hesitated a bit, he approached Şaheste and her partner. They were in the corner edge of the pudding shop on the upper floor. There was nobody else there. Şaheste was sitting on the lap of the man with her skirt lifted. "Stark raving mad whore" he shouted and stabbed her. After a while, some news was heard about the sunken ship. It turned out that the captain and other crew members had not died. They were saved by a Romanian transport ship. Şaheste also survived even though she was wounded. Sadık stayed in jail for a while. On the day of the trial, gendarmes were taking him away to the courtroom. A man appeared in front of him. When he saw this man, he could not believe his eyes. It was the captain. If he was not in handcuffs, he would almost embrace the captain. However, the captain's eyes were aflame with anger. He asked Sadık whether he was

⁸⁹⁰ Ibid., pp. 51-53.

proud for having stabbed a woman. He could only stab women. “If he had balls”, he would stab him rather than his wife. Sadık did not know what hit him. Once he got a hold of himself, he asked the captain why he did not tell him earlier that he was so large and easy-going. The captain turned deathly pale. He swore at Sadık and drew his gun. The gendarmes prevented him from carrying out his intention.⁸⁹¹

This is the story of ex-sailors and crewmembers who live around Galata and its vicinity. The four significant characters in the story are Sadık, his friend Recep, the Captain, and Şaheste. Sadık had an honest and macho character. In contrast to him, his friend Recep was a careless and quiet man. Recep’s carelessness propelled the plot of the fiction and became the nodus of the story. Contrary to most of the stories analysed in this study, an event rather than a situation is told. The figure of the captain is also interesting. Even though he was a masculine and macho figure in general, when it came to his wife, he digressed from the norms of the masculine culture he was part of.

In this story, Galata was a meeting point for the sailor characters. When they were saved from the foundered ship, they were brought to Galata. They ate their fills in Galata. When they could not find Şaheste, they returned to Galata again. Whatever happened, they always returned to Galata. Contrary to Sait Faik’s story, the narrator was not a character of this story. He did not get involved in narration and told the stories of the captain, his crewmates, and his wife in a realist way through a fiction which Sadık was at the centre of. In contrast, in Sait Faik’s story, while the narrator was wandering in Galata, he was focusing on his own loneliness and despair in the city space. Galata was represented as an element in the melancholy of the narrator. While Galata became a part

⁸⁹¹ Ibid., pp. 53, 59.

of the narrator's melancholy as a city space in Sait Faik's photographic realist approach, it was represented in a realist way in Haldun Taner. In Haldun Taner's story, the relationalities between the characters and characters' relationalities with the macho sailor culture were focused on.

Sait Faik had pointed out that Galata was not as lively a port as other ports of the world at the beginning of the 1950s. However, it still maintained its function as a port even if it was not as lively as it used to be in its old days. The middle class narrator told of the life in Galata and its vicinity without getting involved in the story as a character himself. He did not get involved in the fiction through which Galata was narrated. *Balıkçısını Bulan Ota*, Galata was the loitering space of the narrator who had lost hope. In contrast, in this story, the narrator's relation to Galata is not touched upon. It is only a visitor to Galata who observes the little people of Galata to make them into characters of his fiction.

6. 17. A Quarter of Beyoğlu and the "World Economy":

Şişhane

Haldun Taner's *Şişhaneye Yağmur Yağıyordu* (It Was Raining in Şişhane), narrates another quarter of Beyoğlu through multiple characters. In the story, the fact that a small quarter of Beyoğlu is a part of the flow of capital and mercantile networks in the world is made explicit. This is the only story whose space is Şişhane among those examined in this study.

The narrator begins the story by mentioning an approximately twenty years old workhorse by the name of Kalender. Kalender was used in garbage collection in Şişhane. On one occasion, while Kalender was passing through Şişhane at 3 p.m., a porter walking by was carrying a large mirror. When Kalender saw its own image in the mirror, it shied,

neighed and recoiled. The street was sloped and the ground was slippery because of the rain. The carriage reversed rapidly and crashed into the showcase of an electrician's shop.⁸⁹²

Artin Margusyan lost his head when he received an urgent telegram from a firm in Sao Paulo. He was to participate in a tender to receive goods from this firm with his partner. The firm had cut the price at the rate of twenty percent. After this piece of news, Artin Margusyan dashed out onto the street without his hat and topcoat. He got behind the wheel without waiting for his driver. Margusyan did not have a driving licence. His partner would participate in the tender in the name of their associated company. He wanted to inform his partner that the firm in Sao Paulo had cut the price. His partner might withdraw from the tender when he learned this but he did not want to. He was thinking about these things as he was driving up the slope. Next, Kalender crashed into the showcase of the electrician's shop. The tram had to stop because of the accident. Margusyan ran into the tram as it was slowing down.⁸⁹³

All the trams on the line had queued up after one another because of the accident. The seventeenth tram in the queue was in front of the Beyoğlu governorship. The rainfall got heavier. Süheyl Erbil disliked rain, rainy weather, and the smell of wet topcoats in trams during rainy weather. For that reason, he went out from the tram and lighted up his tobacco pipe. While he was waiting in front of the Beyoğlu governorship, a group of people who were exiting a wedding event appeared in front of him. He felt his loneliness and bachelorship more intensely in rainy weather. He believed that he should have been married and had a small

⁸⁹² Haldun Taner. *Şişhaneye Yağmur Yağıyordu*, Istanbul: Varlık, 1955. pp. 3-6.

⁸⁹³ Ibid., pp. 6-9.

and warm household with a young woman by then. He took a depth breath and looked at his watch. The tram was still stationary. If he waited for five more minutes, he would miss the ferry. He started to walk rapidly.⁸⁹⁴

Artin Margusyan caught a strong whiff of ether, and he thought that if he could smell that, he must have been alive. He slowly opened his eyes. A woman shouted, announcing that he regained consciousness. A man was repeatedly asking him for his driving licence. He was hearing the words, but could not understand anything. A man gave him an injection of adrenaline.⁸⁹⁵

People gathered around the car. They were speaking among themselves. A police commissar and two policemen came near Artin. The electrician went out from the shop and handed a bill for the damages to the commissar. The girl who had been looking at lampshades before the accident was waiting at the shop's door. Meanwhile, she saw Süheyl Erbil who was going toward the Bankalar Avenue. She called out to him. He returned and said "Serap, it's you!" The young woman looked in his eyes. Süheyl felt a warmness inside. He thought that she had become even more beautiful. He wondered why his heart was beating like crazy. She asked why he was not in Ankara. He had come to Istanbul for a lawsuit and would return on Monday. He was a lawyer. While they were talking, Serap revealed her hands under the colour of fixing her hood. There was no ring on her fingers. He thought about the beautiful time they had in the past. Early youth was an era of silliness and doltishness. People tried to be different from everyone else in this era of their lives. Süheyl had also successively become a rightist, a leftist, a racist, a

⁸⁹⁴ Ibid., pp. 9-11.

⁸⁹⁵ Ibid., pp. 11, 12.

Turkist, an anarchist, and an idealist in this era. Although his heart would sink at her sight, he had pretended to be uninterested in Serap. He was flying high in those times. Being an MP had seemed to him as easy as to be elected to a student union's administrative board. However, he only managed to become an ordinary lawyer.⁸⁹⁶

She said that he was getting wet and that he should come under the eaves. In her voice, there was the compassion of a woman trying to protect her man. While in university, he had thought that no one had understood him. He was not interested in girls while in university. Rather, he had preferred to talk about politics and social issues with his male friends. He had once told Serap that he did not like those selfish people who cared about nothing except their own interests. Serap had raised one of her eyebrows and asked whether he hadn't loved any of them. Süheyl had not responded to this question on that day. If he had done so, everything might have been different. Serap might have gone to the remotest edge of Anatolia with him.⁸⁹⁷

Artin Margusyan recovered his senses. He was twittering, telling the policemen that they should let go of him. He only had to call up his partner, after which he could go wherever they wished. The police smilingly said that he should come to the police station first and then he could call up whoever he wanted. Artin was eyeing his golden watch whose glass was broken and dirtied with blood. If he could not send a message to his partner, he would be ruined. The policeman thought to himself that if it was up to him, he might let Margusyan call up his partner. However, the commissar and other policemen had a grave expression on their faces. There was no need for tender-heartedness the po-

⁸⁹⁶ Ibid., pp. 12- 14.

⁸⁹⁷ Ibid., pp. 14, 15.

liceman told himself. Far was it from him to be concerned for the interests of that non-Muslim. One of the tram passengers rolled a log for Artin. They should let him make the call, he said. He could lose money or go bankrupt. After all, he had not gotten anyone killed. However, the policeman ultimately did not allow it.⁸⁹⁸

As if Süheyl and Serap were not in Şişhane, it was not raining, and there were no people within three steps of them, Serap was telling Süheyl that maybe he was right, but he should have considered her feelings. On the other hand, Margusyan was shouting his head off. He knew he did not have a driving licence. He would reimburse the loss and pay his penalty. However, he was asking to make one call for God's sake. Süheyl accepted his unfaithfulness. However, how could he have written a letter to her, especially after she became lovers with a military medical student. Serap burst out into laughter. He was her cousin. While she was talking, policemen and other people were trying to clear the wreckage of the accident. Their hues and cries were mingling with the speeches of Süheyl and Serap.⁸⁹⁹

It was the month of November and hence autumn in Şişhane. Meanwhile, in Sao Paulo, it was spring. While it was 18:30 in Şişhane, it was 13:30 in Sao Paulo. Sevira Marono Lorenza was mopping his brow. He called out to his son Pedro and asked whether there was any news from Istanbul. Pedro was thinking of the Argentinean belly dancer who he saw in a bar on the previous night. He did not hear the question. His father loudly asked again. Still no news from Margusyan, he said. The father said that he probably could not get the tender because they had cut the price by twenty percent. Pedro stood up and approached his

⁸⁹⁸ Ibid., pp. 15, 16.

⁸⁹⁹ Ibid., pp. 16, 20, 21.

father. A man called Alois Morgenrot had made them an offer. He asked his father whether he remembered Morgenrot. Since he wanted to do business by way of credit, they had not accepted his offer. However, the guarantor was trustworthy. They might send Margusyan's lot to him. Old Lorenzo looked at his son. That was not a bad idea.⁹⁰⁰

From this point on, the narrator started to tell the story of Alois Morgenrot in Hamburg. He was a Czech Jew whose family had migrated to Hamburg fifty years prior. During Hitler's government and World War II, he travelled to many different regions of Europe with his family to evade the Nazis. He knew disease, hunger, and misery. He even sold his gold teeth because of dire circumstances. When the war ended, he returned to Hamburg. He avoided death unlike his many friends. He was alive and returned to health. However, unemployment broke his back. If he had capital of about twenty thousand marks, everything might have been better. He was working as a broker. He scanned job announcements in newspapers in different languages. He wrote proposal forms to firms he hoped he could get a positive response from. Even the typewriter which he used was rented.⁹⁰¹

The bell of Morgenrot's house was rung. His little daughter was clapping her hands, saying that her mom had come. However, Frau Morgenrot did not ring the bell. She had a key. When Alois Morgenrot opened the door, he saw a mailman. A telegram had come from Brazil. His face went as white as a sheet when he read the telegram. "Thank goodness" he shouted out. He joyfully tipped the mailman. The mailman had not received a tip from Morgenrot before his entire life. He thought that Morgenrot had probably gone mad. Morgenrot hugged his daughter,

⁹⁰⁰ Ibid., pp. 21-23.

⁹⁰¹ Ibid.

telling her he could buy whatever she wished. On a different day, it was raining in Şişhane again. Kalender was once again pulling the garbage car. It saw itself in the mirror again. However, this time, it did not shy and neigh.⁹⁰²

The story tells of how an accident in Şişhane influenced the affairs of a businessman in Sau Paulo and changed the life of an entrepreneur in Hamburg who was bankrupt because of Nazis. While the entrepreneur in Hamburg, Morgenrot, was rising again, Margusyan in Istanbul declined and a horse in Şişhane was responsible for all of it. An accident in Şişhane changed the decision of a businessman in Sau Paulo and determined the fate of a man in Hamburg.

As in many of his other stories, Haldun Taner did not get involved in the narration in this story as a character either. He told the story of ordinary people like a medium businessman Margusyan, Süheyl Erbil, his ex-girlfriend Serap, and Morgenrot in Hamburg. The story space was Şişhane; however, the events that occurred in Şişhane influenced the decision of a rich businessman, Marona Lorenza in Sau Paulo and determined the fates of Margusyan in Istanbul and Morgenrot in Hamburg.

Haldun Taner's representation of the city is similar to Balzac's representation of the city mentioned in the second chapter. He treated his characters through their relationatilies in the city which were in turn shaped by their economic and class positions which were also influenced by the world economy. As explained by Simmel, the most determinative factor in the modern metropolis was money and the money economy. We saw this fact revealed once more in Haldun Taner's story. The city was shaped by money and the money economy rendered its

⁹⁰² Ibid., p. 24.

residents indifferent towards the events that occurred in their spheres. While Artin Margusyan was crying out and Şişhane was turning upside down, Süheyl and Serap were talking to each other about a completely different matter. They would probably become lovers again and even get married.

In this story, the narrator was not a character of the story and was not influenced by the events told in the story. Rather, he was a God's eye view narrator who knew and conveyed everything to the reader as in Balzac's works. The intellectual author narrated a small quarter of Beyoğlu and the people within it in relation to world politics and economy which he was knowledgeable about. He showed at the same time that despite everything, the metropolis was the best place for loitering. An accident occurred, it was raining, and the hues and cries of people clearing the wreckage of the accident were heard. However, Süheyl and Serap could still be alone with each other in such an atmosphere, since the modern metropolis shaped by money and the money economy provided anonymity to people as shown in Balzac's novels and told in Simmel's books. Beyoğlu was the centre of Istanbul, the modern metropolis, and Galata and neighbourhoods in its vicinity like Şişhane were the focal points of monetary networks.

In the story, the narrator mentioned the influence World War II had on a Jew living in Prague. As pointed out in the previous chapter, Haldun Taner was a student in Heidelberg University until a short while before World War II. He witnessed many problems which Jews in Europe faced because of the Nazis. Perhaps for this reason, he was able to make a European Jewish character a part of his stories.

6. 18. ‘Hacığa’s in Beyoğlu

Even though World War II was mentioned in Haldun Taner’s story in a different context, it was usually treated in Turkish literature through traders enriching themselves in war conditions. In the 1940s, these rich traders were called “hacığa”s in popular culture. I will now discuss three stories whose characters are ‘*hacığa*’s.

These three stories were written by Sait Faik. The first one is *Beyaz Altın* (White Gold). Even though the figure of the “*hacığa*” became popular in the World War II years, Sait Faik narrated a *hacığa* character in this story in the book *Sarmıç* which he published in 1939, just before World War II broke out. This is the story of a merchant and a clerk set in an Anatolian town. However, Beyoğlu also has an important place in the story. Sait Faik’s short stories, whose story space is the province, usually take place in Sakarya where he was born. A merchant called Eskicizade is the richest and leading man of this Anatolian town. The clerk was working in one of the government offices in the town. They usually had chats with each other or rather, the merchant spoke and the clerk listened. The merchant sometimes helped the clerk financially and shared his lunch with the clerk. These lunches were exuberant so the clerk tolerated his long talks. One day, Eskicizade told the clerk that his teeth were aching. He asked the clerk to accompany him to Istanbul where he would get a dental plate installed.⁹⁰³

Eskicizade was a merchant who collected wheat from villagers to sell. On the same day that Eskicizade offered the clerk to go to Istanbul, sacks full of wheat were brought to his storehouse. The clerk was helping him in accounting. The wheats that came in was more than estimat-

⁹⁰³ Sait Faik. *Sarmıç*, Istanbul: Sertel Matbaası, 1939. p. 27.

ed. It should have been eight tons when in fact it exceeded that amount by a ton or two. The clerk ran the calculations over and over; however, the result did not change. He asked Eskicizade why the wheat was in greater quantity than estimated. He smiled, but did not say anything.⁹⁰⁴ While they were having lunch, Eskicizade summoned the weighbridge operator Ali. He was actually the weighbridge operator of the municipality, however, everything which belonged to the municipality in the town, belonged to Eskicizade at the same time, since he was the leading man of the town. Ali explained how this surplus was collected. The trick was that they fiddled with the adjustments on the weighbridge. The clerk felt sick from what he ate with Eskicizade. The food he had been eating in lunches was earned by way of fraud. He managed not to puke out his lunch; however, he left the town for good and moved to Istanbul that night. Istanbul was a whole different ball game. Thousands of "Eskicizade"s were living there. In Istanbul, too, hungry people looked at "Eskicizade"s as poor people did in the town. In Istanbul, too, people were speaking about the war and how bad the times were. The First World War had never ended.⁹⁰⁵

Songs for the fatherland were sang in bazaars and young poets and authors cried out "long live war!" There were many men eating, drinking and smiling in Istanbul, however, there were also many other men who were unable to. A while after he came to Istanbul, the clerk chanced upon Eskicizade in a hotel in Sirkeci. Eskicizade reproached him. He also kept Eskicizade at a distance, however, soon afterwards, they cosied up. They went to a beautiful apartment in Beyoğlu. They spent time with three beautiful girls in this apartment. There was even caviar at the ta-

⁹⁰⁴ Ibid., p. 28.

⁹⁰⁵ Ibid., pp. 28, 29.

ble. However, the girls were staring at the French bread rather than the caviar. The day after, Eskicizade and the clerk went to the dentist. The dentist offered platin teeth rather than golden teeth and demanded a huge sum of money. Eskicizade spent the money which he had gained from the wheat trade on the dentist. As he was returning to the town, he found a job for the clerk in Istanbul.⁹⁰⁶

The clerk settled permanently in Istanbul but visited the town from time to time. The last time he went to the town, Eskicizade was unhappy. He could not eat as before. He had a pain on the left side of his chest and shortly after, he died of a heart attack. Many people were pleased by his death, but not the clerk. He even felt sorrow, after all he had eaten at Eskicizade's largesse. Eskicizade was buried in the cemetery of the town. After some time, the municipality moved this cemetery to a different location. While the remains were being moved, no bones could be found in Eskicizade's grave. The essence of the matter was discovered shortly after. One of the criminals responsible had gotten arrested, however, since he denied the accusations and there was no proof, he was released. After he was released, however, he told someone in the town what he did. They had heard that "white gold", by which he meant platinum, was worth a lot of money. They knew that Eskicizade had spent all the money he made from his last wheat trade on platin teeth so they opened the grave and stole his teeth. Afterwards, they threw his remains into the river. As soon as they sold the platin teeth, they went to Istanbul and spent all the money in Beyoğlu with old whores in tap-rooms.⁹⁰⁷

⁹⁰⁶ Ibid., p. 29.

⁹⁰⁷ Ibid., pp. 30, 31.

Beyoğlu had become a centre of attraction for provincial merchants during World War I just like during World War II. Sait Faik wrote this story set in the time of World War I when World War II was nearing. Everyone estimated in those years that a new World War would break out. However, we may credit Sait Faik for predicting that provincial merchants, who would be referred to as *hacıağas* in the years of World War II, would once again appear in Beyoğlu during the new world war. His representation of the *hacıağa* was different from the authors of the supervisory generation in the 1940s. In his short story, Eskicizade was not an element of humour. His purpose was not to make the readers laugh due to being comical or lacking manners. Moreover, the source of his wealth was clearly explained in the story. In short, Eskicizade was not a caricatured type.

As mentioned earlier, there were many stories whose story space consisted of provinces around Sakarya and Kocaeli in Sait Faik's first three books. This story was also one of them, however, Beyoğlu played a critical role in the story. Eskicizade was the leading man of his town. He prospered further by taking advantage of the conditions during the World War I years. He was spending his money in Beyoğlu. As many wealthier people living in or around Istanbul did, he went to dentists in Beyoğlu when he had a toothache. When poor boys from his town stole his platinum dental plate, they spent the money in Beyoğlu too, with old whores. Beyoğlu was a centre of attraction while World War I was ongoing as well.

In the World War I years, Istanbul was also the centre of every kind of inequality. While the majority of people went hungry, a small minority was living in luxury. Beyoğlu remained the centre of this luxury even though it was also influenced negatively by wartime conditions. Under these conditions, some young literary figures were singing heroic songs

for the motherland. Sait Faik however, was criticizing them in this story since they did not tell the people the truths, but sang heroic songs instead.

As stated in the previous chapter, the feeling of empathy held an important place in Sait Faik's stories. As was narrated his characters, he told his own story at the same time. In this short story, too, he wanted to show his identification with his character, speaking through the words of the clerk. The clerk knew that Eskicizade was a bad man; he robbed the farmers. Sometimes he got angry with him, however, his friendship with Eskicizade continued. He could not muster sufficient strength to object to Eskicizade. Even though it bothered him, he did not do anything. He was like all little men and all antiheroes. He was an impotent man who was unable to act. Since the narrator identified himself with this clerk, he did not narrate him in a negative light. He did not make Eskicizade look particularly bad either. He cheated everyone; however, he favoured a little clerk for no selfish reason. Men who robbed the dead were also not evil people. They merely took back what Eskicizade had stolen from them. Everyone did evil deeds; however, no one was evil in this story.

Sait Faik's realist attitude stems from his feeling of empathy rather than a socialist inclination. This feeling of empathy is in turn a product of the exclusion of the story writer from the state elite and his lack of a patron. When the author who was not a part of the state elite and the bourgeoisie could not become a part of the socialist movement either, his realism evolved into photographic realism. That is, while the author was turning into a superfluous man, his realism became a "modernist realism" rather than social realism. In this *hacıağa* story, Sait Faik's photographic or modernist realist approach can be observed clearly.

Another *hacığa* story by Sait Faik is *Rıza Milyoner* (Millionaire Rıza) in *Alemdağ'da Var Bir Yılan*. Millionaire Rıza had not been to Istanbul since 1937. He returned to Istanbul after 16 years, in 1953. When he got off the train, he was very confused and regretful for having left his slippers and his house. He missed his wife, son, and daughter. He settled in a hotel in Sirkeci.⁹⁰⁸ In *Beyaz Altın* too, Eskicizade first came to Sirkeci when he came to Istanbul. Provincial men who came to Istanbul stayed in hotels in Sirkeci and went to Beyoğlu for entertainment.

As Rıza was checking into the hotel in Sirkeci, he continued to miss his house. He thought that if science advanced some more, then he could fly to his house. After he had settled in the hotel, he went to a coffeehouse. A newspaper distributor entered the coffeehouse shouting "Marshal Tito shot in London!" He bought a newspaper from the child immediately. He possessed thousands of kilos of onions, potatoes, garlic, oats, and corns. If a new world war were to erupt, he could become a millionaire which was his singular aim. He had inherited a house, a shop, and a field from his father Hafız Saim Efendi. He was a medium-scale merchant.⁹⁰⁹

His cornfield was by the riverside. While he was in Istanbul, he remembered how the moonlight shone on his cornfield. The moonlight in Bosphorus was pale in comparison to the moonlight in his cornfield. He sold this cornfield to a sugar factory. They paid him 1,000 liras per its 1,000 square meters for a total of 300,000 liras. Just then, he also earned 60,000 liras from the lottery. With that, his capital reached 500,000 lira. However, after he became rich, he became more of a more penny pincher than in the past. Now he needed another 500,000 to raise his capital

⁹⁰⁸ Sait Faik. *Bütün Eserleri 7: Alemdağ'da Var Bir Yılan*, 2. ed. Istanbul: Bilgi, 1976. p. 49.

⁹⁰⁹ Ibid., *Alemdağ'da*, pp. 49, 51.

to a million. His surname was Karagözoğlu. However, he changed it, along with the signboard of his store to Millionaire.⁹¹⁰

If a war broke out, he could become a real millionaire through speculation. He looked at the photograph of Tito. If this news was true, a war might indeed be imminent. World War I had also erupted in Serbia, after all. On the other hand, he remembered his son. If a war did erupt, then his son would be recruited. He was in a bind. While he was looking at the trams in Sirkeci, he was thinking of his wife. She was probably fast asleep and snoring.⁹¹¹

When he had visited Istanbul 16 years prior, he had come along with his father to visit a doctor. They had stayed in the Sirkeci again. That hotel had been near the hotel which he was staying in now. The doctor diagnosed Rıza with somnambulism and told Rıza's father that if he married a woman, his illness could be controlled. For this reason, his wife always put his feet upon Rıza's feet while sleeping.⁹¹²

While he was going to Istanbul, his wife cried. She knew his illness and was scared that he would go through a bad episode. He intended to go to Beyoğlu, and for that reason, he had not brought his wife to Istanbul. However, now he did not want to go to Beyoğlu. He was scared. The next day he would sell his all goods and return to his town. He stayed alone in his room and slept. The next day the following news would appear in newspapers: "A man who stayed in a hotel in Sirkeci fell out of the window and died." A few days later, follow up news was published in the newspapers: The man who died by falling out of the window in

⁹¹⁰ Ibid., p. 52.

⁹¹¹ Ibid., pp. 53, 54.

⁹¹² Ibid., p. 55.

Sirkeci had the illness of somnambulism. He fell out of the window as a result of a crisis which gripped him at night.⁹¹³

Even though Beyoğlu was mentioned only once, it had a central place in this short story. Since Rıza wanted to go to Beyoğlu, he did not bring his wife to Istanbul, which led to his death. If his wife had placed her feet on his feet while he was sleeping in the hotel room like usual, he would not have died. However, he wanted to have fun in Beyoğlu as other provincial rich men did. He had worked very hard to become rich and was on the verge of a being a millionaire.

Sait Faik paid a lot of regard to the physical characteristics of people. While examining *Uzun Ömer*, *Kestaneci Dostum*, and *Diş ve Diş Ağrısı Bilmeyen Adam*, earlier I had put this explicitly. Physical characteristics and disabilities of characters had a central place in the stories. In this short story, the somnambulism of the character shaped his entire life. Since he was a somnambulist, he married early, so he led a regular family life. He had not visited Istanbul for sixteen years because of his illness. However, he wanted to be a millionaire. He could not restrict himself to the Anatolian city in which he lived. He had to do business in Istanbul as well.

In this story too, Sait Faik's background as a crime reporter played an important role. The story's point of departure was a piece of news in the paper which was probably reported by him anyway. The provincial rich man was not a caricaturized type in the story. The short story did not include any element of humour. Moreover, Rıza was not depicted as a bad man. He was only as bad as everyone else. He made plans of becoming rich. For this reason, the war had to break out. On the other hand, while he was thinking about the war, he thought of his son and

⁹¹³ Ibid., p. 57.

family at the same time. In short, he was a man like everyone else. The difference of the photographic realism of Sait Faik from social realism can be seen clearly by way of these two stories. Social realism reflected reality in order to change and transform it. However, photographic realism reflected it without any social agenda, as I discussed in the first chapter.

7

A New Rhythm of the City

Istanbul witnessed two big transformations in its long history before the twentieth century. Its first transformation happened in the fifteenth century when it was conquered by the Ottomans. It witnessed its second transformation after the 1830s with the Ottoman English Trade Treaty and the Imperial Edict of Gülhane. Traditional urban policies shaped by Islamic law were gradually replaced by more modern and European ones after the 1830s.

The modernization of Istanbul continued in the Republican Era as well. The transformation in the Republican Era can be separated into two periods; before and after Henri Prost. Henri Prost was a French architect and city planner who came to Turkey in 1935 with the invitation of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk. He prepared a city plan for Istanbul. From 1935 to the 1950s, the structural transformations of the city were made ac-

cording to his plan. This plan has continued to affect the structure of the city long after this era.⁹¹⁴

Under the Democrat Party government between 1950 and 1960, especially between 1956 and 1960, Istanbul experienced a wide range of construction activities. The old silhouette of the city changed dramatically. Even though Prost's plan was not strictly followed in this period, the plan did constitute the legal framework of construction activities.⁹¹⁵ In short, Istanbul began to be administrated according to modern municipal rules after the second half of the nineteenth century. Like every other modern metropolis, Istanbul had a rhythm peculiar to itself. The rhythm of the metropolis had a central importance in some of the fiction written in the 1940s. I discuss these stories in the section below.

7. 1. The Rhythm of the City and the Bridge

The first story that is significant in this context is *Dolmuş* (To the Dolmush) by Sabahattin Kudret Aksal. This is the story of a dolmush (shuttle) rowboat and its five regular passengers. Five men took the same dolmush rowboat at the same hour every evening. Amazingly, they would meet in an empty plot of land downside the Bridge on the Golden Horn side in Eminönü most evenings as a coincidence. They crossed over from Eminönü to Galata by the dolmush rowboat. At first, they were surprised to see themselves come together at the same hour at the

⁹¹⁴ F. Candaş Bilse and Pierre Pinon (eds.) *From the Imperial Capital to the Republican Modern City: Henri Prost's Planning of İstanbul*. İstanbul: İstanbul Araştırmaları Enstitüsü, 2010. 39.

⁹¹⁵ Murat Gül. *The Emergence of Modern İstanbul: Transformation and Modernisation of a City*. İstanbul: Sel Yayıncılık. 2015. 148.

same place almost each day of a week. However, their feeling of surprise eventually gave way to the feeling of familiarity.⁹¹⁶

One of the customers of this strange rowboat was a clerk working in a store of provisions on one of the side streets around the Yemiş Pier. Two others were siblings who were working in a knitting atelier around Yeşildirek. They were twins, but they did not look like each other. Hüseyin Effendi was the oldest man in the rowboat. He had a small grocery shop in Marpuççular. The fifth one was a university student. He went straight down to Eminönü from Beyazıt toward 6 p.m. Each evening, they travelled over different streets, dirt roads, cobbled pavements, or parqueteries. However, they met in front of the same dolmush rowboat at the same hour.⁹¹⁷

For the narrator, the city operated as a watch and as a factory. It swallowed hundreds of thousands of people at mornings. Hundreds of thousands of people rolled and grinded between its gear wheels. The daily products of the city get stored and loaded on trucks, trains, and ferryboats. The revolving of gear wheels slows down toward the evening, when most people gather around dolmush rowboats.⁹¹⁸

Dolmush rowboats were broad and comfortable. One of the most comfortable of them was Hasan's rowboat on which the five characters travelled. A warm song of the sea could be felt in this rowboat. The smell of sea and salt chilled the person to the bone. One could see the seagulls flying low and Yenicami which acquired a colour in between ashen and black. As long as paddles squealed, it seemed to the passengers that someone was speaking. They gathered around in this rowboat

⁹¹⁶ Sabahattin Kudret Aksal. *Gazoz Ağacı ve Diğer Öyküler*, 15th ed., Istanbul: Yapı Kredi, 2013. p. 250.

⁹¹⁷ Ibid.

⁹¹⁸ Ibid., p. 251.

after taking different paths, and when the rowboat approached the pier, they took different streets, went up different slopes, and reached different houses. For example, the clerk, whose house was on one of the side streets of Tarlabası, would pick up his little son and carry him home. Whenever he returned from work, he found his son in the street playing in the empty land in front of their homes. One of the two siblings who were working in a knitting atelier was married and the other one was single. They lived in the same house. They walked together toward Galatasaray from Tunnel and parted ways when they got there. The single one was going to the coffeehouse to play cards. After the coffeehouse, he went to the tripery. When he returned to the house, his brother and his brother's wife were already asleep. Hüseyin Effendi sat in the rowboat sourly since he had a long way to go to his home in Feriköy. Besides, his wife was rheumatic and he had to wait at least 10 minutes until she opened the door. His wife did not give the keys to his husband because she got scared when the door opened without warning. The university student had a heap of journals and books under his arm. He looked neither at the sea nor the seashore. As soon as he sat in the rowboat, he was lost in thoughts. He was interested in poetry. Sometimes he murmured something. In such moments, Hüseyin Effendi looked at him blankly. The siblings nudged each other and smiled. The clerk looked at his books or journals out of the corner of his eyes. The boatman Hasan continued to paddle without regard.⁹¹⁹

Some days they smiled to each other, but did not speak. Some days they spoke in short sentences. One evening they caught the smell of salt more intensely than usual. It stung their nasal passages. Thus, they understood that summer was coming. After a while, one of the siblings

⁹¹⁹ Ibid., pp. 251, 252.

started not to show up sometimes. On those days, the fifth member would become a stranger. Their steady group was no more. The mechanic was broken. Soon afterwards, the rowboat gained a new regular who became the new fifth person. He was a harmonica player named Stephan. Who was this young man with an old face? All they knew about him was that he was playing the harmonica in taprooms at nights. He told them different stories every evening. He told many things about his own life, as well. All of them listened to him curiously. One day he told that when he was a child, his father yelled at him and his mother and threw them out. He and his mother spent that night in the dishwashing unit of an orphanage. What he told fascinated Hüseyin Effendi very much since he did not read novels to fulfil his need for adventure on a fictional level. Another evening, the harmonica player told the story of a woman with whom he had lived together for six months. The woman left him and went after a shipmaster. Perhaps they were in Pire, Napoli, or Casablanca. Four of them were speechless and gazed at him in astonishment. They were looking ahead to the next day to listen to another one of Stephan's stories. Stephan was not like them. He lived intensely. They admired him because he introduced the extraordinary into their ordinary lives. They were imagining the taproom where he was playing the harmonica and his house in Kumkapı. It seemed to them that it was a candle lit house in which a coquette jumped out from the picture frame on the wall and wandered in the house all night.⁹²⁰

After a while, Stephan disappeared for a few months during which Hüseyin Effendi invented stories for other regulars of the rowboat, claiming he had seen the harmonica player, that he had dropped by at his shop, etc. For the narrator, the evening meant the cooling down of

⁹²⁰ Ibid., pp. 252-254.

gears of the city and the shouts of boatmen, summoning people “to dolmush.” In these hours, the regulars of dolmush rowboats saw that some rotten water melons, broken chairs, and large and small barrels were floating in the sea. There were small coffeehouses with yellow rooftops on the seashore. Porter children who slept in their panniers were at least as cute as the Golden Horn. At nights, people could be seen playing backgammon in those coffeehouses. In the evening, factory workers, women, and shopkeepers of Mahmutpaşa poured out onto the rowboat pier. When the boatmen saw this crowd, they began to shout, calling people to their dolmushes. When five people gathered onto a boat, they would depart.⁹²¹

In terms of the story space of this story, the Bridge was a meeting point where people who were working and living in different places of Be-yoğlu and Istanbul came together in a dolmush rowboat at the same hour. It seemed like a coincidence at first, but the university student in the rowboat recognized that what seemed like a coincidence at first was in fact a product of the mechanics of the city. This student was in fact the writer himself, a poet. Furthermore, the narrator’s metaphor of mechanics which he used at the beginning of the story for the city was used by the university student at the middle of the story.

The narrator explains a very basic principle of the city life in this story: the city has an order in itself which is sometimes perceived as a coincidence by ordinary people. The loiterer “narrator”, who lives among ordinary people discovers this order and treats it in a story. Another principle of the city life is that the residents of cities get used to everything which they at first see as coincidences and novelties in a short span of time. These coincidences and novelties become a part of “the ordinary”.

⁹²¹ Ibid., pp. 254, 255.

However, at the same time, they also need the extraordinary within their ordinary lives. The story teller Stephan was satisfying the passengers' need for the extraordinary. Whether what he told was real or fiction was not important. The narrator however, was different from Stephan as a fictionist. He lived among ordinary people and told of their own ordinary lives.

In this story, the Bridge is a passageway rather than a workplace or a site of loitering. It was scene to the circulation of ordinary and working people of the city at every morning and evening. It was their gathering point. Hence, it witnessed a range of different people and it was the site of coincidence for ordinary people who did not recognize each other. The underside of the Bridge was also scene to a great amount of human diversity every morning and evening by way of the dolmush rowboats. Besides, Beyoğlu was represented not only as an entertainment but also a residential zone in this story. The clerk working in Eminönü was living in Tarlabası. The twins were living close to Galatasaray. Beyoğlu was the site not only of loitering but also of family life.

As clearly seen in the story, the narrator thought that the city had a rhythm in itself. This rhythm stemmed from the production activities in the metropolis. He underlined the production activities in the city, pointing out the similarity between a modern metropolis and a gear wheel. The city swallowed hundreds of thousands of people like a factory each day and daily products were loaded on trucks, trains, and ferryboats. The movement of people and the city were determined according to the movement of "the gear wheels of the factory." That is, little people of the city were not independent from the movement of the "gear wheels." The narrator was also one of these little people swallowed by the gear wheels of the city. His difference from other little people was that he could see how this mechanic worked.

This story is very important among other stories studied in this dissertation in one of its aspects. As I mentioned in the previous chapter, Istanbul was the city of labourers rather than industrial workers in the 1940s. It was not an industrial city. However, it was a modern metropolis shaped by modern production and the money economy. Therefore, it worked like a factory among whose gear wheels the residents of the city were swallowed. *Dolmuş* by Aksal drew on this fact with its theme.

Another story in which the rhythm of the city can be observed is *Neveser* by Ziya Osman Saba. The main character of this story is a ferry cruising between Kanlıca and the Bridge, which is a part of the narrator's nostalgia about his childhood and youth. The narrator first saw Neveser when he was a child. Its name was written in Arabic letters in those times; so, he read it as "*Nevasir*" because he had only recently learned how to read. While the narrator was a child, Neveser was also in its time of infancy. He would go to visit his relatives in Yeniköy with his grandmother by taking the Neveser. He always remembered those visits. Neveser was a paddle steamer and did not look like the other Bosphorus ferries. It seemed more beautiful thanks to shining brightly and its lank prow. Its smokestack was canary yellow which formed a beautiful contrast with the aqua blue of the sky.⁹²²

Neveser was used as a cruiser in World War I. The narrator remembered its return from the Black Sea expedition with other cruisers which saluted the Sultan in front of Dolmabahçe Palace. Years later, he saw the Arabic letters on Neveser get replaced by Latin letters. "Neveser" was inscribed in Latin letters on its prow. During this period, he commuted from Kalamış to the Galata Bridge via the Neveser. Some-

⁹²² Ziya Osman Saba. *Mesut İnsanlar Fotoğrafhanesi*, Istanbul: Varlık, 1952. p.73.

times he would return from an exam he succeeded at; other times it carried him to Babiali on holidays and he wandered in bookstores.⁹²³

Neveser gradually grew old, like the narrator did. One day, it would make its last sail and have lived out its life. Because it had gotten older, it would fail to make the departure and arrival times or when it got towed out for maintenance, it would not run again. It would be last seen in newspapers and it would be announced that the senior Neveser ferry was now invalid and removed from the fleet. It would no longer cruise between Kalamış and the Bridge. It would be left to rust behind the concrete walls of the Haliç Pier. It would have a fate similar with human beings. After it “died”, it would be left to decay.⁹²⁴

As discussed in the sixth chapter, the Bridge and piers around it were remembered not only for their own sake but also by way of the common objects like Neveser that resided in the common memories of the city residents. The only two characters of the story were Neveser and the narrator. He first saw the Neveser when he was a child, when Neveser was also in its “age of infancy.” Neveser had a place in his childhood, his teenage and school years. He could not imagine his childhood and studentship apart from Neveser. Their memories were so interwoven that as Neveser was getting old, the narrator was also feeling that he had gotten old and was nearing his death. The ferryboat became a part of the narrator’s existential issues.

The narrator longed for the beautiful old days of his childhood and youth as in many of his other stories. Perhaps he believed that he could not live the life he wanted or perhaps he did not know what a life he

⁹²³ Ibid., pp. 76, 77.

⁹²⁴ Ibid., pp. 82, 83.

would have wanted looked like. All he knew was that he was not content with his present life and he missed his childhood and youth.

The narrator's representation of Neveser provided many clues to the position of the Bridge and the piers within Istanbul in the 1940s. Via the ferries, a man residing in Kalamış could continue to live there from his childhood to his maturity. He could go to visit his relatives, to school, and to work on the European side without moving out of his house on the Anatolian side. As I mentioned briefly in the third chapter, public transportation, including sea transportation, began in Istanbul in the second half of the nineteenth century. After the Bridge was constructed and public transportation developed, the Bridge and the Eminönü piers turned into the "doors" of the city linking different residential zones to each other. In this way, people like the narrator of the story lived on the Anatolian side, but went to the school or work in Beyoğlu. Thereby, the Bridge and the Eminönü piers turned into centres of encounters and coincidences.

In *Dolmuşa*, the rhythm of the metropolis was cited positively or at least neutrally. In this story however, corrosive side of this same rhythm is told. If rural life can be characterized as slow and hard, the city life can be characterized as both fast and hard for ordinary people. In the city, the commodities shared the same fate as people. Neither people nor commodities could accommodate themselves to the speed and rhythm of the city. At one point, they get set out to the pasture and await death. That is why the feeling of nostalgia for the beautiful days of childhood and youth had a very important place in both the city life and modernist literature that focused on this city life. The commodities also became a part of this feeling of nostalgia.

In *Dolmuşa*, the city was likened to a factory. That is, the speed of the metropolis was related to the production activity in the metropolis. In

this story, the speed and its corrosiveness were seen as a natural part of the city life; however, no explanation was made about the roots of this speed, which might be related to the nostalgic approach of the narrator.

7. 2. Galatasaray and the Changing Rhythm of the Avenue

The Galatasaray Lycée and the small square in front of it occupied a central place in the Avenue. Hence, extraordinary days of the Galatasaray Lycée influenced the rhythm of the Avenue. *Atatürk Galatasaray'da* (Atatürk in Galatasaray) by Haldun Taner narrates such a day of the Galatasaray Lycée. In the story, the first person singular narrator was an 8th or 9th grader at the Galatasaray Lycée. There was a mad commotion in the school in those days. Since Atatürk was going to visit Galatasaray, all hell was breaking loose. Many parts of the building were remodelled; moreover, three copies of Afet İnan's book *Yurttaşlık Bilgileri* (Civics) were handed out in every class. There was even more excitement in the classes in which the sons of Kazım Pasha, Cevat Abbas, and Nuri Conker were students. The narrator was not in one of these classes; however, the French teacher of his class had worked as Atatürk's French tutor for three months. There was a chance Atatürk might visit their class, too.⁹²⁵

When Atatürk visited the school, they were taking a written exam. As news of his visit spread in their class, their prudent teacher gave the answers to the exam questions to the students so that they would not get nervous and drop a clanger in front of Atatürk. The desk mate of the narrator had a bizarre habit. Cheating had become an illness for him. He was cheating even in questions which he knew the answers to. It had gotten so bad that he would even use his identity card as a cheat sheet

⁹²⁵ Haldun Taner. *Şişhaneye Yağmur Yağıyordu*, İstanbul: Varlık, 1955. p. 56.

while he was writing down his name and surname. Even though the teacher gave the answers to the questions, he opened his book and placed it on his knees. When Atatürk entered their class, all the students stood up, so, he dropped the book on the floor. Fortunately, Atatürk and his companions did not notice anything.⁹²⁶

When Atatürk entered the class, the teacher introduced himself as the civics teacher and said his name. However, even though he was also Istanbul's director of national education, he did not mention this. If he had, Atatürk would probably scrutinize him more. The narrator was surprised that the teacher did not mention his position. Atatürk asked whether they followed the course from the book or the lectures of the teacher. Both the classroom teacher and the head teacher said that they followed the book and showed Atatürk Afet İnan's work. Atatürk took a glance at the cover of the book and said "very well".⁹²⁷

If Atatürk had asked the students something out of the book, there would have been a big scandal. Fortunately, he did not. That day, Atatürk struck one of his famous postures. Two fingers of his left hand were tucked in his upper waist pocket, his head was bent down a bit, and his eyebrows were knitted. He was listening to the head teacher with his famous eyeglances. Some people claimed one could not look directly into his eyes. For this reason, the narrator at first could not venture to look into his eyes but after a while, he managed to muster his courage and look into them. It was not impossible; one could look into his eyes after all.⁹²⁸

For the child narrator, Atatürk was such an exalted man that nothing could escape his notice. He could not be deceived. He had an unlimited

⁹²⁶ Ibid., p. 57.

⁹²⁷ Ibid., pp. 58, 59.

⁹²⁸ Ibid., p. 59.

power of intuition. The head teacher and the classroom teacher were in a comparatively ridiculous position in front of him for this reason. He did not need to listen to anyone. He could predict everything. He knew everything before it happened.⁹²⁹

The narrator heard afterwards that Atatürk and his friends visited some other classes, as well. One was a 10th grade geometry lecture. Atatürk's interest in geometry was well known. When he went into the classroom, he asked the teacher to have one of the students stand up. The teacher chose the most successful student of the class. However, the student could not answer a very basic question Atatürk asked about geometry because he got too excited. Even though his teacher tried to give him clues, he could not even understand the teacher's clues.⁹³⁰

For the narrator, Atatürk was an understanding man. If he had stayed in this class, both the teacher and his student would make fools of themselves. Thus he left this class, went to the painting gallery, and took a glance at the paintings. He then left that class also without spending much time. After he left the class, the teacher was frantic with sorrow because he had a request from Atatürk but forgot to mention it because of his excitement. Since his years of service in the Ministry of Education were miscalculated, he was receiving a lower grade salary than he deserved. Before he forgot to do so, he had wanted to hint at this issue to Atatürk. In contrast to the art teacher, the civics teacher did not try to raise his private businesses with Atatürk on this rare occasion. He did not even mention his directorship in the National Education Bureau of Istanbul.⁹³¹

⁹²⁹ Ibid., pp. 60, 61.

⁹³⁰ Ibid., pp. 62, 63.

⁹³¹ Ibid., pp. 63, 64.

After Atatürk visited all the classes, he took a rest in the teachers' room. Upon leaving it, two assistant teachers attacked the cigarette butt he left behind. They smoked his abandoned cigarette butt in turns. The narrator said sarcastically that these two assistant teachers might be expected to become ministers in the future. However, they could not even become MPs. One of them would become a department manager in the municipality. The other one would become a freight forwarder.⁹³²

As Atatürk was leaving the school, the school bell was rung. All the students and teachers poured into the schoolyard. Atatürk was moving on among students. They followed him to be able to get a good look at his face. His two hands were in his pockets and he was walking proudly and smilingly. Thousands of curious people gathered in front of the big door. Police officers could hardly hold back the crowd in front of the door. There were at least ten human heads sticking out of each window of the apartments facing the door. When Atatürk was seen in the door, they went down onto the street. Atatürk got in the car among acclamations.⁹³³

When an attendance was taken at evening, it was found out that two students had skipped school. The narrator did not remember well whether they were fined or not. However, they were probably not fined. They wandered in and enjoyed Beyoğlu all day.⁹³⁴

The story is told in the past tense. The narrator tells a day of his childhood; when Atatürk visited his school. He was an 8th or 9th grade student and around 14 or 15 years of age during this visit. Haldun Taner was born in 1915, therefore the year of the story is either 1929 or 1930. Since Atatürk did not visit Istanbul before 1927, the year of this visit

⁹³² Ibid., p. 65.

⁹³³ Ibid.

⁹³⁴ Ibid.

could not have been before 1927. What the narrator tells about this visit indicates that Atatürk was a respected and feared political figure. The school management had started to make preparations almost a week before his planned visit. For both the school management and the teachers, everything had to be perfect during Atatürk's visit. That is, Atatürk's visit disrupted the ordinary rhythm of the school for a week.

Another remarkable point in the story is that the way they spoke with Atatürk revealed the characters of people as well. For example, the narrator's teacher did not feel the need to say that he was the director of national education in Istanbul. On the other hand, the art teacher felt so sad for forgetting to mention a small thing to Atatürk about his own financial interests. That is, Atatürk's visit changed the ordinary behaviours of teachers, too. In an "extraordinary" condition, their real personalities were clearly revealed.

The change in their behaviours was closely related to the image of Atatürk in the Early Republican Period. In the story, this image was represented very clearly. For the narrator, nothing could escape Atatürk's notice. As a man with an unlimited power of intuition, he could not be deceived. However, he was at the same time an understanding man. He let the ordinary people think that they managed to deceive him with their little lies. For some other people, he could not be looked in the eyes. The image of a godlike Atatürk was so influential that two assistant teachers smoked his cigarette butt.

The latter part of the story, tells how Atatürk's visit changed the ordinary rhythm of life in Galatasaray. At the end of the story, the apartments across Galatasaray and their residents were mentioned. Unlike the present, The Avenue was not only an entertainment and shopping centre in the 1930s and 1940s. On the day Atatürk visited Galatasaray, hundreds of people filled these apartments as well as gathering in front

of them. The area in front of the large gate of Galatasaray Lycée was the centre of the Avenue and as a result life stopped in the Avenue as a whole.

Lastly, two students were mentioned at the end of the story who had skipped school when Atatürk visited. In a period when everyone saw Atatürk as a godlike person, the chance to loiter in Beyoğlu was more important to them than seeing Atatürk. They were attracted by the ordinary rhythm of Beyoğlu and the Avenue rather than the extraordinariness in the school that resulted from Atatürk's visit.

7. 3. Ordinary Man within the Ordinary Rhythm of the City

Haldun Taner's story tells how a visit changed the rhythm of the Avenue. In *Biranedeki Adam* (The Man in the Beer House) by Sait Faik, a man caught up in the ordinary rhythm of Beyoğlu is narrated. The story space is a beer house in Beyoğlu. One day, the narrator thought that it was possible to narrate the stories of people, by just standing up in a crowded place such as a street or a store and looking at their faces. The story *Biranedeki Adam* was written this way.⁹³⁵

He trained his sights on a man who was drinking beer in a beer house in Karaköy. He was probably around 40. The narrator looked carefully at him. His hat was old and his topcoat was spotted. However, his buskins were shined and not worn. The narrator tried to guess his occupation, could not. This man did not have the characteristics of any particular occupation in his appearance. He might have been an official in a bank or a clerk of a court. He might also have been a tobacco seller, an owner of a lottery outlet, or a tram controller.⁹³⁶

⁹³⁵ Sait Faik. *Bütün Eserleri 2: Lüzumsuz Adam*, 7th ed. Istanbul: Bilgi, 1987. p. 122.

⁹³⁶ Ibid.

He was a man of modest means. He could neither be a state official of the highest position nor a filthy-rich merchant. He could not be a grocer or a butcher either. The narrator looked at his face before looking at his hands. He had had a shave in the morning and it must have been in a hurry. That meant he might not have his own business. He was one of the people who had to get up early and not be late for work.⁹³⁷

The narrator looked at his eyes, which did not betray any misery. There was no sorrow in his eyes. He had never felt sorrow because of a woman. Next, the narrator looked at his fingernails. He did not bite his nails. There was no callus or cut on his fingers. He was not performing a job that necessitated physical effort.⁹³⁸

There was a ring on his little finger, and not on his ring finger. It seemed to the narrator that it was a woman's ring which explained why he did not wear it on his ring finger. There were three sockets for stones on it. One of them was empty. It looked as if he was cheated by his mistress and he had wrested the ring from her finger.⁹³⁹

The narrator wanted to construct his story based on these materials: His character's age was around 40. His topcoat and hat were dirty. On the other hand, his shoes and shirt were clean. There was a woman's ring on his finger. He did not brush his teeth. There was no sorrow in his eyes, indicating he was not cheated by a woman. After this short summary, the narrator warns the reader. The readers should not expect grand adventures and things from his character.⁹⁴⁰

He was a clerk in a storeroom who lived in Fatih. He was married and had four children. His monthly income was around one hundred liras.

⁹³⁷ Ibid.

⁹³⁸ Ibid.

⁹³⁹ Ibid., p. 123.

⁹⁴⁰ Ibid.

He was carrying news about the black market to some middlemen in exchange for commissions. What he feared most was to be deprived of his shoes. He had grown up in a very poor family. He was able to wear new and good shoes for only four or five years. He wore different shoes on the street and at the work. He feared that his shoes, which he wore on the street would wear out. He had walked barefooted till fifteen or sixteen years old.⁹⁴¹

His entire pleasure in life was to drink three beers in the evenings. Sometimes he drank wine along with beer. The ring on his finger was his daughter's. He had bought it for nine liras at the time of the previous bairam. Since one of its stones had fallen out, her daughter had given it to him so that he would have it repaired. She put it on his father's finger so he would not forget to have it repaired. He was afraid of losing this ring. If he were to lose it, he would not be able to drink beer for a week.⁹⁴²

The narrator learned these details from him because he sat next to him at the beer house. They had a chat. He asked the narrator what his occupation was. The narrator was at a loss for words and stuttered. He understood that the narrator was unemployed. On that night, he drank five beers, one glass of wine, and ordered one glass of wine for the narrator. They chatted some more and then he asked for permission to leave, saying that he had overdrunk. He left the beer house. A man in a dirty topcoat and polished shoes was walking passed the front of the beer house toward the tram stop.⁹⁴³

Before getting to the man in the beer house, I want to discuss the position of the narrator in the story. He was a non-worker who wandered in

⁹⁴¹ Ibid., p. 124.

⁹⁴² Ibid.

⁹⁴³ Ibid., pp. 124, 125.

the streets of the city. One day, he decided to stand up in a crowded place and watch people in order to write their stories. While standing up in a crowded place in Karaköy, he saw a man. He watched him and estimated what kind of life he lived. Therefore, this story can also be likened to a “physiology”. On the other hand, in physiologies, the psychological moods of the author did not have an important place. They were “impartial” observers, or at least, their authors claimed that their observations were impartial. Texts of *flâneurs* were not such texts. In those, the narrator wandered in the city and described people like physiologists did. However, the narrator’s identity as a *flâneur* shaped his text and its content.

The narrator was a lonely man within the crowd of Karaköy. He sought a man to write the story of among this crowd. He saw an ordinary man who did not have the characteristics of any particular occupation. That he was a man of moderate means was very overt. In any case, Sait Faik had state in *Lüzumsuz Adam* (Superfluous Man) that he did not like rich people. He told the stories of poor and ordinary people like himself. His character was born in a very poor family but later moved up the social ladder and became a lower-middle class man. For this reason, he was happy with his life. The narrator found a poor and ordinary man like himself among the crowd of Karaköy. However, the difference of this man compared to him was his happiness. His single pleasure was to drink four or five beers in any beer house in Karaköy after work. His life was very monotonous. However, he was happy with this life. His biggest fear was to lack shoes again so he treated his shoes with kid gloves. This character reminds one of Orhan Veli’s Süleyman Effendi who did not have any problem except his callus. This man also did not have any problem or fear apart from the possibility of losing his shoes. He was a

lonely man wandering in Karaköy in brilliant shoes and an old and worn topcoat.

At this point, I want to discuss the story space a bit further. It was a beer house, which was the loitering place for the main character after work. For the narrator, it was an observation place to pick his characters. In the story, the beer house was the meeting place of two superfluous men: The narrator and his character. The narrator was a writer whose entire occupation was to wander in crowded places of the city and to narrate little men who had small joys, hopes, and fears.

Training his sights on an ordinary man within the ordinary rhythm of the city was a part of the narrator's occupation. While discussing the *flânuer* in the second chapter, I mentioned that he walked in the city with a tortoise's steps. Our narrator likewise stood in a crowded place of the city and went out of the ordinary rhythm of the city. He narrated an ordinary man within the ordinary rhythm of the city.

7. 4. Beyoğlu as the Space of Encounters

Even though it was the centre of Istanbul, Beyoğlu was a physically small area. Even today, a significant portion of Istanbul's artists live in this small area. Hence, Beyoğlu was and is a zone of encounters for artists and intellectuals of Istanbul. In *Eftalikus'un Kahvesi* (The Coffee-house of Eftalikus) by Sait Faik, he discusses both this characteristic of Istanbul and the above mentioned subject of training one's sights on ordinary people of the city.

This story tells of the narrator coming across a young and inexperienced literary critic. Sait Faik does not hide his identity as the narrator in this story. The story begins with a young man approaching the narrator. He greeted the narrator and said that he had always wanted to meet him, but he could not find the opportunity. They started to walk togeth-

er. He asked such questions that the narrator could not be sure about whether he was sincere. He suspected that this young man was mocking him. If this young man was sincere, he must have been very inexperienced. On no account did the narrator reveal his suspicions.⁹⁴⁴

They sat in a coffeehouse together. He made sure that this young man was not mocking him. He wanted to be a literary critic and loved Sait Faik's short stories very much. The narrator asked him whether he was also writing short stories. He had tried a few times; however, he could not be successful. Rather, he was writing poems like many of his peers.⁹⁴⁵

As they were speaking, the narrator pointed a blind man out to the young critic. He was in front of Taksim cinema and calling out to the opposite side, shouting "Mahmut Bey". That is, he knew that he was in front of Taksim Cinema and there was a shop selling pies across it. This was an impressive ability that the blind man had gained over the years. The narrator wanted to show to the young man that the story writer also had such an ability.⁹⁴⁶

The narrator continued to think about the blind man and tell his observations to the young man. He made a short story subject out of this blind man. However, the young man was not listening to him. He was involved in complementing the narrator on his short story writing and asking questions. They spoke about some literary critics and short story writers. The young man was defending the author against criticisms by these critics. The narrator was listening to him with pleasure. At some point, after they kept quiet for five minutes, the young man suddenly

⁹⁴⁴ Sait Faik. *Bütün Eserleri 7: Alemdağda Var Bir Yılan*, 2nd ed., Istanbul: Bilgi, 1976. pp. 66, 67.

⁹⁴⁵ Ibid., p. 67.

⁹⁴⁶ Ibid.

asked how the narrator wrote his stories. The narrator smiled but he did not know what to say. The narrator continued to think about the blind man. They finished their coffees and stood up. The young man hurried so that the narrator would not have to pay the bill. The waiter looked at the clothes of the narrator and took the payment from the young man. The narrator went down the stairs of Eftalikus.⁹⁴⁷

At the end of the story, the narrator said that he wrote a short story this way. He did not know whether it was beautiful. It was not important anyway. It was too little too late to change his understanding of narration. If the young literary critic were to write later that Sait Faik wrote about inconsequential subjects, it would not matter for him since he did not determine his narration style according to what was said by other people.⁹⁴⁸ Regardless, the young literary critic did not write such a thing about Sait Faik at any point in his life. He continued to admire Sait Faik till the end.

I had mentioned how Sait Faik wrote this story in the fifth chapter by making use of Salah Birsel's memoir. The young literary critic was Ferruh Doğan. Eftalikus's Coffeehouse was in Taksim Square. Ferruh Doğan lived in Beyoğlu throughout his entire life. This young man had always seen Sait Faik in Beyoğlu, but he had not dared speak with him. He found the courage on that day and Sait Faik turned this meeting into a story.

In this story, Sait Faik told a young literary critic. For this literary critic, the short story was written by very advanced techniques. He tried to convey to this young man that writing a story does not require such advanced techniques. He wrote his stories by wandering among people

⁹⁴⁷ Ibid., pp. 68, 70, 71.

⁹⁴⁸ Ibid., p. 71.

and observing them. He did not lock himself into the house. He wrote the stories of different people of Beyoğlu in cafés of Beyoğlu in a scribbling and rapid manner. That was all his short story writing technique consisted of. However, since this young literary critic admired Sait Faik so much, he could not comprehend his style. Even a blind man whose sole ability was to find his direction without sight might have been a story subject for Sait Faik.

In *Biranedeki Adam*, the narrator said that he wanted to stand in a crowded place of the city and write stories of people, observing them. Eftalikus's Coffeehouse provided such an opportunity to the narrator. Taksim Square was one of the "entrances" to Beyoğlu and the circulation point of the crowd in Beyoğlu. Eftalikus's Coffeehouse oversaw Taksim Square. In this coffeehouse, the narrator chose a blind man from among the crowd of Taksim Square with his own trained sights. This blind man had also trained himself. He learned Taksim Square as a space and the rhythm of Taksim and Beyoğlu. Therefore, he was able to find his bearings in Beyoğlu without issue. The narrator's ability was similar. He could both be a part of the city's rhythm and find what he sought among this rhythm and movement. What the narrator wanted to teach the young literary critic was this ability. However, the young critic could not understand this attempt by the narrator.

Even though Sait Faik generally mentioned the poor or middle income oriented spaces of Beyoğlu, Eftalikus's Square-front Coffeehouse was probably an elite and modern space. The poor outward appearance of Sait Faik was found strange in this café, which was why the waiter took the money handed to him by the young critic rather than Sait Faik's money. Sait Faik said in *Lüzumsuz Adam* that he did not like rich people. Perhaps he did not like them for this reason. He was belittled in elite places.

7. 5. The Rhythm of the City, Freedom, and Anonymity

The rhythm of the city can be either repulsive or attractive for people who are not accustomed to this rhythm. In *Menekşeli Vadi* (The Valley with Violets) by Sait Faik⁹⁴⁹ is narrated a young man who came to Beyoğlu and liked the life and the rhythm of the life there. Its story space was a Beyoğlu honkytonk which was generally visited by poor people. Its main character was Bayram who was a stalwart man who spoke with an Albanian accent. Once upon a time, he had sold almonds on the street. Later, he sold lottery tickets. When the narrator met with him, he was carrying a load with his horse car. He was earning 30 to 40 liras per diem. His financial situation was going well. He dressed up like a ruffian and met with beautiful girls in ugly taprooms.⁹⁵⁰

One of these girls was Seher. She was working in a taproom in Asmalımescit. She really looked like twilight as per her name. (*Seher* means twilight in Turkish.) Shortly after they met with each other, they started to live together. The narrator sometimes saw Seher in Bayram's carriage. Bayram fought many times for Seher. He even stabbed a man because of her. He spent seven or eight months in prison. Seher was fond of uniformed men such as policemen or soldiers. While Bayram was in prison, she started to cheat on him.⁹⁵¹

Bayram quit working after Seher cheated on him. He lost weight and turned his anger upon himself. He was drinking all day. He found Seher and stabbed her. Seher was injured, but did not die. She did not lodge a complaint against him. Bayram was not sent into prison again. He was

⁹⁴⁹ This short story by Sait Faik would be adapted to cinema later by Lütü Akad under the name *Vesikalı Yarım*.

⁹⁵⁰ Sait Faik. *Bütün Eserleri 2: Lüzumsuz Adam*, 7th ed., İstanbul: Bilgi, 1987. p. 137.

⁹⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 139.

overwhelmed by this favour. After Seher went out of the hospital, he came to the taproom in Asmalıescit. At first, they did not talk to each other. After a while, they made peace. Bayram's horses and carriage were sold. The money was spent by Seher. According to the narrator, Seher did everything to make Bayram into a murderer. She met with many men in front of his very eyes.⁹⁵²

Bayram came to the taproom in Asmalıescit every night. He was spending all his money there. The light of his face was extinguished like a European city during the war. When the first-person singular narrator saw Bayram in the taproom on that night, he asked him what had happened to him. They drank all night. Bayram asked the narrator to take him away to his house. The narrator first supposed that he wanted to go his bachelor room in Beyoğlu. However, he actually wanted to go to his family's house. He had not been to his family's house for seven years. He had left home when he was 21 years old. He came to Beyoğlu to sell violets. He earned nineteen liras on the first day. He had never drunk before, he now did. He had never made love to a woman except his wife, he now did. After that day, he did not go home for seven years. There were his old father and mother and two children with his wife in his house. The children were 9-months old and one and a half years old each when he left⁹⁵³

The narrator took him away to his family house. They went to a place where there were tilled plots of land and detached houses upon them. One of them was Bayram's house. The door was opened by a little blue-eyed girl. She called out to her mother. A head-scarfed woman came. She was stumped. They came in and ascended a staircase. The woman

⁹⁵² Ibid.

⁹⁵³ Ibid., pp. 139, 140.

dished up for Bayram and the narrator. Later, they drank coffee. The women prepared their beds. When the narrator woke up in the morning, Bayram was smoking in front of the window. He was looking at a garden under the smog. Scents of violets came in from the Garden where there were cabbages, flowers, parsley plants, and cucumbers. A stream was flowing beyond the garden. An old man approached them. He was Bayram's father. The narrator saw his mother as well.⁹⁵⁴

On that day, Bayram went to the bazaar in place of his father to sell products of their garden. He carried the narrator to the bazaar place with his horse car. They took leave there. The narrator travelled over some roads and reached Ortaköy. Bayram's house was close to Ortaköy. Months had passed since the day he took Bayram to his family's house. One day, while he was wandering in the city, his path happened to cross Mecidiyeköy. While wandering the tilled lands, he realized that he came near a valley with violets. He passed closely by Bayram's garden. Bayram and his wife were tending to their garden and products. Bayram looked at this strange man who was passing closely by their garden; he could not recognize him. The narrator did not introduce himself either. While he was passing through their garden, the scent of violets still reached his nose.⁹⁵⁵

Bayram was the son of a middle income farmer family. They were an extended family who lived by patriarchal codes. When he returned to his house after seven years, neither his wife nor his father and mother asked him where he had been all those years. For him, Beyoğlu was a space of freedom where he suspended this patriarchal morality. He could establish an equal relationship with a woman in Beyoğlu. He

⁹⁵⁴ Ibid., p. 142.

⁹⁵⁵ Ibid.

faced dilemmas of this equal relationship which conformed neither to the norms of the petty bourgeois families nor the extended families like Bayram's. He met with Seher in a taproom which was visited by men such as Bayram. In these kinds of spaces, men who lived in poor districts of Istanbul could suspend the morality of their traditional families. There were many such spaces in Beyoğlu.

I want to dwell on the role of the narrator in the story as well. In this story too, the first-person singular narrator is one of the characters of the story. He is the friend of Bayram even though they are not close. The narrator recognised both Bayram and Seher, in fact he probably recognised many people on the side streets of Beyoğlu. Contrary to many of his other stories, *Sait Faik* includes value judgements of Bayram and other men in this story; he judges Seher for cheating on Bayram even though they were not married.

Bayram was living in a rural area of Istanbul before settling in Beyoğlu. After Beyoğlu, he would again return to this rural area which had a different rhythm compared to the city. Beyoğlu attracted Bayram not only by means of its beautiful women like Seher but also its free atmosphere and the rhythm unique to it. As I stated in the second chapter, the metropolis provides anonymity for its residents. How and to what extent they can socialize are determined by social norms as much as the free wills of the subjects. This structure of the modern metropolis was related to its sheer size as well as its rhythm. Bayram, who had been living in a rural area of the city loved Beyoğlu because of this rhythm as well as the anonymity and freedom enabled by it. He lived in Beyoğlu for seven years and was even put in prison. However, he made all his mistakes with his own free will. At the end of the seven years, he preferred the protection of family life and the slow pace of rural life over the freedom of Beyoğlu.

In the previous chapter, I mentioned the significant role played by the feeling of empathy in Sait Faik's stories. While he loved the anonymity enabled by the metropolis life, people who knew him personally, such as Haldun Taner, were aware that he missed a family life and perhaps for this reason, he was very fond of his mother. This is also why he narrated Bayram and his preference for the safe life of his family over the freedom and anonymity of Beyoğlu without judging.

In this chapter, I discussed several stories which treated the rhythm of the city in multiple aspects. In *Dolmuş* by Sabahattin Kudret Aksal, Istanbul, as a modern metropolis shaped by modern production and the money economy was likened to a gear wheel of a factory. Coincidences and encounters in the modern metropolis were caused by it being a 'gear wheel' that gathered people in certain central locations. In *Neveser* by Ziya Osman Saba, the important place of objects in the life of city residents and their intimacy with city residents' existential problems were treated. The rhythm of the metropolis made people grow older in the same way that it eroded objects over time. *Atatürk Galatasaray'da* by Haldun Taner treated how Atatürk's visit changed the ordinary rhythm of the school and the Avenue. On the other hand, in *Biranedeki Adam* by Sait Faik, ordinary man was treated within the ordinary rhythm of the metropolis. In *Menekşeli Vadi*, we saw the moral and rhythmic contrast between the rural areas and the centre of the metropolis, Beyoğlu.

8

Loneliness and Individuality

In the sixth and seventh chapters, I discussed middle class intellectuals discovering Beyoğlu and its poor people and a new rhythm of the city through the stories written in the 1940s. The protagonists and characters of many of the stories were lonely men. Their loneliness was generally related to their being little people. In this chapter, I will focus on stories shaped around the theme of loneliness.

8. 1. The Death of a Lonely Man

The first story which I will discuss is *Bir Adam* (A Man) by Cahit Sıtkı Tarancı, in which the last day of a petty state official is told. He went out from his house to go to the work and dropped by the post office on İstiklal Avenue. He sent a letter to his mother. After the post office, he went to the coffeehouse which he frequented every morning. That morning he was very happy; he was taking each step with pleasure. He went into the coffeehouse and sat at his table in the corner. He had his coffee along with a cigarette. He talked to the runner of coffeehouse about the hot weather and the possibility of war erupting. After he read his newspaper, he left the coffeehouse. It was nearing 9 o'clock. He got on the

tram. Although there was an empty seat, he did not sit on it. He instead stood in front of a very beautiful woman and looked at her doe-like eyes to his heart's content. He could do anything to possess this woman. He regretted that he had to get off the tram. However, unless he went to the bank where he was working, his salary could be cut off. He got off the tram, boringly went to the bank, signed the muster roll, and sat in his seat. His work was unpleasant to him. There were always the same duties, same documents, and same accounts. However, he had to endure this work to live, drink coffee, eat, and get onto the tram. He worked till noon. As soon as the lunch break began, he went out from the bank before everyone else. The weather was beautiful as it was in the morning. He went into a restaurant near the bank. He ate döner kebab, cooked rice, and sweet semolina pastry before lighting up a cigarette. He could endure the gloomy atmosphere of the bank for the pleasure of this cigarette. He walked toward the Bridge. How beautiful the crowd of the Bridge was on such lovely sunny days. He came across a familiar young girl in front of the Kadıköy Pier. She was a small and short brunette, and nice girl. They had at times been sitting in the ferryboat together and speaking with each other delightfully. They might not have been in love with each other, but they were pleased by their conversation. They had a quick word with each other. He mentioned to the girl a movie which had begun to be shown at the Melek Cinema. They agreed to meet in front of the Melek Cinema the next day, which was a Saturday. However, he had to find at least five liras for the next day. He had lent some money to one of his friends who was a trader who lived in Bahçekapı. He dropped by this friend and asked him to prepare 5 liras of the debt he owed till the next day. The lunch break was almost over. He crossed the Bridge again and went to the bank. After work, he went to Beyoğlu. As soon as he stepped foot on the Avenue at 6 o'clock in the evening, he

breathed in the fresh and cool air of Beyoğlu. He walked toward Beyoğlu from Tunnel. He dropped by the bookstore and asked the bookseller whether the books which he had ordered 10 days ago were brought in. The bookseller answered that he hoped they would arrive by the next day's mail. He cast an eye on the new books in the bookstore and exited the shop. He also visited his tailor and asked him whether his suit was prepared. The tailor also told him to "come back tomorrow". When he went down to the Avenue again, he started to walk toward the taproom without hesitation. He was not a habitual evening drinker; however, when he felt particularly sad or happy, he definitely went to the taproom. He ate his fill and drank raki in the taproom. Afterwards, he went to a coffeehouse on the Avenue. He started watching the crowd of the Avenue. A schoolmate of his was passing from the Avenue. He knocked on the window. His friend came in and they talked about old school days. At 10:30, they went out from the coffeehouse and agreed to meet the following night in the taproom. He got on the tram from Taksim. He thought about the passing day with which he was content. He would live more intensely the next day and enjoy life more.⁹⁵⁶

He did not go to the bank on the next day. His workmates thought that he had skipped work again. His trader friend in Bahçekapı could not find the 5 liras and was pleased he did not show up. The girl with whom he would meet waited for him in vain in front of the cinema. The bookseller also waited for him in vain. His old schoolmate thought about how much he had changed, when he "broke his appointment." None of them were aware that the man who they waited for had died the previous night. He had gotten off the tram and was going to the

⁹⁵⁶ Cahit Sıtkı Tarancı. *Gün Eksilmesin Pencereyden*, 2nd ed., Istanbul: Can, 2006. pp. 222-224.

house. As he was passing by an old wall, the wall had collapsed on him and he had died, crushed under the rubble of the wall.⁹⁵⁷

The main character of the story was a little man working as a bank official. No one even noticed his death. What the narrator told of was a bit his own life. He was also a petty state official living in a bachelor room as a lonely man who eventually died at a young age. As in other stories of Cahit Sıtkı Tarancı, the biggest fear of this petty state official was being punished by a salary deduction. He was generally pleased with his life.

The story space was Beyoğlu. Even the workplace of the protagonist was very close to the Bridge which was a place of relaxation where he spent his lunch breaks. For an hour, he suspended work discipline and loitered there. In the evenings, the Avenue and its side streets, coffee-houses, and taprooms became his loitering sites.

The protagonist can be characterized as a lonely man wandering in Beyoğlu. He was so alone that even when he died, no one became aware of his death. He did not have a wife or children. As in other stories by Tarancı, he worked in Istanbul; but his hometown was not Istanbul. He had workmates, some schoolmates, and “girlfriend”s; but he was not intimate with any of them.

The premise of the fiction was the death of a man and no one being aware of it. The main reason for this was his loneliness in the metropolis. While Istanbul was changing and the atmosphere of traditional quarters was disappearing, people like our protagonist were increasing in number. They would regularly be featured in the stories of the generation of 1940. The author of the story was also a lonely man. He was

⁹⁵⁷ Ibid., p. 224.

one of the creators of the modernism of the 1940s as a lonely and little man.

8. 2. One Day of a Petty State Official

Another story that narrates one day of a petty state official is *Kolalı Yaka* (The Starched Collar) by Cahit Sıtkı Tarancı. The narrator began the story by saying that there were some mornings in which people got up from the bed as if they underwent a resurrection. For the narrator, this morning was one of such mornings. It was the first day of the month. He would receive his salary and pay off his debts to the tobacco seller and the owner of the coffeehouse, and tip the waiters. Thus, his dignity, which had been declining since the last pay day would be restored again. Besides, he would meet with a beautiful girl on that day. He had liked her for months, but could not meet with her. He had seen her at a tea party the previous week and made an appointment with her for that day. He shaved his beard and took a shower, singing a love song. He intended to wear a shirt, however, all his shirts were dirty, so he took a collarless shirt from the wardrobe and put a starched collar on it.⁹⁵⁸

Starched collars were symbols of fashion and elegance in those years. However, they were torture for inexperienced necks according to the narrator. Besides, one appeared like a very serious man when wearing them. Hence, he did not like starched collars, but he had to wear it on that day. When he went out from the house and walked toward the tram station, the starched collar bound tightly to his neck on the way. He got on the tram which was very crowded. He could almost not breathe because of the collar and the crowd. When he got off the tram in

⁹⁵⁸ Ibid., p.31.

Eminönü, he let out a sigh of relief. He understood there that trams had an important part in his hostility towards the crowd. He walked for a while and went into the bank where he worked. He signed the muster roll, sat in his seat, lighted up a cigarette, and then started to work. There was a happy commotion in the office since it was payday. All the officials were working with glee. He also wanted to work with glee and participate in the joy of his friends; however, the starched collar was continuously discomforting him.⁹⁵⁹

Toward noon, a rumour was heard that salaries would be paid a day late. All the officials grieved, but the narrator grieved most. He had five liras in his pocket. He could live hand to mouth with this money unless he was to meet with the girl. While he was with women, the most important thing to make him feel at ease was money. Five liras were not enough for this; he needed at least 10 liras.⁹⁶⁰

During lunch break, he went to the meatball restaurant which he went to every day. However, it was very crowded on this day. Notwithstanding, he went in, since he was very hungry. His order was delivered very late. Both the crowd and the collar suffocated him greatly. In the end, the meatballs were brought and he ate them grumblingly. He went out from the restaurant and into a coffeehouse. He drank his coffee and left. The torment in his neck was continuing. Since there was nothing to do, he bowed to the inevitable. He was going up the slope of Babıali. He suddenly remembered that they would probably not get paid that day. What would he do in the evening when he met with the girl? There was no other way than to borrow. Just then, he saw one of his old friends. He

⁹⁵⁹ Ibid., pp. 31- 33.

⁹⁶⁰ Ibid., p. 33.

asked to borrow some money, ashamedly, from his friend. His friend gave him 10 liras.⁹⁶¹

After he borrowed the money from his friend, he felt at ease. He forgot the pressure exerted by the collar. Just then, a clock in a coffeehouse caught his attention. It was 1:25 pm. Alas! He would be late to the office. He got on the tram. However, a police whistle was heard shortly after he got on the tram. (Police probably fined standing passengers on trams in those years.) The police made him get off the tram and he was taken to the police station. He ended up being late to work.⁹⁶²

While he was going to work, he felt bored again. The collar was binding his neck. When he reached the workplace, it was 13:45. The director of the office sometimes collected muster rolls to see who was late to work, which he did on this day, too. Shortly after he came to work, the janitor of the director came and said that the director was awaiting him. He went to the office of the director. The director warned him harshly. He was pleased since he was let go with only a harsh warning. He might have been fined a salary deduction.⁹⁶³

It became certain that the salaries would in fact only be paid the next day. He was rather demoralized. He could be made happy again only by the smile of a girl. He was looking forward to the evening. As soon as he went out from the office, he ran to the pudding shop where he would meet with her. It was 17:35. Their date was at 18:00. Waiting for a woman was very pleasurable. Soon it was 5 past 6, 10 past 6, and quarter past 6; however, no one showed up. When it was half past 6, she still was not there. On the other hand, the collar was increasingly binding his neck. The tediousness and physical distress together could have

⁹⁶¹ Ibid., pp. 33, 34.

⁹⁶² Ibid., pp. 34, 35.

⁹⁶³ Ibid., p. 35.

driven a person crazy. That is why mad people tore up their clothes. In some moments, everyone faced the possibility of going crazy. He was now in such a moment. The beautiful girl made him wait till 19:00; however, she did not come. He placed the bill for the pudding on the table and left the pudding shop. The most faithful friend of his sad nights was raki. He went into one of the taprooms in Balıkpazarı. He loosened the starched collar a bit and started to drink raki. However, even before he could finish his first glass, he saw one of his creditors, who was smiling angularly. He had to invite him to his table. The man came and lightheartedly sat near the narrator. He said in a fatherly tone that he was postponing his debt for two months. The narrator gave him six liras and ordered a glass of raki. Then he went to his house with a sullen face. After he went into the house, while he was hanging his top-coat, he saw the reflection of the starched collar on the window glass. He took the clippers and cut up the collar. After that day, he never wore a starched collar again.⁹⁶⁴

As in many other stories by Tarancı, the main character was the narrator and the narrator was a petty official. Each day of his was the same as the previous ones. He went to work every day at the same hour. At lunch break, he went to the same meatball restaurant and coffeehouse. He went out from work at the same hour each day. He was a little man and everything in his life was monotonous.

Something which broke the routine of his monotonous life occurred on the narrated day. First, he learned that his salary would be paid one day later than normal, forcing him to borrow money for the evening. Most important in breaking up the routine of his day was the fact that he would meet with a girl he platonically liked. This meeting would proba-

⁹⁶⁴ Ibid., pp. 35-37.

bly be the most pleasurable thing of the week; however, it never took place. Lastly, he recognized in the morning that all his normal shirts were dirty and he had to put on a starched collar which he was not accustomed to. Hence, it bound him the entire day.

In fact, if his daily routine was broken up in a positive way, he would have forgotten the pressure of the starched collar on his neck. When it was broken in a negative way, he felt the pressure of the collar more. For example, when he found money to borrow for the evening, he forgot about the collar. However, when he learned that the salaries would not be paid on time, he started to feel its pressure. While examining the stories of Gogol, I touched upon the influence of clothes and different objects on little men. Their clothes had an unexpectedly significant influence on their behaviours. In this story, too, we saw how a collar influenced a little man all day long.

The story space was Beyoğlu. The bank where he worked was around Eminönü or Galata. He got off the tram in Eminönü. The pudding shop where he would meet with the girl was also in Beyoğlu. After he went out from the pudding shop, he reached the taproom in Balıkpazarı on short notice. His house was also around Beyoğlu. In short, all the important spaces of the story were around Beyoğlu. However, he did not describe them in a detailed way. Rather, he focused on his own mood and distress. His starched collar and broken routine were disturbing him. He was a lonesome bored man wandering and drinking in Beyoğlu. Cahit Sıtkı was narrating a petty state official who was a lonely bachelor man like himself. The character who he narrated was accustomed to his lonely life and the social order. He knew that he could change neither his own life nor society, just like the author himself. The author constructed a character by reflecting on his real life. The social and political atmosphere of the 1940s got him accustomed to the order and its daily

routine. However, when this routine was broken up, his starched collar started binding him. Perhaps what was binding him was this social order itself.

8. 3. The Feeling of Felicity Found in a Taproom

Another story by Tarancı which narrates a petty state official is *Mavromatis Efendi*. In this story, the narrator protagonist finds the felicity which he felt was lacking, in a small taproom in Beyoğlu. The narrator had not been a habitual drunkard till he went to the taproom of Mavromatis Effendi. He had sometimes drunk in bairams, visits to acquaintances, and on nights when he felt sad. On one such night when he was sad again, he went into a taproom on a side street. He always passed by it; however, he had never gone in. It was a small and low-ceilinged taproom like all taprooms on side streets next to the Istiklal Avenue. There were five or six tables which were covered up by dirty papers. At first, he did not like the taproom. He would leave there after he drank a glass not to disgrace the owner of the taproom but just then, a waiter appeared with his white and linen jacket in front of the narrator. His jacket reminded him of the calm winds on beautiful summer nights. The waiter showed the narrator the table next to the window, saying “welcome, my pasha” in his sweet Levantine accent.⁹⁶⁵

The sweetness of his voice obliged the narrator to take a seat. He in fact had intended to drink only one glass. However, when he saw the sweet face of the waiter, who was also the owner of the taproom, he ordered a bottle. Mavromatis set the table with so many appetizers that he worked up an appetite. Mavromatis’s appetizers were very delicious. He tasted all of them. As darkness fell outside, the small taproom increas-

⁹⁶⁵ Ibid., p. 186.

ingly livened up. The customer who was sitting across the narrator, offered him a cigarette and they talked from across the tables. Not only the owner but also the customers were sincere people. Just then, Mavromatis Effendi brought fried eggs with garlic sausages and hot pastry. What a high-minded taproom this was. One could eat his fill with so many appetizers.⁹⁶⁶

He was very self-complacent since he came to this taproom. All the customers of the taproom owed their happiness to Mavromatis Effendi. It was as if the taproom was a ship and they were passengers. Mavromatis Effendi was also very self-complacent because his taproom was doing a good job. The narrator's raki had run dry. Since Mavromatis Effendi understood that the narrator did not want to drink more, he did not move from his spot behind the counter. He waited for the narrator to ask for the bill. When the narrator asked for the bill, he ran toward the narrator with enthusiasm. The bill was 70 kurushes. It was very cheap considering the many appetizers. Mavromatis Effendi did not demand the waiter's fee either. If the customer was pleased with the service, he should give it as a tip, he believed. The narrator gave him a lira and told him to keep the change. He raced to the counter and brought a glass of raki to the narrator. "One for luck, my pasha", he announced. The narrator drank up the raki in one shot. While he was going out, Mavromatis Effendi called out "good bye, my pasha."⁹⁶⁷

After that evening, dropping by Mayvromatis's taproom became a habit for the narrator. He picked up the habit of drinking along with that taproom. Mavromatis Effendi showed great respect to him without fail. Their amity had progressed such that he even drank on Mavromatis's

⁹⁶⁶ Ibid., pp. 187, 188.

⁹⁶⁷ Ibid., pp. 189, 190.

tab towards the end of months. Furthermore, he got his friends accustomed to Mavromatis's taproom too. They had a good time in Mavromatis's taproom for a year, but then, they all either moved away from Istanbul to another place or got married. When the narrator returned to Istanbul, he went to Mavromatis's taproom again. The taproom was enlarged, merged with the coffeehouse next door. It had become a large and well-lit place. However, it had lost its old spirit along the way. New waiters had started to work there. Mavromatis Effendi was not servicing anymore and was instead standing behind the cash register. He seemed like a typical taproom boss from then on. The narrator left the taproom before Mavromatis Effendi saw him and he never went to Mavromatis's taproom again.⁹⁶⁸

Until the narrator protagonist went to Mavromatis's taproom, he drank only at nights when he was sad like many other characters of Tarancı. This story tells how the narrator protagonist became a regular drinker due to Mavromatis's taproom. As a lone man wandering in Beyoğlu, he went into Mavromatis's taproom incidentally. However, he liked the warm atmosphere of the taproom which was hard to find in the city and became a regular customer. Tarancı usually tells of lonely and bachelor state official characters like himself in his stories. The narrator protagonist also liked Mavromatis's taproom because it made him forget his loneliness even if for a few hours at nights.

I had mentioned in the previous chapter that Sait Faik would go fishing with his fishermen friends and to desolate coffeehouses in poor quarters. He loved handicraft men and small business owners who lived by their own handiwork. As was the case for many other young men of letters in the 1940s, people who lived on their own handiwork had an

⁹⁶⁸ Ibid., pp. 190, 191.

important place in Tarancı's stories, as well. In Istanbul, where the modern proletariat was small in number, they were praising hand labour by focusing on small business owners. After Tarancı wrote this story, Hüseyin Rahmi Gürpınar read it in the *Cumhuriyet* newspaper and wanted to meet with the author. However, since Gürpınar died after a short while, this was not to be. The narrator's ability to treat the little man of handicraft in his natural setting caught the attention of Gürpınar who had started writing such novels and stories at the beginning of the twentieth century.

8. 4. Lonely Men in Ankara Longing for Istanbul and Beyoğlu

Up to this point, I discussed lonely, bored men in Beyoğlu. I now turn to discuss cases of lonely men in other locations who feel a longing for Beyoğlu. One of these is the narrator protagonist of *Bıraktığım İstanbul* (The Istanbul I Left Behind) by Ziya Osman Saba who was a close friend of Cahit Sıtkı Tarancı. They shared a common understanding of literature. The sole character of this story was the narrator who had to leave Istanbul because he was appointed to another city. He said goodbye to Istanbul from the terrace of the Marmara Nightclub in Beyazıt. While he was at the nightclub, he was unaware that this was to be his last day in Istanbul. However, he felt an unease that hinted to him that he would not be able to see Istanbul again.⁹⁶⁹

At mornings, while he was going to work in the new city, he would think of the morning crowd of the Bridge. On each morning, he used to salute the Fatih Mosque among the fog, Süleymaniye with all its grandeur, and Yenıcamı from the Bridge. He deeply felt the beginning of a new day on the Bridge every morning. He thought of his desires, his poems which

⁹⁶⁹ Ziya Osman Saba. *Mesut İnsanlar Fotoğrafhanesi*, Istanbul: Varlık, 1952. p. 18.

planned to complete, and his lover on the Bridge. In these minutes, it seemed to him that all his hopes and desires would come true. For this reason, he crossed the Bridge as if he was flying. In these hours of the mornings, there were people like the narrator on the Bridge: petty state officials and small business owners. He saluted these people as well. He knew many of them by sight and probably they in turn also knew him by sight. He had witnessed their aging process and the physical changes they went through day by day. An emotional tie appeared between himself and them. For example, when one of them got themselves a new sewn dress, he would be gladdened in their stead. They met on the Bridge as people from the same class, at the same hours every day, and saluted themselves from inside.⁹⁷⁰

When he had crossed the Bridge a little while ago, he had come across completely different people. Workers who worked in small ateliers on the Istanbul side and Jewish, Greek, and Armenian salesclerk girls were seen on the Bridge. He did not know their names or where they resided. However, he knew every detail of these girls' bodies, since he saw many of them at the Florya Beach during summers. Therefore, he was surprised when he saw them dressed warmly in topcoats in winters. The Bridge was Istanbul itself for the narrator. It was visible from the upper storeys of the institution where he worked. He went up to the upper floors while his workmates were examining the documents which he brought and he watched the Bridge from out the windows.⁹⁷¹

He went to a cheap seafood restaurant at the entrance of the Bridge at lunch breaks. Its owner was a cheerful, smoothy and fat Greek man. It seemed to the narrator that this man loved his customers who came

⁹⁷⁰ Ibid., pp. 19-22.

⁹⁷¹ Ibid., p. 22.

during every lunch break and ate cheap sea products without drinking alcohol. The narrator loved the old Greek waiter who waited for orders of the customers behind the kitchen bench, too. He wondered in the new city whether the old waiter and owner of the restaurant thought of him.⁹⁷²

Sometimes, he went to a restaurant which sold haricot bean salad in place of the seafood restaurant at lunch breaks. It was also under the Bridge. He sat at the window ledge at that restaurant as well. He sometimes looked at the moss green waters under the Bridge and sometimes at the Golden Horn. After he went out, he sat on one of the benches near the ferry piers. He ate a wafer and smoked.⁹⁷³

When he went out from the workplace toward evening, he passed under the Bridge. The gentle breezes of the Bridge in summer months attracted him. He sat on one of the benches by the beach. The underside of the Bridge turned more bustling in these hours and ferry whistles and bells were heard more frequently. As soon as one ferry departed, another would arrive. As soon as they unloaded their passengers, they immediately departed, embarking new passengers waiting on the piers. Sometimes, after he crossed the Bridge and came in front of Ziraat Bank, he would almost involuntarily return to the Bridge, gravitating to it due to its liveliness. He stood on a corner and watched people. Some fishermen sold fish which they caught on the Bridge with their own rods. People crossing the Bridge drove a hard bargain with them. He not only watched people who crossed the Bridge and the fishermen but also the old and faithful ferries of the Bosphorus.⁹⁷⁴

⁹⁷² Ibid., p. 23.

⁹⁷³ Ibid.

⁹⁷⁴ Ibid., pp. 24, 25.

The sun set behind the slopes of Fatih toward evening. A cool darkness fell on the city, the crowd and its mobility increased, and a damp smell of moss was felt around the Bridge. The narrator enjoyed Istanbul the most in evenings. Before he went home, he idled around showcases of shipping agencies, looked at travel advertisements, and dreamed about other countries' beauties. In fact, the beauty of the Bridge was enough for him.⁹⁷⁵

He thought of Istanbul every day in the new city where he was appointed. Every time he looked at his watch, he thought of what he would do if he was in Istanbul in that hour. He imagined the nightclub in Cihangir, the taprooms of Beyoğlu, and Sait Faik who called out to him from behind the windows of taprooms while he was walking down the Avenue. When he shook Sait Faik's hand, he felt the calluses in his hand. They had probably formed because he used to paddle fishermen's rowboats.⁹⁷⁶

As time went on, he started to think that maybe there was no such city as Istanbul. His days which he had spent in Istanbul might have been mere dreams. However, there were trains which came from Istanbul. They were full of people, whose clothes even indicated that they were coming from Istanbul. The most important things testifying to the existence of Istanbul were the Istanbul newspapers. These newspapers arrived one day late to the city where he lived. They looked like plants which were pulled up by their roots. He would recognize the coming of summer in Istanbul from the advertisements of musical gardens in

⁹⁷⁵ Ibid., pp. 25, 26.

⁹⁷⁶ Ibid., p. 26.

newspapers. These Istanbul newspapers were like letters written from Istanbul to friends living elsewhere.⁹⁷⁷

He asked himself whether he loved the air or the water of Istanbul or if it was its entertainment spots that attracted him. Was Istanbul entertaining, while the city in which he lived now was boring? His response was “no.” The current city was also beautiful. While he was walking in the middle of a very clean asphalt road in this new city, he saw a very carefully constructed house. He wished to own such a house. Even living in such a house for two or three months would be enough for him. His wife would sew under the shadow of that pine-tree in the garden. His child would ride a bicycle on the paved road. However, how much money such a house might cost popped up in his mind immediately. He thought that he had no right even to ring the bell of such a house. However, Istanbul, where he was born, was different. He could remember his past in Istanbul and feel that he had lived and was still living there. His schools where he had studied, military posts where he had done military service, and municipal building where he had married was in Istanbul. The buildings and streets of Istanbul were familiar for him. He became happy while he was passing these streets and remembered his childhood. Even a tiny stimulus carried him off to his childhood in Istanbul. He remembered not only his own past but also the past of the city, as well. For example, while he was wandering in Çamlıca, he remembered a passage from *Çamlıca’daki Eniştemiz* (Our Uncle in Law in Çamlıca). While he was in Çamlıca Garden, it was as if he saw Bihruz Bey of *Araba Sevdası* (The Passion for Horse Carts) with his luxury

⁹⁷⁷ Ibid., p. 27.

walking stick. Memories were accumulated in each layer of Istanbul. Even a short trip brought many different memories to his mind.⁹⁷⁸

Until he was appointed to another city, he had never felt homesick. In this new city, he was missing the bells of trams and the smell of the Tunnel metro. If he had stayed in Istanbul, he would live poorly and would not be able to walk on the newly paved roads in new shoes. However, he would cross the Bridge every day. He could work in even the lowest position to be able to be in Istanbul. He could be a wharfinger under the Bridge. He could even be a garbage man on the Bridge.⁹⁷⁹

As seen clearly, the main theme of the story is loneliness. Till the second half of the story, we did not even know that the narrator had a family. As many little men did, he had to work the entire day except on weekends. In the story, the most mentioned space of Istanbul was the Bridge. Since his entire day was spent in the workplace, all he told about Istanbul was the most interesting place on the return path – the Bridge. It was also his loitering space. Like many little men, he could probably only spend very limited time with his family. He did not mention his family or his friends much in the story. He mentioned only Sait Faik as a friend who would call out to him from behind the window of the tap-room on the Avenue.

The protagonist who was born in Istanbul and who spent most of his life there was appointed to Ankara. Even though Ankara was not explicitly mentioned in the story, it was implied several times. The narrator continuously underlined that the new city to which he was appointed was, at the same time, a newly constructed city. When he was appointed to Ankara, he started to long for Istanbul. He did not long for specific

⁹⁷⁸ Ibid., p. 28.

⁹⁷⁹ Ibid., pp. 33-35.

people in Istanbul but for the city itself. Except for his family, there was no one who had an uninterrupted presence in his life. His family was also with him in Ankara. In a way, Istanbul was personalized in this story and it was missed as a single entity. Istanbul became a part of the narrator's nostalgia as a personalized entity.

As discussed in the second chapter of this study, modernist texts often involve a nostalgia felt for the "beautiful days" of childhood and youth. Such a nostalgia can be observed in many of Ziya Osman Saba's stories. If a human's life might be read as disengagement from the beautiful days of childhood and youth, the narrator's appointment to Ankara might also be read as a complete disengagement from the same. This feeling of disengagement can be seen as the source of the narrator's nostalgia. In short, it can be said for the protagonist that he was a little man who lost the beautiful days of his early life and held on to the one thing which he had left from those beautiful days: Istanbul. Alas, he also came to lose Istanbul, in the end.

Another story in which the narrator protagonist in Ankara longs for Istanbul is *Bir Başka Türüsü* (A Different Kind) by Sabahattin Kudret Aksal. In this story, too, the main character is the narrator protagonist who lived in a landlocked city which was cold and very dry, for seven or eight months. Since his city of birth had coasts on the sea, he found many things to be strange in this new city. However, claiming that he did not like anything in this landlocked city could be an exaggeration. There were some different and beautiful things in this new city, too. For example, the flavour of breads was more delicious and smoking was more pleasurable in dry air. One felt healthier there. Since he felt energetic in the mornings, he would wake up at 6 am or at 6:30 at the latest and get out of bed without delay. As soon as he had done so, he would go out to the street, without having breakfast. His workplace was re-

mote and outside of the city, but he had to be at work by 8:30. Then, he had to work till 5:30 or 6 pm without pause. He only had a very short lunch break. When he returned to the city after work, it was always already dark. The lights of houses and streets were already on. This touched him very much. It seemed to him that the entire day was spent for nothing while many things could have been done in the city. When he went home, he drank coffee and smoked a cigarette before having dinner. After dinner, he drank coffee and smoked again. He fell asleep reading the newspaper. Thus, the day ended.⁹⁸⁰

He sometimes thought why he was trying to live and work in another city. He could find a job in his city of birth even though its conditions would be a bit worse. Maybe he could not find a job right away. It could take months. Never to mind, he could spend those unemployed days loitering in the city of his birth. Besides, spring was coming. Loitering would be lovely in his city of birth in spring.⁹⁸¹

Whenever these thoughts came to his mind, he wanted to go to the city of his childhood. It was the city of his youth, loitering times, and many other experiences at once. When these thoughts came to his mind again one day, he decided to actually go. He wrote a two or three line letter of resignation in an excusatory tone. His workmates did not try to put him off from his decision either, since he seemed very happy. They only made warm wishes with a few words.⁹⁸²

He was able somehow to find a seat on that night's train. There were three more people in his section. Two of the seats were empty. He took along a detective novel to read on the road. He opened the book without

⁹⁸⁰ Sabahattin Kudret Aksal. *Gazoz Ağacı ve Diğer Öyküler*, 15th ed., Istanbul: YKY, 2013. pp. 68, 69.

⁹⁸¹ Ibid., p. 69.

⁹⁸² Ibid.

speaking to anyone. His seatmates slept after eating their journey foods. While he was reading, he got tired and fell asleep. He heard some shady voices while sleeping. It was the last days of February. In the morning, the train was passing through Hereke. Hereke was unimaginably green; like an immortal scene. Two of his seatmates were traveling to Istanbul for the first time. They opened the window and started to watch the landscape in astonishment. They were in their twenties. One of them returned to the narrator and asked whether Istanbul was more beautiful than this landscape. The other one said that if he were to settle there, he would not leave it his entire life.⁹⁸³

None of the seatmates, including the narrator spoke at all throughout the night. However, they became intimate like they were friends for forty years. They talked about where they were from and where they would stay in Istanbul. One of them said that his family had a draper shop in a town of Anatolia. He came to Istanbul for both work and travel. As soon as the train arrived at Haydarbaşı, their easy chat ended.⁹⁸⁴

He had been dreaming about Istanbul for months. Finally, his idle days in Istanbul began. First, he went to his home. A newspaper distributor handed down a newspaper from the door clearance one week after his return. He took a glance at the newspaper without reading it. His eyes caught the cinema advertisements. He looked at which films would be played in which cinemas as well as the names of the actors and actresses. After he looked at the cinema advertisements, he went out. He was walking randomly without knowing where he went. One of his close friends from high school came to his mind. He walked a bit undecidedly with memories in his mind. He would visit his friend who worked in a

⁹⁸³ Ibid., pp. 69-71.

⁹⁸⁴ Ibid., pp. 71, 72.

publishing house on Ankara Avenue in Cağaloğlu. He got off the tram in Karaköy. He would pass from under the Bridge and go to Ankara Avenue. The Kadıköy Pier was desolate. There was the odour of the sea in the air. A bunch of seagulls were flying in the sky. He stood up a bit and looked around. He thought to jump on a ferry for a moment. He would sit in a corner of the ferry and go to the island. However, he gave up this idea. The city and its crowd that he had been dreaming about for months attracted him more.⁹⁸⁵

He stepped onto the Bridge and then he went down under the Bridge again. He had already forgotten about the ferry and the Island. He watched the showcases of clothing stores without considering buying anything. He went up the slope and came to Sirkeci. He looked at his watch. When he went out from the house, it was nine o'clock. Now, it was 11. He had been on the streets for two hours. He visited his friend. They had a chat and went to a restaurant. Then, his friend returned to his work and he walked toward Galatasaray from Tunnel. He entered a bookstore and leafed through books and journals. When he went out from the bookstore, it was 14:30. He went to one of the films which he had seen announced in the newspaper. The actress was more beautiful on the screen than what he expected.⁹⁸⁶

When he went out from the cinema, the Avenue was crowded. He toured the Avenue a few times. Then, he sat in one of the estaminets on the side streets. As soon as he sat down however, he was bored. He wanted to see the crowds, so he went out from the estaminet and to another one on the Avenue. He sat at the window ledge to be able to watch the crowd easily. He ordered a glass of wine and started watch-

⁹⁸⁵ Ibid., pp. 73, 74.

⁹⁸⁶ Ibid., p. 74.

ing. When he went out to the Avenue again, it was dark and its lights were on. He returned to the house by foot. His hands were in his pockets. He was tired and felt like a man without taste. He could not find what he expected from the idle day, which he had been dreaming about for months. He even felt bored. He ended the story with the statement that people always dreamed about a better and more different life. For this reason, he could never be content with the present one.⁹⁸⁷

Even though he had been dreaming about Istanbul, he was now bored. He was working as a government official from morning till evening in a landlocked Anatolian city where he had not been before. He was only able to return home after it was dark. He had time only to have dinner and sleep. Besides, he did not have a family to provide for. That is, his decision to abandon employment would only influence him. When the feeling of homesickness was added to these factors, he quit his job and returned to Istanbul. He returned to Istanbul on the pretext of homesickness; however, he only went out from his house in Istanbul a week later. In short, his feeling of homesickness was not so severe as to merit him quitting work or the other city. His character, working conditions and bachelorhood were more significant factors in this decision to quit. He was a little man who came from a petty bourgeois family life. He did not have big responsibilities and missions in his life. Therefore, he was continuously bored and dreamed about different things and places.

Bıraktığım İstanbul by Ziya Osman Saba also treated the feeling of homesickness. The main character of that story was also appointed to a landlocked city and was missing his city of birth, Istanbul. Ziya Osman Saba also did not tell the name of this landlocked city, just like Sabahattin Kudret Aksal didn't. However, he gave more clues about this land-

⁹⁸⁷ Ibid., pp. 74, 75.

locked city and that it was Ankara could easily be figured out. In this story, Sabahattin Kudret Aksal did not give clues about this landlocked Anatolian city as much as Ziya Osman Saba did. However, a few clues in the story still made it possible to realize it was Ankara. The narrator said that the distance between his home and work was more than one hour. Even this clue indicated that he was living in Ankara. After Ankara became the capital, government offices of the new Republic were constructed in the zone which was called Yenışehir (the New City) then; and Çankaya today. On the other hand, the local people of Ankara and people of modest means were living around Ankara Castle. The distance between these two zones was indeed more than one hour by the transportation means of those times. There was no other landlocked Anatolian city where the distance between the business zone and the residential zone was more than one hour in the 1940s. Hence, we can deduce without any doubt that the landlocked city mentioned by the narrator was Ankara.

In both stories by Ziya Osman Saba and Sabahattin Kudret Aksal, that Ankara had some beauties in itself was not denied. However, they missed their city of birth despite those beauties. Both of them were petty officials who continuously longed for something. As I said in the second chapter, the nostalgia, the longing for beautiful old days were inseparable parts of little men's identities. Despite their similarities, the narrator protagonist of Saba had an important difference from the Aksal's, however. He could not leave work whenever he wanted like Aksal's narrator because he was married and had children.

In the following section, I focus on spaces of Beyoğlu mentioned in the story. The narrator protagonist first wandered on the Bridge and then went down to the underside of the Bridge and wandered around the piers. After he met with his friend, he went to the Avenue. The Avenue

was the most suitable place of Istanbul for a young man who wanted to spend all his day loitering. He first went to a cinema in the Avenue, and afterwards he toured the Avenue. Then, he went into a side street and sat in an estaminet; however, he missed the crowd of the Avenue and returned to the Avenue again. He sat in another Avenue-front estaminet. He watched the Avenue and its crowd. After it was dark, he went out from the estaminet and started to walk on the Avenue disgruntledly. He spent all his day from midday till evening in the Avenue. At the end of the day, he was a lonesome and unhappy man among the crowd of the Avenue. While he was in Ankara, he missed Istanbul. Now, he did not know what he would miss. He mentioned crowds throughout the story. He missed the crowds of Istanbul more than its specific places. The most suitable place in Istanbul where a lonely man missing the crowds could wander without appearing weird was Beyoğlu. Perhaps, for this reason, what he missed most in Istanbul was Beyoğlu.

8. 5. A Lonely Man in Beyoğlu Longing for His Childhood

In both Saba's and Aksal's stories, narrator protagonists said that they missed Istanbul because it was the city of their childhood. Another story by Saba, *Okumak* (Reading) prominently features the same nostalgia he felt for his childhood and youth. The story space is Yüksekalkdırım, which I mentioned in the sixth chapter was the centre for stores selling musical instruments. With this story, we will see another characteristic of Yüksekalkdırım, which was also the centre of bookstores at the time. The narrator said that he was longing for reading. He wanted to re-read all the books he had read till that day. He remembered popular books such as *Zavallı Necdet* (The Miserable Necdet), *Aşk Memnu* (The Forbidden Love), and *Çalılıkusu* (The Wren) which he had read when he was a teenager. The texts which he had memorized in the school years

popped up in his mind in inappropriate places such as ferries, trams, and streets. While he was walking in muddy streets, he internally recited those texts and longed for his school days. Reading was his most favourite class in the school. However, even though he memorized all the texts before the class, since he could not catch the attention of the teacher, he could not read those texts out loud in front of the class.⁹⁸⁸

Longing for the beautiful days of childhood and youth is felt in almost all stories by Ziya Osman Saba, as in this story. However, even though he remembered those days with longing, they were not as beautiful as he implied in his stories. Even though he studied hard, he could not get teachers' attention. As was the case in many little men, his character was humble since his childhood. Since his mother had died when he was a child and he had to live separated from his father in the mansion of his grandmother. He was a shy kid.

He loved old books and flipping through their pages very much. For example, he sometimes came across a dry rose leaf between a book's pages or a peacock feather dropped from the pages of some other books. In this way, he tried to imagine people who inserted those rose petals or peacock feathers between the pages. Old books, like those leaves, were like ashes of old beautiful days which would not return again.⁹⁸⁹

He could find these kinds of old books in bookstores in Yüksekaldırım. In those bookstores, there were novels of Alphonse Carr, Octave Feuillet, and Pierre Loti which were read by everyone trying to learn French. He had read many of those novels when he was student, borrowing from the school library or his friends. Therefore, when he saw them in the showcases of the Yüksekaldırım bookstores, he would recognise

⁹⁸⁸ Ziya Osman Saba. *Mesut İnsanlar Fotoğrafhanesi*, Istanbul: Varlık, 1952. p. 43.

⁹⁸⁹ Ibid., p. 54.

them at once, as if they reached forth to him from behind the showcase. However, he did not have enough money to buy these books. Hence, he did not go into the bookstores and continued to walk among the noises of Tunnel trams.⁹⁹⁰

After he took a few steps, he saw another bookstore which sold only first hand books. He saw new editions of *Le Petit Chose* or *La Dame aux Camélias* with their new cover designs. In the showcase, he saw names of new authors who had recently published books. He leafed through the pages of some of them. He admired one of them a lot. He could not release the book. However, he could not buy it either, since he did not have enough money.⁹⁹¹

Time had passed too speedily after his childhood. He was not the child who read till mornings anymore. The meaning of reading had changed for him. He was working as a copy editor with a low salary. He was reading to find the grammar and punctuation errors and ambiguous sentences now. Reading did not mean the same thing as it had in the mansion in Kozyatağı when he was a child.⁹⁹²

The only character of the story was the narrator who was wandering in Yüksekaldırım in front of showcases of bookstores, who could not buy the books he liked. He narrated himself in this story as in many other stories. The mansion in Kozyatağı, studentship days in Galatasaray, and working as a copy editor in a government office were biographical details about his own self. He saw the beautiful old days of his childhood and adolescence in old books. His love for old books was due to his nostalgia for his childhood and adolescence days. However, his childhood days were not actually as beautiful as presented in this story. He was

⁹⁹⁰ Ibid., pp. 54, 55.

⁹⁹¹ Ibid., pp. 55, 56.

⁹⁹² Ibid., pp. 56, 57.

missing his childhood since he sought a safe harbour as a little man who was not content with his job and life and who had financial difficulties. His childhood and adolescence were this safe harbour.

What we saw in the story about the narrator protagonist is that he was a diffident person since his childhood. Even though he was born to an upper middle class family, perhaps because of his diffident personality, he was living a lower middle class life in his middle ages. One of the reasons of the nostalgia he felt for his childhood and adolescence was the present hardships of his life. Life was hard for him since he was a poor man. He was a poor man not only because of his diffident personality but also because of the socio-political conditions of the 1940s. In these years, maintaining an upper class position was not so easy for a man of letters. Men of letters from the supervisory generation occupied all critical positions and links between the state and literary intelligentsia weakened for young men of letters. I make these evaluations about the narrator protagonist since Ziya Osman Saba narrated a slice from his own life in this story. He was a lonely and penniless man who could not even buy the book he wanted to read. His loneliness was the sum of his diffident individuality, poverty and the socio-political atmosphere of the era.

8. 6. Lonely Man's Childhood in Beyoğlu

In *Kış Gezintileri* (The Winter Trips) and *Yaz Gezintileri* (The Summer Trips), Ziya Osman Saba told of his childhood. In these two stories, he tells his childhood for which he longed in *Okumak*. I will discuss *Kış Gezintileri* first.

The narrator told of his Beyoğlu trips in winters with his father while he was a child in the 1910s and 1920s. At that time, Beyoğlu did not begin with Elhamra Cinema and end with another cinema in Taksim Square.

However, even then, Beyoğlu was famous for its cinemas. For a child, going to Beyoğlu meant climbing up some slopes. You climbed up from Gümüşşuyu, Tophane, or Şişhane or went up from Yüksekaldırım step by step. However, the shortest way was to take the Tunnel metro. The Tunnel Metro was a miracle for a child. It looked like a magical carpet being pulled by a magical hand.⁹⁹³

First, they got onto the tram to get to the entrance to the metro in Galata. The rapid movement of the tram pleased the narrator very much. They stood up in the front of the tram with his father. The driver took him out to the stair next to him in the cockpit and his father held him carefully from his waist.⁹⁹⁴

They got on the tram from Dolmabahçe and passed the stations of Kabataş, Fındıklı, and Tophane. From Tophane, they went into the Tersane Avenue parallel to the Tunnel Avenue. The trip ended on this avenue around the entrance of the Tunnel. The gate to the Tunnel in Galata was like that of a chalet. Even to see this entrance made him happy. As if it was an underground corridor, it would carry him and his father out to a mysterious chapel. It was the gateway to a different world. For a child, that Tunnel was not a means of transportation. As soon as they went into the Tunnel, a quite unique cool air hit their faces. A sweet smell of coal tar filled their lungs. After the doors of the wagons were closed, a whistle sounded and the train departed, just like his toys. His father pointed at the other train coming from the opposite direction. The clinking of the wagons' windows made him little scared, he felt as if they were on an adventure. When they left the other train behind, he

⁹⁹³ Ziya Osman Saba. *Değişen İstanbul*, İstanbul: Varlık, 1959. p. 42.

⁹⁹⁴ Ibid.

felt as if they had escaped a threat. And then, Beyoğlu started to become visible at the end of the Tunnel.⁹⁹⁵

The Tunnel Square was the same size in his childhood as it was in the 1940s. There had been some bookstores and photographers on this square before; however, Hachette Bookstore and Süreyya Photographer had not yet opened. The Grand Avenue of his childhood was almost the same as the Avenue of the 1940s. At the entry of the Avenue, there were two shoe shiners. Before they stepped into the Avenue with his father, they had their shoes shined.⁹⁹⁶

While their shoes were being shined, he watched the showcase of the photographer across them with his father. In those times, photographs were attached to solid cardboards. There were different landscape pictures on the surfaces of these cardboards. These landscapes picture grabbed his attention more than the photographs themselves.⁹⁹⁷ His fondness for watching photographers' showcases continued after his childhood as well. His most favourite spaces in Beyoğlu were photographers, as he mentions in some of his other stories.

While he was watching the showcase of the Febüs photographer, the shoe shiner finished his work. They then went to a toy store in the Karlman Passage. This departmental store got a reputation for its dolls even though many different products were also sold there. "Of course", these dolls did not catch his attention. Toy guns and pictures of children with toy guns did. In fact, the big store itself was like a gigantic toy for a little child. After the toy store, they went to the city theatre and looked

⁹⁹⁵ Ibid., pp. 44, 45.

⁹⁹⁶ Ibid., pp. 45, 46.

⁹⁹⁷ Ibid., p. 46.

at the cinematograph. After they watched a movie, they returned home by the same route.⁹⁹⁸

As in *Tüneldeki Çocuk* (The Child in the Tunnel) which I discussed above, this story also tells of a child and what he felt in the metro. In Ziya Osman Saba's stories, the narrator generally told about himself, either as a child or a middle aged man longing for his childhood. In this story, too, he told his own childhood.

For the child in Sait Faik's story, the Tunnel was a mysterious place. For the child Ziya Osman Saba, too, it was a mysterious as well as an adventurous world. However, he was different from the child in Sait Faik's story in certain ways. The approach of another train from the opposite direction scared him. In contrast, Sait Faik's child did not feel threatened even though he had gotten on the metro by himself. They were different children. Ziya Osman Saba as a child was living in a mansion, but, the child in Sait Faik's story was living in a shed in Edirnekapı. To one of them, the metro looked like his toys or magical carpets in books. But Sait Faik's child did not have toys and was probably not reading any books. The Tunnel was just a unique world for him. He was not afraid there. What attracted him to the Tunnel was the sense of wonder rather than adventure.

In *Yaz Gezintileri* (the Summer Trips), too, he tells his childhood. He begins his story by saying that he always remembered his first trips to remote or close quarters of Istanbul in his childhood; always with his father, since his mother had died early. In any case, even though they were married, women and men wandering together in public places was not welcome at the time he was a child.⁹⁹⁹

⁹⁹⁸ Ibid., pp. 48, 49.

⁹⁹⁹ Ibid., p. 25.

After his mother died, his father, who had been living in the mansion of his wife's family, left this mansion. When he came to the mansion to take the narrator on an excursion, he did not knock on the main door. He knocked on the small door at the other side of the mansion. He did not want to be seen around the house with which he did not have any connection anymore. The narrator would enthusiastically sprint to the garden of the mansion to open the door for this father on days he visited.¹⁰⁰⁰

They sometimes went to Bebek for a swim in the sea. Other times they went to Taksim Garden. In those times, visitors were only accepted to this park for an entrance fee. Not only adult people but also children visited this park. Most of the children came with their French speaking nannies. In any case, everything had a French name and everyone spoke French in this zone. They usually went there via walking up the Gümüşsuyu slope. Around Gümüşsuyu, there were non-Muslim cemeteries and the German embassy. There were eagle sculptures in the garden. During the Armistice era, these sculptures were concealed with covers. Later, numerous buildings were constructed on these cemeteries. In place of Tevfik Pasha's mansion, Park hotel was built.¹⁰⁰¹

For the narrator, Tepebaşı Garden was like the sibling of Taksim Garden in those times. As in the 1940s, all of its sides were closed. It was surrounded by grab rails and creepers. Contrary to Bebek Garden, beer and other alcoholic drinks were also sold there. They did not always come to Tepebaşı Garden; only when his father had enough money. His father was a fixed-income teacher working at the Kuleli Military High School.

¹⁰⁰⁰ Ibid.

¹⁰⁰¹ Ibid., pp. 37, 38.

The narrator watched his father's moustache become wet while drinking beer and recalled those days with longing.¹⁰⁰²

As in all his other stories, the main character was the narrator protagonist in this story, too. He recited his childhood with longing. By way of this story, it can clearly be seen how Beyoğlu changed between the 1910s to the 1940s. Moreover, we find that Gümüşsuyu was a passageway to Beyoğlu in the 1910s as in the 1940s and present time. Gümüşsuyu was also covered with cemeteries like the land between Beyoğlu and new quarters in its north in the 1910s. In the 1910s, Beyoğlu was a place where people could drink alcohol as well as a place where women and men could wander together. However, people could not consume alcoholic drinks publicly even there. Tepebaşı Garden was surrounded by grab rails and creepers. People drank alcohol behind the cover provided by them.

Another remarkable point was what the narrator told about the German embassy. I discussed how the presence of Allied powers in Pera and Istanbul during the Armistice era influenced the lives of Pera's residents in the third chapter. At the least, the Levantines of Pera were not contented by the presence of the soldiers of allied powers. The reason for their discontent can be understood more clearly through Ziya Osman Saba's childhood testimonies. They made the residents of Pera feel in every field of life that they were victors and were in Istanbul as a result of their victories. They displayed their dominance, intervening even in issues like statues in the gardens of embassies.

Lastly, I want to discuss the narrator's position in the story. Even though he longed for his childhood and treated that sentiment in all his stories, he had not been able to sufficiently enjoy his childhood. His

¹⁰⁰² Ibid., p. 38.

mother had died while he was very little. He could see his father only one day a week. His father remarried and had children from his second wife. Even though they wandered in many places on the European side of Istanbul such as Bebek, Beyoğlu, etc., they did not go to any place on the Anatolian side since his father was living in Beykoz with his new family. Therefore, he did not take the narrator on excursions near his new house. Beykoz remained a damned place for him even in his adulthood.¹⁰⁰³

In both stories, we saw a child who grew up in a mansion in an upper middle class family. However, his mother's early death and living separately from his father influenced his psychology. His father did not introduce him to his new family or take him to his new house. He had to live with his grandmother. All these influenced his psychology and individuality. His diffident personality in his adulthood was a result of this childhood. The lonely man wandering in Beyoğlu we saw in *Okumak* was a melancholic and lonely man because of the childhood described in the stories *Yaz Gezintileri* and *Kış Gezintileri*.

8. 7. A Lonely Man in Beyoğlu without Love or a Woman

In Ziya Osman Saba's stories, the loneliness of the narrator protagonist was of a rather different kind. The narrator protagonist did not say anything which might imply that his loneliness stemmed from being without a woman. On the other hand, Oktay Akbal clearly underlined his loneliness was caused by lacking love and a woman.

His story *Haliç İskelesi* (the Golden Horn Pier) indicates very clearly that his loneliness was because of him being without love. The narrator began his story by saying that it was an Istanbul night which made one

¹⁰⁰³ Ibid.

particularly feels their loneliness. He was penniless and distressed. The city seemed to him smaller than ever. He travelled on some roads, went up and down some slopes, looked at cinema posters, and watched his reflection in the showcases of bookstores.¹⁰⁰⁴

When he reached the Bridge, the hue of the night had descended onto the city. After the most crowded hours of the city, its most desolate hours began. Everyone returned to their houses from work and was seated at the dining table. Busses and trams had carried a great deal of people on all sides of the city and ferries had departed full to the point of overflowing.¹⁰⁰⁵

He was surprised how the darkness of the night immediately descended onto the city. He went down under the Bridge. He was at the Kadıköy Ferry Pier. The most crowded ferries had departed. His hands were in his topcoat's pockets. He looked around. The lights of some ferries were penetrating into the darkness. Women and men were passing by the narrator. He was hearing their voices and laughs. He was alone in this big city. There was no one who understood or recognized him. He wore an old topcoat and was without a hat. His hair was messy.¹⁰⁰⁶

He took out a cigarette and walked toward the pathway reaching out to the Golden Horn Pier. The noises of trams and cars were echoing under the Bridge. People who waited at the Golden Horn Pier were more numerous than those at the Kadıköy Pier. Many ferries were coming in from Balat, Eyüp, Kasımpaşa and some other districts, were unloading their passengers.¹⁰⁰⁷

¹⁰⁰⁴ Oktay Akbal. *Aşksız İnsanlar*, İstanbul: Varlık, 1949. p. 43.

¹⁰⁰⁵ Ibid.

¹⁰⁰⁶ Ibid., pp. 43, 44.

¹⁰⁰⁷ Ibid., p. 44.

His cigarette was hanging from his lips. He leaned against the rails of the pier and watched the ships. No one was left on the pier. Everyone had boarded the ferry. The ticket office was closed. The dock man lighted up a cigarette. However, the narrator was still standing with his unlit cigarette. He sat on a bench. He lighted up his cigarette and took a few puffs. The barges and motorboats of the Golden Horn were in front of him. They were immobile. All of them had different and strange names. They appeared to the narrator like a painting.¹⁰⁰⁸

He thought that there was no one in the world lonelier than him on that night. The sky was full of stars and the moon appeared like a plate from among the minarets of Süleymaniye. The pier was still desolate. The ticket office would open soon. Two passengers sat next to him. They had probably just gotten off work. One of them was counting his money. The other one was going through his pockets. Then they each lit up their cigarettes. A redhead woman entered the waiting room. Her shadow fell onto the sea. She had chewing gum in her mouth. She was continuously shaking her one leg. Her face was a little freckled and her eyes were bright. She turned her face towards the Golden Horn and lay her eyes on the sea. She might have been a shop assistant or an apprentice of a tailor. She came to the Bridge from Balat every morning and hurried to her workplace in Beyoğlu. She generally wore a green topcoat and silk stockings. Someone was looking at her admiringly in the ferry at mornings and evenings. She was probably the most beautiful girl of her quarter. There were people who were crazy for her, who passed from under her window and expected her. She also had her own world and dreams. She was also sad and alone in this big city.¹⁰⁰⁹

¹⁰⁰⁸ Ibid.

¹⁰⁰⁹ Ibid., pp. 45, 46.

If he were to reach forth with his hands, he could touch her. She was looking at him. He suddenly said, just for the sake of conversation, “excuse me, what time is it?” She answered that she did not have a watch. The narrator continued to speak and said that he had probably seen her somewhere before. She replied “of course, you might have seen me on the pier every evening.” However, she had seen him for the first time.¹⁰¹⁰

He got suspicious about whether she was real. She might have been a dream. He reached forth his hand and touched hers. She did not pull back. Her hands were lively and warm. She was not a dream. Her hair was red and her face was freckled. She was sitting next to him. She lived in Balat where tens of children played from morning till night on each street. Spanish tangos were sung there and many women’s and girls’ heads could be seen leaning out of the window. He also wanted to live with her in this quarter. He was absolutely sure that they had met somewhere. Maybe they sat side by side in a cinema and their knees touched. Maybe they came across in a thoroughfare. The narrator looked at her again and again, turning his head. Maybe she came to the real world from a Hollywood movie.¹⁰¹¹

In fact, he told her none of these words. He did not touch her, either. He only mumbled something to her. She smiled with her eyes. One of those small ferries approached the pier again. Passengers silently descended from the ferry. The narrator and the girl were in silent meditation, watching the crowd. The pier got filled and people accumulated behind the rails. She immediately moved away from the narrator and ran towards a brunet boy. They went into the ferry arm in arm, speaking with

¹⁰¹⁰ Ibid., p. 46.

¹⁰¹¹ Ibid., pp. 46, 47.

each other. The narrator watched the ferry until it went out of sight and then he found himself alone among the noise, rush, and hasty people of the Bridge. He would not step foot on the Golden Horn pier ever again.¹⁰¹²

As he said several times in the story, the narrator protagonist was a lonely man. He even began his story stressing his loneliness. His entire occupation was loitering as a lonely and unemployed man. He mentioned people going out from work and going to their homes. However, he did not go out from work. Rather, he wandered in cinemas and in front of showcases in Beyoğlu. Hence, this man who admiringly looked at a woman who he did not recognise at the Pier can be called a *flâneur*. Nothing was said about why he was a lonely man. All we know about him was that he was an unemployed man who loitered in Beyoğlu during rush hours of regular people. He was a lonely man who fell in love with a woman who he had not seen before. However, he emphasized his ability to write stories as distinct from Ziya Osman Saba. Even though he had not seen the red headed woman before, he wrote her story by merely looking at her face. She lived in Balat and was the most beautiful girl of the quarter, etc.

Another story by Oktay Akbal which features the lonely narrator protagonist wandering in the city as a *flâneur* is *Yağmur Altında İnsanlar* (People under Rain). The narrator protagonist's steps carried him from one of the remotest districts of the city to the most crowded Avenue. The rain had not left him alone along the way. He wanted to watch people and the city under the drizzle. He was expecting to see them more

¹⁰¹² Ibid., pp. 47, 48.

differently than ever. However, he was mistaken. People did not change easily even if conditions changed.¹⁰¹³

The biggest Avenue of the city welcomed him with open arms. The rain lost its significance there. Even its noise got muted. Voices, noises, laughs, and hues and cries were being heard in the Avenue and were drowning the noise of the rain. He was walking slowly on the pavement. Everyone was about their own businesses, troubles, and pleasures. Fussy and calm people were side by side. Some people were walking with speedy steps and some were walking slowly.¹⁰¹⁴

He saw a very big cinema banner while walking in the Avenue. The paint on the banner was running from the lips of the famous actress on the banner under the rain. Coloured tears were bursting from her eyes. The lobby of the cinema was very crowded. People were waiting in line to buy tickets. They were all growing impatient in their wish to fall into the arms of darkness. There was a cockeyed woman at one edge of the lobby. Her stance, body, and clothes revealed her occupation clearly. She was also soaked to the skin. She was smilingly looking at each man. However, the majority of these men were blind to her. She caught the narrator with her gazes. The narrator was surprised. How did she see that he had looked at her? She must have had some special abilities which the majority of people did not.¹⁰¹⁵

The lobby continued to embrace people fleeing the rain. Two young girls approached the ticket office. They bought tickets and started to walk toward the door. Two boys ran after them, shaking their tickets. As they were entering the dark theatre behind the girls, they were elbowing each other. He turned his head and saw the cockeyed woman

¹⁰¹³ Oktay Akbal. *Önce Ekmekler Bozuldu*, Istanbul: F-K, 1946. p. 29.

¹⁰¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁰¹⁵ Ibid., p. 30.

again. She was speaking with a man. They were bargaining. The man took a step back and gave the woman the eye. He looked at her legs, butt, and breasts. The woman was not half bad looking. Her face was pock marked and eyes were cockeyed, but her body was beautiful. However, she was stubborn in bargaining. At last, they agreed and walked toward the theatre. The man bought a ticket for a loggia and they went toward their loggia.¹⁰¹⁶

After the whore and the man went to their loggia, the eyes of the narrator started to bounce again from one person to the other. There were many women, girls, and boys. Beautiful and ugly ones, ones with or without moustaches, tall people and short people were all together. In fact, each person was one and the same. They could be separated from one another only by nuances. Someone's nose was big or small, someone's clothes were beautiful or ugly, and someone's eyes were black or blue. However, all of them had the same heart. All of them were composed of one brain, two legs and arms, a certain amount of bone, nerve, and muscle. Their desires were common and their dreams were the same. All of them were satisfying their wishes and desires in the same ways. The one thing which separated them from each other was their appearances. In fact, all the people in the world were from the same as each other regardless of their wealth, nation, race, religion, and beauty, always and everywhere.¹⁰¹⁷

The narrator exited the cinema and turned to a side street with different thoughts in his mind. He was walking down a desolate street. Houses and apartments were cute as if they wore their Sunday-go-to meeting clothes. The dirt of the city was washed away by the rain. As soon as the

¹⁰¹⁶ Ibid., pp. 30, 31.

¹⁰¹⁷ Ibid., p. 31.

rain stopped, he found himself in one of the big squares of the city. Whishes and noises could be heard. A young boy was standing at the entrance of the street at the right. He felt an abrupt urge to get chummy with this young boy, but then his face suddenly changed and he started to walk rapidly. A girl was coming toward him. The narrator observed the meeting and their speech. They smilingly moved away and disappeared. The narrator was taking a stroll down memory lane when a big raindrop landed on his forehead. A rain shower began.¹⁰¹⁸

Pavements submitted themselves to the whip of the rain. Open windows of houses were closed by an invisible hand. Flurried people started to pass by rapid steps from the left and the right. The narrator pulled his hat down tighter toward his forehead. It was as if the rain wanted to show that it could get not only fools but also the cleverest of people wet.¹⁰¹⁹

The narrator described his trip from the Avenue to the Square in this story. Even though he did not say it explicitly, he was a melancholic man who wanted to see the romantic sight of Beyoğlu under the rain and the happy people there. For example, he felt an affinity with a man in the Square with whom he had not met before and wanted to become friends with him for no reason. He was a lonely melancholic man.

He began his trip from one of the remotest quarters of the city. However, his steps carried him away to the most crowded Avenue of the city, which was Istiklal Avenue. His narration began in Istiklal. I said narration, but he did not narrate any particular event in the story. While he was wandering, he was watching people who he saw in cinemas, streets, and squares. For him, all people were the same as each other.

¹⁰¹⁸ Ibid., p. 32.

¹⁰¹⁹ Ibid.

Their worries, fears, and hopes resembled each other. Perhaps for this reason, he did not tell comprehensive stories of the people. Rather, he narrated the impressions of people whom he encountered had on him. He was an unemployed young man who wandered in the city's streets and watched different people. His entire job was loitering in the city; he was a *flâneur*.

Being a *flâneur* necessitates loneliness by definition and enables the artist to observe people like a conscious kaleidoscope. The narrator who observes people like a conscious kaleidoscope can evaluate them neutrally. In his evaluation, the narrator claimed that all people were the same in their hopes and worries. His claim that all people were the same led him towards a humanistic philosophy. If all people were the same in every respect, then there was no reason for conflict between them.

The rise of modernism and little people had changed the city representations of young story writers in the 1940s. Hence, their representation of little people in the city was different from that of the supervisory generation of the Early Republican Period. They could look at people independently of their national and religious identities. The narrator's humanistic approach might also be related to this atmosphere of the 1940s. He saw people in their similarities rather than differences as a lonely man wandering in the streets of the city.

In *Yağmur Altında İnsanlar*, we witnessed the humanistic approach of the author through his representation of the narrator protagonist. In *Aşksız İnsanlar* (People without Love), Oktay Akbal tells the story of how he turned into a person without love as the narrator protagonist. He begins the story by saying that he had lived without love for a long time. He broke up his old relationship and could not find a new one. Love was an old habit for him. Once upon a time, he had wondered how

a person could live without love. Probably this person could not wander in large streets of the city. He did not watch seagoing barges from Unkapanı Bridge, love idleness in parks, and enjoy the love movies. The person without love was preoccupied with their work, running rapidly over avenues and pouring into trams. He did not pay attention to the bare feet of street urchins. He lived only for himself and did not know any other thing.¹⁰²⁰

What the narrator said about people preoccupied by work is important. They were also seen in avenues and they too got on the trams. However, they walked with rapid steps in the avenues and did not pay attention to other people on the trams. Their behaviours in avenues and trams were different from people with love who may be characterised as loiterers of the city. People with love walked in avenues with tortoise steps. They watched and observed other people.

The narrator usually tried to light a cigarette at tram stations or at a crossroads. While he was waiting for someone at a tram station or a crossroads, he would come across people without love. They were all sulky. They were rushing onto trams, shoving people, and hurling swears. They did not care about cinema posters and the pictures of kissing couples on them. While automobiles were passing and people were running about, the narrator was thinking about people without love. Their lips did not know how to smile and they did not dream about any beautiful thing. Sometimes he came eye to eye with a pretty man whose hands were in his pockets and from whose features could be read his contentment. They looked at each other like two acquaintances as if they had known each other for years and they had talked with each other on a park bench overlooking the sea in Gülhane Park at length. He

¹⁰²⁰ Oktay Akbal. *Aşksız İnsanlar*, İstanbul: Varlık, 1949. p. 60.

was sure that this man knew suitable places to engage in idleness. This man knew well how to talk about people's problems. He probably knew isolated roads which enabled the person to think and deepen their thoughts. While the narrator was thinking about these subjects, a blonde woman's head leaned out of the window, a woman called out from one balcony to another one, or a young boy passed by the narrator. The narrator lost his attention. His glances darted to the edge of the street. He cast down his cigarette and walked a few steps. People on the streets shouldered him as they passed by at such times. However, it did not matter for him. He was full of love. He was sure at such times that there were many other people in the world like him. These people, who loved someone and were interested in their joys and sorrows would make the world a more beautiful place.¹⁰²¹

In *Yağmur Altında İnsanlar* (People under Rain) and his many other stories, Akbal said that all people looked like each other. However, he separated people into two groups in this story: people without love who were preoccupied by their work and people with love who were the loiterers of the city. He generally thought about these two "kinds" of people toward evenings. In these hours, people finished up their works and children got out of schools. He could identify people without love and people full of love one by one at this time of day. It might be wondered whether he was inaccurate at identifying these people. Any person could be mistaken in such guesses at any time. However, to him, he was assuredly not mistaken in this. For him, a man who loved a person recognized other people who were full of love as well. For example, that man who was walking alone and aimlessly must have probably ended a love affair recently. This girl, who was running, shaking her bag in her

¹⁰²¹ Ibid., pp. 60, 61.

hand, probably never tasted love. The adventure of that man who was buying cigarettes had probably been experienced by many well-known story writers. Those who were playing backgammon in that coffeehouse were unaware of love even though they were challenging fortune with each dice roll. That young student was waiting for someone. Another one certainly learned love from movies and novels. The one next to him never experienced the feeling of love.¹⁰²²

He stood at crossroads and saw women, children, and people without love. However, he could not see her beloved girl. Sometimes she appeared in her green topcoat. When she came next to the narrator, he stood on end. They walked under the shades of trees. While he was keeping quiet, she spoke. He filled with joy and totally new feelings in each step. Cars went by, people looked around, and acquaintances winked and saluted. It took a shorter time to get through the road than usual. In such times, he felt sorrier for people. Eventually, winter gave way to spring and topcoats were taken off. Women, girls, and she in particular wandered without socks. The wind became lighter and the breeze became enjoyable. Glances of girls brightened and hers in particular became striking. She always spoke speedily, mentioned her old boyfriend to the narrator, and the narrator tried to smile.¹⁰²³

Months passed and seasons changed a few times. Topcoats were worn and taken off again. A day came when the sky turned darker and the rains became more tiresome. Crossroads were not reminding him of anything anymore. Cinema posters had no meaning for him. He was paying no attention to whether people smiled or not. Park benches, long empty avenues, and night idleness on the Bridge seemed to him as

¹⁰²² Ibid., pp. 61, 62.

¹⁰²³ Ibid., p. 62.

things that belonged to the remote past. Cigarettes were unpleasant, waters tasted acrid, and dreams were messed up. His days were passing in hot and noisy coffeehouses playing backgammon and cards. Nothing had meaning for him.¹⁰²⁴

At one point, the narrator was passing through the most crowded Avenue of the city toward evening in windy weather. For the first time, a store showcase introduced him to a person without love. This person was without dreams, hopes, and desires. He was of course, the narrator himself. He was beetle browed and did not have a smile on his lips. Songs had become strange to him. He had become hostile to love poems. He was saying that parks were for idlers and only non-workers dreamed. He was a person without love now.¹⁰²⁵

In this story, too, the only character of the story was the first-person singular narrator. He was a lonely and melancholic man, again, as in the previous story. At the beginning of the story, he said that he had broken up with his old lover, but, notwithstanding, he did not lose the love within himself. At the middle of the story, he fell in love again. Even though she told him about her old boyfriends, he liked meeting that girl. Months passed and seasons changed. The girl probably broke up with him. He finally lost the love within himself too. This story was different from the story *Yağmur Altında İnsanlar* (People under Rain) in terms of the representation of the Avenue. The Avenue was mentioned only once at the end of the story. However, it had a significant place in the story as the space where the narrator recognised the radical change himself.

In this story, the narrator separated people into two categories: people without love and people with love. In fact, people without love might

¹⁰²⁴ Ibid., pp. 62, 63.

¹⁰²⁵ Ibid., p. 63.

also be separated into two further subcategories: “ordinary” members of society becoming a part of the gears of the modern economy and loiterers. The narrator lost the love in himself, but he was a loiterer. “Ordinary” people did not even recognise that they had lost their love. However, the loiterer who walked in the city’s streets with tortoise steps, contemplating, could recognise in the reflection on a showcase that he had lost his love.

For the narrator, people with love could wander in large streets of the city. They were the loiterers of the city. However, the narrator who lost his love was also the loiterer of the city. In the second chapter, I asserted that loitering should be defined as a period or an instant in the lives of people rather than a lifelong phenomenon. Loiterers turned into “ordinary” members of society in a definite period of their lives. However, the narrator who lost his love turned into an unhappy man without love. That is, he became the *flâneur* of the city who did not like the city and its people, but could not do without them.

I analysed the figure of the *flâneur* in the second chapter as a social phenomenon. In France, it appeared in the Restoration period. In Russia, too, it appeared in the authoritarian atmosphere of the Nikolay II era in the form of a little man. Oktay Akbal’s characterization of himself as a *flâneur* in his story as the first-person singular narrator might be related to the atmosphere of the 1940s. Young intellectuals were excluded in this period and felt the exclusion in all branches of the life because of reasons discussed in detail earlier. This period saw an increase in the representation of *flâneurs* in stories like Oktay Akbal’s.

Another story by Oktay Akbal which tells of a lonely man without love in Beyoğlu is *Yağmur Rüzgarı* (The Rain Wind). He begins the story by stating that it should have rained, but it should not have been tiresome. The beloved girl should have left her hair to the flow of the wet wind.

All the sadness of this winter day should have been read from her eyes. She should have watched the raindrops on window glasses, streets, and squares. She should have remembered some other walks under the rain while walking on that long and crowded road. Then, she should have remembered past years, old dreams, and lost friends. Those tiny raindrops should have flown in her memories like a flood.¹⁰²⁶

The narrator himself should have wandered among people whose faces he saw for the first time, thinking about his own unfinished adventures. He should have observed the rush of the city, which was seen only at the ends of rainy days. One of the two high school girls who were passing by him in Beyazıt Square should have smiled at him. He should have gone after the girl who was three steps ahead of him and watched how she walked and the colour of her hair. He should have not minded the cinema poster, newspapers in the showcase of tobacco shop, the voice of a jazz record, and the noises of trams, automobiles, and people. Rain winds should have stroked his face. He should have felt the smell of wetness inside. People who passed by him should have not been strangers to him. He had a friend from school with whom every boy wanted to be lovers. Today, he should have seen that brunette girl in a train station.¹⁰²⁷

He should have wandered in small and narrow streets and large avenues, crossed the Bridge and watched the ferries departing from the pier. For a while, he should have recited a verse. For a while, he should have crooned a song. He should have seen Yüksek Kaldırım and its forlornness on rainy days. Then he should have found himself on the most crowded and the least poetic Avenue of the city. There were many fa-

¹⁰²⁶ Ibid., p. 88.

¹⁰²⁷ Ibid., pp. 88, 89.

miliar people on this Avenue. He had to take his hat off and smile to people at each step. There were big cinemas, large showcases, and easy women there. Taprooms attracted people to themselves. He should have wandered there, chasing free and easy women. He should have bought a pack of cigarettes and shot the breeze with an old friend. The rain should not have stopped. A horror movie should have been watched in a cinema. Each place, each name, each person, and each street should have reminded him of something and awoken some feelings in him.¹⁰²⁸

Later, it should have gradually gotten dark. First the eyes, and then the faces of people should have become invisible. The streetlights should have come on and individual raindrops should have been seen dropping next to the lamp post. Taprooms should have been bursting at the seams and glasses should have been emptied. There should have been people who smiled with glasses in their hands talking with each other. They were all his own people. All people who went to the cinema, the bar, and the music hall, lending an arm to their beloved ones and running to make love were familiar to and friends of him. He should have wandered about with a slim, tall and blonde woman. He should have told her what he read in a novel; spoken and acted like a person out of a movie. She should have also said what he liked and they should have turned to an empty street. She should have told something to him. Whatever she should have told did not matter. He should have watched and thought about only her. He should have remained silent. For a short span of time, she should have brought her lips near his ears and whispered something. They should have wandered together and stopped by somewhere. His fingers should have gotten wet when he touched her

¹⁰²⁸ Ibid., pp. 89, 90.

hair. Then he should have suddenly been overtaken by a hatred for the world, people, and the rain. The blonde girl near him should have seemed to him a movie character and made away with her. He should have walked alone in a dark world without any dream or even thinking about lighting a cigarette. He should have passed through streets without people and sought something in these desolate streets through which he had not passed before. Finally, he should have walked toward his home emptyhanded and without dreams.¹⁰²⁹

The story had only one character: the narrator protagonist. It consisted of the dreams of this character. He imagined himself with a woman on a rainy Istanbul day. What sort of a man was this narrator protagonist? What did he dream? He wanted to wander in the streets, avenues, and squares of the city on a rainy day. He dreamed of a girl under the rain. He thought that he could feel the city and the rain with a beloved and beautiful woman. The narrator was not wandering in the city; he only dreamed of it. Why was he dreaming to wander in the city rather than actually wandering? He was a lonely man. He thought that he could feel the city with a beloved woman, however, there was no such woman. Even if there had been such a woman, he would have left her as he said in the end of the story.

Although he was a lonely man, this loneliness turned into a part of his individuality. He left his imagined girlfriend at the end of story for no reason. He both needed a woman and her love and could not endure this woman since she broke his habitual loneliness. This lonely man did not love people; however, at the same time, he could not do without them. He did not love the city which he could not feel without a beloved woman. However, he wandered in the city even if only in dreams. In

¹⁰²⁹ Ibid., pp. 90, 91.

short, he was the *flâneur* who did not like people and the city, but could not do without them.

Some of the spaces mentioned in the story were Beyazıt Square, The Bridge, Eminönü piers, Yüksekaldırım, and the Avenue. Except for Beyazıt Square, all spaces mentioned in the story were located in Beyoğlu. The dreamed city of the narrator mainly consisted of Beyoğlu where he could encounter all kinds of people. He could best experience romanticism under the rain with a beloved woman in Beyoğlu which was the most lively and attractive place of the city.

8. 8. A Man in Beyoğlu Who Lost Everything

To follow up on men without “love or a woman” in Beyoğlu, I will next look at a character who lost everything through the story *Garson* (The Waiter) by Sait Faik. This is the story of a waiter named Ahmet. According to the narrator, he was a first-class waiter. If he wished, he could work in *Belvü*, *Cennet Bahçesi*, *Panorama*, or *Altınbira*, which were the famous cafés of Beyoğlu in the 1940s. He had already worked in *Belvü* for a while. His boss was pleased with him. If he wished, he could work there again. However, he rented a coffeehouse in a Bosphorus village and ran this coffeehouse instead of working in Beyoğlu cafés. The money which he made as the owner of a coffeehouse was less than the money which he would gain as a waiter in *Belvü*. So, why did he try to run this secluded village coffeehouse? He did not know the answer to this question.¹⁰³⁰

In fact, he was not a lazy man. To the contrary, when he did not work, he would get too bored. In this far away coffeehouse, he always found something to occupy himself. That is, he did not prefer this coffeehouse

¹⁰³⁰ Sait Faik. *Semaver*, 2nd ed., Istanbul: Varlık, 1951. p. 64.

to the Beyoğlu cafés out of laziness. While he was working in *Belvü*, he ran to fulfil every order and never tired. He preferred this coffeehouse because no one meddled with his affairs. Nevertheless, while he was working in *Belvü*, his boss had never interfered with him either since he did his job perfectly.¹⁰³¹

To the narrator, he appeared to be born a waiter. However, no one was actually inherently a waiter. Even though people were not born as waiters, some people died as waiters. Ahmet could also have become a doctor. However, he became a waiter because of life conditions. Still, whatever his motivations to become a waiter were, he was a good waiter.¹⁰³²

While he was running a coffeehouse in the summer, a little child from the village came, all by himself to work as an apprentice. He did not ask the child why he was there. However, he did not speak much with the child either. Ahmet was married. His wife came to the coffeehouse only three or four times all summer. When customers were gone, they would start to quarrel with each other. She always said that there was a hidden catch in Ahmet's preference for this coffeehouse over *Belvü*. Ahmet got very angry at these claims. When his wife then said that there was no hidden catch and that he was just lazy, he relaxed. Their quarrel eased.¹⁰³³ In short, his wife also did not understand why he ran this isolated coffeehouse. She could not find any reasonable explanation.

Ahmet was the son of a rich father who had moved from Trabzon to Istanbul a long time ago. He first started to drink alcohol at nineteen. When he was late to the house because of drinking for the first time, his mother waited for him until late hours. His father and mother were proud of their son on that night. His consumption of alcohol indicated

¹⁰³¹ Ibid., p. 65.

¹⁰³² Ibid., p. 66.

¹⁰³³ Ibid., p. 67.

that their son was growing mature and becoming an adult man. However, his father's shops and houses could not afford the expenses of Ahmet's "adult" life. They had to sell all of them, one by one. Perhaps for this reason, Ahmet preferred the ownership of a coffeehouse to waitering in Belvü. The feeling of ownership was pleasing to him. After a while, this feeling also ceased to please him. At the beginning of one summer, he did not rent the summer coffeehouse from its owner. Instead, he started to work at *Belvü* again. He was not the owner of anything anymore and was taking pleasure in this. He had already forgotten his old days in the old village coffeehouse. He was among the small minority who did not possess anything and lived on their own labour. In this world, the one thing which could be possessed was a woman. However, his wife had died of pneumonia.¹⁰³⁴

At this point, I want to discuss certain important elements of the story. First, I want to examine it in relation to the concept of loiterature. In the second chapter, I defined loiterature as a form of digression which means deviation from a determined route. Preferring a long and hard route over the determined route might be irrational. However, choosing the irrational road pleases the loiterer. Ahmet worked as a waiter at the beginning of his career to earn his living. He became very successful as a waiter. Later, he took a break from it. He ran an isolated village coffeehouse instead, which in a practical sense was an irrational decision, but he preferred this long and unrewarding way of earning a living. Ultimately, however, he returned to waitering. Even though his decision to run a village coffeehouse was not rational, it was his own free choice and that gave him pleasure. In this long moment of digression, he suspended the rationality of capitalism. Some of his irrational decisions at

¹⁰³⁴ Sait Faik. *Semaver*, 2nd ed., Istanbul: Varlık, 1951. pp. 67-69.

certain critical moments shaped his entire life. He may have spent the wealth of his family on drinking and entertainment but at least this irrational decision was also his own.

He took his only rational decision during the story as a result of a loss. He lost his most valuable thing which he “possessed” when his wife died. Since he had already lost his most valuable possession, he no longer needed any other. Therefore, he quit running the coffeehouse and became a waiter again. He took a rational decision. However, he took this rational decision due to irrational motives.

I claimed in previous chapters that the story writing of the 1940s focused on little people who could not grow into manhood or chose not to grow into manhood. I want to recapitulate that point by way of this story. Being a man means to take rational economic decisions and have a family in bourgeois societies. Ahmet was unsuccessful in both of these matters. What was rational for him was to stay in Beyoğlu and to work there at a café. However, he did not work there at the right time, while his wife was still alive. If he had worked in Beyoğlu while his wife was still alive, it would have led to a happy family life. However, he worked in Beyoğlu only after his wife died. He would be an unhappy man without a family from then on. In the stories of Sait Faik, not having been to Beyoğlu is treated as much as having been to Beyoğlu. In these short stories, the majority of characters do not have enough money or means to establish a life in Beyoğlu. In this story, Ahmet could live in Beyoğlu, thanks to his occupation, however, he did not wish to. When he lost everything he had and became a lonely man, he preferred to live in Beyoğlu. Becoming a lonely man was an important turning point in his life and in his decision to settle in Beyoğlu.

In terms of story spaces, the two important ones in the story were the village coffeehouse and Belvü. Even though both of them were coffee-

houses, *Belvü* had an esteemed name, while the village coffeehouse did not even have a name. The narrator continuously underlined their differences during the entire story to show the irrationality of Ahmet's decision. At the end of the story, Ahmet started to work at Belvü again. He was a lonely and melancholic man living and working in Beyoğlu from then on. Even though the events in the story did not transpire in Beyoğlu and *Belvü* till the end of the story, *Belvü* shaped all of the narration as a story space.

When the narrator mentioned that Ahmet began to work again in Belvü, he said that "he was among a small minority who did not possess anything and lived on their own labour." As I discussed in the fifth chapter, the majority of the residents of Istanbul consisted of petty bourgeois people in the 1940s. That is, even though they lived on their own labour, they were small proprietors rather than a modern proletariat. One of the motives of Ahmet in running a small coffeehouse might be related to this characteristic of society, too. In a society in which the modern proletariat had not sufficiently developed, being a man possessing nothing could be humiliating. However, this was not important for Ahmet anymore. He lost his most valuable possession and to possess any other thing was not important for him.

8. 9. Lonely Men Who Hate the City and People

In my discussion of *Yağmur Rüzgarı* by Oktay Akbal, I underlined the disdain the narrator protagonist had for the city and its residents. Even though he disliked them, he could also not do without them. In *Söylendiğim Durdum* (I Went on Nagging) by Sait Faik, we will witness a more intense expression of this same feeling.

The narrator began the story by saying "This city smells like a dead dog. The dead dog was not disgusting, but it was touching. However, this city

was disgusting. It was dirty and polluted by a vengeance. There was no sofa without lice in this city. There was no place without slime, spit, and phlegm. The dirt on the collars of city dwellers was not from factory smoke. It was from dust and microbes".¹⁰³⁵

This city was full of evil, levity, and hypocrisy. There were good people in this city too, however, they had cowered so much that even their traces could not be seen in the city. No one could think in this city. No one could even think about Allah. When they were tempted to think about Allah, they came across hideous Islamist journals, imams awaiting their deaths, and pseudo poets.¹⁰³⁶

For the narrator, those claiming that they loved poor people were also lying. Which poor person did they love? Did they love this beggar woman who looked like a monster? Did they love this cheeky, impudent and crusty child? The narrator loved only himself. No one loved anyone in this city anymore, only themselves. Not one person who loved another could be found. In this city, one ought to have a safe harbour. A bed and a quilt were necessary in this city. If a man had the seaside, the shade of a tree, the wind, some bitter coffee, a glass of tea, a bagel, a slice of kashar cheese and half a kilo of wine; then, there was no one better than him. Everyone was hypocritical in this city. For a moment, he thought of those who had saved themselves from this city and become bourgeois with sympathy. Afterwards however, he thought that they were the ones who rendered the city this bad.¹⁰³⁷

He was also selfish like everyone else in the city. He also wanted a bed and a quilt for himself like everyone else. He too was dishonest. At one point, he said "never mind my words! Put Away the God!" The God

¹⁰³⁵ Sait Faik. *Mahalle Kahvesi*, Istanbul: Varlık, 1954. p. 101.

¹⁰³⁶ Ibid.

¹⁰³⁷ Ibid., p. 102.

abandoned human beings silently and did not interfere in how the world ran. People should have coped with their problems. They should have made this city a real city. However, he could not personally do anything. He did not want to write anymore, either. He did not want to enrich the owners of newspapers who imported their cars and even pens from Europe. Writing in these newspapers meant to doll the mistresses of these men up. While he was wandering in the Avenue, he saw books in the showcase of Haşet Bookstore. He could not even buy a book which was around 300 Francs. However, his articles and other writings made the owners of newspapers rich. He wanted to give up writing; however, he did not have knowledge of any other occupation. He thought to sell chestnuts or ayran. However, people were accustomed to lie in all the occupations in this city. Even if he were to sell chestnuts, nothing would change as long as this city did not change.¹⁰³⁸

In this story too, the only character was the narrator protagonist himself. He represented himself as an unhappy man who abhorred not only the city but also its residents. He was disgusted not only by the poor majority of the city but also the bourgeois minority who rendered the city this dirty and bad. He expressed his disgust in hygienic terms and characterised the city as a dirty and microbic place. However, what he abhorred was, in fact, selfishness and hypocrisy of people in the city including his own self. He was also not different from other selfish people in the city. All people were bad, almost innately, according to the narrator of this story. He lost his joy of living.

The narrator was a lonely and melancholic man who was wandering in the Avenue and abhorred both his own self and other people. We were tipped off to his presence in the Avenue when he came in front of the

¹⁰³⁸ Ibid., pp. 102, 103.

Haşet Bookstore. He liked a book, but could not buy it. He could not even buy a book since he could not make enough money. He tried to earn his living with his pen. However, even though his writings and stories enriched the owners of newspapers, he could not even afford a book. He abhorred all people, but most of all the bourgeoisie. Even though he hated the bourgeoisie, he did not struggle against them either. He was a lone man who did not have any difference from other ordinary people. What he did was only to give up writing and throw himself into the “dirty” crowd of the city. He was the man of crowds and the *flâneur* of the city.

The narrator was a lonely and unhappy man. His loneliness and unhappiness had social reasons. As pointed out several times in this study, the loneliness of young men of letters in the 1940s was as a result of their exclusion. Men of letters were excluded from the state elite; but they could not find a patron. They were different from ordinary working people because of their occupation. However, they could not become a part of the bourgeoisie. The bourgeoisie class did not want to patronize them anymore either. As seen in the story, the narrator’s dislike of the bourgeoisie was now more intense. As a result, the men of letters became lonely. Their dilemma was stemming from their exclusion. They disliked the people as a natural result of this. On the other hand, their exclusion led to an increase in their interest in everything about people. The exclusion of men of letters is narrated more clearly in *İp Meselesi* (The Subject of Rope) by Sait Faik. In this story, the figure of the narrator protagonist is treated as an unhappy and lonely man. The first person singular narrator is a man trying to earn a living by his pen. This man, who takes stock of his own abilities, does not deem himself worthy of any occupation. He considers himself worthless, born to gaze at everything in astonishment. He was born to wander in the streets and

to watch what other people have done. However, this was not a “business.” The city consisting of houses lined up one after the other, lights, beds, cloth, glass, brilliants, and gold frightened him. He gave a story to the owner of a journal. The publisher took out his wallet which contained fifty five hundred liras. The narrator wondered how people could earn so much money. The publisher gave him five liras. He was pleased very much. Many things could be done with these five liras. He bought a bagel, drank fruit juice, entered a pudding shop and drank a coffee, bought cigarettes, and got on the Tunnel metro and then the tram. However, the five liras still had not run out. There were still coins left from the five liras in his pocket. With these kurushes, he bought bread and threw some to seagulls. He would spend his money for seagulls, but would not share with people. Humankind should earn the money. Otherwise, they should live in villages and hope for the mercy of villagers. The cities were not suitable for them.¹⁰³⁹

After he said these words, he saw a porter quarrelling with a woman. The woman caught him and tried to carry him to the police station. The porter had moved some wares of the woman, who was claiming that he had stolen her rope. There was one piece of rope in the hands of the porter, who said that this darkened and old rope was his. The porter was a thin man around 50 kilos. Nothing could be done with this rope except hanging a thin man. The narrator thought how amusing it would be to hang a fifty-kilo man.¹⁰⁴⁰

The porter was forswearing. What would he do with her rope? He had a rope anyway. Who would want to steal a rope! On the other hand, the woman was saying that she would not give it a rest. He had stolen her

¹⁰³⁹ Sait Faik. *Bütün Eserleri 2: Lüzumsuz Adam*, 7th ed., Istanbul: Bilgi, 1987. pp. 135, 136.

¹⁰⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 136.

rope. At long last, the man grew tired of her. Thinking she would not accept it, he said that she could take his rope. The woman took it and walked away. The porter turned pale. He stood up by a fence and started to stare vacantly. What would he do without his rope? The narrator had not seen such a hopeless man before. Only a rich man who lost his apartments, business, and wife could fall into such despair. His eyes went as white as a sheet. At that moment, he hated the city. He had to leave that city. He would have to sleep on mountains, drink water from streams, and beg bread from villagers. Still, he had to leave this city.¹⁰⁴¹

A poor woman thereby acquired the rope of the porter in the exchange for her stolen rope. Whether she was in the right was not important. Why did he turn pale? Why did he sorrow so much? The narrator was influenced too much by the sorrow of the porter. He wanted to run away from this city. He walked toward a hill. He went out of the city a bit. However, when the lights of the city started to be visible in the distance, he changed his idea and returned to the city. He went to his home. His mother dished up for him. He started to eat rapidly. His mother said that he was eating as if he had worked all day. He laughed bitterly and hysterically.¹⁰⁴²

In this story, even though the narrator mentioned the porter and the woman, he focused on himself as the main character. Even though he hated the city and its crowd, he did not have any place to go. He tried to leave the city, but the city lights drew him back. He was born to gaze at everything in astonishment. Hence, the city which could every day offer many chances to astonish him was his natural home even though it fuelled his hysteria and hatred.

¹⁰⁴¹ Ibid., pp. 136, 137.

¹⁰⁴² Ibid., p. 137.

He was a lonesome, unhappy, and melancholic man. His job was to wander and write what he saw in the city. However, this job was not accepted as work by people. Even his mother was belittling him. Even though publishers made so much money thanks to what he wrote, they deemed his labour to be worth only 5 liras. He did not have a family except his mother; however, she was also despising him since he did not have a “job.” He was an artist without a patron and a man seen by society as unemployed. His hatred against the city and its residents stemmed from the perception of the “unemployed man.” Yet his hatred was not consistent. He hated the city, but he could not leave it. He hated people; however, their sorrows were saddening him. He was a *flâneur* who did not have anything except the crowds and the city to find shelter in.

The story space was Beyoğlu. The narrator came to Beyoğlu to get money from a publisher. While he was coming to Beyoğlu, he hated Istanbul. After he got money and he was spending his money wandering in Beyoğlu, he forgot his hatred for the city. He first got on the Tunnel metro and then the tram. He went out of Beyoğlu. After he saw the hopelessness of the porter, he started to hate the city again. Perhaps his mood was shifting according to the different quarters he was moving through. While he forgot his hatred of the city in Beyoğlu, he remembered it again outside of Beyoğlu.

8. 10. A Lonely Man and a Whore

In *Söylendim Durdum*, I discussed a story whose protagonist was a lonely man who hated the crowds and the city. At this juncture, I want to examine the story *Bir Kadın* (A Woman) by Cahit Sıtkı Tarancı, whose protagonist was a lonely, melancholic and regretful man. How-

ever, in contrast to the protagonist of *Söylendim Durdum*, he would face a woman.

The story begins with the sentence “it was a starless and cold December night.” The narrator went out from a taproom on a side street. He was the last customer of the taproom. He shook in front of the taproom a bit, picked up the collars of his topcoat, put his hands in his pockets, and walked toward the Avenue, smoking a cigarette. He started to drink at 6 pm and was very drunk. He had intended to drink with his friend. However, since his friend broke his appointment, he drank even more out of boredom and sorrow. On such days, when he was drunk and sorrowful, he felt sleepy. He would just about snooze and fall in a faint at the bottom of a wall. However, he restrained himself.¹⁰⁴³ In almost all of Tarancı’s stories, the narrator is a petty official who drank at nights. When he became happy or sorrowful, he drank even more. He usually drank in taprooms on side streets of Beyoğlu.

The narrator could hardly go out to the Avenue. Most of the lights there were turned off. Noises of trams and the crowd disappeared. Cinemas were closed. There was no one except whores and drunkards on the pavements. While he was walking, he went through his pockets. He was strapped for cash. He could go neither to his hostel in Beyazıt nor into one of the early risers’ coffeehouses. He wished he had not drunk the second bottle, so that he would have had seventy five kurushes in his pocket. Then he could stay in an average hotel. The damage was done, however, and he had drunk the second bottle. However, he should not have tipped the waiter. If he hadn’t, his 10 kurushes would be left in his pocket and he would be able to go into one of the early risers’ coffee-

¹⁰⁴³ Cahit Sıtkı Tarancı. *Gün Eksilmesin Pencereyden*, 2nd ed., Istanbul: Can, 2006. p. 117.

houses. He could drink a hot tea with that 10 kurushes and sleep on the chair.¹⁰⁴⁴

Not thinking ahead always cost him a lot. For this reason, he could not complete his education. He left his girlfriend who was very beautiful and who loved him when they were just about to get engaged. He would not find such a girl again. While he was walking, he remembered all the mistakes of his youth. Idling around the pavements of the Avenue on this cold winter night was also one of his mistakes. He had no right to get angry. All these mistakes were consciously made by him. He was going toward Taksim aimlessly, hopelessly, and boredly. While he was walking, he looked at the lit windows of some houses with the longing to sleep. The feeling of regret which he felt on this night was in fact what he felt for his entire life. His bleary eyes tore up.¹⁰⁴⁵

While he was walking exhaustedly and miserably, a woman touched his right shoulder. He turned behind, befuddled. A chunky woman of average height in a black topcoat was smiling at him. He recognized her. They had met a year ago. A group of friends including the narrator had wandered from one taproom to another and from bar to bar as a cheerful group and the night had ended in an early risers' coffeehouse. They had run across this woman at the early risers' coffeehouse. Even though she was a whore, she had not engaged in any officiousness. For some reason, she had liked the narrator most among the group of friends. Perhaps she thought he looked like a boyfriend who she had lost and for this reason she had looked at him with wishful eyes. However, since she was not beautiful, he had not responded to her smiles. She had invited him to her house on that night, but he had rejected her because he had

¹⁰⁴⁴ Ibid., pp. 117, 118.

¹⁰⁴⁵ Ibid., p. 118.

had money. However, he could not reject her on this night. He accepted her invitation “to appease her.” They walked together to her house on one of the side streets of the Avenue. They would spend the night together in her house.¹⁰⁴⁶

The story carried biographical details from the life of Cahit Sıtkı Tarancı. Tarancı also could not complete his university education since he did not think ahead. As a young and promising poet, he did not like administrative duties and the prospect of becoming a bureaucrat. However, then he had to become a petty official. In short, Cahit Sıtkı was also a little man like the narrator of the story who was regretting his decisions in the past.

As in the stories of the other writers, little men are not idealized characters in Tarancı’s stories either. They are only as good or bad as everyone else. In this story, too, the narrator was such a man. He had rejected a woman who had liked him because he had not found her beautiful. However, when he needed her help, he responded positively to her invitation. He was unburdening himself by saying that he accepted the invitation of the woman to appease her. Of course, this was not the reality. In short, he was an ordinary little man making petty calculations.

The story spaces were a taproom on the side street of the Avenue and the Avenue itself. The story started in a taproom. The narrator was to meet his friend in that taproom. Since his friend broke their appointment, he grieved and drank more. He drank in the taproom from 6 pm till midnight when he ran out of money. He regretted finishing up all his money. While he was thinking about where he would go, he remembered the other big regrets in his life. He was walking in the Avenue as a lonely melancholic and sorrowful man. Just then, he came across a

¹⁰⁴⁶ Ibid., pp. 118, 119.

whore who was platonically in love with him and went to her house, pleased for finding a place where he could spend the night. He forgot his regrets.

He was a lonely man who forgot his loneliness when he saw a woman, just like other little men mentioned in some of the stories examined in this study. The authors of these stories were also lonely, young and unhappy men. Perhaps for this reason, these kinds of lonely and unhappy men without women were usually mentioned in their stories which they wrote in their youth in the 1940s.

8. 11. A Superfluous Man in Beyoğlu

Above, I discussed a regretful, melancholic and lonely man who hated crowds. Next, I will discuss *Lüzumsuz Adam* (Superfluous Man) by Sait Faik. We will see a narrator protagonist who is afraid of crowds. The story begins with the sentence “I have become a weird man.” The narrator narrates himself in this story, too. The story space is Asmalımesit. The Elit coffeehouse, which was mentioned in *Ah Beyoğlu Vah Beyoğlu*, is mentioned in this story as well. The first-person singular narrator turned into a man who did not want to see anyone. He wished that no one would knock on his door. He wished even that mail carriers, who were the cutest people of the world, did not knock on his door. He had not gone out from his quarter in seven years. He only went to Karaköy to collect his shop’s rent one time in three months.¹⁰⁴⁷

His quarter consisted of five short streets. His entire life was passing in this quarter where his apartment resided in. When he got up in the mornings, he went to a café, which was very clean and had seven or eight tables. Its owner was a woman of mixed Levantine and Jewish

¹⁰⁴⁷ Sait Faik. *Bütün Eserleri 2: Lüzumsuz Adam*, 7. ed. Istanbul: Bilgi, 1987. p. 109.

origin. She loved to speak French. They spoke with each other in French. In fact, the narrator's French was not good enough. However, he still tried to speak in French to make this woman happy.¹⁰⁴⁸

The narrator read French journals in this café. He did not understand some of the words he read. He took notes of these words and looked them up in the dictionary at home in evenings. He went up a small slope toward 11:00 and came to a tramline. There was a bookstore there. He bought a French journal from this bookstore. Then, he returned to his quarter.¹⁰⁴⁹

Often times, he did not want to eat a full meal. There was a tripery on his street. It was clean and its soup was also delicious. The owner of the tripery would not throw out the other half of the narrator's lemon when he had used one half. This made the narrator happy. He usually had soup in this tripery rather than eating something in his house or any other place.¹⁰⁵⁰

After he had soup, he returned to his room. He leafed through French journals and tried to understand the short pieces of text below the pictures with the help of the dictionary. Later, he slept and woke up at 16:30. He went on a short trip till the tramline again. He then returned from the tramline and went into the parallel street. This street was muddy, dirty, and narrow. There was a bar on the right. After the bar, there was a bakery. A restaurant followed the bakery. Forbidden fruits and foods were sold in this restaurant. Melancholic men and weird women visited it every night. The narrator turned right and greeted the

¹⁰⁴⁸ Ibid., pp. 109, 110.

¹⁰⁴⁹ Ibid., p. 110.

¹⁰⁵⁰ Ibid., p. 111.

woman who sold dried fruits and nuts at the end of the street. But he hesitated to enter the street on the right.¹⁰⁵¹

The narrator liked walking slowly. While walking slowly, he watched the showcases of shops and stores and looked around. On this street, he could not walk slowly. There was a beautiful Jewish girl on this street. She sat in front of the window and sewed. Sometimes he sat in front of the exterior door of her home and chewed the rag. The narrator wanted to kiss the legs of this girl. One day he was going down the street which this girl lived on. She was in front of the door. There was a carpenter in front of her home. The carpenter stopped the narrator and said that if the narrator passed from this street once more, he would give him a black eye. Ever since then, the narrator walked with rapid steps on this street.¹⁰⁵²

His quarter consisted of five streets. He could not wander on any one of them. He was imprisoned by these few streets. However, he was not bored. His quarter was quiet but lively at the same time. Its people were vivacious. One half of its residents were Jews and Levantines. For the narrator, such a quarter could not be stagnant. Its Jews were not rich. The narrator did not love rich people anyway.¹⁰⁵³

The narrator stood in front of the tripery on some nights and watched the passers-by with his embiggened eyes as if he had come from a remote country and had not seen any beautiful woman for a long time. While he was standing in front of the tripery, an old man usually passed through the street. He greeted the taxi drivers. He sometimes read verses from Fuzuli while talking with them. After the old man moved on, the

¹⁰⁵¹ Ibid.

¹⁰⁵² Ibid., pp. 111, 112.

¹⁰⁵³ Ibid., p. 112.

drivers said that he was an educated man; however, he was ill-bred. He was fond of young girls.¹⁰⁵⁴

The old man went to the nightclub at the corner and sat right across the orchestra. The narrator followed him. His clothes were very clean and meticulously chosen. His hair and moustache were well-groomed. He was older than 50; however, he did not show his age. He stared at the youngest woman in the orchestra. He ordered her cocktails. While he was watching the orchestra, he usually fell asleep. According to the waiter of the casino, whenever he took a young woman to his home from the casino, he put his head on the girl's breasts. He cried, slept, sang songs, and read poems on her breasts.¹⁰⁵⁵

After this old man, the narrator continued to narrate himself. He had said at the beginning of the story that he had not gone to any other place but this quarter for seven years. He was afraid of going any other places except this quarter. It seemed to him that people would beat, lynch, and swindle him if he left his quarter. Who were these men filling the streets? If they did not love each other, why had they constructed such big and interwoven cities?¹⁰⁵⁶

However, his quarter was different. He was under the impression that even if he ran out of money, this tripery would continue to feed him. While the grocer Salamon was distributing decaying oranges among poor Jewish children, he would give one to the narrator as well. Perhaps the madam in the patisserie would not let him into the patisserie; however, she could give him a cappuccino in front of its door. He knew that these were mere dreams. However, he loved his quarter with these dreams. He did not want to see his old acquaintances. Sometimes they

¹⁰⁵⁴ Ibid., p. 113.

¹⁰⁵⁵ Ibid., p. 114.

¹⁰⁵⁶ Ibid.

saw him in the quarter and asked what he was doing thereabout. He would not reply and slurred over. Sometimes they told him that he could not quit idleness in any way.¹⁰⁵⁷

One day he decided to take a stroll. He went toward Unkapanı and then he reached Saraçhane. Istanbul had changed quite a bit. He was astonished. The asphalts were clean and the roads were wide. He went down to the Gazanferâğa Madrasah. It was nice and extremely white. He saw parks and trees. He saw people. He wandered wincingly. He had not bathed for seven years. While he was wandering, he started to itch. He saw a bathhouse around Saraçhane and went in. After he exited the bathhouse, he got on the tram. He wanted to go around Teşvikiye. From Teşvikiye, he went to his house. He slept all day. The next day, he went out to the tripery. He had soup. As it was getting dark, he went to Maçka. It was a different world. His city trips made him dizzy. He thought to sell his shop and house and keep a mistress from among the previously mentioned nightclub girls. It sounded crazy later. However, after these trips, he decided to wander in the city more.¹⁰⁵⁸

I had mentioned Elit Coffeehouse and *Lüzumsuz Adam* (Superfluous Man) in the fifth chapter. Salah Birsal said that this coffeehouse was at the same time a tripery and that it was in Asmalımescit. They really did refrain from throwing out the remaining halves of Sait Faik's lemons. Sait Faik played bezique here with his young author friends such as Oktay Akbal and Naim Tiralı. The educated but immoral old man was one of their bezique mates. That is, even though Asmalımescit is not mentioned in the story, that is its story space.

¹⁰⁵⁷ Ibid., pp. 115, 116.

¹⁰⁵⁸ Ibid., pp. 116, 117.

The protagonist of the story was scared of life and mingling with people. He shut himself down in Asmalimescit and lived there for seven years. He had a house and a shop for rent. He lived on the rent of the shop. He did not have any other source of income. He had so severed all his ties with society that he could live on five streets for seven years. He derived pleasure from solitude. While he was living alone, he did nothing. He went to a café, tried to speak French with the owner of the café, walked on streets slowly, went to the tripery, slept in the house, and tried to read in French. That was his entire life.

Like his life in general, the narrator's sexuality was also weird. He liked a poor Jewish woman. However, he did not portray her face in the story. He liked the legs of the woman. He thought that he did nothing to disturb woman, however, he probably looked at the woman highly conspicuously. Since she was disturbed, her neighbour threatened him and told him not to pass from their street. He mentioned the old man fond of young girls. He was also educated like him. He could have been a respectful member of society but his sexual pleasures and fantasies prevented this. The narrator was also not an esteemed member of the society because of the life which he chose.

His desire for living alone prevented him from being a working and esteemed man. He had few pleasures in his solitary life. To sit in a Levantine woman's café and having a talk with her pleased him. In the tripery, the rest of his lemon was not thrown out, which pleased him as well. Since his pleasures were very limited, he did not need to work. The tramline was the border of his life and he could not pass beyond it. He adopted loneliness to such an extent that he had not even taken a bath for seven years.

He loved to walk slowly, watching the showcases and people. He was a *flâneur*. His entire job was to wander in his quarter consisting of five

streets. At the end of the story, he decided to participate in the city life outside of his quarter. He would mingle with the city and crowds. He would wander not only in his quarter but also in the entire city. He would be alone among not only familiar people of his own quarter but also among crowds of the city from then on.

The narrator wrote this story with inspiration from Elit coffeehouse, Asmalımescit and the old man in the Elit coffeehouse. However, the name of neither the Elit coffeehouse nor Asmalımescit was cited in the story. To recall the discussion on physiologies in the second chapter; writers of physiologies described people “impartially” and insensitively. In their texts, the proper names of almost all spaces were mentioned. In metropolitan miniatures, on the other hand, the psychological mood of the narrator was more emphasized. The space was important in terms of the psychological mood of the narrator. Therefore, the spaces are not described in a “scientific” manner in metropolitan miniatures. This story might also be seen as a metropolitan miniature. What the narrator felt in the quarter is more important than the name of the quarter and its spaces.

Lastly, I want to examine how Asmalımescit was mentioned in the story. Most of the residents of this quarter were poor non-Muslims. The cafés, coffeehouses, nightclubs, and restaurants in this quarter were also within the means of poor people. Vagabonds like the narrator preferred this quarter because of its inexpensiveness, cosmopolitanism, and freedom. He mentioned almost all the spaces of the quarter. However, he especially underlined two of them. One of them was the tripery and the other one was the Levantine woman’s café. Squeezing the lemon left over from the previous day into his soup or speaking French with a Levantine woman gave him the feeling that he was not alone in the world. There were people thinking about him. This feeling made him happy.

The image of a lonely man who locks himself into his quarter is, in my opinion, very explanatory to understand the Turkey of the 1940s. Many authors like Sait Faik were free within a limited circle in the 1940s in Turkey. When they tried to call out to the vast majority of people, however, they were punished by political authorities. At the same time, there was no working class or other opposition movement able to receive their call. In this context, they had to imprison themselves in a compulsory loneliness and derive pleasure from this loneliness, like the protagonist.

8. 12. A Lonely Worker's Day Off in Beyoğlu

To conclude the chapter, I will discuss *Yağlı Kapı* (The Rich Employer) by Haldun Taner. In this story, too, a lone man wandering in Beyoğlu is treated. However, contrary to the other stories in this section, this lonely man would be focused on through a social realist attitude. The main character of the story, Rıza, was a road worker. He was paving stones with his friends in the service of a contractor. One day, as he was walking slowly under the shades of trees toward evening after work, he saw a woman who was approaching on a horse, raising clouds of dust. Just at that moment, a tram went into the avenue. The horse shied from the noise of the tram and started to cavort. The woman wanted to pull the bridles of the horse, but failed. She was trying with one hand to hold on to the saddle while with the other hand to hug the neck of the horse. However, she could not restrain the horse and panicked.¹⁰⁵⁹

Rıza understood the seriousness of the situation. He leaped forward towards the horse, held the halter of the randy animal, and yanked its head up. The horse calmed down after a few seconds. The woman was

¹⁰⁵⁹ Haldun Taner. *Hikâyeler*, vol 1, Ankara: Bilgi, 1970-1971. pp. 16-18.

very nervous and tired because of the struggle on the horse. While she was dismounting from the horse, she fainted in Rıza's lap. Rıza got a bit confused. He found this situation bizarre since he was suddenly hugging a woman. He was embarrassed. He thought to leave her on the ground. Then he saw three or four men running toward them. The other men and Rıza carried the woman to the pharmacy. After the pharmacist gave her an injection of adrenalin, she opened her eyes.¹⁰⁶⁰

A few days later, while Rıza was paving stones, the woman's son and an old man passed from the road where Rıza worked. The young man pointed Rıza out to his father and said something. Thereat, Rıza was telling something to one of his friends. He did not see them. However, they had talked about something which would seal his fate. At the evening of that day, the woman's son and a butler came and found Rıza in the shed of the workers. They offered him to be a gardener in the mansion of the woman for a 30 lira salary. Food, beverage, and accommodation were free for workers in the mansion. Moreover, the workload was not heavy. Rıza was earning 24 liras per month in his present exhausting occupation. However, "I will think about it" he replied to the butler and the woman's son. He did not want to seem very eager in front of his friends. The butler said "think it over and state your decision tomorrow." However, he found the reluctance of Rıza odd, ascribing it to his boorishness. Since his friends did not know that Rıza saved the owner of the mansion's life, they were surprised. They did not understand why they chose Rıza. He went to the mansion at morning.¹⁰⁶¹

When Rıza went to the mansion, the butler first took him to the bath by the order of the lady and gave him clean clothes. After he wore his new

¹⁰⁶⁰ Ibid., pp. 18, 19.

¹⁰⁶¹ Ibid., pp. 19-21.

clean clothes, he came into the woman and her husband's presence. They treated him rather well. Then the butler placed Rıza in his room. Since all the mansion's workers knew that Rıza had saved the lady's life, no hard work was assigned to him. One month passed thus and so. At the end of the month, he took one day off. He had 30 liras in his pocket and a brand-new dark blue suit on him. He first visited his old worker friends. His friends almost gulped down when they saw Rıza in his dark blue suit. They immediately besieged and started to lay eyes on him as if they were seeing him for the first time. One of them said "hey Rıza, you have become a Hacıağa." Another one said to himself that the bastard knew which side his bread was buttered on. Workers forgot about the grinding stone. Even the driver left the tractor to participate in the conversation. After a while, the foreman called out to the workers and said that they had chatted for too long and should return to their work. After Rıza heard those words, he left.¹⁰⁶²

He aimed to wander a bit on his day off. He got on the tram, paying no attention that it was yellow, which was more expensive than other trams. He bought a first class ticket on the ferry as well. He sat at the board of ferry. He was watching the sea, but did not know where he would go. When he went down to Galata from the ferry, he walked toward Yüksekaldırım. He watched for an extended period of time a baby doll used for advertisement, which was kicking at the glass of the showcase. He broke up the fight of two children at an entrance to a street. Later, he saw a crowd in front of a shop and walked up there. He saw there an exhibition advertising a strange creature whose top half above the waist was human and whose bottom half below the waist was fish. He paid a 10 kurush fee and entered the exhibition tent. After

¹⁰⁶² Ibid., pp. 21-23.

there, he went down to Galata again. He sat at a coffeehouse for hours. He bought a *Köroğlu* newspaper even though he was illiterate. It was in fact a humour magazine and he could look at its pictures. He gave alms to an old beggar. After he saw the ferry, he decided to return to the mansion.¹⁰⁶³ Exhibitions of sea animals and creatures called sirens were common in Yüksekaldırım as told in some of Sait Faik's older stories. These exhibitions were one of the most favourite forms of entertainment of poor people.

He sat at the nose part of the ferry. Windows of houses on the Üsküdar side were glowing like cinder. The cypress trees of Karacaahmet came to his attention as a dark green spot on the horizon. While he was looking around on the ferry, he was suddenly overcome by melancholy. He was very astonished at the feeling. He had money and clothes. He was comfy and had a full belly and a happy heart. However, he was tormented by a sorrow which felt like homesickness. He attributed this feeling to tiredness and paid no more heed.¹⁰⁶⁴

Rıza's first day off went by in that manner. The melancholy which he first felt in the ferry continued to intensify. The life in the mansion started to bore him. He thought that his other worker friends could enjoy the opportunities of the mansion very much. The times when he was sent to the grocery were the happiest moments of the day for him. In those times, he consciously returned late to the mansion. He would pass from the road where his old worker friends worked and talk with them a bit. This sweetened him up. However, the road which his friends were building was close to being finished. One day, he could not find his friends on the road. Their shed was also taken down. He felt so bad that

¹⁰⁶³ Ibid., pp. 23, 24.

¹⁰⁶⁴ Ibid., p. 24.

he almost cried. The feeling of homesickness now cut him to the quick.¹⁰⁶⁵

This psychological problem was named neurasthenia or fatigue when it appeared in rich people. Rıza also could not save himself from this feeling of tedium, just like gentlemen or gentlewomen. He found some occupations to spend his time on during daytimes. At evenings and nights, he was consumed by an incomprehensible boredom. He gradually started to miss his old life. He changed his old opinion about the dirtiness and undesirability of roadwork. He missed all his workmates. Sometimes, he thought to abandon the mansion and return to his old job. However, he was also aware of the nonsensicality of this idea. He knew that he would long for this mansion, his iron bedstead, and the foods at this mansion, especially pasta with cheese and parsley filling. However, he could not dismiss the idea from his mind.¹⁰⁶⁶

One night, he had a strange dream in which one of his old worker friends whispered in his ear that he heard that bastard Rıza had changed his occupation and that he had been working as a rent boy for the old woman of the mansion. After his friend whispered these words, he grinned like a Cheshire cat. Rıza wanted to object to these words, calling it slander, “cross my heart, it’s slander”. However, his friends continued to call him the paramour of the old woman, laughing. He woke up swearing, in a cold sweat. When he noticed that it was a nightmare, he consoled himself a bit. Even so, he got angry at his friend as if he really had said those words. He thought, what if such a thought really did come to his old friends’ minds? What if they thought him to be the gigolo of the Lady? These thoughts occupied his mind all day. He

¹⁰⁶⁵ Ibid., pp. 24-26.

¹⁰⁶⁶ Ibid., p. 26.

talked to himself while working in the mansion. Other employees of the mansion thought that he had lost his mind. His attitudes had started to change anyway for some time past. Even the Lady asked him what was biting him. However, he did not reply and only stared at her. The affectionate woman could not understand why he behaved that way. The next day, Rıza left the mansion in his old worker clothes.¹⁰⁶⁷

As can be seen in some of his other stories in this study, social themes predominate in Haldun Taner's works. The main character of the story was an ill-paid manual worker. As a result of some coincidences, he found a job in a mansion with a generous salary. Even better, his new job was not as burdensome as his old one. Everything was fine in the first month of his new job. However, soon afterwards, he started to miss his old workmates. The individual life in the mansion was far from him. He missed the friendly environment of his old workplace. Besides, he feared that because he worked as a footman, he might be belittled by his old friends.

Even though Rıza could not express it in words, working in a collective work environment was important to him. Besides, he wanted to earn a living by his own hand labour. To work as a footman without getting too tired was identical with being a rent boy for him. For this reason, he returned to his old job. Rıza did not have a family. If he had a family, his attitude might have been different. However, as a lonely man without a family, he was quelling the feeling of loneliness with his workmates in the workplace. The individualist atmosphere in the mansion was not for him. Rıza was a righteous man. What other men thought about him was important to him. He was embarrassed by even a fainted woman being in his lap. Rıza did not want his old workmates to think ill of him. He did

¹⁰⁶⁷ Ibid., pp. 26-28.

not want to be seen as a man in the gravy. In short, his righteous thoughts were feeding into a collectivist attitude and the author was underlining this attitude in a positive light.

The narrator himself was not a character in this story, contrary to many others in this study. As in Haldun Taner's many other stories, he was withdrawing himself from the story as the narrator and narrating ordinary people in their daily relationships, with a Balzacian attitude. His socialist thoughts were very important in this attitude. Contrary to many young authors in this period, social themes were examined in a realistic rather than modernist tone in his stories. This realistic attitude was not the photographic realism seen in many modernist stories, but social realism.

Taner's regular life played an important role in this attitude compared to his other young colleagues. While he was telling social themes, for this reason, he was able to withdraw himself as the narrator and focus on his characters. He could sustain a middle class life since he was at the same time a dramatist. For example, if he had to earn a living by only his stories and newspaper writings like Sait Faik, he could not sustain a middle class life. This could result in focusing on himself as the narrator protagonist. Moreover, his epic, Brechtian understanding of theatre was feeding his social realist approach. However, as distinct from many other social realist story writers in the 1940s, he focused on the little people in the city. As mentioned in the fifth chapter, being a social realist author meant writing about villagers for many leftist poets and authors in the 1940s. However, Haldun Taner was able to differentiate himself from this approach at a very early date.

Lastly, I want to mention the spaces of the story. It should be noted that Rıza wandered in Beyoğlu's more modest places such as Yüksek-kaldırım and Galata, like many poor characters in other stories of the

1940s. Moreover, I should say that even though the main spaces were the mansion and the road construction area, Rıza's day off in Beyoğlu was treated at more length in the story. Rıza's day of loitering in Beyoğlu had a key function in the story. On that day, Rıza was able to reflect on his new job and position in the mansion. What he thought on that day fuelled his melancholia and he returned to his old job, leaving the mansion.

I began this chapter with a story by Cahit Sıtkı Tarancı that focused on the last day of a petty state official whose death no one noticed. The main reason for this was also his loneliness in the metropolis. In another story by Tarancı, one day of a little official was again narrated. His every day was the same as the previous one. He was a little man and everything in his life was monotonous. However, a starched collar broke his routine. Another story by Tarancı tells of how the narrator protagonist became a regular drinker. As a lone man wandering in Beyoğlu, he incidentally entered Mavromatis's taproom. However, he liked the warm atmosphere of the taproom which was hard to find in the city and became a regular customer. In Tarancı's stories, protagonists were petty state officials and Beyoğlu was the loitering space in evening hours after work. In Ziya Osman Saba and Sabahattin Kudret Aksal's two stories, petty officials who were appointed to Ankara were treated. Their longings and nostalgias for Istanbul were focused on stories and Istanbul became a part of the narrators' nostalgia as a personalized entity. The feeling of longing was the dominant feeling in many of Ziya Osman Saba's stories. In *Okumak, Yaz Gezintileri* and *Kış Gezintileri*, the main theme was the nostalgia for the beautiful days of childhood. He was missing his childhood because he sought a safe harbour as a little man with financial difficulties who was not content with his job and life. The longing for childhood was one of the main elements of his story

writing as a modernist author. In the story *Haliç İskeleyi* by Oktay Akbal, the narrator protagonist was an unemployed man who loitered in Beyoğlu during rush hours of people. In *Yağmur Altında İnsanlar*, the narrator protagonist was a melancholic man who wanted to see the romantic appearance of Beyoğlu under the rain and the happy people there. In another story by Akbal, *Yağmur Rüzgarı*, loneliness became a part of the narrator protagonist's individuality. In the story, he sought his imagined girlfriend in Beyoğlu, but at the end, he left her without any reason. In *Garson* by Sait Faik, a waiter is told. He could live in Beyoğlu because of his occupation, however, he did not wish to live there. Once he lost his everything and became a lonely man, then he preferred to live in Beyoğlu. Becoming a lonely man was an important turning point in his life and in his decision to settle in Beyoğlu. In *Söylendim Durdum* by Sait Faik, even though the narrator mentioned the porter and the woman, he focused on himself as the main character. He hated the city and its crowd, but did not have any place else to go. He tried to leave the city, but he could not. He was born to gaze at everything in astonishment. The city which could every day offer many chances for him to be astonished was his natural home even though it fuelled his hysteria and hatred. The protagonist of the story was scared of life and of mingling with people. In *Lüzumsuz Adam* by Sait Faik, the narrator protagonist shut himself in Asmalımescit and lived there for seven years. The image of a lone man who locks himself in his quarter is, in my opinion, very apt to understand the Turkey of the 1940s. Many authors like Sait Faik were free only within a limited circle in the 1940s in Turkey. In *Yağlı Kapi* by Haldun Taner, the main character was an ill-paid worker. As a result of some coincidences, he found a job in a mansion with a generous salary. Besides, his new job was not as burdensome as his old job. Everything was fine in the first month in his new

work. But at the end, he started to miss the friendly environment in his old workplace. Rıza was missing his old workmates and collective work environment.

In most of the stories examined in this chapter, the protagonists were the narrators. Authors' preference for this theme stemmed from their social position to some extent. Political pressures on young writers and their narrow circumstances were fuelling their loneliness and melancholy. The abundance of narrator protagonists in the story writing of the 1940s might be explained by this social position of young writers. They wanted to focus on their loneliness as young and penniless men. Hence, the protagonists of the stories were narrators. There were two stories where the protagonists were not the narrators: *Yağlı Kapı* by Haldun Taner, in which a worker missing his collective work environment was treated and *Garson* by Sait Faik, which featured a protagonist who lost his everything and chose to settle in Beyoğlu. Beyoğlu was the space of lonely and melancholic young men who did not have anything in life.

9

Sexuality, Homosexuality, Body, and Women

When focusing on individuality and loneliness in the previous chapter, I touched upon some story characters' relationships with women. In this chapter, I will examine this subject in more detail. Moreover, I will examine the authors' attitudes towards sexuality and how they represented sexuality through their characters. In the fifth chapter, I mentioned Sait Faik's homo/bisexual orientation and discussed the representation of homosexuality in his stories. In this part of this chapter, I will show the representation of homosexuality in his stories through concrete examples from his stories.

9. 1. Two Men on the Bridge

First, I will touch upon his story *Bir Karpuz Sergisi*. A watermelon seller is told of in this story. The story appears in his first book *Sarnıç*. As I mentioned in the fifth chapter, homosexuality is represented to a lesser extent in his early stories compared to his late stories. The narrator protagonist met with him in the courtyard of the Süleymaniye mosque and gave him money to kiss his hands. He was a young and brown boy. The narrator felt an affinity to him. Later, they came across each other

once more in the courtyard of the Süleymaniye mosque. The narrator says in this short story that he usually goes to mosques not only to perform prayer, but also to watch people in the courtyard. Their friendship improved gradually and they decided to open a place to sell watermelons on a street around Kumkapı. They were selling watermelons at daytime and after work, they went to the Bridge to watch ferries. Before heading to the Bridge, the narrator's friend would put on a more beautiful shirt.¹⁰⁶⁸

The Bridge was the place for walking and excursion of little people, as mentioned earlier. Therefore, they wore their newest clothes when going to the Bridge. The seller of watermelons also did the same. He was in fact an unemployed man. The narrator was in love with this unemployed boy. Hence, he helped him open a pitch to sell watermelons. When it got dark, they went to the Bridge to loiter. They were in fact two vagabonds who did not have regular jobs. When summer ended, they would become unemployed again.

9. 2. Two Women in a Room in Beyoğlu

Another story in which homosexuality is treated is *Zürafa* (The Giraffe) by Naim Tiralı. Perhaps because it is focused on homosexuality between women, it mentions it more clearly. The main character was Nuri who was sharing his bachelor room next to the Grand Avenue with his friend Harun who would finish university the following year. It was night time and Nuri had just gotten into his bed. He asked his friend who was putting on his pyjamas to turn off the light and drew the quilt over his head. He got used to the noises of trams and cars passing from the Grand Avenue and music coming from the nightclub on the ground

¹⁰⁶⁸ Sait Faik. *Sarıncı*, İstanbul: Sertel Matbaası, 1939. pp. 32-36.

floor. When they went into bed, it was so late that no noise from even the Grand Avenue was reaching them. The nightclub had already closed its doors.¹⁰⁶⁹

An increasingly loud sound of bedsprings creaking prevented Nuri from sleeping. At long last, he asked his friend whether he was making the bed creak. His friend could not sleep either. He said no, however, he also heard the creaking. He said that someone elsewhere was having sex. He lost his sleep completely after his friend's reply. He tried to understand from where the creaking sound came. He asked Harun whether it might have been coming from downstairs. Harun said that his wife was not in the house. Nuri stood out from the bed and put his ear to the floor. He tried to understand from where the creaking came. However, since the creaking stopped, he could not figure it out.¹⁰⁷⁰

He went to the bed again hoping to sleep. Falling asleep was not easy, however. He was continuing to think. Since his neighbour's wife was not in the house, he wondered whether he had a mistress. He doubted whether he brought to the house a whore while it was empty. The people living upstairs were two sisters. The elder one was a widow whose hair had turned white. The younger one had only newly started to grow apace. Her breasts and butt had been growing recently. He had talked with her a few times. If he were to invite her to a cinema or patisserie, she would probably not say no and her elder sister would probably not prevent them. She was a young girl and could not spend all her time doing housework and watching outside from the window. They were living in the same building. Their friendship would grow within a few weeks anyhow. Harun also liked this young girl. However, he had no

¹⁰⁶⁹ Naim Tirali. *25 Kuruşa Amerika*, Istanbul: Yazko, 1983. p. 67.

¹⁰⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 68.

leisure time to spend with her. He was working on the editorial staff of a newspaper to be able to continue his education.¹⁰⁷¹

While Nuri was trying to sleep among these thoughts, the bed creak started again and continued monotonously. These creaks motivated his imagination. He dreamed about women with whom he had had sex before. Almost all of them had remained in his mind in their sweet and beautiful sides. Even though he closed his eyes, he could not fall asleep in any way. He had come face to face with harder situations before; however, he had always succeeded in sleeping. While one of his friends was having sex with a woman in the same room, even though he was sexually very stimulated, he had managed to sleep. However, the metallic noise of a bedspring shook out his nerves now and prevented him from sleeping.¹⁰⁷²

Many things were passing through his mind. He wondered whether the girl in the bed was the girl in the upper storey. However, her elder sister seemed to him a moral woman. Her pimping out her little sister was impossible. If the elder sister herself was making love with a man, then where was her little sister? Was she not in the house? His imagination was blowing hot and cold. How nice was the little girl's hair. How beautiful her doe-like eyes and long eyelashes were. Her newly grown body was very hot. Nuri tumbled out of the bed and turned on the light. His friend was sleeping. He checked the watch on his arm. It was 10 to 2. "Dash it, god damn it" he said angrily. If it was not that late, he could go to a brothel and settle his nerves. Thus, he could sleep. If he were a

¹⁰⁷¹ Ibid., pp. 68, 69.

¹⁰⁷² Ibid., pp. 69, 70.

teenager, he could masturbate. He was in despair now. He put his jacket on his shoulders and started to pace up and down the room.¹⁰⁷³

The bed creaks started again after a short break. He went out from the room, with an unexpected decision, to the wellhole. He leaned out of the stair rails. There was no sound. He lighted a match and went up a few stairs. The bed creaks started again. His heart beats sped up. His entire body was twittering. He littered the matchstick and waited a bit to calm down. Then, he went up one more flight of stairs. A faint light was filtering through the doorsill. Deep breaths and bed creaks were heard from the room. He heard a woman wailing. He inclined his ear to recognise the voice. The bed creaks decreased gradually and then stopped completely. He could make out the voice of the little girl now. Her voice was salacious. He was dreaming about the awakening of the little girl's body.¹⁰⁷⁴

Nuri went down to his room. Only footsteps were being heard from above now. He fell asleep after his nerves settled. He was woken up around 11 a.m. in the morning by the noises of the charwoman. His friend must have woken up early and gone to work. When he got up, the charwoman asked what the matter was. He had slept in. Nuri made a face. He told the woman that they drove him crazy all night. Who was that man at the upper storey last night? The charwoman could not understand at first. However, before Nuri could complete his words, she understood the matter and burst into laughter. Then, she told the essence of the matter. That little girl was not that woman's sister. She did not have a bedfellow either. As for the question of pimping out the girl, that woman could commit murder for her. She was obsessed with that

¹⁰⁷³ Ibid., pp. 70, 71.

¹⁰⁷⁴ Ibid., pp. 71, 72.

girl and very jealous. This jealousy did not resemble the jealousy of men. When the girl bared her heart, the charwoman figured out everything. She was introducing the girl to everyone as her sister. They came from İzmir since a man had asked for the girl in marriage there. This woman took the girl while she was a baby. She brought her up like her own child. After the girl became a teenager, she started to exploit her sexually. The girl was baffled at first. However, she later habituated to their odd relationship.¹⁰⁷⁵

As she was telling these, the charwoman's eyes were glowing bright with desire. Nuri was struck dumb. He said for the fun of it that the bed creaks did not seem like they were made by women. She laughed lecherously and said that he should not think of her as a woman. "Giraffes" get even hornier than men. Moreover, that white haired woman was a shrew of a giraffe.¹⁰⁷⁶

Two lesbian women's lovemaking was narrated in the story. The narrator told how he learned that they were a lesbian couple. However, he focused more on the impression of their sexual intercourse on himself. How a young bachelor boy was stimulated by even a bed creak was told in almost the entire story.

Another important point of the story was the exploitation of a young girl. A middle aged woman who was discriminated against because of her lesbianism was exploiting a young girl. A young boy who was a university student and a charwoman did not see this relationship as exploitation. Rather, they saw it as an erotic and entertaining thing to gossip about. In the story, the lesbian relationship was narrated in an erotic way. Moreover, a young girl who was nearly a child was seen as a sexual

¹⁰⁷⁵ Ibid., pp. 72, 73.

¹⁰⁷⁶ Ibid., p. 73.

object. Contrary to Naim Tiralı's whorehouse and whore stories which we will see below, the narrator did not feel any disgust in this story since he was not a part of the sexual intercourse, but an audience. Sexual intercourse of a middle aged woman and a young girl was a pornographic subject for the narrator.

The story space was Beyoğlu which was the most suitable place of Istanbul for a lesbian couple to live. They were not excluded from society in Beyoğlu. It was the centre of the metropolis where everyone was living an individualist life. No one paid attention to their lesbianism. They only became the subject of gossip.

Representation of homosexuality in Naim Tiralı's story was rather different from Sait Faik's. He mentioned the stimulation of lesbian intercourse on himself. On the other hand, Sait Faik's narrator protagonist was kissing the fingers of a young boy. Between the two authors, the representation of eroticism was rather different. Sait Faik was representing eroticism in a rather emotional way.

9. 3. Beyoğlu's Bars, Women, and Homosexuality

Naim Tiralı tells men's homosexuality in a very explicit tone, as well. In his story *Atlanta Barı* (Atlanta Bar), this explicit narration style can be seen very clearly. At the beginning of the story, the narrator was in an estaminet with his friends. Many appetizers were available on the table. They were only thinking to drink. Two bottles of Kulüp Raki were also on the table. They were four friends. For a moment, they started to speak about a girl who had black doe-like eyes. The narrator had met this girl before and could not forget her for a long time. When he heard the name of that girl, his eyes grew bright with desire; and then he glanced unwillingly at his raki glass. One of his friends at the table had also met that girl before. The narrator thought that once upon a time

they had loved the same girl with this man. They had dreamed about the same girl. All glasses were raised for that black and doe-eyed girl. The other two men at the table, who did not recognize the girl, probably thought of another black eyed girl.¹⁰⁷⁷

The Avenue was very lively. It was well-lit and crowded. People were flowing in from both ends. People who got off work, people who were going to work, people who looked for entertainment, and vagabonds were all on the Avenue. All people, both the good and bad ones, seemed friendly and beautiful. A great deal of stars was out in the sky.¹⁰⁷⁸

The four friends were walking rapidly. They were so drunk and happy that they did not have a thought on their mind. They were wandering in side streets. They went into many taprooms and music halls, spent a short time in each of them, and went out. Taprooms and music halls were brilliant and lively. There were many beautiful women who had big butts. They were smiling insincerely so that men would buy them drinks. In the end, they sat at a bar which was furnished by colourful lights. Its decors were European. The majority of its customers were young jacks. A music record was being played and a metallic male voice could be heard. The song was in English and its chorus was as follows: "Let me stay, let me stay in your arms."¹⁰⁷⁹

Three jacks were dancing with women. There were loggias in the taproom, as well. Some fellows were openly kissing with girls in these loggias. One of the narrator's friends took the helm of the piano and started to play a playful song. They danced with available women. They were content with drinking and dancing. However, after they drank their beers, they started to sober up. They invited women to their table.

¹⁰⁷⁷ Ibid., pp. 18, 19.

¹⁰⁷⁸ Ibid., p. 19.

¹⁰⁷⁹ Ibid. p. 19.

However, none of the women accepted their offer. They picked a quarrel in the bar.¹⁰⁸⁰

A black person's voice was being heard from the record. He had a sad voice. The narrator was thinking about the little girl whom he danced with a short time ago. He wanted to spend the night with this girl. In spite of all his tiredness, the idea of spending the entire night with this girl did not leave his mind. He got so emotional that as long as he saw the girl kissing the American boy, his eyes were filling with tears. She was pleased with kissing the American boy. She tried to tell something to him with her insufficient English. The majority of people in the bar were speaking English anyway. Some of them felt themselves superior because they spoke English and this feeling reflected onto their faces.¹⁰⁸¹

His friends recognised that the narrator was unhappy because the young girl kissed the American jack. They told him that he should drink some more. One of his friends was from İzmir. He came to Istanbul for a few days of fun. He offered to pick a fight. American boys were cowards according to him. They could beat them up and take the girl. He said these words sincerely. He was speaking with the naivete of a fairy tale child. One of the friends was living in a hostel thereabout. He was handsome like Dorian Gray. He was making a murmuring sound on his own. There were some rumours about this bar that it was a bed of spies. Its old owner had also disappeared a short time ago.¹⁰⁸²

In the end, one of the friends said that people who could not speak English could not meet any girl in this bar. They paid the bill. While they were just about leaving the bar, they recognised that their friend who

¹⁰⁸⁰ Ibid., pp. 19, 20.

¹⁰⁸¹ Ibid., p. 21.

¹⁰⁸² Ibid.

played the piano had disappeared. They went out in search for him. They saw him at an edge of the bar speaking in English with a “bright” jack. They were toasting their glasses. The jack was a blond and beautiful guy. The narrator’s friend was then seen kissing the jack. One of the friends then said “come on, let’s go!” Just then, the headwaiter went out from the bar accompanied by police officers. He told the police officers that they were stirring up trouble and annoying the women. The officers were listening without speaking. The narrator’s friend from İzmir was still claiming that those in the bar except them were secret agents.¹⁰⁸³

Police officers realized that there was nothing there which interested them and wanted to leave. However, workers of the bar continued to complain all together. An American jack who had tattoos on his arms stood up and tried to say something. However, four friends made him sit back down. He insisted to them on staying in the bar. He would order them drinks. However, they left the bar except the boy from İzmir, who would stay with the American boy. It was shortly after midnight. They wanted to visit some other places as well. The life which was full of secrets would start soon in the Grand Avenue. They were full of themselves as three drunkard men walking on a side street of Beyoğlu. The bar with the illuminated sign that displayed the letters “Atlanta Barı” was left behind.¹⁰⁸⁴

The sexual instincts of characters were treated and reflected to the reader in a very detailed way as in Tiralı’s many other stories. As I said previously, Beyoğlu was perceived as the space of freedom for young men in the story writing of the 1940s. In this story too, four young men

¹⁰⁸³ Ibid., pp. 22, 23.

¹⁰⁸⁴ Ibid., pp. 23, 24.

who did not need to hide any of their desires were told. American sailor men also had an important place in this story. In the 1940s, the significance of non-Muslims decreased considerably in Beyoğlu. However, their places were taken over by American soldiers from the Sixth Fleet. The young characters of the story felt themselves inferior to the new visitors of Beyoğlu and this feeling of inferiority was emphasized in the story. American jacks' lifestyles and them being more preferred by Turkish girls triggered Turkish boys' feeling of inferiority. The quarrel in the bar erupted because of their inferiority complexes which were stemming from their lack of English language skills and rejection by the girls.

Homosexuality was also among the themes of the story. In Sait Faik's stories too, homosexuality is a common theme. However, he mentioned his own homosexuality and focused on its psychological influences on himself. He usually mentioned men who he liked and loved. Above all, he mentioned his homosexual inclinations implicitly. However, in this story, homosexuality is treated in an erotic way. Both the homosexuality of an American jack and the narrator's friend were mentioned explicitly.

Lastly, I want to touch upon the story space which was a bar visited by American jacks from the Sixth Fleet and middle class Turks. Even its name reminded one of the Atlantic (Atlanta Bar). Turkish girls went there to meet American soldiers. For them, American soldiers were representing a different world and a different kind of masculinity. On the other hand, Turkish boys went there to meet Turkish girls. However, both American and Turkish people were having fun there without needing to stifle their instincts and desires, regardless of their motivations. They were the post-war youth and wanted to enjoy "*The Fruits of Earth*" without holding back.

As I discussed in the previous chapter, social themes in literature could be seen as identical with socialism in the 1940s and young men of letters could have been made to pay a price for their writings and literary products. However, sexual adventures of little people and occasional challenges against tradition could easily be expressed as seen in this story. Even this indicates that the rising current in the 1940s was modernism rather than social realism.

9. 4. An Asexual and Asocial Man on the Streets of Beyoğlu

In the previous section, I discussed stories mentioning women's and men's homosexuality. Now, I will discuss a story whose protagonist was asexual: *Hüseyin Feyzullah'ın Evlenmesi* (The Marriage of Hüseyin Feyzullah) by Sabahattin Kudret Aksal. Hüseyin Feyzullah was living in Langa with his mother in a small wooden house with a large garden. The short story begins with him waking up at morning. He woke up, but did not get out of the bed. He was turning around in bed. He did this every morning. While he was lying in the bed, his mother opened his door. When his mother went into his room every morning, she thought the same thing: He was 22 years old, but he still did not have a job.¹⁰⁸⁵ When he eventually got out of bed each morning, he looked at himself in the mirror. Since he was tall, he had to bend his knees to be able see his face in the mirror. His hair was even and thin like corn silk. His forehead was not wide and eye brows were almost invisible. After he watched himself in the mirror, he put on his shirt and pants before going out from his room. He learned from the novels which he read that Western-

¹⁰⁸⁵ Sabahattin Kudret Aksal. *Gazoz Ağacı ve Diğer Öyküler*, 15th ed., Istanbul: YKY, 2013. p. 218.

ers behaved as such. For this reason, he also did not go to the living room of his house in his nightclothes.¹⁰⁸⁶

Hüseyin Feyzullah and his mother Rahime were not rich; they were almost on the brink of poverty. Rahime was receiving a forty liras widow's pension for having a deceased husband. Moreover, she rented out her house's first floor in exchange for seven and a half liras. She also had a shop which she was renting out. Its rent was fifteen liras. Hüseyin Feyzullah was not working. That is, they were living on around sixty liras. Hüseyin Feyzullah was the sole child of his family. He lived an unhealthy childhood and wrestled with many illnesses. He still could not be ranked as a healthy man. The poor woman was spending her limited amount of money on his health and expenditures of journals, books, and Beyoğlu. The expenses of Beyoğlu were a lot for her budget.¹⁰⁸⁷

Hüseyin Feyzullah had attended the French school in Gedikpaşa for a while. His grandfather wanted his grandson to study in a French school and after his grandfather died, he started to. He completed secondary school there and continued high school education as well. He left high school however, after he failed tenth grade. His mother could not understand why he left high school. However, the reason was very clear for the narrator: He developed a passion for literature and started to be interested only in books and literary journals. He read hundreds of pages at nights till mornings. *Les Misérables*, *Madame Bovary* and *The Brothers Karamazov* were among the books which he read. Fictitious characters such as Julien Sorel, Raskolnikov, and Werther became his heroes. When the sunlight entered to the room through the curtains, he went crazy. While there were skies, clouds, and trees in books, who

¹⁰⁸⁶ Ibid., p. 219

¹⁰⁸⁷ Ibid.

needed skies, clouds, and trees in real life? He was living by sleeping in daytimes and reading at nights.¹⁰⁸⁸

After this introduction, the narrator started to tell of Hüseyin Feyzullah's breakfast with his mother. On that morning, Hüseyin Feyzullah sat at the breakfast table with a bad grace. His mother came and said that they are awaiting reply for three months. Hüseyin Feyzullah told his mother that it was difficult to decide. He was still thinking. However, Rahime said that she was here today gone tomorrow. When she passed away, he would be alone. Who would cook, wash the clothes and light the stove for him? Hatice, whom Rahime wanted to match Hüseyin Feyzullah with, could do all of those. Hüseyin Feyzullah uttered the word "mother..." but he could not continue. He got up from the table and went into his room, slamming the door.¹⁰⁸⁹

How fast it had gotten dark... Hüseyin Feyzullah had finished his dinner and was looking outside the window. He got dressed. He put on his tie and lastly looked in the mirror before he went out from the house. He called out to his mother. She raced from the kitchen and asked whether he was going to Şehzadebaşı or Beyoğlu. Şehzadebaşı was close. She knew Şehzadebaşı. However, she did not know even where Beyoğlu was. When her son went to Şehzadebaşı, she could sleep well. However, when he went to Beyoğlu, she did not sleep the entire night and waited for him. Hüseyin Feyzullah said "to Beyoğlu, mother!"¹⁰⁹⁰

He got on the tram from Aksaray. It went up the slope of Laleli. He saw the sellers of wafers, desserts and pickles as well as empty plots of land between houses. When the tram came to Beyazıt, he started to look around more intently. Beyazıt had a different meaning for him. It re-

¹⁰⁸⁸ Ibid., pp. 219, 220.

¹⁰⁸⁹ Ibid., pp. 220-222.

¹⁰⁹⁰ Ibid., pp. 223, 224.

minded him of the idle hours of school days. When he saw shops, coffeehouses where he had played card games, eating houses, the grandiose door of Darülfünun, and doves, he felt well. When they came to Eminönü, the sun had set. In the Bridge and Bankalar Avenue, he saw the enormous grey buildings of Galata. When he came to Galata and saw these buildings, he figuratively started to breathe the air of Paris in French novels. When it reached Galatasaray, he got off the tram. He returned to İstiklal Avenue and tried to walk toward Taksim. Beyoğlu was brilliant. While he was passing in front of Tokatlıyan Hotel, he looked at men with monocles, velvet waistcoats with admiration. He saw men eating and drinking in Degüstasyon. He walked, looking at the mannequins in showcases, jewellers, sellers of toys and lottery tickets, confectioners, sellers of coffee beans, and pharmacies. He reached the patisserie where he would meet with his friends. He went into the patisserie, caressing his hair.¹⁰⁹¹

The patisserie was a very small place which was full of cigarette smoke. There were only five or six tables. A few young men sat at the table in the corner and were heatedly discussing something. They were discussing so fervently that they did not see the arrival of Hüseyin Feyzullah, who had already sat down at the table. They recognised him soon afterwards. They nodded at him and continued their discussion. Since they were in a fervent discussion, they did not care about their newcomer friend. However, that was not the only reason. Hüseyin Feyzullah did not have an important place in this friend circle. All of them were young authors whose few works were published in a few journals. All of them were thirsty for fame and were fascinated by the idea of being famous. They believed that they would astonish literary circles with

¹⁰⁹¹ Ibid., pp. 224-226.

changes they would make. It was very interesting that even though they said the same things, they were debating fervently. Ages, periods, currents, and all manner of other things were being denied at this table. Names such as Baudelaire, Verlaine, Rimbaud, Lautrémont, and Apollinaire were flying in the air. The waitress brought Hüseyin Feyzullah's tea smilingly. Hüseyin Feyzullah always came to this patisserie. However, everyone knew that he did not drink anything except tea. He was listening in on the discussion without missing even a word. He knew that he was not cared about in this friend circle; however, he could not do without them. His friends' talks about Baudelaire, Verlaine and Rimbaud, the tea service of the waiter woman, and the silent wish of people flowing outside; all of these things were very attractive. Besides, being alone in these patisseries was unthinkable, without exclusion. Even the idea of exclusion from the friend circle was shuddery for him. Even though he was ignored, he wanted to stay in this friend circle. One day they would have to consider him as an equal and he would be a party in these fervent discussions. He was finding them as shallow now.¹⁰⁹² The discussion of young literary figures in the patisserie was continuing. One of them, whose glasses were shining like a projector, shouted, slamming the cigarette box on the table "wait a minute, answer me!" All of them fell quiet and looked at the spectacled young man. The spectacled young man prolonged his silence spinning round the cigarette box in his hand. Then, he asked with an odd smile whether symbolism had died. All of them were stumped. A new subject was brought up. How would this subject be addressed now? Had symbolism died, been dying, or was in the throes of death? The curly haired young man who was sitting on the chair at the edge, took a cigarette and said, blowing its

¹⁰⁹² Ibid., 226, 227.

smoke, that he could not tell him now whether symbolism had died or not. His issue that night was something else. He wanted to go to Topaze. Taut nerves relaxed and turned into a noisy clamour and laughter. All of them agreed “let’s go to Topaze”. Topaze was a play by Marcel Pagnol which was to be performed in the City Theatre. They paid the money and said to Hüseyin Feyzullah “come on, let’s go”. Before the play, they would drink one beer each. The young man who asked whether symbolism had died could not rest without attracting attention and said that he would not drink a beer and drink a glass of raki instead.¹⁰⁹³

They went to a pub by the name of Mavi Köşe. When they went out from there, they walked toward Tepebaşı. They looked at photos of belly dancers at the door of a bar for a few minutes and passed in front of the Lala Beerhouse and Grand London Hotel. When they came in front of the City Theatre, Hüseyin Feyzullah was murmuring that this was a unique atmosphere. It was the thing for him. After buying tickets, they went up to the theatre. When the play finished, they went out silently.¹⁰⁹⁴

Hüseyin Feyzullah was again alone at the end of a night which he spent to his heart’s content. The patisserie was in the wake of a smog now, discussions stripped from their contents turned into gabbles in their heads, and Topaze withdrew itself to the cool darkness of theatre lobbies. He saw women who wore fashionable dresses. They had clothes with furred collars and forelocked hair. Their lips had lipstick on that made them look like small jacket buttons. These women were symbolizing another world for him. He did not wait for the tram. He crossed the Unkapanı Bridge to Aksaray and walked toward Langa. How quick these

¹⁰⁹³ Ibid.

¹⁰⁹⁴ Ibid., pp. 228, 229.

Beyoğlu nights went by, he thought. After he crossed Unkapanı Bridge, it started to rain. He could get a taxi. However, the driver would demand at least seventy five kurushes in this hour for Langa. He did not have seventy five kurushes. As told earlier, these Beyoğlu expenses were a unique problem for his mother. They could be covered by neither by her widow's pension nor her rent incomes. She had some valuable articles such as quarter gold coins, silver ashtrays and antique prayer rugs. Every month or two, they sold one of these at the Grand Bazaar. But, one day all of them would run dry.¹⁰⁹⁵

While walking, he was thinking about his mother's suggestion which she had repeated that morning. His mother wanted him to marry Hatice as soon as possible. However, he had no interest in any woman including women with furred collars who he saw in the Theatre. Naturally, he did not like Hatice either. His friends were excluding him. Exclusion by his friends was, at the same time, exclusion from Beyoğlu. When he thought about this exclusion, he was remembering Hatice. Hatice was a tall, plump, ruddy-cheeked, and shock-head Circassian girl. He was wondering what he would do with this girl on long winter nights next to the stove. Even thinking about that was shuddery. He quickened his steps to get home quickly.¹⁰⁹⁶

He was walking when an unexpected question popped in to his mind. He wondered what Hatice was doing at the moment. She was probably sleeping on her bed. Her lips were parted, eyes were blubbery, and one of her legs was dangling from the bed. What an ugly scene it was. A naked woman's body, leg, arm, back, and breasts had an appearance which offended the sense of beauty. Nudeness was an obvious attack on aes-

¹⁰⁹⁵ Ibid., pp. 229, 230.

¹⁰⁹⁶ Ibid., p. 230.

theticism. The idea of Hatice's bare leg was causing an unendurable disgust in him. He was looking forward to reaching the house. He was looking around while walking. When he returned to old Istanbul after the Beyoğlu streets, he heard the flowing of warm waters and dreamed of cherub old women roasting chestnuts on stoves.¹⁰⁹⁷

When he went into the house, he saw that the light of his mother's room was on. She usually would be asleep in those hours. He heard the voice of his mother. She was calling out to him in a moaning voice. He went into the room. The woman was lying down on the bed motionlessly. She ran a fever. He thought that this woman had gotten old. She would usually feel ill each morning but not for longer. However, he was so unskilful in housework that he could not even cook. He asked his mother whether she would like to drink lemonade. He ran to the kitchen without waiting for her reply. When he saw that there were no lemons in the kitchen, he took out the bottle of powdered lemon essence. Half of it accidentally poured out and got wasted. He sought a cup, but could not find one. He did not know where the sugar was in the kitchen. At long last, he was able to prepare the lemonade. He went up to his mother's room. He could not promptly find her fever reducing medicine either. At last when he did find it, he made her mother drink the lemonade and take the medicine. He stayed up with his mother till morning. The woman's fever broke toward morning. When she woke up, he said to her that she had thought it over and decided to marry Hatice.¹⁰⁹⁸

A few days later, his mother suggested him to go to the house of Hatice's family to ask for her hand in marriage. He looked at his mother absently, without reaction. He told his mother that there was no need to go

¹⁰⁹⁷ Ibid., pp. 231, 232.

¹⁰⁹⁸ Ibid., pp. 232-235.

there together. His mother did not insist. She went to the house of Hatice's family alone. The two families had been friends for a long time. Hence, when the mother asked for the girl's hand in marriage for her son, Hatice's family accepted without playing hard to get. How Hatice had grown and beautified, Rahime thought. After a while, Rahime asked for permission to leave and returned to her house. Her son was not in. She murmured that he had probably gone to Beyoğlu again. He came to the house after midnight. She waited for him till that hour. When he came, she told him that they agreed to marry away the girl. Her mother would come within a week and they would give her hand in marriage. He said "fine". Rahime was not surprised by his unresponsiveness since she was accustomed to it.¹⁰⁹⁹

Hüseyin Feyzullah felt so trapped on the day of marriage that he had never felt such an emotion before. His wedding day was an extraordinary event, but he did not like any extraordinariness in his life. Everything should have been monotonous. After the marriage ceremony, guests and families on the bride's side and the groom's side gathered in Hüseyin Feyzullah's house. They sat and chatted. After a little while, they left the house. Rahime also left the house to leave the newlyweds alone.¹¹⁰⁰

As soon as Hüseyin Feyzullah heard the sound of the door closing shut, he shivered in the middle of the room. Soon afterwards, he sat on the chair. Hatice did not understand what was going on with her husband. She did not mind it. She went down to the kitchen and looked at the provisions. She wandered in the kitchen, the garden, the woodshed, and the coalbunker and gave feedstuffs to chickens and the cock. By the

¹⁰⁹⁹ Ibid., pp. 235-237.

¹¹⁰⁰ Ibid., pp. 238-240.

way, she saw that her mother in law had prepared four or five sorts of dishes. She told her husband that his mother had prepared dishes which they could not finish within three or four days. They would have them for dinner. He said that they might eat them later. He would go out now. Hatice did not understand what he wanted to do. She could not stop herself from asking where he would go. If there was any small item needed, he could buy it the next day. He said that he would go out for fresh air. She was petrified with astonishment. While she was standing there not understanding what he said, he had already gone out.¹¹⁰¹

He got on the tram and found himself in Beyoğlu. The Avenue was bathed in light again. It was crowded and like a flowing river. He would not go to the patisserie that night. He went to a coffeehouse between Taksim and Tarlabası and sat next to the window. He started to watch the Avenue. He kept his eyes on people who were passing in groups of twos, threes, or fives. This was a bath of crowd. This phrase the “bath of crowd” appeared in one of Baudelaire’s prose poems. In that poem, Baudelaire was saying that he felt the greatest loneliness among crowds. Now he was also like Baudelaire. He was alone among crowds. After Baudelaire, verses of a very young Turkish poet came to his mind: Cahit Sıtkı Tarancı. Tarancı said in a poem that no one would know except stars in the sky and a wolf on the land whether he had lived or died. For Hüseyin Feyzullah also, the only way to save himself from being forgotten was art. He would continuously write. He would construct a monument from verses and scripts. A rain shower began. Men with umbrellas were passing by on the Avenue. They were bumping into each other and then apologizing. In the Avenue, there were people who had gone out from cinemas, people who were going into cinemas, patis-

¹¹⁰¹ Ibid., pp. 240-242.

series, and taprooms, a girl who was running and dancing, noble-faced sellers of flowers, and whores. While he was drinking his tea looking at the Avenue, a hand touched his shoulder. It was one of his friends in the patisserie. He invited him to a taproom in Balıkpazarı. He told him that he would not come right then, but maybe soon after. He continued to watch the Avenue getting wet under the rain. It was so interesting to watch the downpour. However, after a while, he left the coffeehouse and started to walk toward Galatasaray. He took to a side street and saw a small taproom where there were only four or five tables. A half-drunk waiter was waiting on customers in this taproom. He sat at one of the tables in the corner. He ordered a raki and lit a cigarette. He sat in this taproom till he finished his raki. He then went out from the taproom. However, he did not know what he did and where he went. He was simply going where his steps were carrying him. He was wandering on the side streets of Beyoğlu aimlessly.¹¹⁰²

He was again on the Avenue. Now where would he go? His friends and the beer house where they dropped by after they went out from the cinema came to his mind. His friend had said in the coffeehouse that they would go to the taproom. He might have gone there. His desire to stay alone disappeared. The desire to be among a living community replaced it. He walked toward Parmakkapı. However, the taproom was closed. He was disappointed. He got on a taxi with his last money and returned to his house in Langa.¹¹⁰³

He went into the house. When he opened the door, Hatice was standing in front of him. She had her night skirt on. She untied her queues. Her face seemed very small amidst her bushy hair now. She asked in a peev-

¹¹⁰² Ibid., pp. 242-246.

¹¹⁰³ Ibid., p. 246.

ish voice where he had been. She was worried sick about him. She did not wait for a response to her question and entered the bedroom. However, Hüseyin Feyzullah did not go after her. Hatice frequently went out from the room to the kitchen. Her shoulders and neck were bare. In fact, she did not have anything to do in the kitchen. She wanted to draw the attention of her husband. However, he was sitting in the chair motionlessly and started to doze off. His wife went out from the bedroom again and stood in front of the chair. She told him to join her already or that he would fall sick the next day. Hüseyin Feyzullah told her that he would come soon. Hatice looked at the face of her husband with a feeling beyond astonishment. He returned and went to the room. He noisily closed the door. After a while, he heard a sound from the room. His wife was crying. Shortly after that, her crying intensified and roar-like sounds were heard. However, he did not stand up from his chair. He kept an eye on the watch in his hand and awaited the morning. He fell asleep for a short span of time. When he woke up, it was dawn. He heard a woman scream from the garden of the house. While he was sleeping, Hatice had gone out from the room and hanged herself in the well hole of the garden. In the last moment, she regretted her decision and tried to save herself from the rope. The scream was heard at that moment. However, she failed and died. Her last scream would resound in his ears his entire life.¹¹⁰⁴

In this long story by Sabahattin Kudret Aksal, many spaces of Beyoğlu are mentioned. However, the story's most distinctive element is its protagonist. In this story, an intellectual but penniless boy living in one of Istanbul's traditional quarters is told of. Contrary to many stories in this dissertation, not only the character's life in Beyoğlu but also his life in

¹¹⁰⁴ Ibid., pp. 246-249.

his family house is narrated. The monotonous life in Langa and dynamic life in Beyoğlu were contrasted and the attractiveness of Beyoğlu was underlined.

Hüseyin Feyzullah was the only dandy character in the stories of writers of the 1940s generation. Even though he was not an aristocrat, he imitated the aristocratic lifestyle in Western novels. For example, he did not go to the living room of his house in his pyjamas. He abhorred sunlight, daylight, and clean air. In short, while he abhorred natural things, he did not abhor the nature in works of fiction. He found the fictitious life he read about in novels in Beyoğlu. While he abhorred the naked female body, he did not abhor made-up and fashionable women in the Avenue. However, he did not find them sexually attractive either. His asexuality was a result of his dandyism or vice versa. While he abhorred natural beauties, he liked the artificial and brilliant beauties in Beyoğlu and in novels. Beyoğlu from the magnificent buildings of Galata onwards, was a different world for him.

Yüksel Aslan was a typical example of the penniless intellectual young men who lived in traditional districts of Istanbul that I discussed in the previous chapter. His father was a grocer in Eyüp. He did not have a job although he was an amateur painter. However, he came to the Baylan patisserie every day on foot. Hüseyin Feyzullah was also such a man; he was twenty two and did not have money or a job. His entire occupation was to read and listen to literary discussions of his friends in Beyoğlu patisseries.

Hüseyin Feyzullah had a friend circle in Beyoğlu. He was not a leading member of this circle. Moreover, he did not love his friends. He saw them as mediocre literary figures. Nevertheless, he liked spending time with them. He believed that he would become one of the stars of this circle, even though he did not do anything towards this goal. In reality,

his friends were no different from him. They were able to publish only a few works in a few journals. They wanted to be famous and respected members of society. However, they at the time had neither fame nor respectability. They gathered in Beyoğlu patisseries and made fervent discussions.

His marriage and his wife's suicide would be a turning point in his life. He had to marry Hatice as a result of the insistence of his mother. His mother's illness and old age also influenced his decision to do so. However, his asocial personality prevented him from communicating with his wife in a healthy manner. He did not make love to his wife because of his asexual inclination. His wife perceived these behaviours as an insult and killed herself. He would not forget her last scream his entire life.

In short, a young intellectual boy is treated in this story. He was a mal-content who only enjoyed the fictitious worlds in novels. He spent the limited budget of his mother in Beyoğlu which very much resembled the spaces in novels. So much so that he went to Beyoğlu on the first night of his marriage. He was a jobless, penniless, and unesteemed young man melancholically wandering in Beyoğlu. He was also one of the *flâneurs* of Beyoğlu. He would probably remain a man whose entire occupation was loitering because of his asocial personality. He caused the death of his wife and so it would be almost impossible for him to marry a woman from his familial circle again.

This story could have been examined in the chapter "loneliness and individuality". However, since the protagonist's asexuality determined the narration of the story, I examined it in this part. The contrast between the protagonist's house life and life in Beyoğlu sheds light on both his psychology and a generation of young intellectuals. They were living poor and conservative family lives in their homes. When they came to

Beyoğlu, however, they felt the contradiction between the quarters where they were born and Beyoğlu. They were emulating the life in Beyoğlu. However, they could not do anything to solve the contradiction between their conservative world and Beyoğlu and modernize their lives. Beyoğlu was a space of freedom and the centre of the world they longed for. They thought that this free atmosphere and wealth did not exist in any other place of Turkey. However, when they struggled for freedom and wealth redistribution, they were punished harshly by the political authority. In this context, young intellectuals who saw Beyoğlu as the space of freedom were isolating themselves from their familial circles and the society. Their feeling of isolation reflected onto their works as well. Hüseyin Feyzullah's abhorrence of even the body of women dramatically demonstrated this generation's feelings.

9. 5. Men on the Avenue in Pursuit of Women

The Avenue and streets of Beyoğlu were not only for melancholic and asocial men like Hüseyin Feyzullah. They were at the same time spaces of young men in pursuit of women and entertainment. To illustrate, I want to discuss the story *Bir Çift Bacak* (A Couple of Legs) by Naim Tirali. In this story, the narrator was aimlessly wandering up and down the Avenue with his friend. It was a spring night. The crowd, trams, music, and other things failed to relieve their boredom. It was still not dark. They could see the faces of people who passed by them without the help of showcase lights.

While walking on the Avenue, the narrator suddenly caught sight of a couple of legs belonging to a girl. They were very smooth. Her ankles were very thin. He thought to elbow his friend to alert him. However, his friend had seen these legs too and whistled, without the need to be elbowed. "Oh my god, what beauties", he said. The owner of these beau-

tiful legs was around 14 or 15. Her butt, waist, and shoulders were full of life. There was a middle aged woman next to her. They wondered whether this woman was her mother or pimp. In fact, the girl did not wear anything to arouse attention. However, her tiny legs and agile body captured the attentions of the narrator and his friend.

They became hopeful when the middle aged women stopped and looked around. They wondered whether the woman was soliciting a customer for the girl. The friend of the narrator was shaking a chain in his hand and checking out the girl's butt on the sly. According to the narrator, the girl feebly turned her head and looked at them with a roll of her eyes. There was a calling in her gaze. They followed her perpetually and forgot their distresses and dolefulness. The pleasure of watching a pair of legs caused a creepy excitement in them.

They went out from the Grand Avenue while chasing the girl and passed a number of crooked streets. Houses were lined up irregularly on these streets as if they had recently fallen down over one another. The interiors of the street front rooms of the houses were visible. Some fat women with "big titties" leaned out of windows. Young girls who sat at door sills were arousing attention.

They were still chasing the girl when it got rather dark. The darkness was concealing the legs of the girl from them. They were chasing a couple of legs without knowing their destination. They were, in fact, attracted by an unknown charm. They were walking in pursuit of a pair of mysterious objects. They were conscious that they were not inside a dream. They understood this when they went onto a dirt road. Electric lamps were glowing. Ala turca records were playing in a coffeehouse which had a small garden. Many men were hanging about together idly at this coffeehouse. The narrator's friend said that they had probably come to Yenisehir. The young girl and middle aged woman disappeared.

They wondered whether the girl and the woman went into a brothel and the girl was a whore.

As in many other stories whose space is the Avenue, the Avenue is described as crowded and lively. However, the crowd and liveliness of the Avenue turned into a routine for the narrator. He was bored. While he was walking aimlessly with his friend, they saw a young girl around 14 or 15. More precisely, they saw the legs of this young girl. This girl would both incite their sexual drives and be a source of adventure and curiosity for them. She was walking together with a middle aged woman. Firstly, they wondered whether this woman was her mother or pimp. This question was the source of adventure and curiosity for them to break the monotony of the Avenue. They chased the girl in pursuit of their curiosities with adventurous feelings. They passed the Avenue, took to the side streets and reached Yenisehir, which was next to Dolapdere, very close to Beyoğlu. However, no one went there because it was a slum area. However, they lost track of her and her companion and the story ended at that point.

It will be apt to recall the story, *Nevsky Prospekt*, by Gogol discussed in the second chapter and the fact that while Naim Tiralı did not read much, Gogol was among the few writers he had read. In *Nevsky Prospekt*, too, two young men wandering in the Prospect saw two girls and followed them. While following the girls, they reached their quarters. The second part of the story tells the events which took place in those quarters. At the end of the story, one of the young men died. *Nevsky Prospekt* was different from *Bir Çift Bacak* in the sense of being a longer story consisting of two chapters. However, *Bir Çift Bacak* was very similar to the first chapter of *Nevsky Prospekt*. A very lively and long description of the Avenue was made at the beginning of the story, just like in *Nevsky Prospekt*. In both stories, two young men wandering

in the Prospekt or the Avenue were the main characters. In both of them, events started in the Prospekt or the Avenue and continued beyond the Prospekt or the Avenue. However, in *Nevsky Prospekt*, the narrator was not one of the characters of the story; he was a meta-narrator. In Tirali's story, the first-person singular narrator was one of the two young men. In short, even though they have some differences, *Bir Çift Bacak* can be seen as an adaptation of the story *Nevsky Prospekt*.

Even though it was an adaptation, it is significant that Gogol's story was adapted in the 1940s Beyoğlu atmosphere. When discussing *Atlanta Barı* by Naim Tirali, I mentioned *The Fruits of Earth* by Andre Gide and claimed that the post-war middle class youth tried to enjoy "the fruits of earth" without reserve with the influence of Andre Gide. In the story, we saw two bored young boys who were looking for excitement, like the youth of Gide. While they were looking for excitement, they were overstepping the bounds of petty bourgeois morality. For example, they were chasing a fourteen or fifteen year old girl. However, as seen in some other stories in this study, this was not the only story in which young girls or boys were seen as "sexual objects." As for the main issue, as long as youth spent their energy in pursuit of excitement and this energy did not evolve into political activism, political authorities could tolerate it, especially in "the spaces of freedom" such as Beyoğlu.

Another story in which a man in pursuit of a woman is told is *Randevu* (Date) by Cahit Sıtkı Tarancı. This is the story of a young girl, a middle aged man, and their flirtation. The girl had plaited brown hair and wore a loose, flower patterned fustian robe which hardly reached her knees. She wore short bobby socks and her legs were tanned in the sun. She passed by the coffeehouse where the narrator was sitting at the double. Her doe-like and big eyes provoked the narrator to follow her. It was

evening; the lights of the street were partially on. The girl skipped among the evening crowd of the street. The narrator also quickened his steps to be able to catch up on her. This play continued all along the street. At last, she went into a side street, turned to the narrator, and looked at him flirtatiously. He followed her into the darkness of the street.¹¹⁰⁵

They got chummy with each other in the darkness. How sweetly she was speaking... He learned that her name was Nimet. She was living in a two storey wooden house in Yıldız with her elder sister and mother. She was fourteen and a secondary school student. Although he called her by her name, she called him Semih Bey. This indicated that she was aware of the class and status distinction between them. That she gave her arm to the narrator also indicated that their house, at the time without a man, was in need of one. This attitude and her behaviours fulfilled Semih's longing for simplicity and sincerity.¹¹⁰⁶

They spent a long time together. She said with an excusatory tone that she was late to the house. She had to go. Just then, while the narrator was looking for a handkerchief in his pockets, he found a lemon. He asked her, turning a deaf hear for her request to leave, whether she liked lemons. She loved them very much. He broke the lemon into two parts and they started to suck their half lemons face to face. Soon afterwards, the girl asked for permission to leave again. He did not grant her leave till getting a new appointment. They agreed to meet again on Friday at the ferry pier.¹¹⁰⁷ Which ferry pier they would meet at was not mentioned. However, it must have been the Beşiktaş pier since it was the closest one.

¹¹⁰⁵ Cahit Sıtkı Tarancı. *Gün Eksilmesin Pencereyden*, İstanbul: Can, 2006. p. 38.

¹¹⁰⁶ Ibid., p. 39.

¹¹⁰⁷ Ibid., pp. 39, 40.

Many years had passed after that first date, when he was waiting for the tram in Nişantaşı. He was growing impatient as the tram was running late. For a moment, he turned his head in the Harbiye direction. He saw a well-dressed, attractive young girl in front of a tobacco seller. The girl could turn on a man easily with her sex appeal and attractiveness. When he looked more carefully, he recognized her. She was Nimet. She also saw him and started to walk toward him smilingly.¹¹⁰⁸

After they greeted each other, the girl asked him where he had been since such a long time ago. He had been in Anatolia for three years. As soon as he had returned, he had looked for her in her quarter. However, she had moved from her old quarter to another quarter with her family. She started to talk about their last three years. They moved from that “calamitous house”. Her elder sister married a rich merchant one year prior. Nimet also moved to the house of her elder sister with her mother. They were living on the Rumeli Avenue in Osmanbey.¹¹⁰⁹

She had changed and beautified very much. The narrator asked her where she was going and whether he might accompany her. She was going to the hairdresser and his companionship would make her happy. He offered to meet after she got out from the hairdresser. She said that would be impossible; she would go to the hat store with her elder sister. While he was asking whether they might meet the following day, the tram arrived. They got on the tram. He repeated his question in the tram again. She said that she would be at home with her sister and mother because they were expecting guests. On the day after that, their

¹¹⁰⁸ Ibid., p.40.

¹¹⁰⁹ Ibid., p. 40, 41.

tailor would come for topcoat rehearsal. In short, she did not have a day-off to date the narrator.¹¹¹⁰

He left the girl at the hairdresser in Galatasaray and started to walk toward the government office where he worked. While he was walking, he was thinking about little Nimet. He remembered her curious doe-eyes. He understood, with great sorrow, that he could not give a half lemon to this girl anymore.¹¹¹¹

This story is also told through the words of the narrator protagonist, as in many other stories of Tarancı. However, the narrator's name in the story is Semih. Cahit Sıtkı Tarancı tried to indicate that what is told in the story was not experienced by his own self in reality. In the story, a young girl and his relationship with a middle aged man is told. She was an orphan girl living in Yıldız. This area was settled in after the Dolmabahçe Palace was constructed. Although most of its residents were middle class and rich people, poor people also lived there, like Nimet's family.

In the story, a family's climb up the social ladder was also treated around the character Nimet. Nimet's family changed their quarters while changing their social class as well. After her family climbed up the social ladder, her attitude towards the narrator also changed. She both rejected his request for a date and talked to him more equally. She addressed him in the second person plural, but did not call him Semih Bey at their last encounter. I want to touch upon the narrator's position, as well. Even though no information was given about this matter, he was probably a bachelor. Besides, he was a state official as he said at the end of the story. After he was appointed to Anatolia, he did not see Istanbul

¹¹¹⁰ Ibid., p. 41.

¹¹¹¹ Ibid., p. 42.

and Nimet for three years. When he returned, he found Nimet to have changed a lot.

At this juncture, I want to touch upon the spaces in the story, as well. They first saw each other around Yıldız. Their second meeting place was probably the Beşiktaş ferry pier which was the closest pier to Nimet's house. They saw each other lastly in Harbiye at the tram station. The narrator accompanied her on the tram and they parted in Galatasaray. The small square in front of the school was at the same time a tram station. For this reason, it was also the centre of İstiklal. A person who got out of the tram there could easily go where they wanted on the Avenue. They could walk in either the Yüksekaldırım or the Taksim direction. It was both a meeting and leaving point. The Avenue was a centre of attraction for residents of many different quarters of Istanbul. Nimet was living in Osmanbey. He could find a modern and Western style hairdresser there. However, getting a hairdo in the Avenue was an indicator of wealth and social status.

I want to discuss the tone of the story, as well. A middle aged man's relationship with a young girl was treated in the story in a very neutral tone. This abnormal relationship was narrated without any pejorative expression. As we saw in the story *Bir Çift Bacak* (A Couple of Legs), the girls around 14 or 15 years of age might be seen as sexual objects by male story writers. As we will see in some other stories, authors who represented young girls as sexual objects were not limited to Naim Tiralı and Cahit Sıtkı Tarancı.

In many stories written in these years, the narrator protagonists' or protagonists' sexual desires were narrated explicitly. It might be claimed for most of the young authors of this generation that they were young men in pursuit of status, money, fame and women as mentioned

in *Hüseyin Feyzullah'ın Evlenmesi*. Hence, they expressed their hunger for women and sex clearly.

Lastly, I want to touch upon the representation of Westernized quarters and poor people in the short story. As discussed in the fourth chapter, authors of the Constitutional Era identified poor quarters and their residents with morality and tradition. For example, changing quarters was to change civilizations and to come under the influence of corrupt Western civilization in *Fatih Harbiye*. As seen in this story, poor people were not represented as moral and traditional figures; and also, more Western or elite quarters like Osmanbey were not identified with corruption.

9. 6. Two Young Men and Women in a Beyoğlu Cinema

Another story in which characters' sexual drives are narrated explicitly is *Esnaf* by Naim Tiralı again. The story begins with the narrator getting off the bus with his friend, Bebe Raşit. Bebe Raşid had fallen in love, despite not being a man who would typically would, but the damage was done and alas he was in love.¹¹¹²

Although they got off the bus together, they did not walk together. There is nothing to be surprised by this. For the narrator, if your friend is in love, this means that you have lost him. Therefore, he left Bebe Raşid alone among the crowd of the Big Avenue. He knew that when Bebe Raşid was going to his sweetheart, he wanted to be alone.¹¹¹³

The narrator protagonist's name was Nusret. Shortly after he left Bebe Raşid, a woman called out to him. When he turned behind, he felt strange. He did not know whether he should get angry or be happy. It

¹¹¹² Naim Tiralı. *25 Kuruşa Amerika*, İstanbul: Yazko, 1983. p. 49.

¹¹¹³ Ibid., p. 49.

was the girl whom he had fallen in love with platonically. There was also another girl next to her.¹¹¹⁴

The girl immediately grabbed Nusret's hand and asked without feeling the need for any introductory words to take them to the cinema. Nusret smiled. He got happy since the offer came from the girl. He agreed to it. She rushed ahead, announcing that they were hungry. "Lucky beggars", Nusret thought. The aim of these girls was probably to eat their fills. He turned a deaf ear to her words and asked which cinema they would like to go to. He would wait for them in front of the door, buying tickets. He said to them "you go grab a bite to eat." They should not have missed the 2:30 matinee.¹¹¹⁵

While buying tickets, he came across a friend who was famous for his love poems. He saw his friend in the picture. His poet friend would be interested in the other girl. The poet also started to wait. The girls came five or six minutes later. Nusret handed them their tickets and the girls went into the cinema with the poet. He said that he would come after two minutes and disappeared. He ran to the closest pharmacy and bought three condoms. He made it back to the cinema on time. Their seats were in the back row. The girls sat at the middle and the men sat on their left and right sides.¹¹¹⁶

When his eyes adapted to the darkness, Nusret looked around. There was a young and bulky man next to them. The cinema was completely full. Nusret took off his topcoat and put it on his lap. He drew nearer to the girl sitting on his left. He was not a dab hand in these things. He had

¹¹¹⁴ Ibid., p. 49.

¹¹¹⁵ Ibid., p. 50.

¹¹¹⁶ Ibid.

seen some other couples who had had sex in the cinema and had watched them before. However, this would be his first experience.¹¹¹⁷

While the advertisements were being shown, he placed his hand on the girl's knee. But the girl said that they should begin after everyone focused on the film and removed Nusret's hand. Nusret thought that the situation was not bad. When the film began, the girl accepted to have sex without acting up. He regretted not having rented a loggia. Thus and so, if he were to try to kiss the girl, anyone could see them. He should have found a way.¹¹¹⁸

There was a gangster movie on the screen. At the beginning of the film, guns were fired. Nusret wrapped the waist of the girl in his left arm. The girl looked around and put her hand between Nusret's thighs. They stood immobile for a while. While she was watching the movie curiously, she was at the same time touching Nusret's penis.¹¹¹⁹

The love poet who sat next to the other girl was unaware of what Nusret was doing. He was making plans of his own. He thought for almost half an hour whether he should hold the girl's hand. He thought of beautiful sentences like verses. Some of them were very nice. He would say that they were not to speak and let their hands do the talking. Their hands might get along better with each other. Insincerity and hypocrisy were not available to their hands. He then gave up on the idea, however. He found the words he was contemplating too poetic and bookish. "The stupid girl" would not understand these words and might burst into laughter. Then he would be embarrassed in front of the people in the cinema. He did not say anything.¹¹²⁰ Bohemian artists' unskillfulness in

¹¹¹⁷ Ibid., pp. 50, 51.

¹¹¹⁸ Ibid., p. 51.

¹¹¹⁹ Ibid., pp. 51, 52.

¹¹²⁰ Ibid., p. 52.

emotional and sexual relationships with women was a very common theme in stories of this period. We will see some other examples of this later in this chapter.

In fact, he might not be ranked as completely unskilful at all in these matters. He engaged in every kind of vileness on trams and busses. He touched women who were next to him. Since he seemed very earnest, he did not draw attention. However, he did not desire anything in the cinema. One might think that he did not like the girl. However, that was never the matter for this young poet. He had sex “even” with a black servant woman in parks for three years. His friends still had not forgotten the taste of pasta with cheese parsley filling which the servant girl had brought them from the house where she worked. While the film was coming to an end, Nusret started to press his hand on the girl’s butt. She put her hand under Nusret’s topcoat again. The girl was skilled, according to the narrator. After she made Nusret have an orgasm for the second time, the movie finished.¹¹²¹

Nusret would refrain from being seen by people in the cinema with girls. Hence, he wanted to exit the cinema without them. While he was trying to say to the girls that he had to meet with a friend, they said in unison that Nusret and his friend should go out first. They did not want to be seen together. Lastly, they said goodbye to Nusret and the poet. This was all the better for Nusret. He got happy and felt very refreshed. “Hey love poet, what about you?” he asked his friend. He asked this question with both eager curiosity and pride. The poet said that he would tell him outside. However, Nusret understood from his voice that he failed to do anything. He made a victory sign like Churchill with his fingers. He said “two times, what about you?”. The poet was surprised.

¹¹²¹ Ibid., pp. 52, 53.

He said “my foot! how crafty your girl was” Nusret smiled and slapped the poet’s nape. He took out the last condom from the pocket of his vest and passed it to the poet. He said “take it, trolley man. Take it, do not foul your apparel on the tram.”¹¹²²

The story is very obscene both in its content and tone, like Tirali’s previously discussed stories. In this story too, young and middle class men suspend the morality of petty bourgeois life. A cinema of Beyoğlu served as the space of this suspension. However, men and women who were suspending the morality of petty bourgeois family life were young people of a conservative country. Perhaps they had even grown up in the provinces. As seen in this story, their suspension of the dominant morality might evolve into a harasser attitude which drew its strength from the traditional rules of patriarchy. The love poet’s harassment behaviour towards women on trams and buses was a clear example of this.

The story’s two women characters were also free women who were able to save themselves from the moral norms of patriarchal society to a certain extent. Such women characters were very few in stories of male authors of the 1940s generation. For example, one of the girls did not accept the narrator’s proposal to flirt. However, she could propose him a sexual relation freely. These were Gide’s youth who wanted to enjoy the fruits of the world without limits.

Tirali’s literary style was rather different from the other authors of his generation. His unfettered and explicit narration especially in sexual subjects was different from both his predecessors and successors. However, he could write his stories in the 1940s freely. Even though repression of the authors was more intense in the 1940s, its influence

¹¹²² Ibid., p. 54.

beyond politics was more limited. Repression of political subjects and relative freedom in other fields constituted one of the main elements feeding into the modernism of the 1940s.

9. 7. Young Men and Women on Beyoğlu Streets at Night

Young people pushing the limits of petty bourgeois morality on the streets of Beyoğlu were not limited to the above mentioned story in Tiralı's works. I will next discuss his story *Gecenin Üçü* (3 a.m.) and summarize some of its important points: The narrator took out the bottle of raki from his pocket. His friend Kamber was biting his lips. It was 3 a.m. They would stay at the house of one of their friends. They were on their way to it. When they reached the house, the doorman opened the door bleary-eyed. They tipped the doorman and started to climb up the stairs. They went into their friend's home.¹¹²³

The raki had still not gone dry. Kamber woke up their friend to drink raki, singing a song. He woke up rubbing his eyes, but fell asleep again. They woke him once more, pulling at his hands and feet. Kamber pressed the bottle to his mouth. To their astonishment, he took a sip. He then spit it out. The narrator and Kamber were splitting their sides. Their friend passed out. He started to listen to his friends smilingly.¹¹²⁴

Kamber started to tell the story. They went out from the bar with a blonde woman. It was 1:00 a.m. They did not have a house to go to with this woman. The three of them walked toward Taksim. While walking, they saw another woman who the narrator had met before. She asked where they were going. The blonde woman said that they were going to get high. (She meant a marijuana party.) She said that she would also

¹¹²³ Ibid., pp. 31, 32.

¹¹²⁴ Ibid., p. 32.

come. The narrator rejoiced. She was the mistress of a “hacıağa.” He thought that after the hacıağa’s money dried up, the lottery was won by him. At that moment, he forgot his sleepiness and tiredness.¹¹²⁵

Kamber continued his words. They had no house to take the girls to. He had 35 liras in his pocket. This was not enough. They went to Tarlabası to buy raki. A still open grocery could only be found in Tarlabası in this hour. The second woman wanted pastries on the road. He gave fifty kurushes to the pastry seller. Then she needed a pee. At that hour, they could not find a public toilet. They told her that she should just hold it till they reached their destination. At last, they found her a building wall to take a leak by. Kamber wondered how women were taking a leak. He watched her. While she was taking a leak by the wall of the building, a window was opened opposite to it. A man started to swear. When she heard the swearing of the man, she stopped taking a leak and ran to her friends. All of them were splitting their sides. They found another wall in another side street. After that, they went to the Avenue and took a taxi. They were all done walking. Kamber said “Tepebaşı” to the driver. They went through hotels known to be used for prostitution one by one. There was no suitable room in any of them.¹¹²⁶

The narrator interrupted Kamber, saying “what a misfortune, brother!” He was between two women in the taxi. He was dropping off anyway. He intended to kiss one of the girls, however, the smell of the pastry made his gorge rise. They thought to go to one of the hotels on the Bosphorus since they could not find any room in the hotels in Tepebaşı. The women got bored. They started to say they would leave. The narrator and Kamber got into a huddle. A good idea occurred to them. They

¹¹²⁵ Ibid., p. 33.

¹¹²⁶ Ibid., p. 33, 34.

would go to the brothels and ask for a room. However, they could not find any room in the brothels either.¹¹²⁷

Kamber continued to speak after the narrator. They could not find one roof to go over their heads in this huge city. The taxi driver was not an understanding man either. It was almost 3 a.m. They returned to Beyoğlu and went out of the taxi. There was no one around except a few men and workers who were repairing the tram lines. They were wandering the desolate pavements slowly and helplessly. At that moment, they saw a pimp who was finding women for “hacığa”s. They asked him to find two rooms for them. In fact, they would be contented with a small room with one bed. He asked for 25 liras for the room and 10 liras for himself.¹¹²⁸

As they were going into the room, the two women started to fight because one of them called the other a prostitute. Kamber and the narrator tried to break up their fight. At last, they gave up on the idea of having sex with Kamber and the narrator. They took the girls away to their homes. They lived on the same street. Until they got there, they kept quarrelling. Kamber’s final comment was “god damn such women”.¹¹²⁹

Even though it had some common elements, this story was different from the other stories whose characters were whores and spaces were brothels. Firstly, the women characters of this story are not whores. I cited a news item from a newspaper in the previous chapter about a scandal. An Armenian young man who had an affair with a married Turkish woman had taken her to a brothel where they were caught. Thanks to this story, we understand that the Armenian boy was not an oddity on this point. Womanizers, who did not have a house to take the

¹¹²⁷ Ibid., p. 34.

¹¹²⁸ Ibid., p. 35.

¹¹²⁹ Ibid., p. 36.

girls they met to with them, took them to empty rooms in brothels instead in this era. In this story too, two male characters looked for a room to take their partners to. They searched for two hours, but there was no empty room even in brothels. At last, they went to a house which was hired out by a pimp for this kind of business. That is, they would spend the night in a house looking like a whorehouse if the women hadn't quarrelled with each other.

Many stories analysed in this study have mentioned that at night time, the Square, the Avenue, and the Bridge in or near Beyoğlu were left to the drunkards and vagabonds. In this story, what these drunkards did in Beyoğlu at night hours is narrated. In these hours, not only the homeless, poor drunkards, or whores but also young men like the narrators could be seen on the streets of Beyoğlu. While characters were wandering the streets of Beyoğlu, we travelled through its different quarters. For example, in Tarlabası, open groceries could be found throughout the night. In Tepebaşı, there were hotels used for prostitution, etc.

The characters of the story were probably from petty bourgeois families. For example, their friend was living in Beyoğlu. We witnessed how they suspended the morality of their petty bourgeois families in the story. They wandered in the streets till 3 a.m. They thought to take their partners to brothels. In this story too, Naim Tirali narrated young people making use of the fruits of the earth without recognising any moral boundary.

As in the above mentioned story by Tirali, there were liberated women characters in this story too. They could get in touch with men freely and wander the streets of Beyoğlu with men without reservation. Of course, the perception of Beyoğlu as an area of freedom among young people played a role in these behaviours of theirs.

9. 8. Brothels and Whores of Beyoğlu

In this section, I will touch upon the stories whose spaces are brothels of Beyoğlu. Firstly, I will mention *Tarlabaşı Asfaltına Yağmur Yağıyordu* (It Was Raining onto the Tarlabaşı Asphalt) by Naim Tiralı. To summarize some important points of this story: Rain was falling on the asphalt of Tarlabaşı. The narrator, Nuri, and his relative from his hometown took to a side street. The ground was muddy. As the streets became narrower, the darkness was growing thicker. They were skipping from one stone to another to keep the water from seeping into their shoes. They stopped in front of a small house which had all its curtains down. Nuri's relative had come to this house chasing a girl on the previous night. He seemed more comfortable, since he was more experienced in these matters.¹¹³⁰

They rang the bell and waited for a while. Footsteps were heard behind the door. A woman opened the door slightly. She came eye to eye with Nuri's relative. She smiled and said that "you're welcome". They climbed up the wooden stairs and went out to a narrow hallway. There were two small rooms on the two sides of the hallway. The dark hallway was lit by a firewood heating stove. They were invited to the street-front room which was furnished by a number of wares incompatible with each other. Curtains were closed tightly. The charwoman brought the brazier. After the brazier was lit, three whores came to the room.¹¹³¹ Every one of them was uglier than the next. They tried to conceal the wrinkles on their faces with powders and creams. The youngest one's body was not half bad. If she were a singer, she could receive much applause. Nuri feigned a smile so that the women's hearts would not be

¹¹³⁰ Ibid., p. 58.

¹¹³¹ Ibid., pp. 58, 59.

broken. His relative realized that he did not like any of them and said that they could go if he did not like them. He was at a loss for words. Of course, he did not like them. However, it was not easy to say this explicitly. Those women were also people. They also had honour and pride. They also wanted to be liked. Moreover, it was raining outside. Even though it was not comfortable, they were in a hot room. “No problem” he said whisperingly to his friend. His friend whispered in his ear again: The body of the woman who was sitting next to the radio was not bad. If he wished, they could keep only her.¹¹³²

Nuri nodded his head. They bargained with the owner of the house and compromised on thirty five liras for three hours. Drinks and appetizers were included in the price. They gave the money to the woman. Then they went into the room again and sat next to the radio. Setting the table took up time. After the table was set, the phonograph started to play the songs of Necmi Rıza and Safiye Ayla. The charwoman brought five or six bottles of beer. The owner of the house did not allow drinking raki in her house. They finished their beers before one hour. The woman was half tipsy. She performed a belly dance. In actuality, the beers did not influence any of them enough. Therefore, they could not have enough fun. After two hours, they still did not get drunk. They were continuously playing dance music on the phonograph.¹¹³³

Meanwhile, the whore got rather drunk. She was singing along to the songs played on the phonograph. His relative was dancing with her. On the other hand, he was warning Nuri and the woman that they were running out of time and that he would go out if they wished. Nuri was sitting next to the woman. He also took off his jacket and started to

¹¹³² Ibid., pp. 59, 60.

¹¹³³ Ibid., p. 62.

dance with her. When they came near the bed which was occupying a third of the room they lied on it. The relative immediately left the room. The phonograph went quiet. Nuri and the woman started to have sex. However, this was a weird form of sex. Nuri was trying not to kiss the woman on her lips. He was disgusted by her and was scared of catching venereal diseases.¹¹³⁴

She pointed at the door for a moment and shouted "oh, reprobates!" The narrator's relative and the women were watching them. She turned off the light. Squeaks of the bedspring mingled with the laughter coming from the hallway. Nuri's eyes had still not gotten used to the darkness. He trembled when the lips of the woman stuck to his. It was too late. He could not avoid kissing. The woman had probably not had sex with any boy who she really desired for a long time. The woman's smell of sweat and her hair which she must have not washed for weeks, disgusted him. The smells of sweat and unpleasant perfume mingled with each other so dirtily that Nuri was nauseated. The strong smell did not disappear even for a second. The woman was unaware of her heinousness. She was continuously trying to stimulate Nuri while he was trying to resist. At the same time, sounds of songs were heard from the hallway. Nuri understood from the laughter that the old charwoman and his relative were dancing.¹¹³⁵

After they made love, the woman crashed on the edge of the bed. She was breathing deeply and snoring. Nuri rapidly got dressed. He went out from the room and went down the stairs fast. His relative did not understand what happened, but followed him. As soon as they went out, Nuri started to take deep breaths. He wanted to purge the dirty smell of

¹¹³⁴ Ibid., pp. 62, 63.

¹¹³⁵ Ibid., pp. 63, 64.

sweat from his lungs. They passed by muddy narrow streets without speaking. His relative could not restrain his curiosity and asked with the derisiveness of a worldly-wise elder brother why he was going sour. Was the girl bad? Nuri was unable to speak. He was “contaminated” by that dirty smell all around. He wanted to go to a bathhouse. When he went out to the main street, he expectorated and spat angrily on the pavement. He spat over and over. As long as he spat, it was as if that dirty smell was moving away from his body. He spat, disgusted even by himself. It was still raining on the asphalt of Tarlabası.¹¹³⁶

In *Gecenin Üçü* by Naim Tirali, Tarlabası was mentioned as a space where groceries selling alcohol could be found throughout the night. Now, thanks to *Tarlabası Asfaltına Yağmur Yağıyordu*, we can understand more clearly why Tarlabası was a lively quarter at night. It was the centre of brothels in Beyoğlu. The brothel in the story was a small wooden house furnished tawdrily. I mentioned in the third chapter with reference to Giovanni Scognamillo that young males of middle class origins went to cheap brothels in Tarlabası. The narrator and his relative also went to such a brothel in Tarlabası. It was on one of its muddy and narrow streets. The avenue was asphalted in Tarlabası, but its side streets were still neglected and muddy since the second half of the nineteenth century.

When Naim Tirali’s stories are compared to other writers of the 1940 generation, it is indisputable that he narrates young people challenging the morality of the petty bourgeoisie. Moreover, his choice of character and space indicates that he knew very well the life on the side streets of Beyoğlu. He treated this lifestyle in meticulous detail, down to even the character’s feelings of disgust. As in Tirali’s other brothel stories, the

¹¹³⁶ Ibid., pp. 65, 66.

name of the protagonist was Nuri. As will be further seen below, the characters were inexperienced and naïve young males in these brothel stories. For example, in this story, the protagonist could not refuse the whore, for fear of breaking her heart.

Naim Tirali's brothel stories are different from his other Beyoğlu stories to some extent. In these stories, the characters' feeling of disgust in brothels is underlined very forcefully. In *Tarlabaşı Asfaltına Yağmur Yağıyordu*, the narrator was using some traditional themes. For example, Nuri went to the brothel with his relative from the province. His relative was accustomed to the brothel environment. However, this environment made Nuri disgusted as a naïve young boy from the province. In Tirali's other stories whose spaces are other entertainment venues of Beyoğlu, young characters are more self-confident. On the other hand, in the brothel stories, the characters were quite diffident. Firstly, brothels were places where people revealed their most private drives. Their diffidence might be seen as normal, considering the nature of brothels. However, their diffidence was not only stemming from finding the environment strange. As told earlier, their diffidence was accompanied by a feeling of disgust. The naivete of young people stemming from their provincial roots, intellectual backgrounds, and the atmosphere of a brothel prevented them from sufficiently enjoying themselves in brothels. Postwar middle class youth thought that they could pass beyond the boundaries of petty bourgeois morality. However, when brothels and whores who were the most disadvantaged group of the society were at stake, their attitudes probably changed, as seen in Tirali's stories. His stories whose spaces are brothels make an impression on the reader that the only rational way of fulfilling sexual drives was through the petty bourgeois family even though he did not have the goal of giving such a moral message and the story was written in a very explicit tone.

Despite this unintentional moral message, such an explicit narration about what happened in a brothel was rather new in Turkish literature and the narrator could apparently describe a brothel environment without trepidation thanks to the freedom in the 1940s allowed for writing on non-social themes.

Another story by Naim Tiralı whose story space is a brothel is *Arka Sokak* (Back Street). The story begins with the sentence “there was a war in the world”. The light of the city was masked. Streets were dark. The Grand Avenue became desolate at early hours of the evening. People got a roof over their heads as soon as possible. Coffeehouses were filled with a boring and dirty air. There were more police and soldiers than customers in music halls and bars. The city lost its charm. The avenues, which had been brilliantly lit before, disappeared within darkness. Those who had to obligatorily go out were using small electric torches. Only these electric torches and cigarette embers were seen in some nights on the streets.¹¹³⁷

The schools would be opened after few days. Nuri and his friend progressed to the last grade of high school. They believed that all the pleasures and entertainment of the world would be served to them only a year later. However, they had to wait one year for these dreams to come true. At the moment, they had a week off. When they returned to the dormitory, everyone would tell of their love adventures. They needed to have something to tell as well. They paid the bill of the hotel as they left at daytime. They intended to find women and stay in their houses. They would not return to the hotel. They had heard such stories from their

¹¹³⁷ Ibid., p. 41.

friends. For this reason, they thought that they would never suffer from inexperience.¹¹³⁸

However, they could not find what they expected. Firstly, they could not see any woman on the street. Both of them were inexperienced in these things. Then they realized that finding a girl by this way was impossible. They decided to go to a patisserie which was the stomping grounds of whores. They ate one cake apiece at this patisserie and looked at the madam who was working there suggestively. There were a few women around. Maybe the madam would bring two of those women to them. However, she did no such thing. Nothing they expected occurred. Nuri felt bored and started to think that everyone was watching him and his friend.¹¹³⁹

“Let’s go” he whisperingly said to his friend. All the women had gone out anyway. Besides, who were these men? The place was “full of buggers and assholes.” His friend said that he was being very childish. He sweated profusely due to heat and boredom. He told him that he had it with women and said “let’s return to the hotel”. Maybe they could find an empty room. He stood up decisively. When they went out from the patisserie, Nuri was not keen to return to the hotel. The hot air, darkness, hot-blood of an eighteen year old and dreams led him to shuffle. He could not go to the hotel to sleep quietly. Nuri offered his friend to go to the “back-street” and spend the night in a brothel. His friend said that Nuri could do whatever he wanted but, he would return to the hotel.¹¹⁴⁰

They turned to a side street from the Grand Avenue. This street was *Kırmızı Fener*, which was famous for its brothels. It was very crowded,

¹¹³⁸ Ibid., pp. 41, 42.

¹¹³⁹ Ibid., p. 42.

¹¹⁴⁰ Ibid., pp. 42, 43.

maybe the most crowded place of the city in that hour. His friend had gone to the hotel. Nuri went into a brothel. There were three women and a few men at the waiting room. He asked the fat and old madam which woman was available. She showed a woman who was sitting at to the side. He nodded his head in the affirmative.¹¹⁴¹

They asked for cash payment. He gave them sixteen liras for the night. It was midnight. He went down to a room at the ground floor. There was nothing except a double bed, a wardrobe, and a cloakroom in the room. This brothel was referred to as Hollywood by some of its visitors. Nuri understood why. Its walls were covered by posters and photographs of American cinema stars. His friends who told their stories of brothels said that he should beware and not engage in rakishness alone. If a man were to pop out of the wardrobe, he could be raped. For this reason, shortly after he went into the room, he opened the wardrobe and looked inside. Then he observed himself in the mirror of the cloakroom. His newly grown body was looking more stupendous than the way it normally appeared. His glances were mixed with a naïve pride and arrogance. While he was watching himself in the mirror, the door opened and the woman entered.¹¹⁴²

He was very excited. For the first time, he would spend his entire night with a woman. He had paid sixteen liras and was expecting to be hosted kindly. While Nuri was thinking along those lines, the woman asked him why he had not taken off his clothes already. He asked why she was in a hurry; they had more time. The woman said that she could not deal with him and would go to sleep. Nuri was very astonished but could not say anything. The woman took off her wrapper and went to the bed,

¹¹⁴¹ Ibid., p. 43.

¹¹⁴² Ibid., pp. 44, 45.

wearing a long nightshirt. She pulled the quilt over herself. Nuri took off his clothes. He got under the quilt. Firstly, he touched his feet on the legs of the woman. The woman turned her back on him. He felt the big butt of woman and a warm shiver went up his body. He turned the woman to face him. The bedspring squealed tastelessly for a short span of time.¹¹⁴³

They lied down on the bed again. Since the room was at the ground floor, they could not open any windows. The weather was hot. The room smelled bad. He could not breathe in the room. A mosquito was whining. Voices of drunkard men were heard from the street. He was getting progressively nervous. Since the woman was used to the bed, she immediately fell asleep. After 10 or 15 minutes, Nuri went near the woman again. The woman sleepily told him what a randy boy he is and that he should wait for the morning. Since his randy customer was not keen to sleep, she accepted to have sex once again without forgetting to add that this was the last time.¹¹⁴⁴

The bedspring squealed a second time for a short duration. A dirty smell of sweat pervaded the air of the room. The woman put on her panties and said in a decisive tone that this was it, no further. Nuri nodded his head in the affirmative. He came near the woman and tried to kiss her on her lips. She reprehended the boy, asking what he was doing. Nuri could not stand it anymore and protested angrily that it was enough already, and that surely kissing was not also forbidden. The woman gave a calm answer to her inexperienced customer. She was ill. Had he not understood that from her fever? Nuri tried to make light of the matter and told her her fever was better. "What a stupid boy" the

¹¹⁴³ Ibid., pp. 45, 46.

¹¹⁴⁴ Ibid., p. 46.

woman said. She had tuberculosis and was spewing bacteria. What a poser woman, he thought. However, he had concerns about the woman's words. Why would she lie? She could reject him directly.¹¹⁴⁵

The woman went to sleep again. Nuri started to pace in the room. He put on his necktie and went toward the door. However, he could not go out. What would he do if he went out, he thought. It was probably 1 a.m. If he went to the hotel at this hour, he would be embarrassed in front of his friend and mocked by his other classmates later. However, he could not sleep near this woman either. He was biting his lips to avoid crying. He paced up and down. He collapsed into the single chair toward the morning like a sack. He heard footsteps of patrols on the street and then he fell asleep, while the woman was snoring.¹¹⁴⁶

The protagonist's name was Nuri, just as in *Tarlabaşı Asfaltına Yağmur Yağıyordu*. In this story too, Nuri abhorred the smell of sweat and the illness of the woman. In both stories, Nuri was disgusted by the end. The protagonist's name is noticeable for its similarity with the author's name, Naim. It also consisted of four letters and began with the letter N. Furthermore, in his story *Gecenin Üçü* too, the protagonist and his friend were tired and bored. In short, male characters would be disgusted by women and be tired and bored at the end of the night. Another element common to *Arka Sokak* with *Gecenin Üçü* was the characters who wandered all night in the Avenue to satisfy their sexual drives. They were different from *flâneurs* wandering in the streets of the city. The *flâneur* wandered in the city to observe and watch people. However, these young males wandered in the streets to satisfy their drive, neglecting everything else except their instincts. In both *Tarlabaşı*

¹¹⁴⁵ Ibid., pp. 47, 48.

¹¹⁴⁶ Ibid., p. 48.

Asfaltına Yağmur Yağıyordu and this story, the characters got disgusted by the brothel, presenting the reader with a “dirty” image of it. However, they did not do this with moral motives. Their disgust was individual. This was rather new in Turkish literature in the case of whoredom. In my opinion, this could be possible thanks to the rise of modernism and the decline of the conservatism of the supervisory generation.

I want to touch upon the brothel as a story space as well. Its decoration indicated how different lifestyles and entertainment cultures interacted with each other in Beyoğlu. Beyoğlu was famous for its cinemas and brothels in the 1940s. I mentioned some cinemas that whores waited in front of for customers. On the other hand, walls of the room in the whorehouse were covered by posters of Hollywood movies. The room lacked fresh air, sunshine, and it was narrow. However, they did not neglect to place posters of Hollywood movies on the walls. Whores also went to the cinema and were emulating the shiny life in the movies like almost all residents and visitors of Beyoğlu. Meanwhile, many people who came to Beyoğlu to a cinema were there to have sex with whores rather than watching the movie.

In Tiralı’s stories whose spaces were brothels, brothels were described as dirty spaces through individual experiences. Even though the narrator mentioned their “dirtiness”, there was no moral criticism made against brothels in his stories. At this juncture, I will touch upon stories in which brothels are told of as a part of a nostalgia for childhood and adolescence. Firstly, I will mention Oktay Akbal’s *Matmazel Mathilda*. The protagonist was the narrator. He saw Matmazel Mathilda in a narrow and bleak street for the first time. She was a red-hot Greek girl around seventeen or eighteen. While he was passing through interwoven and irregular streets with his school bag at his back, he saw her either at the window or in front of the door. Those houses and streets

were dangerous. At least, his school administration saw them as dangerous. While the narrator was studying in high school next to this “dangerous” street, the school administration forbade students from passing through streets at the bottom of the slope. However, students did not obey this prohibition. They preferred those streets to the rapid slope in winters and snowy weather. Moreover, it was interesting to pass through the street of “strange people.” While they were returning from school toward evening, they saw that plump and half-naked women were joking with each other in front of the doors. Some raving men and soldiers watched them. Students were also looking at those women with affection. They did not see these women’s job as a banal occupation. Some of these women made remarks at them. However, the majority of them looked at students with mournful gazes. At the entrance of the street, there were sellers of ice cream and bagels. Sometimes, they did not let the students go into the dangerous street. They dismissed students with swearwords. Sometimes the narrator came across a hot Greek girl with blonde hair. She was Matmazel Mathilda who had a place in his childhood memories.¹¹⁴⁷

He recognised Matmazel Mathilda after years when he saw her in a coffeehouse. Her hair was still blonde. However, the bloneness was faded and worn by then. Her lips were lip stucked but bloodless. Her face had disappeared under face powder. Her legs were looking like tiny shillelachs. He wondered whether she recognised him. She was coming to the coffeehouse alone each night to play bezique. She usually spoke in French, sometimes in English. When it was about to get dark, she appeared in the coffeehouse. She sat in a mat tabouret in front of the window and talked with a retired consul. She played bezique or chess with

¹¹⁴⁷ Oktay Akbal. *Bulutun Rengi*, Istanbul: Yenilik, 1954. pp. 36-38.

him. She was residing in a hostel close to this coffeehouse and working at a bar. However, none of the regulars of the coffeehouse including the narrator wondered which bar she was working at. Even the most womaniser among them did not see Matmazel Mathilda as a woman anymore. Sometimes, she would not come to the coffeehouse for days. The owner of the coffeehouse would say that the madam was probably ill. There were some rumours about her. According to one, she had come from Italy ten years prior accompanied by a Turkish trader. After a few years, the man had left her. She also started to sing in bars. Later, because she got ill, she lost all her beauty. The narrator did not believe in these rumours. He was very sure that she was born and raised in Istanbul. She was the person from his childhood.¹¹⁴⁸

At one point, the sixth fleet visited Istanbul again. Mathilda had not been coming to the coffeehouse for a while. When the American fleet came, her customers increased. Even though the Avenue was excited and flurried, the coffeehouse was silent and calm. They had been playing cards for hours. The streets were full of people who were overflowing onto the Avenue. American songs were playing on the radio as if to honour the American guests. A half-naked woman at the opposite window was showing herself to those in coffeehouse and passers-by. Just then, the glass door opened and Mathilda entered. She was cheerful and laughing loudly. She came to the coffeehouse with a tall American naval cadet around eighteen or nineteen. Both were drunk. The American boy was looking around stupidly. He sat at a seat. However, when he heard the song playing on the radio, he stood up to dance. After a while, he crashed down on the seat. Mathilda was uglier on this night than before. She had not seemed that ugly to any man in the coffeehouse before.

¹¹⁴⁸ Ibid., pp. 38, 39.

There used to be marks of her old good and beautiful ages in her navy-blue eyes before. Those marks were lost. She repeatedly said the following throughout that night: The boy named Jerry had invited her to America. He would marry her. He had a detached house with a yard in America where he was living with his mother and sister. His house was in a provincial city, as in the movies. Perhaps they would go on countryside trips. Couples often went on honeymoons in America. They would also do the same.¹¹⁴⁹

Jerry fell into a deep sleep. Mathilda shook him, saying "Jerry, honey." He opened his eyes. Mathilda made him wake up and gave her arm to him. They went out. The narrator did not say anything about them after they went out. He was imagining now how they were walking up to Mathilda's room via the noise stairs, her room, the colour of the room, and what kinds of photographs were placed in front of the mirror across which she combed her hair, put on makeup, and plucked her eyebrows. Probably those photos belonged to the youth ages of Mathilda who became famous in Beyoğlu in the 1930s as a Greek woman. While he was walking on the desolate bridge at midnight, he was thinking about those old photographs.¹¹⁵⁰

He remembered his youth days. He was as if a young boy and thirteen years old again. While he was playing football with his friends, their ball had slipped away to the street behind. He secretly jumped over the wall to retrieve it. He went down the road next to the dangerous street. He came upon a wooden house. The girl at its window suddenly smiled at him. Her hair was flapping in the wind. She pointed to him where the ball had gone. However, he forgot about the ball and started to watch

¹¹⁴⁹ Ibid., pp. 39, 40.

¹¹⁵⁰ Ibid., p. 41.

her. A Greek song was heard in the wind. He forgot about both the ball and his football mates. He did not hear the school bell either. At that point, a woman's yelling was heard from inside the house: Mathildaa.¹¹⁵¹

The story's main characters were the narrator and a whore: Mathilda. According to the narrator, an old whore who he saw in a coffeehouse in Beyoğlu was Mathilda herself who he had encountered while he was a high school student. However, there were different rumours about her. She might not have been the whore who he had seen while he was a young boy. However, the narrator was sure. As I pointed out in the previous chapter, Oktay Akbal had studied at the Private Fener Greek School. In this story too, the narrator was studying at the school closest to the Kırmızı Fener Street. That is, the story had biographical details out of Oktay Akbal's life. The old whore who he saw in the coffeehouse reminded him of his school days. The beauty of Mathilda was also left in the past, like his own beautiful old days.

When he saw the old whore in the coffeehouse, he was sure that she was Mathilda. However, he did not find her attractive anymore, just like everyone else in the coffeehouse. When she came to the coffeehouse with an American boy, the narrator also sorrowed like everyone else, only more so. The beautiful memory of his childhood was being defiled. The first story space was the coffeehouse where the narrator saw Mathilda again after many years. It was a Beyoğlu coffeehouse where women and men could go together. Mathilda could spend time there as a whore without being bothered. Besides, another whore was living across this coffeehouse and she sometimes solicited customers from the window. In short, it was a Beyoğlu coffeehouse in all senses. Another

¹¹⁵¹ Ibid., pp. 41, 42.

story space was the school of the narrator. However, he did not give further information about his school. All we know is that it was very close to the “dangerous street.” Then there was “the dangerous street” and other streets next to it. They were narrow and bleak streets which were found to be dangerous by petty bourgeois people. They were visited by soldiers, other customers of whores, loiterers, and curious young boys like the narrator. Mathilda was working in one of the old wooden houses on the dangerous street while she was a girl around eighteen or nineteen.

In this story, the narrator tells of his school days in the 1930s. As a young man in the 1940s, he longed for his childhood and adolescence days of the 1930s. Matmazel Mathilda had a significant place in his early youth memories. Contrary to Naim Tirali, he did not narrate his sexual intercourses with whores or adventures in whorehouses in this story. He narrated the place of a whore in his memories as part of a nostalgia for early youth.

As I said in the second chapter, the feeling of nostalgia for childhood and adolescence had an important place in modernist texts. In this story too, the narrator told of his longing for childhood through the figure of a whore. Young men of letters’ unhappiness shaped the story writing of the 1940s. In their unhappiness, their disengagement from the state elite and impoverishment played a key role. This story’s narrator was also an unhappy man longing for his childhood and adolescence. He did not explain the reasons for his unhappiness; however, when he saw Matilda with an American boy, he got disgusted by her.

The only thing we can say about the political ideas of the narrator was his dislike for American soldiers in Istanbul. He narrated the American boy as a man “looking around stupidly”. When he saw Mathilda with an American cadet, he felt disgust and thought that his beautiful memory

of childhood was sullied. In fact, the American cadets were not disliked men at the end of the 1940s and the beginning of the 1950s. American soldiers' visit to Istanbul was headlined in newspapers where journalists and authors of the "supervisory generation" worked. Shopkeepers and even whores, were pleased by their visits since they made more income during these visits. Beyoğlu livened up with their visits. In these years, only leftists (Marxists or left Kemalists) disliked American soldiers in Istanbul. Therefore, we can say that the narrator was a leftist or left-oriented young man. As a leftist young man, the causes of his unhappiness could be found in the socio-political atmosphere of the era and political power's oppression against leftists and intellectual young men.

Another story in which brothels and whores are mentioned along with a nostalgia felt for childhood and adolescence is *O Sınıf* (That Class) by Ziya Osman Saba. The narrator protagonist begins this story by talking about his classroom in Galatasaray Lycée. He wished to be in that classroom again. The windows of that classroom were usually open. When they went into the building, the garden of the school would be left to the doves. The noise of Beyoğlu, whistles of trams at the Galatasaray curve, horns of automobiles, and water gurgles in the Garden were heard from this classroom. The big clock was heard half-hourly in the Garden. Marbles of the Galatasaray Post Office, which was across the school shined brightly. Mattresses and sheets were taken out to windows of apartments across the school to be aired. The noises they made in the wind were also heard from the class. Tevfik Fikret's statute watched the doves in the Garden.¹¹⁵²

¹¹⁵² Ziya Osman Saba. *Değişen İstanbul*, Istanbul: Varlık, 1959. p. 59.

The narrator and his friends started the school as little children in shorts. However, they became young men, passing classes one by one. In the last year of high school, they became young men who paid attention to their clothes. They started to study in that classroom in the last year of the school. That classroom was at the leftmost edge of the school, which was for last-grade students. The main door of the school could be seen best from this classroom. One day, Atatürk came to the school unannounced. Students of this class saw him first. While writing those sentences, he was still remembering that day.¹¹⁵³

He finished high school and university and started to work at a bank. He came across some of his classmates while he was going to work each morning. He was aware that they were quite different people by then. Many of them held grand government seats. Some of them were lawyers or judges; some of them were professors; and some of them were doctors. He however, was wishing to come together in the same classroom again with his old schoolmates. That classroom had raised them into adults. It became second parents for them.¹¹⁵⁴

In the bank where he worked, all his workmates, including himself, looked like each other. They had similar educational backgrounds and were brought up in similar families. Hence, they could spend time together and hobnob with each other. Working in the same office and having similar educations and families were surely strengthening their bonds of friendship. However, there was one more bond among them. Their “common” wives also strengthened their bonds of friendship. On some days, as soon as they went out from the workplace, they rapidly crossed the Bridge, got on the Tunnel metro, and went to the famous

¹¹⁵³ Ibid., pp. 59, 64.

¹¹⁵⁴ Ibid., p. 65.

street in Beyoğlu. These “common” women lived in apartments in a narrow and shadowy side street of Beyoğlu. These houses could not be entered without a password. They learned this password in the workplace from each other. When they spoke this password, all the doors of the famous houses flung open for them. Touching the body which had been touched by another friend, kissing the lips which had been kissed by another friend, and tasting the same pleasure as his friends were a very extraordinary feeling for the narrator.¹¹⁵⁵

Sometimes, fresh graduates from his school would start to work at the bank where he worked. At those times, he would become very happy. Fresh graduates from the girls’ high school also started to work in the bank. However, girls were usually graduates of Erenköy Girls’ High School rather than of Galatasaray Lycée. He loved them in a different way. He almost fell in love with one of them after watching her for minutes while working.¹¹⁵⁶

The narrator gave the story the title *O Sınıf*. He started his story by describing his classroom in the high school. In the first half of the story, he talked about this classroom. In the rest of the story, he told of his workplace, his workmates, brothels, and whores. No event is told in the story. It is more like a collage of some of his memories. While he was talking about his classroom and school, he reflected his longing for his childhood and youth days as in all of his other stories. He used exaggerated expressions such as “second parent” for the classroom.

Atatürk’s visit was mentioned in this story, too. Haldun Taner’s story *Atatürk Galatasaray’da* was completely dedicated to the same event. In my opinion, they mentioned the same visit. Haldun Taner and Ziya Os-

¹¹⁵⁵ Ibid., pp. 77, 78.

¹¹⁵⁶ Ibid., pp. 78, 79.

man Saba had studied at the Galatasaray Lycée during the same years. However, Ziya Osman Saba was four or five years older than Haldun Taner. Haldun Taner was in a grade four or five years junior. He said that Atatürk visited the school while he was in 7th or 8th grade. Ziya Osman Saba said in this story that he was at the last grade of the high school during Atatürk's visit. That is, Ziya Osman Saba and Haldun Taner probably mentioned the same visit. In short, both stories were reproducing details from their real lives.

After he told his school memories, he started to tell his work and workplace memories. According to him, his workplace was a warm environment. People who had similar educational backgrounds and families could hobnob with each other easily. However, his longing for his school and adolescence days continued in this warm environment too. When a fresh graduate of his school started to work in his workplace, he got happy and very excited.

One of the Beyoğlu spaces mentioned in this story was brothels. Women working in these houses were common wives of all men in the workplace according to the narrator. This was a very beautiful and extraordinary experience which was strengthening the friendship bonds among them. This was reminding him of the adolescent spirit of sharing and days without prejudices. Sharing the same woman with his friends was not an immoral thing for him. However, at the same time, he was adopting a conformist attitude. He said this only in the context of brothels and whores. He did not extend this argument to other women.

In this story too, Ziya Osman Saba mentioned biographical details about himself. For example, he also worked in a bank after graduation in his real life. In a story in which he touched upon his real life, he narrated a melancholic character longing for his childhood and adolescence, which shed light on the author's real identity as well. As I said above, young

authors of the 1940s were more melancholic and introverted people because of the socio-political atmosphere of the decade. They were excluded, penniless, and viewed young men with suspicion. As a result, they were looking at their childhood and adolescence as innocent times of life, contrary to adulthood. This feeling of theirs was an element feeding the modernism of the 1940s. Authors or narrator protagonists of this generation were young men longing for their own individual pasts. This feeling was one of the main elements of modernist texts.

Another story in which whoredom is mentioned is *Tuş* (Pinning Down) by Haldun Taner. Contrary to the other above mentioned stories, whoredom is discussed in a socio-political context in this story which begins in one of the traditional quarters of Istanbul where everyone recognizes each other. An MP also had a house in this quarter. His son raped a servant girl in their house after which he dismissed the girl from it. The story begins with a discussion in the coffeehouse of the quarter. Male residents of the quarter discuss the situation of the miserable girl. Many of them were of the opinion that since the rapist was the son of the MP, they could do nothing. The narrator and a retired civil servant, Dilaver Bey, persuaded them to mount a struggle against this rapist.¹¹⁵⁷

Some dwellers of the quarter came together in Dilaver Bey's house in evening. They wanted the rapist to be punished through legal ways. Dilaver Bey made a plan to achieve this goal. Firstly, the girl would be taken to a gynaecologist and the date of the rape would be ascertained with gynaecological certainty. After that, the girl had to be sent away from the quarter, in case she might be drop the case under threats of the rapist and his family. Dilaver Bey's widowed sister would accept the

¹¹⁵⁷ Haldun Taner. *Tuş*, Istanbul: Varlık, 1951. pp. 3, 4.

girl to their house in Langa for a few weeks. Later, the rapist's other crimes would be determined and witnesses would be found for his crime of rape. After all the pieces of evidence were gathered, neither his father nor even the president could save him.¹¹⁵⁸

The next day, they would find two witnesses: Master Recep and washerwoman Gülsüm. Gülsüm saw Nesrin while going out from the home. The girl had pressed her handkerchief to her nose and was crying. Master Recep also overheard the rapist talking with his friends. He told his friends about how he raped the girl laughingly. After the witnesses were found, Dilaver Bey went to the police station. It was 4 or 4:30 pm. Dilaver Bey returned purple in the face from the police station. The rapist denied every accusation. Dwellers of the quarter asked what he had said. He said that he was not in Istanbul on that day. He had gone to İzmit for a football match. He found four witnesses to back him up as well. All of them said that he was with them the entire day. One of his friends asked "so, what now?". Dilaver Bey said that there were discrepancies in his statement. He had cornered himself with his own words. In short, it was not all bad. The file would be delivered to the court in two days.¹¹⁵⁹

However, such things happened within these two days that the case could not be tried. Firstly, the rapist's father came from Ankara. He started to struggle "like a roaring lion." The claims of the residents of the quarter were mere slanders to dishonour his family, according to him. The first result of his struggle was Gülsüm's withdrawal from the testimony. The other witness left the quarter. No one knew where he went. The father of the rapist said that his ancestry dated back to Lala

¹¹⁵⁸ Ibid., pp. 4, 5.

¹¹⁵⁹ Ibid., pp. 5, 6.

Şahin Pasha. He was a member of an honourable family. What would his son do with a servant girl while there were many available girls of his own social standing? This was a ploy by his political enemies.¹¹⁶⁰

Oddly enough, some different opinions started to appear among residents of the quarters as well. Someone said that it might really have been slander. Some others questioned how they could know that the girl did not lead him on. The narrator confronted them about whether their newfound agreement was because they were scared of the rapist and his father. When the narrator spoke as such, they retreated. They said that they were not scared of anyone. They only feared that their efforts would come to nothing.¹¹⁶¹

Dilaver Bey resisted to the end. The rapist's family was threatening him. Moreover, they would sue him for damages. Nonetheless, Dilaver Bey did not retreat. On the other hand, the rapist's family left no stone unturned, legitimately or illegitimately. They did not forget even to scale down their son's age in his identity card. Residents of the quarters including the narrator and Dilaver Bey gave up on pinning down the rapist's family. Even the rapist suffering a few consequences would be enough. However, this would not be possible either. At this time, the girl had fled the house of Dilaver Bey's sister. Even whether she had fled or was kidnapped could not be found out.¹¹⁶²

The narrator spoke with some of his lawyer friends, who said that even if the girl did not press charges, a lawsuit could be filed against the rapist. Their withdrawal from the lawsuit was false. However, Dilaver Bey gave in because of the timidity of his friends and the disappearance of the victim. He was so embarrassed by this fiasco that he did not come to

¹¹⁶⁰ Ibid., pp. 6, 7.

¹¹⁶¹ Ibid., pp. 7, 8.

¹¹⁶² Ibid., p. 8.

the coffeehouse for months. By the way, many different rumours were heard about Nesrin in the quarter. Someone said that they saw Nesrin in Beyazıt. She was working as a servant in a house. Another one said that she got engaged with a naval cadet. For another one, she was working in a coiffeur as a manicurist.¹¹⁶³

The narrator came across her in the Taksim Cinema's lobby in November toward one evening. She had changed very much and was dressed up smartly. The narrator asked her why she had run away. She looked at the narrator's face and smiled, torn. He saw her like that for the first time. Meanwhile, he noticed that she had very beautiful teeth. She said that she was sorry for upsetting Uncle Dilaver Bey. He asked the narrator to say hello from her to Dilaver. While they were speaking, a brunette boy with a black moustache arrived and she left with him.¹¹⁶⁴

He came across her the second time at Saray Patisserie in Beyoğlu. She had started to work in an operetta now. They would go on a tour to Anatolia. Later, she fixed her doe-like hazel eyes on the narrator's eyes clamantly and smiled, saying that he could come one day before she left: Sıraselviler, Çınar Street, 17. The narrator blushed, but he intended to go. However, he did not go on that day. Instead, he went there a week or ten days later, heavily drunk. He thought that if he went to Nesrin's house drunk, he would not feel self-reproach. However, he felt a strange anger inside. He wreaked his anger on the bed, the pillow, and the girl in his arms. Two customers were waiting when he went out from the girl's room. One of them was reading a Greek newspaper. His face was

¹¹⁶³ Ibid., pp. 8, 9.

¹¹⁶⁴ Ibid., p. 9.

pockmark. Another one tried to hide his face with his two hands when he saw the narrator. He was Dilaver Bey.¹¹⁶⁵

In the stories of Naim Tiralı, Oktay Akbal, and Ziya Osman Saba, all incidents took place around Beyoğlu. In this story, incidents began and developed in a traditional quarter of Istanbul, but ended in Beyoğlu. A poor girl without a family was raped and dismissed from the house where she worked. At first, she took refuge in an old woman's house in Langa. However, since she saw that the lawsuit process would come to grief and probably exhaust her psychologically, she fled this house and became a whore. For this reason, the story ended in Beyoğlu which was famous for whoredom.

The narrator protagonist was also a resident of the quarter. He probably frequently visited Beyoğlu. In two of these visits, he saw Nesrin and learned that she had become a whore. Later, he went to her house in Siraselviler to be with her. He went there, feeling ashamed of himself. However, the feeling of shame did not prevent him from going. Dilaver Bey also felt ashamed of himself; however, his feeling of shame also did not prevent him from going there. In this story, neither an inexperienced young boy's first sexual intercourse with a whore nor a whore's place in his youth memories were treated. To the contrary, the narrator analysed a philosophical problem about good and evil in human beings. At first, they helped the miserable girl for no reason, with no thought of personal gain. However, when she became a whore, they became her "customers". As is known, according to Marxism, human beings are neither good nor bad. Their goodness or badness is determined by social conditions and their class position. In short, he analysed this subject with his social realist approach. Although the son of an MP raped a poor

¹¹⁶⁵ Ibid., pp. 9, 10.

servant girl, he did not receive even a minor punishment because of the authority held by his father.

Lastly, I want to discuss the story spaces. The first story space was Nesrin's quarter. It was a small and traditional quarter where both rich and middle income people lived together and everyone recognized each other. The other main space of the story was Beyoğlu. Two specific spaces in Beyoğlu were mentioned: Taksim Cinema and Saray Patisserie. I mentioned above that whores went to cinemas and patisseries of Beyoğlu not only for fun but also to solicit customers. In this story, too, Nesrin invited the narrator to her house in Siraselviler as a result of seeing him at the cinema and patisserie. The last story space was the house in Siraselviler. He did not give further information about this house. Nesrin was probably working in this house with her friend.

In the story, the narrator protagonist was one of the characters of the story. However, contrary to many of the stories in this study, the story did not have biographical details implying that the narrator protagonist was the author himself. As in his other stories, the author was analysing social reality through fiction. He was both criticizing the hypocrisy of society regarding whoredom and the functioning of the justice mechanism. An MP's son raped a girl and could not even be put on trial. As the author, he tried to indicate that justice functioned according to class antagonism. A girl who had an immoral job according to public standards had only become so because of a rape committed by an "esteemed" member of society.

9. 9. 'Hacıağa's and Whores in Beyoğlu

In the previous section, I discussed stories whose spaces were brothels and subjects were whores. In the 1940s, there were women who had to prostitute themselves outside of brothels as well. In *Ana... Ana...*

(Mom... Mom...) by Afif Yesari, such a woman is described. A *hacıağa* was the other of the two main characters of the story. The story began with the sentence “the waiting room of the pier smelled like bachelors’ rooms.” It was a unique smell; a mixture of cigarette smoke, jungle mouth, and sweat. A man, sprawled in the waiting room, was looking flirtatiously at a young, short, and weak woman. The woman seemed uninterested in the man. However, if he were to speak with her, she would also speak with him. For a while, they spent time observing each other.¹¹⁶⁶

The man did not know how to initiate a conversation with the woman. Eventually, he took out a bunch of money from his pocket and started to count them out. While he was counting his bills, he was looking at the woman, cross-eyed. The liras were flowing one after the other. First, he counted the 10 lira bills. Then he counted the 5 and 2.5 lira bills. He folded the bills and put them back in his pocket. He took heart, looked at the woman, and asked in a confident tone and a very idiomatic language: Where are you from? (Nirelisin sen?)¹¹⁶⁷

The woman had a high pitched voice. She was from one of the villages of “Gayseri” (Kayseri). She was also speaking in an idiomatic language. The man laughed in a crisp tone, dandling his belly. He said that those from Kayseri are shrewd people and asked whether she was also shrewd. He believed that he said something important. The woman smiled embarrassedly. The man realised she was wet behind the ears. The narrator made his characters speak in an idiomatic language, but his characters from Adana and Kayseri were speaking with the same accent. The man asked the woman whether she was hungry. She said

¹¹⁶⁶ Afif Yesari. *Hafta Tatili*, Istanbul: Sulhi Garan Matbaası, 1954. p. 44.

¹¹⁶⁷ Ibid., pp. 44, 45.

that she had eaten in the morning. He told her that the time was 15:00. Had she not gotten hungry till that hour? They kept mutually quiet.¹¹⁶⁸

She was thinking about the money in the man's pocket. Firstly, she thought that he might give her a 10 lira bill. Later, she found 10 liras to be too much and imagined a 5 lira bill, turning it over and over in her imagination. The bulky man thought that since she saw the money, she would come wherever he wanted. Firstly, he thought of taking her to his house. However, his wife could have been there. Then he thought of taking her to one of his friend's houses. However, his friend was a bachelor. He might have also wanted to have sex with her.¹¹⁶⁹

He asked her whether she had a house. The woman said yes. However, it was very remote, in Edirnekapı. She smiled and asked why he asked about her house. He laughed and put his arm on her belly. "Let's get. Let's go!" She asked whether they would walk till Edirnekapı. The man said it does not matter. As soon as they crossed the Bridge, it was all aboard Edirnekapı. While he was saying these words, he was dreaming of the booze with the woman. The woman said that she had not eaten anything since the morning. It was better to take a taxi. However, she did not say anything since she wanted to play hard to get.¹¹⁷⁰

They crossed the noisy Bridge, desolate side streets, and bright avenues. It would soon get dark. While they were walking, the man sidled up to the woman, imagining lively bedroom scenes. He asked whether there was a grocery store there. The woman said that there was. The man said "let's buy raki and appetizers from there". He extended 2.5 liras out to the woman. The woman asked surprisedly whether she

¹¹⁶⁸ Ibid., p. 45.

¹¹⁶⁹ Ibid., p. 46.

¹¹⁷⁰ Ibid., pp. 46, 47.

could buy all of that with that money. He told the woman that she would buy raki with 190 kurushes. 60 kurushes were for appetizers. The woman accepted compulsorily, saying “your choice”.¹¹⁷¹

While the man was waiting impatiently, the woman returned with raki, cheese, pastrami, and half a loaf of bread. 2.5 liras did not afford all of these. She added some out of her packet. This was her last money. She thought of the money she was planning to get from the man. She would pay down some of her debts with this money. She would demand 10 liras from the man. This man was both rich and provincial. Since he was from the province, she was feeling an affinity with him.¹¹⁷²

The man asked, out of breath, whether there was still more to go. The woman said no, they had arrived. When she knocked on the door, it was opened by a male child between 8 to 10 years old. She told the child “you go and play in the empty lot a bit. Return after two hours.” The child went out from the home in the darkness of evening. After the child went out, the man and the woman went into the house, which in fact consisted of a room and a very small kitchen. Its floor was earth.¹¹⁷³

The man was hesitating about whether to go into the house. He feared that the woman might lure him into a trap. She said that he should come in and set a spell. She was not the kind of woman who he knew. After the man sat down, the woman set the table. When the appetizers on the table were half finished, the woman was still hungry. Most of the appetizers were eaten by the man.¹¹⁷⁴

The drink made both of them speak as time went on. The man said that he was a butcher. The husband of the woman had murdered a man be-

¹¹⁷¹ Ibid., pp. 47, 48.

¹¹⁷² Ibid., pp. 48, 49.

¹¹⁷³ Ibid., p. 49.

¹¹⁷⁴ Ibid., pp. 50, 51.

cause he was jealous of her. After they had sex, the man sat on the chair. He thought that it was a nice adventure which might be told to acquaintances in the coffeehouse. However, he would smarten up this adventure while he was telling about it. He would say that she was an urbanite woman. She had sex with him not for money, but for pleasure. Her house was in Maçka. While he was thinking these things, he looked at the woman who was dressing and dreamed of her as an urbanite woman. The woman asked him whether he was pleased. The man did not reply to her question and asked to be excused. The woman asked about money. The man replied that she had had sex with him of her own accord. Moreover, he had covered the expenses of foods and drinks. The woman said that she did not have sex with him for pleasure. She also brought home the bacon. She had a child who she had to take care of. She was not accepting any excuses. She wanted her money. While saying these words, she desperately raised her voice. Therewith, the man also started to shout. "Look at me, bloody whore", he said. Why was she shouting? Now he might open the door and display her to everyone. She was playing an illegal game. Did she have credentials for prostitution? Who was to say that she did not have a communicable disease? Who cares about her child? Did he feed everybody's bastards? She should not insist! Or else, he would put the finger on her.¹¹⁷⁵

The woman now only hoped for him to go away without kicking up a fuss. The man shouted a bit more and left the house. She sat stalely. She was thinking about the situation that she was in. Her husband had committed murder because of jealousy, but she was prostituting herself. She had thought that prostitution was far from her. She could not even succeed at prostitution. She could be neither a good housewife nor

¹¹⁷⁵ Ibid., p. 52-54.

a prostitute. She did not know what she was anymore. She continued to think these kinds of things until her son knocked on the door, saying “hey mother”.¹¹⁷⁶

This was a realist story about the “*hacığa*”s. In popular newspapers and journals of the 1940s, “*hacığa*”s were described as rough men from the provinces who spent money inconsiderately. Besides, they were described as men who could easily be deceived in the city. In short, they were caricatured types of the popular press. On the other hand, a more realistic portrait of a *hacığa* was drawn in this story. The *hacığa* character in the story was provincial and rough, but not an “idiot.” Rather, he was a dirty and thrifty guy.

The story spaces were the pier under the Bridge and the woman’s house in Edirnekapi. The Bridge or the piers under the Bridge constituted a border for both the *hacığa* and the woman. Beyond the Bridge, i.e. Beyoğlu or Şişli, was a threatening, different world for them. For example, the woman wanted to prostitute herself to feed her child. However, she did not go to Beyoğlu where she could do this more easily. On the other hand, she could feel more secure around the Bridge since it was remote to her own quarter, Edirnekapi. Beyoğlu was the site of prostitution where no one would care about her. However, she thought that she could find provincial men looking like herself under the Bridge. For example, she trusted this man since he spoke like her and was from the province. He would not deceive her like urban men, she assumed. The man on the other hand could not find any whore in Beyoğlu. He was an extreme penny-pincher. Probably, he did not want to spend too much money on a whore. He could find a woman to work for peanuts near the Bridge.

¹¹⁷⁶ Ibid., pp. 54, 55.

Even though the war was not mentioned anywhere in the story, the post-war atmosphere shaped it entirely. *Hafta Tatili* (The Weekend) by Afif Yesari was published in 1954. Stories in this book including *Ana... Ana...* were written in the 1950s. In short, the story time was the first half of the 1950s. Characters were a *hacığa* who had prospered by way of the war trade and a woman whose family had fallen apart in the war and the post-war atmosphere. This man who was enriched under war conditions deceived a woman who was impoverished under the same war conditions and even though he had sex with her, he did not give her money. At the end of the story, the woman was in a great despair. She was neither a housewife nor a whore and on the brink of starvation with her child.

The story was a social realist work in both its subject and in its treatment of this subject. As I said in the previous chapter, Afif Yesari was a poor man of letters who had to live on temporary work given to him by publishing houses. As an intellectual labourer, he wrote a story depicting the mercilessness of the bourgeoisie enriched by way of the war and the despair of poor people that evolved around a daily encounter.

Another story in which a *hacığa* and a whore are told of is *Melahat Heykeli* (The Statue of Melahat) by Sait Faik. The *hacığa* character is a young provincial man. He is the son of one of the leading families in his town. He was the friend of the narrator. He studied in college for a long time. He learned languages and how to dress, to live, and to speak at those colleges. Later, he returned to the town and shut himself in his families' store. Something was not sitting right in him. He wanted to be a man who was different from his family. Towards this end, he left no avenue unexplored in Istanbul. However, he could not transcend his

family's roots. After two years, he got fat in the bureau. He turned into a lethargic man.¹¹⁷⁷

His family sought solutions to solve the psychological problem of their son. He was turning inwards and getting fatter by the day. Some goods were forwarded to Istanbul and some goods came from Istanbul to the store. The safe box of the store was filling with money. However, the young man forgot what to do with money. His merchant father decided to marry his son. Even the idea of marriage failed to save the young man from melancholy.¹¹⁷⁸

In the end, he went to Istanbul by the advice of a town doctor. He went to bars, taprooms, restaurants, and beaches. He toured Istanbul for a while and had good times. However, his melancholy started to intensify again. He would eventually marry a girl from his town and return to the town. This idea was saddening him. He was down in the mouth and started to get fat again. Meanwhile, he encountered Melahat in a bar. He told her about himself. He did not spend too much money for her. Melahat told him that she would get him out of this jam. He promised Melahat that if she saved him from this psychological problem, he would marry her. Melahat did not take this promise seriously; however, they lived together for one and half years. He saved himself from his melancholy.¹¹⁷⁹

After one and half years, he married a girl in Park Hotel. His wife was the daughter of one of the doctors in the town. Their wedding took place in November 1940, i.e., the first years of the war. He left Melahat in the lurch. She found another young fat man. The narrator's friend returned to the town and started to live a happy family life. According

¹¹⁷⁷ Sait Faik. *Bütün Eserleri 7: Alemdeğda Var Bir Yılan*, 2nd ed., Istanbul: Bilgi, 1976. p. 40.

¹¹⁷⁸ Ibid., pp. 41, 42.

¹¹⁷⁹ Ibid., p.43.

to the narrator, his friend should have erected a monument to Melahat in front of his balconied house. He owed his happy family life to Melahat.¹¹⁸⁰

The narrator took sides in this story. He defended Melahat against his friend. At the beginning of the story, the narrator's friend was a middle class intellectual boy from the province. However, he became a typical member of his class at the end of the story. The narrator was the friend of this young provincial man. They studied in the same schools. They had many common characteristics. However, the narrator, who was an educated but penniless short story writer who did not have a family life, felt closer to Melahat.

Beyoğlu had an important place in this story. Rıza lived for 1.5 years in Beyoğlu with Melahat. He left Melahat and his life in Beyoğlu, again, in a hotel in Beyoğlu. He married the daughter of a rich doctor townsman in Taksim Park Hotel. This was one of the biggest hotels of Beyoğlu and staying or marrying in this hotel indicated wealth and status. The marriage of a young rich boy was a sort of ceremony of his return to his class from the bohemian life in Beyoğlu.

In both *Ana... Ana...* and *Melahat Heykeli*, women were put forward as positive characters. On the other hand, *hacığa* characters were treated in a more critical manner as members of the bourgeoisie. However, *hacığa* characters were not treated as caricatured types in either story. In the first story, the *hacığa* character made it rich under war conditions. In the second story, Rıza's family was of the provincial rich; however, they would become richer still under war conditions. In short, in both stories, *hacığas* were treated through the socio-economic conditions which created them. Afif Yesari and Sait Faik were treating this

¹¹⁸⁰ Ibid., p.44.

phenomenon outside of cultural dualities put forward by the supervisory generation dominating newspapers and magazines in those years. Impoverishment of authors and disengagement with the bureaucracy led them to treat social phenomena in a realistic way, beyond cultural dualities.

As mentioned in the discussion on loiterature in the second chapter, loitering can be seen as a bohemian break in people's lives. Some petty bourgeois young people were suspending the morality and value judgements of their petty bourgeois families in their studentship and youthhood eras. While Rıza was a student in Istanbul, he had such years. When he returned to his hometown, a feeling of melancholy took hold of him. His second loitering phase in Istanbul when he lived together with Melahat for 1.5 years was a preparatory stage for petty bourgeois family life. When this preparatory stage ended, he left Melahat mercilessly.

9. 10. A Different "*Hacığa*", Beyoğlu, and a Young Woman

The popular representation of a *hacığa* was a rude provincial Turkish man in the Turkish press of the 1940s. However, we will now see, thanks to the story *Beatris Mayvan* by Haldun Taner, that people conforming to the stereotype of the *hacığa* did not necessarily have to be Turkish. In this story, the author narrates a young Armenian man who made a fortune out of nothing, but who married an "ugly" woman to be able to move up the social ladder.

To briefly summarize the story, Osep Mayvan was a grey haired man with a walking stick. He had studied at Paris, travelled the world, and even hunted lions in Africa like European lords while his father was still alive. When the Constitutional government was proclaimed in 1908, he returned to Istanbul and wrote political articles in Armenian newspa-

pers. Afterwards, he worked as a French teacher in Armenian schools. Lastly, he became an insurer and a very rich man making a lot of money in the insurance sector. He had wide plots of land near the Maslak road, a commercial building in Galata, and apartments in Altınbakkal.¹¹⁸¹

His wife Şarlot Mayvan was also from a family which was no strangers to French culture. If she is to be believed, her mother's grandfather's aunt's husband was a colonel in Napoleon's army. Mrs. Mayvan was proud of this ancestry and saw her ancestors' fatherland as a second fatherland. She felt intimacy with the French and French culture. Whenever she found the chance, she visited her relatives in France. While she was pregnant, she went to France alone and gave birth to her child in the house of one of her cousins.¹¹⁸²

Mayvans had only one child: She called her Beatris. The family of Mayvan, who had the child at an old age, brought up their girl carefully. At twenty eight, she was prone to the arts. She could play the piano perfectly and paint. She received private singing lessons and made progress in this field. She could sing different arias skilfully, like primadonnas. She learned French at a very young age and furthered it speaking with her mother. When he went into *Dame de Sion*, she won her all teachers' approval. After she graduated from *Dame de Sion*, she also went to American College with the advice of her father for two years.¹¹⁸³

However, no man asked for her hand in marriage despite all her qualities. Beatris attributed this situation to her own finickiness and infused this conviction into everyone. Supposedly, since men knew how high she was flying, they could not venture to come up to her and ask for

¹¹⁸¹ Haldun Taner. *Hikâyeler*, vol. 1, Istanbul: Bilgi, 1970-1971. p. 45.

¹¹⁸² Ibid., pp. 45, 46.

¹¹⁸³ Ibid., p. 46.

marriage. However, the main reason was that her face was very ugly and her body was hairy. Although she was the single inheritor of a rich family and an educated girl, her ugly appearance was overshadowing all her positive features.¹¹⁸⁴

If her doe-like eyes and long and black hair were put aside, finding beauty on her face was impossible. However, she was so sure of herself that when people complimented her in pretence, she took it to be serious and felt proud. Sometimes she felt that her bachelorhood took longer than what she expected and twisted in the wind. However, her sorrow did not last long and her haughtiness outweighed other feelings again. Meanwhile, she always said everywhere, unnecessarily, that she would never marry. All men were egoists. None of them could be trusted. For her, the chevalier who would make her fall in love with himself was still not born. When asked what characteristics this chevalier should have, she replied that he should first of all be a gentleman. He should be tall and have green eyes. And then he should be a graduate either of Sorbonne or Cambridge. Although she feigned reluctance, everyone knew that she would marry the first man who proposed to her. The incidents that occurred soon afterwards confirmed this supposition.¹¹⁸⁵

Beatris met a young man called Jirayir Keklikyan. He was not a graduate of Sorbonne. He could not even complete the Armenian high school in Pangaltı. He was black-browed, red-cheeked, and chunky. He was like a middle scale trader in his appearance and all his behaviours. He was running a linen draper store in Mahmutpaşa and had a fifty percent share of a factory where cloth buttons were produced. Neither his oc-

¹¹⁸⁴ Ibid., pp.46, 47.

¹¹⁸⁵ Ibid., pp. 47, 48.

cupation nor his appearance resembled a chevalier. However, she fell in love with this young man.¹¹⁸⁶

One day, Mayvans went to a theatre play at the Şişli Armenian orphanage. Jirayir also came to their table. He kissed Mr. Mayvan's hand. He had been a student of Mr. Mayvan at the high school in Pangaltı. Mr. Mayvan invited him to their table and talked with him about past old days. Meanwhile, he twice asked Beatris to dance, out of courtesy. Afterwards, he kindly asked for permission to leave. After he left, Beatris became overtalkative and her mood completely changed. When she went to the buffet, she found her friend Ermin Berberyan. She asked questions about Jirayir to her friend trying to appear slapdash. Since this girl was in the organizing committee for the theatre play, she was recognizing all invitees. Ermin smiled at her lecherously and said that all girls ached to be with him; however, he had not been interested in any woman except a Greek girl in Tarlabası for two years. These words threw Beatris for a loop. All the enthusiasm of the young girl disappeared immediately. Her entire body was burning and she was overcome with anger. A feeling of emptiness enveloped her entire spirit. She wanted to slap Jirayir and tear off his clothes. On the other hand, she wanted to cry alone. Since Mrs. Mayvan was talking to her friends during that time, she did not notice her daughter's sorrow. When they returned to the home, she could not bear it anymore and fell into her mother's arms. She told everything while crying jerkily. Her experienced mother listened to the words of her girl and realized that her daughter had fallen in love with this young man. After she wiped away the tears of her daughter, she said they would look for a way.¹¹⁸⁷

¹¹⁸⁶ Ibid., p. 48.

¹¹⁸⁷ Ibid., pp. 48-50.

Jirayir Keklikyan started to visit the house of Mayvans one week later. Even though the tactless boy revealed that he accepted these invitations due to the offers of Madam Şaryot and Ermin Berberyan, the experienced mother prevented her daughter from hearing these words. Since Jirayir visited their house often, Beatris became so happy that she started to study in the Department of Housework at the Beyoğlu Girl's Art School. She set the dinner table with her own hands at evenings when Jirayir came to them. Jirayir did not leave his dreams thereafter.¹¹⁸⁸

Whether the diffidence of Jirayir was because of his character or the formidable ugliness of Beatris was not clear. Probably both factors played a role in it. However, Beatris did many things to cheer up Jirayir. She played various classical music songs and she looked at him deeply. However, Jirayir was not interested in any of it. Sometimes he gently asked her to play the piano and the young girl would proceed happily to do so. She played classical pieces such as the *Moonlight Sonata*. At such times, Jirayir dozed off, trying not to be noticed. How could classical music touch Jirayir the button maker... His entire music culture consisted of some popular French songs. When Beatris finished playing the piano, she tried to start a conversation about literature. She tried to talk about the novel *La Dame au Camelia*, poems of Musset, and works of Gide. However, when Jirayir gave short and meaningless responses to the words of Beatris, Beatris was obliged to keep quiet sadly.¹¹⁸⁹

Why did Jirayir come to their houses even though he did not feel anything towards Beatris? Some claimed that Jirayir came to their house because he felt pity for the girl who fell in love with him. Others claimed that he went to the house of Mayvans since he liked the modern way of

¹¹⁸⁸ Ibid., pp. 50, 51.

¹¹⁸⁹ Ibid., pp. 51, 52.

living in their house. Another group of people claimed that he went to this house since he liked to watch a servant girl working in it. Which of these claims was true was unknown. However, it was certain that even though Jirayir had become a regular visitor of Mayvans' house, he would give up frequenting their house shortly later.¹¹⁹⁰

However, what was expected did not happen. Certain political events shaped the fate of Jirayir and Beatris. The government implemented a wealth tax under the state of emergency during the years of World War II. Those liable who did not pay the taxes they owed would be sent to Erzurum to work. Jirayir first declared to the authorities that he would not pay this tax because he had spent all his cash money on an investment. However, he then thought that going to Erzurum in winter would be very hard for him. On the other hand, he still did not want to pay sixty thousand liras out of his pocket. Marrying Beatris, kissing her pimply face and hugging her hairy body appeared as the lesser of two evils. Mr. Mayvan would pay off his debt. The rich insurer had paid his own tax requirement on the first day anyway. When Jirayir married his daughter, Mr. Mayvan put a seventy five thousand lira cheque in his pocket. However, he did not make a fancy wedding for his daughter. In these circumstances, he did not want to appear as a rich man. After a short while, Jirayir got used to this marriage. He went to his blonde mistress in Tarlabası a few times a week to suppress his disgust for his wife. However, Beatris still did not notice his husband's cheating and was wallowing in happiness.¹¹⁹¹

As mentioned earlier, "*hacığa*"s were represented as provincial merchants in the popular media organs in the 1940s and 1950s. Therefore,

¹¹⁹⁰ Ibid., pp. 52, 53.

¹¹⁹¹ Ibid., p. 53.

we might not suppose Jirayir to be a *"hacığa."* On the other hand, *"hacığa"s* were represented as men who lacked manners and made a fortune out of nothing. He might be supposed a *"hacığa"* due to these characteristics. Contrary to widespread representations, the author treated the theme of merchants' lack of manners through a non-Muslim merchant in this story. This story was one of the few stories in which the Wealth Tax was mentioned among the ones I examined. In the story, how this tax influenced two young people's life was discussed. The tax was not criticized either negatively or positively.

Next, I want to discuss how Beyoğlu was represented in the story. I discussed in the third chapter the balls of Pera in the second half of the 19th century and claimed that this culture mostly disappeared in the 20th century. However, it actually survived in different forms to a limited extent. Jirayir and Beatris also met each other at a theatre play at the Şişli Armenian Orphanage. After Beatris met Jirayir, she started to study at the Girls' Art School in Beyoğlu. In short, I can claim that Mayvans were living in Beyoğlu and they were socializing in Beyoğlu and other Westernized quarters around Beyoğlu like Şişli.

They gave a lot of importance to education, like many non-Muslim families in the 19th century. Moreover, non-Muslim characters of the story were depicted as men skilled in commerce. Both Jirayir Keklikyan and Osep Mayvan were successful in commercial endeavours. However, at this time, their commercial activities were not supported by capitulations and were even tried to be curtailed by the state. The Wealth Tax was one of such obstacles thrown at them.

Since the main subject of this story was a marriage and Beatris Mayvan's love for Jirayir, I examined it under the topic of sexuality. However, sexuality was very implicit in the story. All we know is that Jirayir was disgusted by Beatris's hairy body and spotty face and was

going to a Greek whore in Tarlabası. Beatris was dreaming of a petty bourgeois family like the Mayvan family; however, her ugliness prevented her from finding a husband candidate suited to what she dreamed for.

In short, the author presented a portrait of Beyoğlu, complete with Tarlabası, elegant balls, and Mayvan's luxury house through the story of the Mayvan family and Jirayir. These spaces were used to communicate how the Wealth Tax changed the lives of two young people and enabled them to start a family. As in his many other stories, Haldun Taner was not the narrator protagonist in this story either. In this story too, people living in the city and interacting with each other in numerous ways in the capitalist economy were treated and how these numerous interactions shaped their lives was narrated with a Balzacian attitude.

9. 11. The Grudge of the Educated Men

Another story in which a woman marries a merchant is *Geçmiş Zaman Olur Ki* (When Past Times Become) by Haldun Taner. However, in this story, the woman prefers his young and intellectual boyfriend to a merchant. The story begins with the narrator protagonist seeing a "for rent" listing in a newspaper. This listing took the narrator away to past days. When he saw it, the Pendik seashore immediately visualized before his eyes. The mansion in the listing had belonged to the family of his childhood crush before. While they were children, they had sworn that they would marry each other when they grew older. Nothing could separate them from each other until they got married. And then, a provincial contractor asked for the girl's hand in marriage and all their dreams about the future were ruined.¹¹⁹²

¹¹⁹² Ibid., pp. 61, 62.

The narrator was deeply grieved because his girlfriend would marry. He had implored her strongly not to marry that man. He had offered his girlfriend to run away from Istanbul. He had promised her that he would provide for her, breaking stones or carrying loads if necessary. However, Mahinur was not the person she used to be anymore. She had changed within three days. She looked at the narrator belittlingly and said he was speaking childishly.¹¹⁹³

The narrator almost went crazy. He hardly contained himself not to slap her. He carried such a grudge against the sinister contractor who had an eye on his girlfriend that he planned to ambush him at night and to throw him down the slope next to the Bridge. However, he could not do anything. Mahinur married the contractor. Even though many years passed, he could not forget her. Whenever she came to his mind, he felt sad.¹¹⁹⁴

He read the listing almost twenty times and thought to rent this mansion for a summer. Thus, he could recall the pretty memories of the happiness which had been stolen by another man. He went out to the street like a somnambulist, got on the tram, and went to the application address in Fındıklı. The door was opened by a fat red haired woman. When they caught each other's eyes, the woman shrieked. She said "You? Oh my God! Am I having a dream?" She was dumbfoundedly looking at him and continuously asking whether he had not recognised her. She was his childhood friend Mahinur. The narrator was surprised how he had not lurched and fell down the stairs. Was this woman Mahinur? Her hair was dyed, she was jowly and fat, and her arms were covered in golden bracelets. How could such a woman be his past girlfriend? She

¹¹⁹³ Ibid., p. 62.

¹¹⁹⁴ Ibid., p. 63.

had been tall and graceful before, but she was stubby now. She had had a very beautiful voice, misty eyes, and mannerisms like a princess before. However, she was looking like a junkie now. He passed the listing wonderingly to the woman and asked whether her family had not sold the mansion in Pendik already. His old girlfriend said that her family had sold it; however, that her husband bought it back.¹¹⁹⁵

Then the woman invited him to the house. They passed through a hallway which smelled like roasted onions and went into a dark lounge. As she was opening the curtains; she asked whether she had changed a lot. Stuttering, the narrator said “no, on no account”. She was who she used to be. He added, making a superhuman effort, that she had even beautified more. She smiled and said that he also had not changed. His same kindness was still there. The narrator did not like her smile since she opened her mouth too much and her golden teeth were visible.¹¹⁹⁶

She talked about herself and her husband a bit. She said that they had moved about between Samsun, Erzurum, Adana, and Izmir. In the end, they had returned to Istanbul permanently. She spoke without interruption. How talkative she had become, the narrator thought. The narrator gave some short answers to her questions. In the end, he could not take it anymore and asked for permission to leave. She offered him to stay a bit longer. His husband would come soon. They could eat dinner together. The narrator thanked her and said another time. He took his hat and left the house. As he was leaving, the woman asked whether he would like to rent the mansion. He said that he had inquired for a friend. Mahinur said that since he was mediating, they may let his friend have it for 800 liras. However, the narrator was racing down the stairs

¹¹⁹⁵ Ibid.

¹¹⁹⁶ Ibid., p. 64.

three at a time. While he was going out the door of the mansion, a man was entering with a bag at his hand. Although he had difficulty recognizing the woman, he recognized his husband at first sight. He stopped and glanced behind at the man. He was grateful towards this man whom he had once upon a time wanted to kill. If he were not embarrassed, he would run after, catch, and kiss this man since this man had saved him from this meaningless woman. He owed his happiness to this man. He walked toward İnönü Gezi Park. He watched the newly budded out twigs of trees, the cloudless sky and dark blue waters of the Bosphorus in the Park as if he saw them for the first time. He wanted to run and shout to the surly old people sitting on benches and nanny nimrods who were knitting, "Smile and cheer up. Look, the sky is clear, the sun is bright, and life is very beautiful."¹¹⁹⁷

There were three characters in the story: the narrator, his old girlfriend Mahinur, and Mahinur's husband. Even though Mahinur's husband did not speak anything and was not described in the story, he was the key character. Mahinur and the narrator were two middle class young people who liked each other and who were living in mansions of their families in a remote village of Istanbul. They promised each other that they would marry in the future. However, a provincial rich man who liked Mahinur asked for her hand in marriage from her family and Mahinur accepted his proposal in the hopes of moving up the class ladder. The narrator had become a middle aged man, but he could not get over this trauma.

He came across Mahinur after years as a result of some coincidences. She acted very friendly towards him. However, he got disgusted by her new state and appearance. She gained weight; wore expensive, but

¹¹⁹⁷ Ibid., pp. 65, 66.

styleless clothes; and covered her arms in golden bracelets. Her house and probably herself smelled like roasted onions. Mahinur had lost her grace and beauty and had turned into an imitation of her *hacıağa* husband. The narrator was now grateful that he was not able to marry her. Before, he had hated her husband, but now he almost hugged him. At the end of the story, he went out from Mahinur's home, relieved, to İnönü Gezi Park. He did not say anything about why he chose to go there. However, as discussed earlier, Gezi was a calm and silent place occupied by children and their nannies in daytimes. He could stay there alone without coming across an acquaintance, watch the Bosphorus, and be with himself. He could watch the landscape among patters of tiny feet and think how lucky a man he was.

At this point, I want to discuss the position of the narrator protagonist within the story. As many other story characters examined in this study, the narrator was an educated man who was born in a middle class family. His educational background did not allow him to move up the social ladder. He felt unsuccessful in life even though he did not say this clearly in the story. His abhorrence of the rich but uneducated provincial husband and Mahinur who turned into an imitation of her husband resulted from this feeling of inferiority. The representation of the *hacıağa* family in this story had similarities with rather than differences from the representations of the supervisory generation. The middle class narrator elevated himself in comparison with the *hacıağa* and his wife. They were miserable rather than successful people in his eyes. The narrator felt pity and abhorrence for Mahinur. However, in terms of social criteria of success, he was still less successful than her. In the simplest terms, he had modest means and was bachelor, contrary to his old girlfriend.

Haldun Taner included himself in this story as the narrator protagonist, contrary to most of his other stories. The reader read Mahinur and her husband through the eyes of the narrator. Since Mahinur left him because of his lack of money, this caused a trauma in him and he tried to overcome this trauma by presenting Mahinur as a rude *haciğa* wife in the story. The World War II years had empowered both the young and middle aged literate people of Istanbul. In this story too, a young story writer's grudge against a woman who left the author for a provincial trader was treated.

A similar theme is treated in the story *Yitirdiğimiz* (What We Have Lost) by Oktay Akbal. This is also the story of the narrator protagonist's encounter with his old girlfriend. Oktay Akbal's narrator protagonist had also been abandoned by his girlfriend who married a rich trader. At the beginning of the story, the narrator protagonist came across his old girlfriend in one of the ferry piers under the Bridge. The narrator wanted to tell her that she had changed very much, but he could not. Instead, he said that she looked the same. In fact, white strands had appeared in the woman's hair; lines and wrinkles appeared in her face. Probably she had gone through a lot in the last ten or twelve years.¹¹⁹⁸

The woman said to the narrator that he had changed much. He thought that she was still as merciless as before. She was wondering whether he still loved her. But, for the narrator, when she was his girlfriend, she was like a child who was not content with the toys she had. She wanted all the toys so that she could play what she wanted. However, these toys were people. They could be neither reattached nor repaired when they

¹¹⁹⁸ Oktay Akbal. *Bulutun Rengi*, Istanbul: Yenilik, 1954. pp. 7, 8.

were broken. She played with all of them abundantly and consumed all of them.¹¹⁹⁹

The woman asked the narrator to tell her about himself: What was he doing? Where was he living? The narrator lit a cigarette. She thought that he had always smoked his cigarette in that manner. While they were friends with each other, she had gotten angry and mocked him for not knowing how to smoke. The cigarette in his hand looked like it would drop soon. After he lit his cigarette, he said that there was not much to tell: He was working and had been away from Istanbul for a few years. He had returned to Istanbul two months prior with his family. In reality, there were many things to tell. A lot had occurred since their last meeting. He had married, had children, loved his wife, forgotten his old girlfriend, and had not missed her for years.¹²⁰⁰

She was working at a company. She was still living in their old house with her family. Then she asked the narrator how his wife and children were. Were they happy? For the narrator, happiness had mattered in the past when time was spent idly. It seemed to him that he had married his wife accidentally. Maybe if he had married this woman instead, everything would have been the same again. Even thinking about the possibility of happiness was unnecessary. However, he could not say these words to the woman. He told her that he was, of course, happy. What about her? She was also happy. She smiled and thought that they were bullshitting.¹²⁰¹

Her eyes filled with tears. She turned her gaze to the waves in the sea. The Bridge seemed distant. The Beyoğlu side was reminding both of

¹¹⁹⁹ Ibid., pp. 8, 9.

¹²⁰⁰ Ibid., pp. 9, 10.

¹²⁰¹ Ibid., pp. 10, 11.

them of the Manhattan peninsula in movies. She said “look at your Manhattan”, pointing at Beyoğlu.¹²⁰²

The Galata tower, the Tunnel metro, inns, docks, apartments, ferries, tramp steamers, and trams were unaware of the passing of events and years. No one felt the flow of time. Time did not wait for human beings and places to notice its flow. Loves and hopes fell behind. The days when they had loved each other were probably beautiful. He wondered whether the woman had really loved him for even a short span of time.¹²⁰³

He threw his cigarette to the sea and said that he had missed Istanbul very much when he was away. She asked which part he had missed most in Istanbul. He replied the Bosphorus, ferries, the Bridge, Beyoğlu, and cinemas. “What else?” the woman asked. He said, of course, the people whom he loved.¹²⁰⁴ From these words, we can understand clearly that the narrator’s image of Istanbul consisted of the Western part, including the Bosphorus, Beyoğlu, its cinemas, the Bridge, and ferries. The Old Istanbul within the walled city did not evoke anything in him.

While speaking, he thought how meaningless the conversation was between them. He wished he had not come across her. Then, they would not have experienced this bad moment, at least. Their beautiful memories would not be polluted by this bad moment. She had been very much ruined. He had not imagined her as such. She had grown old. Maybe the woman thought the same for him. Meanwhile, she was thinking about other things. Why had she married her paunchy trader husband? The narrator who was sitting next to her was a slim boy who was living for

¹²⁰² Ibid., p. 11.

¹²⁰³ Ibid.

¹²⁰⁴ Ibid.

the sake of love. Why had she married that trader man?¹²⁰⁵ Indeed, poor intellectual men vs. rough, illiterate, and rich merchants were favourite themes in short stories in these years. Women fell in love with poor intellectual men; but married rich merchants.

Both the narrator and the woman were uncomfortable with their present conditions. They were continuously watching the sea. The woman suddenly asked him how old his children were. He said that one of them was four and the other one was one and a half years old. Which one did he love more? The narrator smiled, but did not say anything. The woman also realized what a meaningless question she had asked. To continue this conversation was unnecessary. The ferry had still not arrived.¹²⁰⁶

It was an Istanbul night with a red-hot horizon, dark blue sky, seagulls, small motorboats, and sounds of trains. Some people were whistling. The smiles of some others were very familiar, as if nothing had changed in years. However, something was lost. What was lost could not be easily understood. The woman said that she would catch the bus. She got up. The man was glad that she would go. He said goodbye and that he was very glad to see her. "Me too, good bye" she said. She seemed as before from afar. Her hair was flitting about. She was walking rapidly. Everything was as before. He wanted to call out to her. But he did not. What nonsense they had spoken. He could not find any meaningful word to say.¹²⁰⁷

His wife and children were at home now. What was real for him was this. This was daily life which consisted of going to work in the morning, returning home in the evening, dead tired sleep, and days without love.

¹²⁰⁵ Ibid., p. 13.

¹²⁰⁶ Ibid.

¹²⁰⁷ Ibid., p. 14.

That was all. What had passed had been lost. Longing for the lost things was meaningless.¹²⁰⁸

The narrator was a married man who had two children. He had a job and was a middle class man longing for his old loitering days. He had a life between the home and the job. He was not content with his new life, but did not actually seek a new one. He knew that he would not find any better life than the present one. Maybe, if he was married to the woman in the pier, he could be happier. However, this possibility was taken away by a *hacıağa* marrying his old girlfriend. He was not sure anymore about whether he would have been happier if he was married to his old girlfriend. One thing he was sure of was his longing for Istanbul while he was in another city. He had a boring and scheduled life between the workplace and the house. Hours when he watched Istanbul under the Bridge on a pier enabled him to suspend this schedule, which was a source of pleasure for him.

In Haldun Taner's story, the woman who had married a *hacıağa* was content with her situation. Because she turned into an imitation of her *hacıağa* husband, the narrator protagonist was also pleased he was not married to her. That is, both sides were happy in Haldun Taner's story. In Akbal's story, both sides were unhappy and a melancholic attitude shaped the entire story. The woman was unhappy since she preferred the narrator to her trader husband. However, the narrator was unhappy not only because a *hacıağa* was preferred over him. He was also not content with his present petty bourgeois family. On the other hand, he was not sure whether his life would change if he was married to his old girlfriend either. Life consisted of a circle between the workplace and

¹²⁰⁸ Ibid.

family house. If he were married to his old girlfriend, this vicious circle would not have changed. Nothing would be different.

The modern metropolis was also a mechanism revolving around the city residents' houses and workplaces and as mentioned in some stories whose spaces were the Bridge, the Bridge was the central point of this mechanism in Istanbul. It was the break-in point of people going to work and returning from work in Istanbul. Hence, that old friends came across each other under the Bridge was not a mere coincidence. The narrator thinking about the vicious circle between the workplace and family house was also not a coincidence. The Bridge was both the centre of this vicious circle (or mechanism) and the loitering point on this mechanism. At this loitering space, the person might speculate about themselves and their position.

The narrator protagonist's unhappiness was of a socio-philosophical kind. At the least, the narrator protagonist presented his unhappiness to the reader as a socio-philosophical phenomenon. On the other hand, the woman's unhappiness came as a result of her bad choices. That is, her act of preferring a "hacıağa" over an "an intellectual man" i.e., the narrator protagonist, was presented to the reader as a bad choice. The similarity of this story with Haldun Taner's was regarding this point. Perhaps the narrator was taking revenge on women who preferred rude and rich men to naïve intellectual boys. This theme was rather common in stories of the generation of the 1940s who spent their youthhood as poor and excluded intellectuals.

9. 12. Naïve Intellectual Young Men and Women

Above, I discussed a middle aged intellectual man's grudge against a woman who preferred a provincial merchant over him. Next, I want to touch upon stories in which the naivety of young intellectual men to-

wards women is treated. Firstly, I want to discuss *Takma Dişli Tanrıça* (The Goddess with Dentures) by Afif Yesari. A middle aged woman, who wore a very expensive fur, came to the dentist to get dentures. She was a bit bucktoothed. She probably did not know the pain which was felt by women of the Zulu clan in Africa while they were stretching out their necks wearing hoops. Having all of her upper teeth pulled out was no different from what women of the Zulu clan experienced.¹²⁰⁹

After her dentures were installed, she felt it up with her tongue. She asked the dentist whether it was strong enough. According to the dentist, she could chew even the most solid things. The woman went out from the dentist thinking how her young lover would meet her new teeth. Besides, she was thinking that chewing the most solid things was not the point. The point was to chew soft things. Just then, she thought, what if her dental plate displaced while she was kissing her young boyfriend? Even the idea of it was terrible. After such a scandal, much gossip would be spread by those who envied her. They would form sentences which would begin with “Hey, did you hear...” and end in laughter.¹²¹⁰

It was evening. Side streets going down to the Tunnel Square were foggy. The darkness and foggy weather created a sorrowful atmosphere at the Tunnel square. This atmosphere was also influencing melancholic young poets. The Tunnel looked like the Latin Quarter of Paris to the poet at that moment. Cathedrals appeared very stupendous among the fog, as was the case in Paris. The young boy was walking in Tunnel and

¹²⁰⁹ Afif Yesari. *Hafta Tatili*, Istanbul: Sulhi Garan Matbaası, 1954. p. 95.

¹²¹⁰ Ibid., p. 96.

murmuring a French verse. He was happy even though he did not have anything except a threadbare jacket and an attic room.¹²¹¹

The narrow streets prepared a surprise for both the young poet and the woman with dentures. They happened upon each other. As soon as they came across, a flash went on in both of their heads. The poet saw the love of his life in the woman. While the boy saw her as a goddess of poetry, she saw him as an object of experiment to try her dentures on. The bachelor room of the poet which had only a roof window filled with the scent of a luxury perfume. While the woman was kissing the boy, she was thinking that the dentist was right. Her dentures were durable. She could kiss his boyfriend without issue from then on. Her experiment was a success. They would not meet after this date again. The poet boy saw this woman for the first and last time. However, he wrote many poems for her and read them to his friends in drunken moments. The streets of the city did not make these two people come across again.¹²¹²

As seen, the story had two characters. One of them was a young bohemian poet; the other one was an upper middle class middle aged woman. The young poet did not own anything except his old topcoat and small windowless bachelor room. However, he was happy and idealised everything in his life. Even though he had many problems in his life, he wanted to find a girlfriend and poeticize her. When he saw the middle aged woman, he thought he found the love of his life. However, the woman only wanted to try out her new dentures. Because of his naïve personality, he could easily be deceived. He was a young and educated man. He spoke French and knew Paris well. However, he could be deceived by a woman who he saw for the first time.

¹²¹¹ Ibid., pp. 96, 97.

¹²¹² Ibid., pp. 97- 99.

I mentioned Naim Tiralı's story *Esnaf* (Craftsman) above. In that story, too, a naïve love poet was mentioned. Because of his naïve character, he could not speak to the girl in the cinema. In this story, too, such a love poet is narrated. Since he poeticized and romanticized all of his life experience, he turned into a naïve character. Some educated, young, intellectual, but penniless poets expressed themselves in this way in the 1940s. Except the Tunnel, no other space was mentioned in the story. However, the entire story took place in Tunnel and another spot in Beyoğlu close to Tunnel Square.

As seen in many stories in this study, young story writers were focusing on their own lives, poverty and problems in their lives in the 1940s. They reflected their own characters in their literary treatment of little men on the street. In short, a modernist realism in Turkish literature developed in the 1940s. Young authors who gave birth to this modernist realism were probably belittling their colleagues who focused on issues of romance and love. The belittling narration of some "romantic" and naïve poets in some stories might be an indication that there was a common attitude among young literators against their "romantic" colleagues.

9. 13. Emotional and Ridiculous Young Men

The romantic and poetical young man was not always belittled in this generation's and especially Tarancı's stories, even though they narrated the ridiculous aspects of their personalities as well. This attitude of Tarancı's can be seen clearly in his story *Âşık Adam* (The Man in Love). The narrator loved men who mentioned their loves and beloved ones very much. For this reason, he chose his friends from among these kinds of men. His friend Nejat was also such a man. He had graduated from

the department of law and knew finance and economics very well. However, he was at the same time very emotional and romantic.¹²¹³

While the narrator was walking toward Beyazıt from Sultanahmet, he saw Nejat in a coffeehouse. Nejat liked to tell his love adventures very much. The narrator went into the coffeehouse in the hopes of listening to Nejat's love adventures. After two friends embraced one another, the narrator sat across him. Shortly after they asked after each other, Nejat began by saying "have you heard?" The narrator guessed that he would tell the story of one of his love adventures. He answered "I have not heard" to motivate him. Nejat started to talk excitedly.¹²¹⁴

He had seen a girl at a ball who was with her brother and three sisters. Men who wanted to dance with her asked permission from her brother first. Only on the condition that they could get permission from her brother could they dance with her. Nejat liked the girl. He told his friends that he wanted to dance with her. However, he was not sure whether her brother would allow him. His friends hoped that when he got rejected by the brother, they would make fun of him. They said "of course, why would he not allow you?" He went to the table of the girl and her siblings to ask for permission from his brother. Her brother said that he should excuse her, she was tired. He looked at the face of the girl. He hoped to see in her a move against the decision of her elder brother. The girl understood his hope. She suddenly stood up, walked toward him, and extended forth her hand. Nejat believed in the existence of telepathy at that moment. It was as if she had understood what he thought.¹²¹⁵

¹²¹³ Cahit Sıtkı Tarancı. *Gün Eksilmesin Pencereyden*, 2nd ed., Istanbul: Can, 2006. p. 120.

¹²¹⁴ Ibid., pp. 120, 121.

¹²¹⁵ Ibid., p. 121.

They started to dance. She had a youthful and soft body and dark eyes shining with joy. Her name was Bedia. Nejat told her his name and occupation. He was working as a deputy inspector at the Ministry of Economy. Then, he suddenly proposed to her. She looked at him with astonishment. She found his marriage proposal impertinent, but did not say anything. They were continuing to dance. He broke the silence and asked the girl for a date. The girl said that she would inform him with a letter.¹²¹⁶

A month went by and Nejat was still waiting for the girl's letter. Each day, he watched for mailmen from the window. The mailmen came and brought many letters, but they did not bring Bedia's letter. On one Sunday morning, he was in his house listening to a record which his friend had sent from England. It was a slow foxtrot in English, but he did not speak English. He got his elder brother to translate it. When he read the lyrics, he thought that the lyrics had been written specifically for him. The author had probably fallen in love, like Nejat. He had also probably waited for a letter from his lover for a long time. The author said in the song that "one day, I will write a letter to myself from you." When he heard these words, he felt intimately close to the author of the lyrics.¹²¹⁷ In the end, he got fed up to the back teeth. He decided to do what was said in the song. He ordered his servant to get him an envelope and a piece of paper. Then, he wrote himself a letter from the girl. He addressed himself as "my everlasting darling". He said that since she had been travelling, she could not write a letter to him. In the letter, the girl was saying to him that she loved him very much. She apologized to him and invited him to "Haylayf", which was a café in Beyoğlu. The letter

¹²¹⁶ Ibid., pp. 121, 122.

¹²¹⁷ Ibid., p. 122.

was ending with the sentence “I am kissing you on your lips with longing.”¹²¹⁸

He folded the letter and enclosed it in the envelope on which he wrote his own address. He then put the letter in the post box in Beyoğlu. The next day, he asked his servant whether a letter to him had arrived. The servant said yes. He leaped with joy and ran to Haylayf at 4 pm. From that day on, he received a letter each week. The beginning and the ending of the letters were always the same. However, the places of meeting were changing.¹²¹⁹

The three main characters of the story were the narrator protagonist, Nejat, and Bedia who Nejat saw in a ball and fell in love platonically. Contrary to story characters examined in this story, Nejat was a middle class man living comfortably. However, he was living in an emotional void. He wanted to love and be loved. For this reason, he told fictional love stories to his friends. In the end, he also told the same stories to himself, writing fictional letters.

Beyoğlu was the space of his hopeless love affairs and fictional letters. He met the girl in the story at a ball. After he wrote himself a letter from the girl, he invited himself to a café in Beyoğlu. He posted this letter to himself from a post office in Beyoğlu. Cafés of Beyoğlu were the most suitable places for a first meeting with a girl anyway. Moreover, in Beyoğlu cafés, no one cared about a young man sitting alone and waiting for his imagined girlfriend.

The story focuses on a modern and very new theme especially for the 1940s. It treated the middle class individual’s loneliness and the need for being loved. This need is the main factor in starting petty bourgeois

¹²¹⁸ Ibid., pp. 122, 123.

¹²¹⁹ Ibid., p. 123.

families in modern societies. In the story, Nejat's fictional relationship with women was not treated within a philosophical and sociological theme such as the East vs. the West, nor was it used to indicate a socio-philosophical theme. Nejat's fictional or real relationship with women was important in itself. This attitude was rather new for the Turkish literature of the 1940s.

After Nejat's fictional letters, Cahit Sıtkı treated a telephone conversation which the narrator protagonist saw in his dream in *Telefonda Bir Konuşma* (A Conversation on the Telephone). This story is in the form of a dream of the narrator protagonist. While the narrator was lying in his chaise longue in the yard of his mansion in Suadiye, the phone rang. The female voice on the telephone asked to speak with Cahit Sıtkı Bey. "It's me, go on" he said. The woman on the telephone said that she wanted to apologize. After he said not at all, he asked with whom he was speaking. She did not tell her name, but said that he knew her well. She even said that he had once fallen for her. He was very surprised. They continued to speak for a while. Cahit Sıtkı strived to learn her name. However, she continued not to say anything about herself.¹²²⁰

Cahit Sıtkı started to get angry. His anger was amusing the mysterious woman on the telephone. She could not bear his insistence. However, before she told her name, she asked out of the clear blue sky whether he liked trams. He said that he was riding the tram because of necessity. He had never thought about whether he loved trams. She continued her questions about trams and asked what he did when he saw a beautiful woman on trams. Because he had gotten angry, he answered her question deridingly, saying that if she was as beautiful as her, he would cease standing across her. The woman burst into a demonic laughter.

¹²²⁰ Ibid., pp. 56-59.

And then she asked one more question about whether he liked crowded or empty trams. Of course, he hated crowded trams as did every Istanbulian. Cahit Sıtkı interrupted her and asked why she wanted to apologize.¹²²¹

One day, Cahit Sıtkı was walking with one of his friends on the Bridge toward 4 p.m. She was on the tram, sitting alone in the wagon. She looked at him involuntarily. Probably she smiled a bit. The narrator sought such a woman in everything and everywhere. Besides, her smile encouraged him. He sold out his friend and jumped on the tram. While he was going into the tram, he was twittering because of nervousness. He said “bonjour” and asked for permission to sit next to her. She did not allow him, wanting to act cautious. He sat behind her. He told her that he had loved her with a great patience for five years. He had many things to speak with her and offered her to get off of the tram and drink something. She did not accept this offer. The tram reached Ortaköy. The girl got off from the tram. She told him goodbye and that they might speak when they came across on the tram. She did not refuse him completely. However, he got very angry. He did not tell her good bye. After that day, whenever they saw each other, he neither looked at nor greeted her. She wanted to apologize to him for this reason. He was elated when he heard that. He said “you...”, but could not continue his words. When he awakened, he recognised that everything was a dream and he was nestling the rails of the bed.¹²²²

In this story, a young man who lives in a mansion in Suadiye and a young woman who lives in Ortaköy are narrated. The characters of the story are two middle class people. Cahit Sıtkı used his own name in the

¹²²¹ Ibid., pp. 59, 60.

¹²²² Ibid., pp. 60-62.

story; however, he narrated himself as a middle class man who lived in a mansion in Suadiye. Perhaps he was longing for such a life. In the story, he had been carrying a torch for a young woman for five years. Nevertheless, he could neither meet with this girl nor tell her his feelings. He could come across her on the Bridge which was the most central place of the city and the centre of encounters.

In this story too, a relationship between a woman and man, or to be more precise, a man's platonic love was treated. The characters were a petty bourgeois man and woman. The man's love for the woman was not signifying any other thing beyond itself. As I said above, even though Cahit Sıtkı used his own real name in the story as the narrator protagonist, he told of a different life than his own. The narrator protagonist was living in a mansion in Suadiye. However, even though the real Cahit Sıtkı Tarancı was born to a middle class family, he was not living a middle class life as an adult male. He was a petty state official writing poems and stories.

The story has two layers, so to say; one of them is a middle class man's pursuit of love and the other one is a poor literator's subconscious longing for a middle class life. Both of them were new themes in the literature of the 1940s. The impoverishment of the young literator was rather new and as told earlier, it was treated in many stories examined in this study. Love affairs were also easily treated in 'high' literature in this period. Both themes can be deemed a result of the rise of modernism in the 1940s.

At this point, I will touch upon another story by Cahit Sıtkı which is also about a love affair: *Yadigâr* (Keepsake) by Cahit Sıtkı Tarancı. However, the feeling of regret rather than platonic love is underlined in this story. The story begins with the sentence "twelve years had passed." However, the narrator remembered that day very well. He had skipped the

lecture in the university. It was an autumn day which filled one with melancholy. He sat in one of the coffeehouses of Beyazıt till noon, read newspapers, and yawned abundantly. After he ate his lunch, he went out to Beyoğlu. On this autumn day; streets, squares, and parks were very ugly. Therefore, he decided to go to the cinema. He looked at the posters of all the cinemas from Taksim to Galatasaray. At last, he liked a movie in Melek Cinema. Its name was *Sevmeden Yaşanmaz* (A Life without Love is Impossible). The cinema theatre was not crowded. He sank into a downy seat. The seat was very comfortable. Everything was suitable to sleep. However, the movie attracted his attention very much. It was a romantic and an adventurous movie.¹²²³

Shortly after the beginning of the movie, some people entered the theatre. They were late. After they sat in their seats, the narrator started to sense a smell of tobacco. Since he had not smoked until that age (twenty one), the smell of tobacco disturbed him very much. He even avoided sitting next to smokers on trains and ferries. He even chose his friends in school from among non-smokers. This smell prevented him from watching the movie comfortably. After a while, he started to seek the source of the smell. The tobacco smell, which he had never liked until that day, started to give him pleasure. However, he had to wait till the interlude in order to find its source. During the interlude, he looked around and sought the source of the smell. He found it after a short span of time. A girl was sitting in the next row six seats left of him. The fact that this girl smoked was unbelievable. However, the smell was coming from her. While the narrator was trying to be sure whether the smell was coming from her, the second half of the movie began. He en-

¹²²³ Ibid., p. 171.

sconced himself in the seat and let himself go. He was surprised how fast the movie went by. Probably, he had fallen asleep.¹²²⁴

When the movie finished, the audience got out of their seats. They were exiting from the left side. The girl was in front of him. He was very surprised. The tobacco smell was coming from this beautiful girl. He looked at the young girl carefully. She was very beautiful. However, her poverty could be understood from her clothes. He wondered why she smelled like tobacco. When they went out from the cinema, the narrator could not stand it anymore and approached her. "Excuse me, I want to ask you a question. You will save me from a curiosity" he said. She said "you're welcome." He told everything from the beginning to the end. They walked toward Taksim. The narrator offered her to go to a patisserie. She accepted on the condition that they would not stay too long. In the patisserie, she asked him whether he liked the tobacco smell. He said that he had not liked it until that day. The girl interrupted him, saying that she was a tobacco worker. That's why she smelled like tobacco, like all her workmates. She asked him whether he smoked. He had never smoked. She took out a rollie from her cigarette tin and passed it to him, saying "for my sake." How could he reject a cigarette offered by such a nice girl? However, he coughed and got watery eyes from the first puff he drew. Meanwhile, she was smoking her cigarette skilfully and pleasurably. When she saw his ineptitude, she told him that he would get used to it in time. Everyone was like him the first time. After they drank their teas, she looked at her watch and asked for permission to leave. They left each other, agreeing to meet in the same place the next Saturday.¹²²⁵

¹²²⁴ Ibid., pp. 172, 173.

¹²²⁵ Ibid., pp. 173, 174.

She showed up at the appointed time on Saturday. They went to the cinema together. The narrator sniffed her tobacco infused hair at length. How nice she was nestling against him. For the narrator, Zehra was a good girl. She was both understanding and sensitive. The narrator was 21. She was 17. For a while, they had a hot-blooded love. The narrator had to repeat a grade because of her. However, as time went on, the narrator recognised that there were more beautiful girls than Zehra in the university. Thus, he started to be careless with Zehra and not show up to the dates. After he left a few letters of her unanswered, she also started not to look to him. For him, Zehra was just a tobacco worker from then on. She must have found a boyfriend from her own circle. However, after 12 years, he sometimes remembered this brunette, beautiful haired, and tobacco scented girl with regret. He could not forget her. Every time he smoked, Zehra came to his mind. He inherited his habit of smoking from her.¹²²⁶

I want to start analysing this work by discussing the story spaces. In the story, it is possible to see the difference between Beyazıt and Beyoğlu as two loitering spaces. While the narrator protagonist was spending time in Beyazıt, he sat at a coffeehouse and read a newspaper. On the other hand, while he was in Beyoğlu, he came across a girl who was different from him. This might be seen as a mere coincidence. However, Beyoğlu was a place where various people of different social standings could easily come across each other and women and men could meet more freely, as we have seen in different stories. Beyoğlu was underlined with its cinemas in this story, too. When the narrator came from Beyazıt to Beyoğlu, he started wandering in front of cinema posters. Later, he

¹²²⁶ Ibid., pp. 175.

went into the cinema, he came across Zehra and almost half of the story took place in the cinema.

The narrator and Zehra had been friends with each other for more than a year. However, this friendship was ended by the decision of the narrator protagonist. He was a university student and at the beginning of life. He wanted to meet new people, especially women. Moreover, he was from a petty bourgeois family and wanted to befriend women from his own class circle. However, when he looked back to the past 12 years as an early to middle aged man, he thought that he made a mistake when he left Zehra. Even though this was not clearly expressed in the story, this regret was a result of his failure to start a petty bourgeois family and an unsuccessful career. In the story, he did not mention his career after university; only his longing for Zehra. That is, he either was a bachelor or had a bad marriage. His bachelorhood or bad marriage was also probably due to his bad economic condition. That is, even though he was born to a petty bourgeois family, he was not living a petty bourgeois life, like the author himself. His longing for Zehra was relevant to his new class position. In the above mentioned two stories, I mentioned the author's longing for a petty bourgeois life. However, in this story, we might see a narrator who lost his hope for a petty bourgeois life. Nevertheless, the similarities between this story and the other two are more numerous than the differences. In this story too, a man's pursuit of love was treated like in the above mentioned two stories. Relationships between men and women were treated with regard to their class circles, within the framework of modern metropolitan life.

In the previously discussed three stories of Tarancı, his characters were hopeless characters in pursuit of love. At this juncture, I will discuss another story by him, in which the character did find the love he sought: *Hayat Bu* (This is the Life). In the story, a group of friends told each oth-

er how they had come to marry their wives. Next, it was Fikret's turn. His story of marriage did not resemble his friends'. He had fallen out with his father because of a school problem eight years prior. He was in the most fervent years of his youth. His father informed him in a serious tone that he had to paddle his own canoe from then on. He would not send him money anymore. The behaviour of his father disappointed him very much. However, he did not have time to sorrow. He had to find a job not to go hungry. He made many job applications, counting on his high school diploma. However, all his applications were rejected on the grounds that there was no vacancy. He felt it was beneath him to ask for recommendation letters from his father's MP and general director friends. However, finding a job was very difficult without a recommendation letter. His friends aided him financially for a while. But, of course, he could not get by the financial aid of his friends forever. In daytimes, he was idling around pavements and in nights, suffering in the cold bed hungrily and sleeplessly. He sold two of his three suits and almost all his books which he had bought while studying.¹²²⁷

It was evening. He ate only a bagel and drank a glass of tea. He was returning to the hostel pensively and effetely. He had not paid the rent for the hostel for two months. He did not know what he would say to the owner of the hostel. The Avenue of Beyoğlu was very crowded. The lights were on and the showcases of the stores were shining brightly. Young, elegant, stylish, and redolent women were passing by him.¹²²⁸

For a moment, he felt woozy and his eyes started involuntarily to fill with tears. "Ah, what was my crime?" he said to himself. Why was his right to live comfortably and slaphappy taken away? Why was this blue

¹²²⁷ Ibid., p. 132.

¹²²⁸ Ibid., p. 133.

sky, these stars, this illuminated Avenue, these beautiful women, and these colourful cinema advertisements smiling at everyone, but not him? He wanted to revolt at the inequalities among people. What kind of world was this? On the one hand, there were people living in apartments, driving automobiles, and popping champagne; on the other hand, there were miserable people who could not bring home the bacon. While he was a child, he believed in God. However, he did not believe in God anymore. He was angry at his mother for giving birth to him. His father's mercilessness drove him mad. He hated all people. Just then, Robinson Crusoe came to his mind. He must have closed himself off in an island since he hated people. Ascetics had probably fled the city for the same reason. He also wanted to escape the city. However, he did not know where he would go. He was walking among the crowd without knowing where he would go. Taking even a single step was nigh impossible. Pavements overflowed with people. He took a side street. The darkness and desolateness of this street sweetened him up. He would walk easily from then on.¹²²⁹

Suddenly, he heard a noise of a car horn and found himself thrown onto the pavement. His heart was beating fast and he was puffing and blowing. A young woman got out of the car and apologized to him. She had almost caused his death. This accident reminded him of how much he loved life. Seconds ago, while he was walking, he was hating people and thinking to commit suicide. She offered to take him to his home. He could not reject her offer. His fortune smiled on him by way of this girl. They got acquainted with each other. She guessed that he had a trouble. The innocence of her glances encouraged him. He told her everything. They became friends in a short span of time. How nice and sweet she

¹²²⁹ Ibid.

was talking. Surely, he was sent to him by God. He believed in God from then on. Soon afterwards, the girl introduced him to her contractor father. The girl's father found a job in a bank for him. After three months, he asked for the girl's hand in marriage. They held a sumptuous wedding in Pera Palas. Now, he had two children and was very happy. He loved his wife very much.¹²³⁰

As I said at the beginning, Tarancı's characters were hopeless characters in pursuit of love in the three stories discussed. However, in this story, a woman changed the life of a hopeless man. The story character was a lonely young man on the Avenue. He lost all his hope about life and wanted to die. However, he regained his joy of living as a result of a coincidence which would occur in one of the side streets of the Avenue. He would marry the girl who would almost cause his death and start a family. Thanks to this girl, he not only regained his joy of living but also believed in God again. He also gained values of middle class petty bourgeois life thanks to this girl. Before he met the girl, he had wanted to revolt at all inequalities among people. However, he forgot about his revolt at short notice. While he was just about breaking loose from his family and turning into a loner, a melancholic, and a penniless man or killing himself, he stepped back into petty bourgeois family life.

In this story, the narrator was not a character and did not get involved in the fiction. However, Fikret's life story had some similarities with the narrator. As I discussed above, while Cahit Sıtkı was a successful student, he started to disregard his classes in university and fell out with his father. Contrary to Fikret, he did not chance upon any girl in the Avenue and remained a lonely and melancholic man his entire life. He would work as a petty state official and live as a single man. He would

¹²³⁰ Ibid., p. 134.

wander in Beyoğlu as a little man; narrate and poeticise it as a modernist poet and author.

Lastly, I want to underline the similarity of this story with the story *Nevsky Prospekt* by Gogol. In Gogol's story too, the Prospekt was the place of encounters and coincidences. Two young men followed two girls whom they encountered in the Prospekt and this encounter changed their life forever. In this story too, an encounter in a side street of the Avenue would change Fikret's life completely. Avenues and prospekts of modern metropolises bring people from different quarters of the city and different lifestyles side by side. Metropolises lead to unexpected encounters by their very natures. Avenues and prospekts of the city are the centres of these encounters. In this story too, we saw an example of this fact.

Even though protagonists find the love which they sought in some stories by Tarancı like *Hayat Bu*, the most common characters in his stories are those who remain in pursuit of love. Another story of his whose protagonist is in pursuit of love is *Dördüncü Sevgiliyi Ararken* (While Looking for the Fourth Lover). A man describes his girlfriends to the narrator at the beginning of the story. One of them was a fourteen year old school girl with a black uniform. She had hazel and doe-like eyes. She wore anklets and her face was sallow. Her name was Nükhet. They met in Taşlık in Maçka on Mondays and Thursdays.

His second girlfriend was a typist girl. He had short and black hair and beautiful eyes. She was also very beautiful. While they were going to work at mornings, they came across each other on the tram. She spoke so nicely that not only the narrator's friend but also other passengers of the tram were touched by her. Her name was Şevkiye. He met Şevkiye in Beyoğlu at cinemas and cafés.

His third girlfriend was a widow who had gotten divorced from her second husband three months prior. She had a five year old daughter. She was a very “sexy” and elegant woman. Her name was Süheyla. She had graduated from high school and could speak French. She was interested in literature and philosophy. They had met each other at a common friend’s wedding. They had talked about a French novelist. After a week, she came to his private house in Pangaltı.

Now his life was being shared by these three women. However, he was not pleased with this situation. Being in a relationship with three women made him tired and sad. He wanted to have only one girl with Nükhet’s chasteness and innocence, Şevkiye’s aliveness and vivacity, and Süheyla’s maturity. Now he was looking for his fourth girlfriend. When he found her, he would leave the first three ones.

In the story, a lonely young man is narrated. He seemed from the outside to be a womanizer. However, his womanizing was a result of his problematic relationships with women. He looked for his ideal woman and met many different women to find her. He tried to meet with each woman to save himself from the feeling of loneliness. The character of this story felt lonely even if he was able to meet new women. His loneliness would not be overcome until he could find his ideal woman. Love and sexual affairs were a pursuit for him. Each love affair was a step towards finding the ideal love.

The protagonist’s casual sexual and love affairs were treated in a neutral tone in the story. He was mentioned as the friend of the narrator in the story and his pursuit was told as an interesting thing. He was an interesting, but not a strange man, for the narrator. As in many stories of the 1940s generation, his pursuit was not evaluated around a moralistic approach.

Beyoğlu was the natural space of his pursuit. He met with one of his girlfriends in a Beyoğlu café. He lived in Pangaltı, which was very close to the Beyoğlu anyway. Even if this girl was not the ideal girl for him, Beyoğlu's cafés and cinemas were the most ideal places to meet new girls. Beyoğlu was the natural place of the protagonist's modern pursuit and of modern life in Istanbul.

9. 14. Beyoğlu as the Space of Uncelebrated Relationships

Beyoğlu, which was the centre of love pursuits of the protagonists was also the centre of "uncelebrated" relationships. It was the space of unmarried couples and bachelor lonesome men. At this juncture, I want to discuss the story *Gazoz Ağacı* (The Soda Pop Tree) by Sabahattin Kudret Aksal, whose characters are an unmarried couple. The story begins in a quarter which is at the edge of the city close to the sea. All of this quarter's children dreamed to own a grocery store. The grocery store of the quarter attracted all children to itself with its colourful kites, kite tails, and toys.¹²³¹

Boys of this quarter played different card games in the coffeehouse next to the grocery shop. Men of the quarter also came to the coffeehouse after work at five or six pm. Women went to the seaside with their kerosene burners, teas, sugars, coffeepots, and cups. They drank coffee or tea at the seaside. Boys swam in a bay fifty or sixty meters beyond the women. The biggest source of entertainment for the quarter's women was to gossip about boys and girls who were in love with each other.¹²³² Saim, who was one of the two main characters of the story fell in love with a girl who lived in the pink house across the coffeehouse. This

¹²³¹ Sabahattin Kudret Aksal. *Gazoz Ağacı ve Diğer Öyküler*, 15th ed., Istanbul: YKY, 2013. p. 76.

¹²³² Ibid., pp. 76, 77.

news was also spread far and wide among the quarter's women. Saim spent almost ten hours of his days playing cards in the coffeehouse. Hence, he continuously saw that girl. He lost almost all card games because of her since while looking at her, he was distracted. For this reason, his friends called him a soda pop tree since he always lost the card games and had to buy the soda pops. He came across the girl at one evening in one of the empty plots of land at the seaside. Both of them were alone. When they saw each other, they did not know about what they would speak. For a while, they stood there without saying anything. Then, Saim suddenly asked where she was going. To home, the girl said and then they kept quiet again.¹²³³

He grabbed her from her wrists and pulled her to himself. He said that he was twentyone and did not have a job. However, he had fallen in love with her. The girl understood what he wanted to say. However, her face seemed as if she did not believe him. Saim asked whether she believed him. The girl said no. He had been seen with Seher in Sultanahmet by someone from the quarter. He asked what was wrong with that. Seher was the sister of Kemal, who was his friend. They talked a bit more in that manner.¹²³⁴

After this meeting at the seaside, the story time changed and was brought forward one or two months. Saim and his girlfriend had started to live together. He worked at a flour factory. This was a big change in his life. He had depended on his mother till then. After he started to work in the factory, they left the quarter. He was a working man now. They were living with Melahat in a small room. He got up early at mornings and went out. He exited work at evenings tired but happy since he

¹²³³ Ibid., p. 78.

¹²³⁴ Ibid., p. 79.

would see Melahat soon. He returned to the house without hurry. Knowing that a woman was waiting for him was a very good feeling.¹²³⁵ He went up the stairs slowly. When he reached the fourth storey, Melahat heard his footsteps and opened the door. Their small room's ceiling was low and its walls were unpainted. It was a crooked room. She tied back her hair before he came and opened the door with a smile. When Saim saw her smiling face, he forgot everything including the factory, flour sacks, mud, his workmates with whom he worked all day, the struggle for life, and his tedium. He felt that he began a completely new part of the day which was different from daytime at the workplace. Even though they waited for the evenings with excitement, when they came together, they only told each other a few stereotypical sentences. The girl started to set the table and Saim went to the bathroom to wash his hands and face. Afterwards, he got into a seat and lit a cigarette. The girl set the table within ten to fifteen minutes.¹²³⁶

After they dined heartily, the girl was on the one hand clearing the table and on the other hand brewing coffee. Saim also watched the roofs of opposite buildings from the window. After Melahat cleared the table and washed the dishes, Saim said "let's go out." Melahat asked where they would go out to in that hour. Saim smiled self-righteously and said that the day only began there with the evening lights. He wanted to show her that their new quarter was different from the old one where life stopped in those hours. Melahat did not say anything, but looked at him surprisedly. Saim was pleased since he was able to surprise a woman.¹²³⁷

¹²³⁵ Ibid., pp. 80, 81.

¹²³⁶ Ibid., pp. 83, 84.

¹²³⁷ Ibid., pp. 84, 85.

They went out from the house and went up a slope. Melahat took Saim's arm and told him something during the climb. Saim did not pay attention to her words and gave short answers. They passed the narrow streets and reached the illuminated large streets. When Melahat saw the well-lit avenues at that time of the night and heard the whistles of trams, her heart started to palpitate with a speed which she had never witnessed before. There was a showcase at an edge of the street. On this showcase, there was a female dummy under bright lights. This dummy seemed to her as if it was smiling. How beautiful its smile was. The clothes on this dummy were changed every three or four days. As she was going out from the house, she wondered which clothes she would see on the dummy that day. She pulled Saim toward the showcase, hanging onto his arm without saying anything. She stood in front of the showcase at length and dreamed that the clothes were on herself. While she was dreaming of the clothes, looking at the showcase, Saim got mad and exasperated out of boredom. Melahat asked him to buy one of the items of clothing on the dummy. Saim got angrier. He pulled her away.¹²³⁸

After they walked toward the cinemas, Saim also gazed upon something. However, this was not a showcase, but a cinema poster on which there was a boy who rode a horse. He also came to an abrupt stop in front of the cinema poster similar to Melahat's sudden stop in front of the showcase. When they went into the cinema and took their seats, he thought how comfortable the cinemas of Beyoğlu were. It was very nice to watch a movie with his beloved woman after a workday. He had loved this woman and taken her away from her own quarter to another quarter. Now he was in a comfortable cinema seat and was watching a

¹²³⁸ Ibid., pp. 85, 86.

movie. If this girl was not next to him, this western movie and sitting in this comfortable seat would probably not be as pleasurable.¹²³⁹

While streets and houses were too hot, a cinema theatre where forty or fifty people were all together was very cool. They each drank one soda pop at breaktime. When he took a sip from the soda pop, many memories from his old house, old quarter, and the coffeehouse rained down on him. He remembered the yard of the coffeehouse, his friends, and the window of Melahat's house, as if the girl who sat next to him was not that same girl. He thought about how many soda pops he ordered his friends in the coffeehouse because of her. He was the soda pop tree in those times.¹²⁴⁰

When Melahat recognised the change in Saim, she asked what happened. He did not know what he would say. How could he tell her that he missed the old quarter? Since Melahat persisted, he had to say that he remembered the coffeehouse in front of her house. She asked whether he would prefer that coffeehouse and his friends to her. When this subject was broached, Saim was bothered. When the movie ended up, they got up silently and returned to the house without speaking. They went up the stairs of their house in silence.¹²⁴¹

They spent their nights in the same way for a time. They had the same quarrels and felt the same emotions in this period. Thus, summer ended and autumn began. After Saim went out from the house at early hours of morning, a boring day began for Melahat. There was not much housework to occupy her time in the house anyway. Tidying and cleaning the room and cooking dinner did not take more than one hour of her time although she performed those tasks slowly. Later, she watched

¹²³⁹ Ibid., p. 87.

¹²⁴⁰ Ibid., pp. 87, 88.

¹²⁴¹ Ibid., pp. 88, 89.

buildings opposite from the window. There was nothing to do. The first thing that came to her mind was to go out. Going up the slope, going out to Beyoğlu, and watching shops and clothes in the shops would be very amusing without Saim. There would not be anyone who would bother her and tug on her arm. After she watched clothes and wares as much as she wanted, she would return to the house toward noon. If she went out to Beyoğlu, the day would pass more easily for her. However, while Saim was going to work each morning, he warned her not to go out from the house. He said that if she went out from the house, it would fare badly for her.¹²⁴²

Although Melahat wanted to wander thereabout very much, she did not dare going out from the house. She both feared Saim and felt foreign to this district. One day, a strange thing occurred. Melahat came across a boy who would be a different person in her lonely life. There was a tailor in the fourth storey of the apartment. This boy was one of the apprentices of this tailor. He was around seventeen, medium-sized, and slim. He had brown and long hair and light coloured eyes. One of his legs was limping a bit. While Melahat was wandering bored within the room, she randomly opened the door. She saw him in the small hall in front of the door. He was smoking, sitting on the stairs. She was afraid at first. She intended to close the door. But then she stopped, and overcoming her fears, asked him what he was doing here. The boy was also afraid since their chat might be heard by his boss. He said that she should not shout for god's sake. If the boss found out that he smoked in the upper storey, he might dismiss him. After the boy went back down,

¹²⁴² Ibid., pp. 89, 90.

she understood that this boy would become the source of fun in her days which she wasn't able to fill with anything.¹²⁴³

She saw the boy two days later again. On that day, she wandered in the room, watched outside from the window, lied down on the bed, and counted her small amount of money. She was bored, but did not know what to do within this small room. She wore her most beautiful clothes and opened the door. The boy was there. As soon as he saw Melahat, he got up to leave. Melahat asked him where he was going. He said that she when he sat there it made her angry. Melahat asked why that would make her angry. What was that to her? The building was not hers. The boy asked her whether she was alone every day. She asked so what if she was alone. He said nothing, he asked for nothing. She said that she had a husband. He came at evenings. The boy felt sad when he heard this news and revealed his sadness. So, she was not alone, he told her. Then, the boy said that her husband would not want to see him here. Melahat asked how would he know. After hearing these words, the boy displayed such a childlike happiness that Melahat regretted running off with Saim rather than this boy. This boy did not pull on her arm while she was watching the clothes and bedroom suites at the showcase and did not remember the coffeehouse and coffeehouse friends in the cinema. Even if he did, he did not say so shamelessly.¹²⁴⁴

She left her old quarter with a desire for adventure and came there with Saim. But now what? She could not find what she expected. She wanted to walk along with her boyfriend who should have whispered in her ear pretty words of love as in movies and novels. However, Saim was not such a man. She chose the wrong man to run away with. Saim was not a

¹²⁴³ Ibid., pp. 90, 91.

¹²⁴⁴ Ibid., pp. 91, 92.

good boyfriend. He would not be a good husband, either. He did not say anything about marriage anyway. If this boy was in his place, these kinds of things would not occur. After a while, the boy started not to hang out in front of the door. He knocked the door directly. He addressed her as elder sister and said that he missed and loved her very much.¹²⁴⁵

The boy offered her to run away together. She said to him “why not, let’s run away.” When she spoke as such, the boy went mad. He asked her over and over whether she really would run away with him. However, he then asked what Saim would do. She suddenly sacrificed Saim and said it did not matter what he would do. They talked a bit more and then the boy said that he should go. They planned their escape together for days. They talked about this matter but did not take a concrete step. They were having a good time talking about this matter.¹²⁴⁶

While the girl was filling in daytimes with the tailor’s apprentice, Saim continued to come to the house, passing from the same roads at each evening. He recognised a change and an oddity in the girl; however, he attributed this change to her adaptation to her new lifestyle. Again, they sat down for the evening meal as soon as Saim came. Cinemas livened up more since it was autumn by then. They went to cinemas again almost every night. Saim continued to relax in these cinema nights again. However, they were not quarrelling about unimportant things like before anymore. There was something which annoyed both of them in this silence.¹²⁴⁷

¹²⁴⁵ Ibid., pp. 93, 94.

¹²⁴⁶ Ibid., pp. 95, 96.

¹²⁴⁷ Ibid., p. 96.

One day, as Saim was going out from the factory toward evening, he came across one of his friends from his old quarter, Osman. Osman was drinking salep in front of the exit door of the factory. After Saim left the quarter, he was first seen by Osman. He called out to Saim, but he did not know now what to say to him. When a friend, who was born in the quarter and took away a girl from the quarter to the other side of the Bridge was seen, what should have been done? Should he have been ignored or talked to? Since he did not know what to say, he jumped right into the subject. He told Saim that he took away the girl. "Are you at ease now?" Saim did not expect such a question. He looked at Osman like he did not understand anything. However, he said that of course, he was easy.¹²⁴⁸

They talked a bit with each other. After a while, Osman told Saim that a new card game started to be commonly played. They were playing that game in the coffeehouse. He told about this new card game which was played with fifty two cards. Saim listened to him with astonishment. Then, he felt embarrassed for being interested in this card game so much. He asked why he was telling him that out of the blue sky. He was not knowledgeable about card games. However, as soon as he said these words, something happened to him. If he hadn't told Osman that he was not knowledgeable in card games, he would not have felt as sad. Why had he come to Beyoğlu? What was special about Melahat? He came to Beyoğlu because of her, leaving his old quarter. He was getting tired in the factory in the daytime and dozing off in the cinema in evenings. And he was sleeping in an attic room which was as cold as ice. All his life was in Beyoğlu.¹²⁴⁹

¹²⁴⁸ Ibid., p. 97.

¹²⁴⁹ Ibid., pp. 98, 99.

He thought about how nice the card games that he had played in the coffeehouse was. Moreover, when would leave the coffeehouse and return to the house, his mother would have already turned on the stove. He used to enter a warm room. He longed for his old quarter very much. On that day, Osman invited him to the coffeehouse to play the new card game. When he did not reply immediately, Osman recognized his hesitation. He said that he should come for only one night and then not visit the quarter again for a while. Saim hesitated some more. His old quarter, the coffeehouse, ala turca songs played on the coffeehouse's radio, Melahat, and attic room in Beyoğlu floated before his eyes.¹²⁵⁰

It was a gloomy winter night. Although Melahat warmed up the oven two or three times, it cooled down again. It was 8 pm. Saim had still not come. She did not mind it at first, but started to get anxious after a while. Saim was never been late on an evening since they had settled in this room. She wondered whether got into a fight with someone. Maybe he had an accident. She often looked at the street from the window. She waited for a long time. When he did not come, she slept alone. However, her sleep was very uncomfortable. When she woke up, the day had still not dawned. She slept some more. When she woke up again, it was morning. She had an unendurable headache. Saim had still not come. After a while, she got dressed. As she was going out the door to go to the police, she came across the tailor's apprentice. The boy asked with astonishment where she was going at this time of the morning. Melahat told him everything and said that she would go to the police. "Let it go, elder sister," the apprentice said. He might have gotten drunk with one

¹²⁵⁰ Ibid., pp. 100, 101.

of his friends and crashed in some corner. Besides, he did not love her. Why was she worrying about him?¹²⁵¹

After she talked to the boy, she gave up on going to the police station. She remembered that whoever did not come to his house in the old quarter did so out of rakishness. They would then return to their houses the next day with their tail between their legs. She dismissed the boy because Saim might have arrived early on that day since he had not come the previous day. However, Saim did not show up immediately. He came at the same hour he came every evening. He seemed very calm, as if nothing had occurred. He took out his topcoat and sat down, lighting a cigarette. Melahat could not stand it and asked where he had been the previous day. He said that he was in the coffeehouse and slept at his mother's home.¹²⁵²

Everything had occurred to Melahat's mind, but not this. She knew that they had fallen out of love with Saim. Therefore, whatever Saim did, did not sadden her. However, this saddened her too much. He had loved Saim only months ago. They had believed together that love, goodness, comfort, beauty, and everything else were outside of their quarter. When they were leaving their quarter, they did not think of returning. However, he probably could not find any of those things in Melahat. He was going to his old quarter now and seeking these things in the old quarter. She saddened very much and wanted to cry.¹²⁵³

A week later, Saim did not come to the room till the morning. However, Melahat did not worry about him this time. She even became happy he did not come. Then, he started not to come to the house two or three times a week. Thus, months went by. Neither of them felt any discom-

¹²⁵¹ Ibid., pp. 102, 103.

¹²⁵² Ibid., p. 104.

¹²⁵³ Ibid., pp. 104, 105.

fort on nights when they were alone. It was as if nothing changed in their lives. One night, he did not come to the house again. The next day, he went up the stairs with a strange intuition. He opened the door, but the room was empty. Melahat had left. He went out from the room and wandered in the streets where he had wandered with a woman for months. Wandering alone in the streets was a strange feeling. He went to a tripery without going out to the Avenue. When he went out from the tripery, he felt more comfortable and carefree.¹²⁵⁴

He went to the cinema like he did every night. When he went out from the cinema, rain was pouring. He came to the house running below soffits. He went to bed as soon as he took out his clothes. He had dreams of Melahat all night. After three days, he emptied the room and returned to the quarter. One year went by. It was the last days of spring. Tabelaci İsmail, who was one of his card play friends from the coffeehouse, sold his white mulberries from his orchard. He earned a lot of money. He took his friends from the coffeehouse to Sirkeci by a taxi. They ate, drank, and had fun. They went up to Beyoğlu toward 10 pm. Their heads were hazy. They went to a music hall. As they were entering the music hall, a woman and well-heeled man were going out the door. İsmail nudged Saim, saying “hey, look at that!” She was his girl. Saim had already seen her. He did not look back at her. He said “so what? What was that to him?” Melahat also passed by without looking back at them. Maybe she did not see them. While she was passing by, she left behind a heavy scent of perfume, which would dizzy all of them all night.¹²⁵⁵

In the story, the main story space was a bed-sitting room in Beyoğlu. A young man and woman were living in this room even though they were

¹²⁵⁴ Ibid., p. 106.

¹²⁵⁵ Ibid., pp. 106, 107.

not married. They were born in the same quarter which was one of the poor quarters of Istanbul. Both of them wanted to save themselves from this quarter. They left their quarter together. However, after a while, the life between work and the small and cold room started to bore Saim. He was longing for his old loiterer life in his quarter. In other stories in this dissertation, Beyoğlu was treated as the loitering place. In this story, one of the main characters missed his loitering days in his old quarter. In Beyoğlu, he did not have time to loiter except going to the cinema at nights since he worked the entire day. For Melahat, everything was fine in her life in Beyoğlu at the beginning. However, her life was passing in a small, cold, and an unpainted room. Her only entertainment was to go to the cinema at evenings. After Saim started to go to their old quarter, she felt betrayed. By the way, he met a new boy who enlivened her days. She probably ran away with that boy.

When Saim and Melahat left the quarter, the dwellers of their quarter both envied and got angry at them. People who were born in this poor quarter could not leave it easily. Most of them were uneducated and poor. Changing quarters was not easy for them. Saim and Melahat achieved that. However, Saim started to miss the lazy life in his old quarter. The character of Osman represented the dwellers of the quarter and their envy in the story. He persuaded Saim to visit the quarter, eliminating his hesitation. He really invited Saim to the quarter in a friendly manner. However, he at the same time estimated that when he got used to the quarter again, he would return. As an uneducated girl who did not know the world except her quarter, Melahat did not have the ability to live alone in Beyoğlu. After a year, when she was seen by Saim and other young men in the quarter, she was with a rich man. Probably she became a whore.

The bed-sitting room as the story space was the space of the uncelebrated relationship of Saim and Melahat. An unmarried young couple who escaped their old quarter for a more beautiful life was living in a bed-sitting room in Beyoğlu. Probably, they knew that no one belittled or excluded them in Beyoğlu because of this decision of theirs. It was the centre of Istanbul as a modern metropolis and everyone was naturally there. Contrary to their traditional quarter, no one had enough time to keep an eye on the life of two young people and judge them there. For this reason, they ventured to live in an uncomfortable room in Beyoğlu.

Istanbul might be characterised as a modern metropolis in the 1940s. However, it had some differences from modern Western metropolises. First of all, the modern proletariat was not powerful in this city. Of course, there were many workers; however, their percentage among the total population was low. The story begins with the sentence “All of this quarter’s children dreamed to own a grocery store”. In this quarter, probably there were not many children dreaming to study in a university. Moreover, they did not want to be workers either. Istanbul was a city of small producers and traders in the 1940s. Children from the lower classes were also dreaming to have a small shop rather than being a worker. Hence, the idea of leaving their quarter of birth was nonsense for them and Saim was also bored of being a worker living in Beyoğlu. In the story, the author represented this reality of Istanbul through the love affair of two young people.

Another story whose space is a bachelor room in Beyoğlu and in which an uncelebrated relationship is told is *Allegro Ma Non Troppo* by Hal-dun Taner. A White Russian man living alone in Tarlabası is told of in this story. His name was Stephan Alexandrovitch Linowsky and he was staying in a hostel in Tarlabası. He was a professor of the violin. He was

probably from Moscow or Petersburg, according to the narrator. The narrator was wondering about his life story which had led him to a cheap and dirty hostel in Tarlabası. The story time was the childhood of the narrator who was one of the students tutored by Linowsky.¹²⁵⁶

An atmosphere of art and culture was felt in every corner of this old and neglected hostel room. There was a morose bust of Beethoven on the piano. A charcoal landscape of Spain was hanged on the wall. Portraits of Chopin and the dancer Anna Pavlova were juxtaposed next to each other. There were musical notes everywhere; on the piano, shelves, table, and sofa. He sometimes invited his students to listen to music in his room. For him, music could be learned by listening to pieces of virtuosos. However, his records were very old. They generally sounded squeaky. While the narrator was listening to these sounds, he had a mind to laugh. Linowsky's other students were also like the narrator. Only Mathilda listened to Linowsky's records carefully. She was his most hardworking student.¹²⁵⁷

The narrator was in platonic love with Mathilda. Her father was Italian and her mother was Greek. He sometimes rubbed up against her. In fact, he memorized her weekly course hour. He confronted her exactly on that hour as if accidentally. After a while, they started to walk together at Linowsky's hostel. His heart beat in repeated booms while walking together with her. He tried to speak to her in his inadequate French. When he could not find the words in French, he appealed to Turkish. He told her the movies he saw in Melek cinema. However, their conversation did not take long since the walk was short.¹²⁵⁸

¹²⁵⁶ Haldun Taner. *Tuş*, Istanbul: Varlık, 1951. p. 64.

¹²⁵⁷ Ibid., pp. 66, 67.

¹²⁵⁸ Ibid., pp. 67, 68.

On Thursdays, Linowsky gathered all his students. They listened to music on the phonograph. The narrator had never seen Linowsky smile. Even though he studied for years to become a violin virtuoso, he was tutoring secondary school students for four liras an hour now. Probably he was melancholic for this reason. The violin, which he played in front of his students, had come from Petersburg. It was presented to him by the Spanish ambassador. When he started to play, all students listened admiringly.¹²⁵⁹

All teachers organized concerts with their students to self-promote. Linowsky also organized such concerts. He intended to organize a concert with his last students including Mathilda and the narrator. The concert would be held at the theatre of Majestik cinema. They rehearsed three times a week to prepare for the concert. They were preparing the setting of the Majestik cinema theatre at the same time. The duty of printing posters was given to the narrator. He printed the posters and brought them to the teacher. He knocked on the room's door. However, since the phonograph was playing in the room, the teacher did not hear it. He knocked again. When the teacher did not hear again, he opened the door and went into the room. Mathilda was on Linowsky's lap. They were kissing each other. The narrator stumbled on a music stand. When they noticed that somebody was there, they pulled themselves together. Linowsky started to behave as if he was teaching. Both he and Mathilda were twittering. The narrator put the posters inside a box and left the room. He was crying. He would not play the violin again his entire life.¹²⁶⁰

¹²⁵⁹ Ibid., pp. 70, 71

¹²⁶⁰ Ibid., pp. 72-74.

In the story, the story space was a bedsitting room in a poor quarter of Beyoğlu; Tarlabası. The narrator told the story of why he did not play the violin his entire life after his adolescence. According to him, his tutor was responsible for that. Thus, his music tutor and platonic girlfriend had an important place in the story.

His tutor was a bohemian. He received a decent education but was living a poor life. He was probably a White Russian and could not return to his homeland. As I mentioned in the previous chapter, White Russians had an important place in the social and cultural life of Beyoğlu and Istanbul since the late 1910s. However, they were not treated in stories and other literary products sufficiently. This is the only story in which a White Russian character is treated among those of the writers examined in this study. Even though the White Russian music tutor was living under bad conditions, he was making a humble but an important contribution to the cultural life of Beyoğlu, training students.

The narrator's platonic girlfriend was a Levantine who was maternally Greek, paternally Italian. Her family probably gave importance to her child's education, like every Levantine family. She was so into art that she fell in love with his middle aged tutor. Beyoğlu was such a place that a White Russian teacher, Levantine girl, and Turkish boy could come together in a bed-sitting room. At this juncture, I want to focus on Linowsky's hostel room as a story space. In this story, too, the bedsitting room was the space of uncelebrated relationships. The room was at the same time Linowsky workplace.

Even though sexuality was not mentioned much in the story, it determined the flow of the fiction. Firstly, the innocent platonic love of the narrator was introduced. At the end of the story, the intercourse of Mathilda and Linowsky was touched upon. Even though Linowsky was a middle aged and poor man, his intelligence and cultural background

attracted Mathilda to him. As a poor and an excluded man, Linowsky was probably pleased with being liked by a young and beautiful girl. However, the narrator could not understand their “odd” relationship and was disgusted by them, as a sensitive and educated teenage boy.

In the stories of authors from the generation of 1940, these kinds of subjects could easily be touched upon. As told earlier, thanks to the rise of literary modernism, these kinds of individual issues could be treated in literary works independently of moral and national agendas, which could be possible as a result of the exclusion of the young literary intelligentsia from the state elite and their impoverishment as a social group. In this way, they could reflect upon excluded, intellectual, and penniless residents of the city like themselves and make them characters of their stories.

In stories examined in this study, Tarlabası was generally mentioned along with brothels, cheap places of entertainment, and bed-sitting rooms. However, it was also the space of “ordinary poor” families. In the two stories discussed below, the daughter of such a family living in Tarlabası and her process of becoming miss-Turkey is told. To summarize some important points of this first story, *Güzeller Seçiliyor* (The Beauties are Getting Chosen): The narrator narrates a beauty pageant in this story. When he went to the event as a newspaper reporter, the girls had not come yet. Perihan Üçoluk arrived first. She had eyes like grapes. She carried southern stormwinds along with her. She was a tall brunette. The narrator wanted to ask her questions. However, he did not know what to ask a beautiful girl. The question of whether she supported the Democrat Party or Republican People’s Party came to his mind. Of course, he did not ask this question. He wanted to ask which poets she loved the most. However, he did not ask this question, either. He asked her what her weight was. She was fifty one kilos. Then he

asked her age. She was twenty. Moreover, she was a high school graduate and had appeared on a film as an actress.¹²⁶¹

While he was asking Perihan Üçoluk questions, another beautiful girl who wore red clothes came along who was a famous singer. She was white-skinned and very tall. Her cheeks were pink. She was courteous like a Circassian favourite. Her name was İnci İzmirli. The narrator was stupefied in front of her. He asked her height. She was 1.63. Her age was 19. Then, he asked her where she had studied. The girl supposed he was asking where she was singing songs and said that she used to sing at the Maksim nightclub. Now she was singing at Tepebaşı. (The verb *okumak* means both to study and to sing a song in Turkish.) The narrator understood Maksim as Taksim. He started to think about which high school was in Tepebaşı. Then he realised that she meant the Tepebaşı nightclub. She was a famous singer. When his questions finished, he followed the beautiful girls and went up to the conference room.¹²⁶²

The jury members were already in their seats. One of them was Peyami Safa. The narrator asked him when the first beauty pageant was organized in Turkey. Peyami Safa replied “I think, in 1932.” He had been in the jury of beauty pageants for twenty years. For the narrator, all jury members including Safa looked like old women looking for brides for their sons. Another jury member was Doğan Nadi. The narrator asked him which girl he would choose. He gave a vague answer. Another jury member was Nizamettin Nazif. The narrator asked him whether mattered for women. He said “of course”. Besides, how could such a question be asked to a man whose ancestors had hundreds of odalisques and wives, he said smilingly. He was Tepedelenli. Odalisques and wives of

¹²⁶¹ Sait Faik. *Tüneldeki Çocuk*, İstanbul: Varlık, 1955. pp. 77, 78.

¹²⁶² Ibid., pp. 78, 79.

Tepedelenli Ali and Veli Pashas had been the most select girls of the country. Since the beauty pageants used to be held in the slave markets in his ancestors' times, he was also looking at girls like a man who came to the slave market to buy slaves for himself.¹²⁶³

Just then, Refik Halit put on his glasses. Peyami Safa rang the bell. Beautiful girls started to walk in front of the jury in their swimsuits. Some of them smiled delightfully. Some of them turned pale. İnci İzmirli was biting her lip. Aynur Yüksel appeared serious. Sevim Cengiz never looked at the jury. The body of Maksude Yüksel was extremely white. Hümaşah Hiçan was indifferent. Perihan Üçoluk waved her laced handkerchief like Madame de Pompadour. Sezer Sevim glanced at the jury delightfully. Her swimsuit was a bit long. Nizamettin Nazif wanted her to lift her swimsuit a bit higher.¹²⁶⁴

Peyami asked a lot of questions to competitors such as "Have you slept well last night", "Have you dreamed while sleeping", and "Are you excited". When the jury retired to their room, the reporters, including the narrator, entered another room with the beautiful girls. They spoke to the girls and took their photos. The narrator was sitting in an armchair between Fahriye Özalp, who was 16 years old and Leylâ Levi. Sitting side by side with them was very nice. The jury would probably find the most beautiful of these girls. However, they would not find the sweetest, the most graceful, and the friendliest one. A reporter asked a question to one of the girls by whispering in her ear. The narrator could not hear the question. However, he heard the girl's answer. She said that her prospective husband should be tall, broad shouldered, and rather rich. The jury members went out from the room oozing with sweat.

¹²⁶³ Ibid., pp. 80, 81.

¹²⁶⁴ Ibid., p. 81.

Their jackets were on their arms. Firstly, he went to Peyami Safa. The one he wanted was not chosen. Then he went to Refik Halit. He said that he did not understand anything. Nizamettin Nazif soured. The narrator's friend, the artist Münif Fehim hinted that an *ala turca* perception of beauty dominated the jury. The narrator could not guess which one was the winner. However, he understood that the difference between *ala turca* and *ala franga* existed in this field, as well. Supporters of *ala turca* had tipped the scale.¹²⁶⁵

The *ala-turca* beautiful girl who won the competition was İnci İzmirli. The second story, *Kıraliçenin Evinde* (In the House of the Queen), was an interview the narrator made with her. She was living with her family in Doğramacı Şakir Street in Tarlabası. The narrator went to her house to make an interview as a newspaper reporter. Doğramacı Şakir was a silent and old street. When the narrator came there, the rain, which had started at night and had been still continuing, had made the ground muddy.¹²⁶⁶

He was in İnci's room. There were baby dolls of her little sisters, a monkey doll, a toy car, a piano, a console, a wardrobe, a mirror, and two rugs. On the piano, there were photographs. The room had a very small balcony on which there were pots of basil. İnci was the daughter of a modest family. She had some dreams. She wanted to be a famous singer. Her beauty should be accepted by everyone. She would be a cinema star. The interview of the narrator could modestly contribute to her road to fame.¹²⁶⁷

Before he went to the girl's house, he took notes and prepared some questions. He surmised that she probably loved the novels of Mükerrerem

¹²⁶⁵ Ibid., pp. 82, 83.

¹²⁶⁶ Ibid., p. 86.

¹²⁶⁷ Ibid., pp. 86, 87.

Kamil Su and Kerime Nadir. However, he had a hope that she read Hüseyin Rahmi, Osman Cemal, and Orhan Kemal along with Mükerrerrem K. Su and Kerime Nadir. One could always hope. He asked Lady İnci whether she loved reading novels. She loved reading novels very much. She usually read Turkish novels and loved the novels of Kerime Nadir and Mükerrerrem Kamil Su.¹²⁶⁸

She had really beautiful coloured eyes. The narrator said that she would probably be very beautiful when angry. She replied that everyone said that. There was a woman who was her neighbour who also had said so. The narrator thought that she was a very talkative girl. “Speak darling, speak” he thought to himself. She was continuing to talk. She would not sing songs in nightclubs anymore. Firstly, she would take a rest for a while. Then, she would star in movies. The narrator asked whether she would marry. She replied that of course, she wanted to marry. He asked what kind of a man this fortunate man should be. He might not be handsome; it didn’t matter for her. The narrator asked whether he could be ugly. She said no. She did not want ugly either. Which occupation he should have, the narrator asked. It did not matter, either. He might be a doctor, contractor, or lawyer. The narrator asked her to imagine that while he was entering the house, she was cooking. What was she cooking? She would be cooking pudding. The narrator asked which bird she liked. He supposed that she would say canary. She said sparrow. What about flowers, he asked. He supposed that she would cite flowers such as daffodil, rose, or jasmine. But she said basil. The narrator also loved basil a lot. It was not even a flower in fact. However, it smelled very

¹²⁶⁸ Ibid., pp. 87, 88.

nice. He ended his story with the sentence “Long live basil, long live the sparrow, and long live Lady İnci”.¹²⁶⁹

In the first story, the narrator told of a beauty pageant and its atmosphere. The jury of the competition consisted of old conservative men who were columnists of big newspapers. They were conservatives and critics of popular culture, but participated in and even directed the popular activities such as beauty pageants. Their attitudes toward the girls were snobbish and priggish. They were even abusive as seen in the example of Nizamettin Nazif.

While the jury consisted of old conservative journalists, young Sait Faik was only a reporter. He liked all the competitors. However, he liked İnci İzmirli the most. So much so that he was stupefied in front of her. Even though prominent names of the jury did not like her, she won first place. Her beauty was *ala-turca* according to the jury as well as the narrator. She resembled Circassian favourites according to him. However, he was not troubled by her *ala-turca* beauty like the jury members.

İnci İzmirli was living in Tarlabası with her family. In the second story, the story space was her house in Tarlabası. Her house was on a muddy street and in a small building. In fact, it had been constructed as a detached house; and, later divided into apartments. It was an unmaintained building like most of the buildings in Tarlabası. As in all other stories whose spaces were Tarlabası, its muddy streets were mentioned in this story as well.

While the narrator was going to her house, he dreamed of her in different ways. For example, he would be pleased if she read Hüseyin Rahmi, Osman Cemal, or Orhan Kemal. However, he was reading Kerime Nadir and Mükerrerrem K. Su like every ill-trained Istanbulite girl. However,

¹²⁶⁹ Ibid., pp. 88-90.

when she said that she loved basil most among flowers, he was pleased and forgot about her bad-taste in literature. As a daughter of a modest family living in Tarlabası, her only hope was to move up the social ladder was her beauty. This can be gleaned from her words. At first, she said that the occupation of her prospective husband did not matter, but shortly after she said that he might be a lawyer, doctor, or contractor. She was singing in nightclubs, but her main goal was to be a cinema star. She was a Beyoğlu girl after all. Probably, she dreamed of a husband who would assist her financially while she was moving up as a cinema star.

Lastly, I want to say that this story was different from other stories whose spaces were Tarlabası in this study. In the others, Tarlabası was treated as a marginal space of Beyoğlu which was the place of brothels, whores, and uncelebrated relations. In this story, a girl living in Tarlabası who desired to climb up the social ladder was told of. She was an ordinary girl who had ordinary dreams. However, she was more beautiful than most “ordinary” girls and wanted to use her beauty to rise in class.

9. 15. A Young Man’s Platonic Love in a Dark Street

To follow Tarlabası, I will mention a story whose space is Tepebaşı which was a humble quarter of Beyoğlu: *Şimal Sokağı* (The North Street) by Oktay Akbal. In this story, a young man’s extraordinary relationship with his mistress is told of. The narrator protagonist begins his story by describing the story space. The Şimal Street did not receive sunlight. For this reason, people’s faces could not be seen on this street. People could not see beyond even one step ahead. They could see only tall and bleak buildings on two sides of the street. The windows of these buildings did not receive light. Some weak shadows moved behind their

curtains. Some footsteps could be heard from the street toward mid-nights. The sound of a door closing was heard. No other voice was heard till the morning. When the lights of rooms were turned off went unnoticed. Their turning on was not also noticed. The coming of the morning could not be understood. When the sun rose, rooftops of the buildings and the street lighted up a little. Weak women and men who had ill-shaped bodies went out from the doors of buildings. None of their faces were seen again.¹²⁷⁰

The narrator was thinking about a window on a bleak building opposite to the street he was walking on. He had never seen this window open. Its curtains had never opened either. No human face appeared in this window. He turned his head and looked at the entrance of the street. He had entered this street from there. When he had done so, he had first noticed the heavy darkness. He had lit up a match and tried to see the building numbers. When the wind extinguished the match, he lit up a new one. He found the place which he sought on the third match, knocked on the door, and a shadow opened it. It was a woman. He could not see her face because of the darkness; only her body could be seen. He asked for a bed-sitting room. The woman took him into the house. They walked toward a staircase without railings. Electricity had been cut off in the house too. After the woman took one month's rent in advance, she said that electricity had been cut off for two days.¹²⁷¹

After he went into the room, he went to the window, opened the curtain, and saw the shadows of opposite buildings. He sat in the chair for a few minutes. He thought about his trip and coming to the big city while sitting in the chair. Then, he watched the appearance of his room under

¹²⁷⁰ Oktay Akbal. *Aşksız İnsanlar*, İstanbul: Varlık, 1949. p. 78.

¹²⁷¹ Ibid., pp. 78, 79.

candle light and saw the shade of the lamp on the ceiling. After this first night, he stayed in this room for a while. However, he did not know how many days he had stayed in this room. He went out from his room a few times and returned toward midnight. The door was always opened by that woman. He wondered whether she was young or old, beautiful or ugly, since he could not see her in the darkness.¹²⁷²

While he was staying in this room, he sometimes came across residents of Şimal street. He saw them a few times from his window. They were people who could be seen everywhere. However, they seemed thoughtful and sad. He thought about other people in the house many times. That woman was sitting at the top floor. He saw the other ones while climbing up or down the staircase. However, he could not learn who they were, what their jobs were, and which nationality they were of. Not even one of them said him hello. He was imagining at his window, the well-lit avenues during nights. This street connected to a big avenue, which abounded with trams, automobiles, and people. Showcases were illuminated and streets were noisy in this avenue. People did not feel alone. A person could feel on top of the world after two glasses in taprooms of this avenue. There were big cinema showcases, clothing stores and showcases of patisseries which bared their hearts to the people. When he returned to the Şimal Street from this avenue, his felt off colour entirely.¹²⁷³

Sometimes, a dull moon light was cast onto Şimal Street. In such times, half of the buildings sank into the light and the other half continued to stay in the dark. The moon brought to the stepped street a murderous atmosphere. It seemed to the narrator that a person would be stabbed

¹²⁷² Ibid., pp. 79, 80.

¹²⁷³ Ibid., p. 80.

and whistles of police would be blown soon. He lied on the bed and thought about the owner of the house in these nights. He wondered what she was doing. He wanted to see into her private life. He thought of climbing up the stairs with slow steps, opening her door slightly, and watching her. She must have had an oil lamp. He wondered whether she was knitting or reading a book. Maybe she wore a transparent night-shirt. Maybe another man held her thin fingered hands and pulled her toward himself.¹²⁷⁴

In his last night on Şimal Street, he returned to the street before the lights of the Avenue were turned off. However, he stopped as soon as he took his first step. This could not be his own street. From all windows, lights were filtering except his room's window. It seemed to him as if a magician had covered the street with lights. He watched the street under light. Buildings were uglier now. The street was humped and shapeless. He put out his cigarette under the lamp post and knocked on the door. Now the door would be opened and he could see her. He would see her face, the depth of her eyes, freshness of her hair, and warmth of her body at first blush. He lit up a new cigarette. He had to not reveal his excitement. Just when he was puffing on his cigarette, the door was opened. He saw the woman. Her face was crumpled, her pupils were ruined, and she was old. His cigarette fell from his lips. He shut himself into his room. He did not turn the light on. He closed the curtains and slept without thinking about anything. When he got up at morning, he packed his stuff and left the house. He had gotten excited, hopeful and fearful in his house during long nights. Now he was leaving them behind the smog of Şimal street.¹²⁷⁵

¹²⁷⁴ Ibid., pp. 81, 82.

¹²⁷⁵ Ibid., p. 83.

Most of the side streets of Beyoğlu were narrow, aligned irregularly, and received little sunlight. In this story, too, one of them is told of. The Şimal Street was a narrow and short street in Tepebaşı. It is still a stepped street today as described in the story by the narrator. The narrator moved from a small Anatolian city to Istanbul. As soon as he came to Istanbul, he settled in this street. Why he came to Istanbul was not mentioned in the story. He rarely went out from his dark room while he was staying in Şimal Street. That is, he could not have been a student or worker. All we inferred from the story about the narrator was that he was a bachelor and a lonely man. Moreover, he was penniless. For this reason, he could afford only the dark room in this dark street.

People living in Şimal Street were also like the narrator. Since they were poor, they were living in this dark and neglected street. The narrator sometimes saw them from the window. Even though he could not make out their faces because of the darkness, he could see their melancholy and boredom on their faces. The darkness of the street was sapping their energies. Even distinguishing daytime from evening was impossible in this street.

The narrator had two forms of entertainment which enlivened his life in this street. Firstly, he visited the illuminated Avenue and Square and wandered there till midnight. Even though the name of the illuminated Avenue was not mentioned in the story, it was the İstiklal Avenue. It was a lively Avenue even after midnight and in its showcases many different products were displayed. However, he rarely went to the Avenue. His main form of entertainment was dreaming about his mistress. He imagined her as a young and beautiful woman till his last night in Şimal Street. When he saw her as an old and ugly woman, he left her house since his only form of entertainment was to imagine her as a beautiful woman in this dark house and street. Contrary to the illuminated Ave-

nue, no was heard in this street after midnight. In daytimes, too, it was not a lively street either, in fact. It was a poor, neglected, and silent street of Beyoğlu.

In this story too, the narrator protagonist was a melancholic young man who liked a woman whose face he did not even see. He was poor, had come to the metropolis recently, and lonely. Such a man could probably not find a woman to befriend. However, thinking about a woman who he saw in darkness could liven up his dreams and life. But when he saw the real face of the woman, he recognised that she was also “ugly” like everything in his life and left the house of the woman. It might be said at the risk of overstatement that the story was telling of a young man’s despair in the metropolis. As mentioned earlier, desperate and melancholic young men were a very common theme in stories of authors from the generation of 1940. They were young men feeling desperate. Young authors’ impoverishment and loss of status as a social group led them to such a feeling.

10

The Fantastic

In the previous four chapters, I examined the stories of authors from the generation of 1940 under four themes: middle class intellectuals discovering the city and its poor people; a new rhythm of the city; loneliness and individuality; sexuality, homosexuality, body, and women. Lastly, I will examine the fantastic elements in their stories. I am thereby posing the question of why the fantastic is important as a research subject. It will be revealed while discussing the stories that the fantastic element was a way of being able to say new things. Most of the stories involving fantastic elements in the books of authors examined in this study are Sait Faik's, especially those in *Alemdağ'da Var Bir Yılan*. As I stated in the fifth chapter, his sexual orientation had a great influence on Sait Faik's preference for fantastic story writing in the last year of his life. However, some stories involving fantastic elements can also be found in the earlier period of his story writing. Some other writers also used the fantastic to express certain sexual and emotional instincts

and their melancholy which they could not express in ordinary daily language.

10. 1. Rebellious Dowdy Men on Taksim Square

Bir Takım İnsanlar (Certain People) constitutes one example to the use of the fantastic in Sait Faik's earlier works. This story appears in *Semaver*, his second book. At the beginning of the story, the narrator was waiting for the tram in front of the Clock Tower in Taksim. The season was spring. However, the weather was still cold. He was very cold and thinking about his warm bed. There was a patisserie across the tram stop. He thought to go to that café to drink linden tea.¹²⁷⁶

Just then, he came across a dowdy man around 25 or 30 years old. He asked the narrator: "elder brother, have you seen some men which looked like me? Have they passed from here?" The narrator shook his head, meaning "no." Then, he started reflecting on what the phrase "men looking like me" meant. But the dowdy man was right. There were indeed men looking like him in Istanbul. They could be distinguished from other ordinary people. In winters, urban people wore topcoats and hats. They put on their boots. This man had neither a topcoat nor hat nor boots. He had an old cardigan on him. His waist was laced up by a rope rather than a belt. There were sack clothes laced up by ropes on his feet.¹²⁷⁷

The man showed his clothes and said "Like me, elder brother... Have you never seen men like me?" He pointed at the road below Taksim Cinema. Some of them would come via that road. Others would come via that other slope. The narrator did not want to speak. He said that

¹²⁷⁶ Sait Faik. *Semaver*, 2nd ed., Istanbul: Varlık, 1951. p. 71.

¹²⁷⁷ Ibid., pp. 70, 71.

really, he had not seen anyone like that. The man said “gracious, impossible! You must have seen! They must have passed from here.” The narrator asked curiously and impatiently: “who are these men, dear?” The man responded: “elder brother, all of us are porters, bustlers, etc. We turn an honest penny, making 5 or 10 kurushes per day. Hotels are very expensive. We sleep in early riser coffeehouses, giving little money to their keepers. This night, the police came and said that sleeping in the coffeehouse is forbidden. They made us leave. We have decided all together that we would go to the governor, wake him up, and make ourselves understood.” “I have not seen anyone” the narrator said again and asked him: “where are you from?”. He said Zonguldak.¹²⁷⁸

It was possible to finding another coffeehouse to sleep in rather than going to the governor. What the man said seemed unreasonable to the narrator for this reason. According to the narrator, this man might be a dope-addict. Probably, he was hallucinating. He said “anyhow, I have not seen. I would walk up. Just then, the tram came and he got on it. The tram started to move. It arrived in front of the military school in Kasımpaşa. He saw from the window of the tram that a group of men were walking up the slope. He could not see clearly. He got out of the tram. There were almost 80 men. They were walking in a serious and determined manner. The man he saw in Taksim was right. These men looked like him.¹²⁷⁹

The narrator went to his house. He could not find his bed as warm as he thought while he was at the tram stop. He was not happy that he would sleep in this bed. Istanbul needed a sheltering house before all the early

¹²⁷⁸ Ibid., p. 72.

¹²⁷⁹ Ibid., p. 73.

riser coffeehouses were closed. Istanbul's winters were very long and cold. They were a perpetual disaster for homeless people.¹²⁸⁰

A rebellion of little dowdy men against a decision of the city governorship was treated in this story. The main reason for their rebellion was the prohibition of their accommodation in early risers' coffeehouses by the Istanbul governorship. Many of them were porters or bustlers. They probably witnessed many injustices and abasements and did not revolt at any of them. However, at this time, the prohibition of the governorship treaded on their corns. In fact, they could find another place to stay. Their revolt might have been seen as unnecessary. Nevertheless, revolts of little men were often not based on solid grounds anyway. When they would erupt was unpredictable. To emphasize this point, I want to reinvoké *Bronze Cavalry* by Pushkin. I have comprehensively discussed this prose poetry in the second chapter. The protagonist, Evgeny, revolted at the Bronze Cavalry which was symbolizing Peter the Great. This was a sudden, impulsive revolt without any thinking involved. And then, he suddenly fled. This was the rebellion of the little man which was a mere flash in the pan. The rebellion of Sait Faik's little men was also such a rebellion. It was decided upon without thinking broadly and rationally. They probably could not even meet with the governor. And their rebellion would be a flash in the pan and was not even seen as a real rebellion.

In fact, the story had some surrealistic themes. Eighty dowdy men coming together at a very late hour of the night and marching to the house of the governor was not so easy. The policemen who evicted them from the early risers' coffeehouse or nightwatchmen might stop them on the way. Pushkin's *Bronze Cavalry* also had such a fantastic atmosphere

¹²⁸⁰ Ibid.

that the reader could not be sure whether what was told was real or not. In terms of the narrator's position in the short story, he was a loiterer who wandered in Beyoğlu. As far as he could wander in Beyoğlu at midnight, he probably did not need to get up early at mornings. That is, he was a non-worker who told the stories of dowdy men in Beyoğlu. The social content in this story was very apparent when compared to other stories by Sait Faik.

10. 2. A *Flâneur* Fleeing the City

Bir Takım İnsanlar which had some fantastic elements touched upon a social problem. In *Alemdağ'da Var Bir Yılan* (There is a Snake in Alemdağ), the narrator touched upon an individual problem. In this story, he expressed his sexual orientation, which he could not express openly, in a fantastic way. The narrator protagonist of the story had been living on Kirazlı Mescit Street in Süleymaniye when he was 17. He remembered the pine tree in the mansion of Münir Pasha which had been on this street. The mansion was used as a high school where he studied before it burned down. The big pine tree in the yard of the high school was also burned. Its oil painted ceiling turned into smog and ash. The bedbugs, the narrator's own bed, and the mattress were also burned. Pools and the evergreen trees were burned as well. First and foremost, memories were burned. Books which shaped his imaginary world in the school library were burned.¹²⁸¹

One Monday, the narrator was on the ground floor of the ferry. The weather was snowy. Istanbul was ugly again. Istanbul was an ugly city. It was dirty. It was very ugly especially on rainy days. Was it beautiful on ordinary days? No, it was not. Its Bridge was full of phlegm. Its side

¹²⁸¹ Sait Faik. *Bütün Eserleri 7: Alemdağ'da Var Bir Yılan*, 2nd ed. Istanbul: Bilgi, 1976. p. 31.

streets were muddy and full of rubble. At nights, vomit could be seen on streets and pavements. Its homes did not receive sunlight. Streets were narrow. Craftsmen and shopkeepers were rude; rich people were careless in Istanbul. However, he adds that people were the same not only in Istanbul but also everywhere else. Even couples in gilded bedsteads were alone. For the narrator, loneliness filled the world. Everything began with loving a person. However, everything finished with loving a person here, in Istanbul.¹²⁸²

After he said that everything finished with loving a person in Istanbul, he started to narrate Alemdağı. It was a beautiful place with its 15 meter tall trees, spring waters, and snakes. The weather was warm in Alemdağı. The sun came up from among the trees. Springs were flowing “like fingers”. There was a rabbit, a snake, an ouzel, and a partridge near the spring. A goat also came from Polonezköy. The narrator played with it.¹²⁸³

When he shouted out “Panco, Panco,” every animal including the rabbit, the snake, the ouzel, and the partridge was dumbfounded. They went as white as a sheet. The narrator pulled a knife from his pocket and cut their ears or wings. When their blood was shed, they started to move. They fled from the narrator and ran to Panco.¹²⁸⁴

Panco was smiling. On the other hand, his face was bloodless and angry as usual. He was kissing the partridges on their beaks, pulling rabbits’ whiskers, and winding the snake around his wrist. He brought along a soccer ball. The narrator and the snake were goalkeepers. Other animals lied down over the leaves. They played for hours under the sun.

¹²⁸² Ibid., p. 31, 32.

¹²⁸³ Ibid., p. 32.

¹²⁸⁴ Ibid. p. 32.

The snake and the narrator moved over. The ball crossed the goalpost. The snake and the narrator were chuckling.¹²⁸⁵

Alemdağı was beautiful. Istanbul was covered in mud. Taxi drivers splashed this mud onto people. Snowflakes spitefully fell straight onto people. A woman held forth a cat from the fifth floor. Another woman and a foreigner man were looking at the dead cat. From the cat's nose, blood was pouring out. The woman was telling the narrator how the cat fell down. The narrator and others pushed the dead cat toward the walls of Galatasaray Lycée.¹²⁸⁶

Panco returned from Alemdağı. Suddenly he passed by the narrator while he was around Galatasaray Lycée. Panco was with a friend. They entered a coffeehouse. The narrator followed them. There was a glass door across the entrance. People were playing backgammon and cards. Panco tried to hide from the narrator. A man in the coffeehouse understood why the narrator had come. He was smiling. "Blast you, pander!" the narrator thought to himself. He returned and was about to leave. He saw the fur at the collars of Panco. He relaxed when he saw the fur. It reminded him of the rabbit, partridge, and Alemdağı.¹²⁸⁷

The story began with the narrator's lost childhood memories. He said, he did not love this city anymore. However, he did not forget to add that not only Istanbul but also all cities and people were the same in the world. Everyone was alone in this city. Everything finished with loving a person here, in Istanbul. In short, he wanted to say that loving some people was forbidden to him. Some loves were forbidden in this city even though everyone was alone. Sait Faik's sentence "everything begins with loving a person" is generally used to show his love of people.

¹²⁸⁵ Ibid. p. 32.

¹²⁸⁶ Ibid., p. 33.

¹²⁸⁷ Ibid., p. 34.

However, the narrator was indicating the love of one man for another in saying these words. In short, he did not mean a humanistic love for people with this sentence.¹²⁸⁸ Sait Faik changed his style of narration in the stories in *Alemdağ'da Var Bir Yılan* to be able to express his forbidden feelings.

He was a man who lost the beautiful memories of his childhood in the city. The present condition of the city did not attract him; he was describing it with disgusting images like phlegm and vomit. In the first half of the story, he explained why he did not love people and the city anymore and pointed out the loneliness of people in the city. Since some loves were forbidden for some people in this city, he fled to Alemdağı. At this point, the tone of the story also changed. The narrator was in Alemdağı with an imagined friend: Panco. In Alemdağı, he spent time together with Panco however he wanted. In Alemdağı, neither Panco nor other living beings such as snakes or partridges were excluding or belittling him. However, both Panco and his animal friends were as if they were inanimate. They were "as white as a sheet". When he dismembered some of the animals, they showed signs of being alive. In the same manner that he was excluded and belittled in the city, he harmed his imaginary animal friends in Alemdağı. Every living being acted in this imaginary world however it desired. It was a surreal world.

The story had spaces other than Alemdağı too. In the mid part of the story, he was on a ferry. At the end of the story, he was in Galatasaray. While he was travelling on the ferry, and then on the Avenue, he thought about how the city was a dirty and ugly place and how the people of the city were also bad and ugly. Meanwhile, he imagined himself to be in Alemdağı to save himself from these pessimistic thoughts. Of

¹²⁸⁸ Fethi Naci. *Sait Faik'in Hikayeciliği*, 2nd ed., Istanbul: YKY, 2008. p. 122.

course, Alemdağı is a real place next to Polonezköy. However, the Alemdağı in his imagination was a fabulous world shaped by his desires. When he came to Galatasaray, he saw that a woman threw a cat out from the fifth storey. The city was the same again. People were bad and rude.

He saw Panco in front of Galatasaray again. Who was Panco?¹²⁸⁹ It could be any young man with whom the narrator felt intimate. Howev-

¹²⁸⁹ The story in which Panco was described most clearly was *Yalnızlığın Yarattığı İnsan* (The Person Created by Loneliness). There is not a concrete space and storyline in this story. We cannot know whether the narrator protagonist tells of his nightmare or any other thing. What he told might be read as somniloquies of a “schizoid,” as well. To briefly summarize the story: A man raised the collars of his topcoat. His faded brunette face turned pale. The narrator protagonist asked him whether he had been cold. He arched his eyebrows. The narrator enfolded his face in his palms and asked why he had been so?

He smiled, spat into the darkness, shook his head acutely toward both sides, and said that he sometimes became like that. The narrator said “let’s enter a place”. He replied “let’s enter, but not drink”. The narrator said “let’s drink!” He replied that the narrator would die. The narrator responded by saying that he knew he would die! Suddenly, they were in a taproom. They looked at the glasses in their hands. According to the narrator, the face of his friend was stagnant, mute, and brunette. It was faded; but still lively. His friend and the narrator ate peanuts and drank beer. Something whispered in the narrator’s ear. He got the vapours. His friend was looking at him carefully and said that he had gotten very old. The narrator said that he knew he had gotten old.

The narrator looked at his friend’s topcoat. There was a fur in the collars of his topcoat. The narrator also decided to attach some fur to his topcoat. He asked his friend whether he was going to see him again. His friend got angry and said that it was up to him! They were still in the beer house. The narrator was not able to see his surrounding anymore. He lost his perception of time and space. His friend said “let’s walk up!” The narrator said “to where?” He said “to the football game”. The narrator asked “football game? Was there a football game played at this hour?” His friend said that night matches were played in Europe, were they not? The narrator could not say, this was not Europe. They walked up, went down a slope, and stopped at a place. The friend undressed and mingled with the football players. The narrator heard some voices and whistles. He looked around. There were thousands of people.

After a while, his friend approached the narrator. The narrator asked whether he was playing. His friend responded by asking whether he was blind. The narrator asked what he was doing here himself. His friend said that he was also playing. The narrator asked what he was playing. His friend said that he was playing the audience. He started to behave like the audience. He cheered and raised the collars of his topcoat. He would also add sheep fur to his topcoat. He felt the coolness of fur on his cheeks.

The audience suddenly disappeared. Football players also disappeared. His friend said that the match was over. The narrator asked who had won. His friend said "the other team!" The narrator said "oh really!" His friend asked which side he had wanted to win. He said "ours!" His friend asked "who were ours?" The narrator said "you!" His friend asked "you? Did you want to us to win?" The narrator said "of course!" His friend said "why?" The narrator answered that there was no one else who he knew on the other team. His friend asked whether there was anyone on his own side. The narrator said "you are available." His friend said "fool, I am also not available." They spoke some more and the narrator's friend suddenly disappeared.

The narrator called out to him: "Panco!" He could not get any reply. Someone called out his name: "İshak, İshak". Thus, we learned that the narrator's name was İshak. He did not reply because the voice was not his friend's. Three men approached him. One of them was short and his face looked like an Armenian's. Another one wore a fisherman's jacket. The third one was a very tall man. While they were speaking among themselves, İshak heard thousands of words whose meanings he did not know. They went up a slope. İshak followed them. The avenue was wet and full of lights. He lost them in the avenue; but, found them again in front of a cinema.

He also bought a ticket, hiding himself. They sat in chairs in front of the screen. Again, he saw Panco among those three men. He was absent when İshak had seen these three men at first. There was his fur on his collar. He looked behind at İshak. However, he did not recognize him. He wanted to shout, saying "I am, hey, I, I am İshak." He opened his mouth. Since the dirty air of the cinema filled his lungs, he could not shout. They left the cinema and passed through the illuminated bazaars. İshak looked dolefully behind them. And then, İshak entered a restaurant with him.

The narrator said in the following paragraph that when he fell sick, his hands grew bigger. His hands became like those of giants. They had also grown once when he was a child. His grandmother or mother had enfolded his hands in their palms and said that it was nothing. "Look, your hands are in our palms." He cooled down for two or three minutes. And then, his hands grew again. When he went out to the street, his hands had shrunk back. He was now on avenues. He was one against a thousand. He was one against ten thousand. "Panco!" he shouted inside. He checked his watch. It was a quarter to eleven. The cinemas were not emptied. The avenues were uninhabited. He passed like a snake from among drunkard men. He did not bump on anyone. Everyone

was looking like Panco. Everyone was going to the football game. He ran after a young man who had raised the collars of his topcoat.

It passed through his mind to offer Panco to go to a football match. He gave up. He wanted to take Panco to a German restaurant. A very beautiful potato salad was made there. There was schnitzel as well. He forgot about Panco. He started to think about going back to the beer house in that passage. He did not say which passage he wanted to go to. In this beer house, people were sitting at tables in couples. He was alone. He was alone among millions. He started to feel a sour-taste in his mouth. It was the sourness of a melon. It was hurting and nauseating him.

He looked at the stars in the beer house and went into a cinema. He remembered that he had ran through the avenue a few days prior. He went into the cinema running. And then he said that he himself did not go into the cinema. It was Panco. Panco acted obstinate. He did not speak. Ishak was thinking about knives and pistols. He was thinking to commit suicide. He was sweating as if he was engulfed in vapour. Then he thought to kill Panco as well. He did not want to die alone.

He went out to the street. He saw a flying saucer and a robot in front of the flying a saucer. He saw Panco again. He still had not taken off his topcoat. The lips of fur were kissing him. Panco remembered Ishak at this time. When Panco lied alongside of him in summer days, he would sink into a comfortable sleep. He did not have nightmares on those nights. He did not dream about anything. For him, nothingness was very beautiful. When Panco arrived late, he went mad. When he came, he kissed his eyes. He wandered in many places. However, he was still in the cinema. He was saying that he had to get out of there. He wanted to run in the streets as watchers and policemen followed him. He opened the door of a little room. Panco was sleeping. There was a sweet pinkishness to his face. His brows were wet; his lips were dry.

The man in the bed turned into a little girl. In another room, Panco was sleeping. His topcoat was on the sofa. The little girl was looking at the narrator. There were only drunkards, pimps, and riff raff. All of them were nice men. They were alone even while they were lying with a woman. He was in the street again. He wanted to find an open place and drink one more beer. Panco was still sleeping. His brows were wet. There were two pillows under his head. The narrator took one of them and put it on his toes. He snuggled down there. His hands were growing, growing, and growing...

The title of this story was *Yalnızlığın Yarattığı İnsan* (The Person Created by Loneliness). Who was the man created by loneliness? He was both the narrator protagonist and his imagined friend Panco. Since the narrator was a lonely man, he created Panco as an imaginary friend. Loneliness made the narrator into a man creating imaginary friends. So, the narrator's loneliness created Panco.

Even though space and time was not definite in the story and it had a surrealistic style, some clues might be found that the imagined space of the story was Beyoğlu. At 11 p.m,

er, Panco was not as understanding in the city as he was in Alemdağı. In fact, he was as if he was inanimate in Alemdağı. But he was hale and hearty in front of Galatasaray. He ignored the narrator both while in Galatasaray and in the coffeehouse. The man in the coffeehouse also laughed at him in the sleeve. In this city, people were either ignoring or mocking him. However, when he saw the sheep fur on Panco's neck, he relaxed, feeling the calmness of the fur. He was a lonely man who had lost his past and was getting cold among the crowd of the city and Beyoğlu.

He lost his past and got his secret feelings out of the closet. Although Beyoğlu was described as a space of freedom in many stories written in the 1940s for young, penniless, and excluded men, even Beyoğlu did not welcome the old and "different" narrator protagonist in this story which was written in the 1950s. In the mid-1950s, Beyoğlu changed radically and was Turkified as a result of the September 6&7 incidents. During

there were thousands of people in this place. However, streets and avenues were empty at that hour since everyone was in cinemas. Such a place can only be Beyoğlu in Istanbul. Moreover, he took away his imaginary friend to a German restaurant. This cosmopolitan atmosphere indicated that this place might be Beyoğlu.

The narrator was wandering around Beyoğlu and imagining a friend. He was thinking to commit suicide. Perhaps he was imagining this friend in order not to commit suicide. There was fur on the neck of his friend. He imagined the same fur on his own neck, as well. He was alone among millions. For this reason, he was getting cold. He did not have any friends. He tried to fill the lack of a person with fur. His hands were growing, since he lost his perception of space and time and control of his own body. While he had been a child, his hands had also been growing. However, then, his mother and grandmother cooled him down. But now, there was nobody to cool him down.

He was a *flâneur* wandering in the streets of the city at nights. He sought an imaginary friend in beer houses, cinemas, restaurants and stadiums. He was getting cold in the coldness of the night as a lonely man. He wanted to see houses from which light filtered through their windows. He looked in admiration at the lights of these houses and their warmth. Sait Faik. *Bütün Eserleri 7: Alemdağda Var Bir Yılan*, 2nd ed. Istanbul: Bilgi, 1976, pp. 16-25.

these two days, non-Muslims' shops were plundered and non-Muslim citizens were attacked. Moreover, the right-populist government of the era accelerated the disengagement of intellectuals from the state. Sait Faik's pessimistic tone which he adopted in stories in *Alemdağ'da Var Bir Yılan* and his representation of Beyoğlu as a 'dirty' space would influence intellectuals with different impetuses than Sait Faik's.

Another story in which Beyoğlu is treated in a surrealistic atmosphere is *Öyle Bir Hikâye* (A Story at Random) from *Alemdağ'da Var Bir Yılan*. At the beginning of the story, the narrator went out from the cinema at night. The cinema was probably in Beyoğlu. The rainy weather made him angry; he swore. He wanted to walk; but then, gave up. A taxi driver was shouting: "Atikali, Atikali". He suddenly decided to go to Atikali. After a short taxi trip, he reached Atikali.¹²⁹⁰

If he were to walk a hundred steps from Bomonti in Şişli, he would reach his house, shrink in his bed under two quilts, and think about his friend Panco. That is, the cinema was most likely in Beyoğlu. However, he did not go to his house. He did not have any other friend except his imaginary friend Panco. On an island of Istanbul, there were his sick mother and his black dog under her bed. On the other hand, his friend Panco resided in Çilek (Strawberry) Street.¹²⁹¹

He exited the taxi on a boulevard in Atikali. He was walking under the rain and missing his mother, his dog, and Panco. He was wandering in the streets of Atikali, thinking about two people and an animal. When he heard nightwatchmen's whistles blow, a crazy-looking man came out from a home and said "elder brother, I have killed my girlfriend, hide me!" The narrator showed him his coat's pocket. The murderer hid in

¹²⁹⁰ Sait Faik. *Bütün Eserleri 7: Alemdağ'da Var Bir Yılan*, 2nd ed. Istanbul: Bilgi, 1976. p. 9.

¹²⁹¹ Ibid.

his pocket and got lost among the crumbs and sesames left from the bagel which the narrator had eaten earlier in the morning.¹²⁹²

The narrator asked what his name was, in the direction of his pocket. The voice coming from the pocket said Hidayet. The narrator again asked why he killed his girlfriend. Hidayet said "I loved her very much, elder brother." The narrator asked what her name was. Her name was Pakize. Hidayet called out to the narrator from the pocket and said "my elder brother, would you like me to tell the rest of the story?" The narrator said "do not tell, that's enough!" Hidayet said from the pocket "ok, elder brother. I remain silent. But, tell about me to Panco, okay?" Hidayet said again that however, the rest of the story was also good. The narrator said "Hidayet, I will handle the rest. Leave my pocket. My coat has gotten wet. I cannot carry the two of you, I'm tired."¹²⁹³

The sesame in his pocket turned into a flea and jumped into the yard of the Fatih mosque. The narrator started to think about the rest of the story which he would tell Panco. He would say that Hidayet stabbed a nail into Pakize's chest. He was earning his living selling sesame halva. Pakize said that she could not marry a seller of sesame halva. Love did not satisfy one's hunger. The story within the story finished here. The narrator protagonist said that the story for Panco was ready.¹²⁹⁴

Some policemen saw him while wandering in Fatih and asked him what he was doing there at that time and where he lived. He replied "Şişli". They searched him for security purposes. He had sixty seven liras and thirty seven kurushes, a pen, a worksheet of a short story, a photograph of Panco, and another pen. They asked him what his occupation was. He said that he was a writer. They did not understand and asked if he was a

¹²⁹² Ibid., p. 9, 10.

¹²⁹³ Ibid., p. 10.

¹²⁹⁴ Ibid., pp. 11, 12.

clerk. Moreover, they asked where he was working as a clerk? “In Kocaeli in İkbāl Anbarı”, he said. He did not know how Kocaeli and İkbāl Anbarı came to his mind. Police told him that he should not wander and should go to his home. However, he did not go to his house. He started to wander around Fatih Park. He saw a man who was leaning against the rails of the Park. He told the narrator about his ugly wife as well as his ugly, blind in one eye, and fetid daughter. His son also smelled like urine, sweat, and feet. On the other hand, the rails of Fatih Park, its grass and the rain smelled very beautiful.¹²⁹⁵

He continued to walk. The man who was leaning against the rails of the Park called out to him: “Rejoice! Have you seen how wonderful the world was? The friend of Panco! The son of Faik Bey!” (*Var ol! Gördün mü? Var mı imiş dünya. Panco’nun arkadaşı! Faik Bey’in oğlu!*) He walked till Zeyrek. There was not a soul around the Atatürk Avenue. While he was thinking about how he went down from the barriers of Zeyrek, he remembered a teenage memory. When he was a high school student in Bursa, he had smoked hash for the first and last time. On that day too, he had gotten confused about how to go down from the barriers overlooking the Nilüfer Plain. A middle aged man had helped him. He saw a dog near the Zeyrek Slope. He spoke with this stray dog and said that he was not Faik Bey’s son anymore. He said, “we will have a morality in the future of the likes no book written until today contains.”¹²⁹⁶

Lastly, he encountered a drunkard man on the Atatürk Bridge. He was heaving on the Bridge. While he was in Azakkapı, he heard the cries of this drunkard man from the Unkapanı Bridge. He then went to Panco’s

¹²⁹⁵ Ibid., pp. 12-14.

¹²⁹⁶ Ibid., pp. 15, 16.

quarter. Panco was sleeping. He called out to Panco. But Panco did not hear him. The narrator had no strength left. He saw a taxi. He got in the taxi and started out to his home in Bomonti.¹²⁹⁷

This was a completely fantastic story. Dogs and sesames were speaking. Murderers were going into the narrator's pocket and turning into fleas. And the narrator protagonist was thinking about morality and the world, wandering in the streets of the city. The story began in the exit door of a cinema in Beyoğlu and finished in the taxi going to Bomonti from near Unkapanı Bridge. However, it was as if he did not want to wander in Beyoğlu, which he had hinted in *Alemdağ'da Var Bir Yılan*, too. He did not feel comfortable in Beyoğlu anymore. People were looking at him belittlingly and Panco was ignoring him.

He was wandering in Istanbul beyond the Bridge while there was no one in the streets except stray dogs and some drunkard men. While wandering, he was thinking about morality and life. The drunkard man called out to him, referring to him as Panco's friend and the son of Faik Bey. He was in a dilemma between being the son of Faik Bey and Panco's friend. Faik Bey's class position imposed upon him the morality of the petty bourgeoisie. Panco's was the morality of lower classes and side streets. When he saw the stray dog, he said he was Panco's friend and no one else. However, the morality of Panco's class might also exclude the narrator protagonist and those like him. For this reason, he wanted a morality which could not be found in any book.

This story was written in the early 1950s. A right populist government was in power. Pressures on intellectuals and authors that characterized the 1940s were increasingly ongoing in this period as well. Moreover, Sait Faik's health problems were growing and as he felt that he was ap-

¹²⁹⁷ Ibid., pp. 17, 18, 19.

proaching the end of his life, he did not hide his feelings and sexual inclinations anymore. He wanted to explicitly say that he wanted a completely different morality. Therefore, he started to express himself through fantastic story writing using a surrealistic tone. He was still the *flâneur* of the city. I described the *flâneur* earlier as the man who is afraid of the crowds but who cannot do without them. However, at this time, the *flâneur* was running away from crowds. He could loiter in the city only when the crowds had withdrawn themselves. He could think about himself and his own life in empty parks where there were only drunkard men and stray dogs.

10. 3. An Imaginary Friend in the Suburb of Beyoğlu

In the above mentioned two stories, Panco was a more mysterious character. But, in *Panco'nun Rüyası* (The Dream of Panco), he is a more concrete character. The narrator protagonist begins the story saying that Panco was living on a muddy street in Beyoğlu with his family. He was an electrician. His father was a carpenter. When he got off work, he went to a coffeehouse and gambled. He sometimes lost his entire weekly wage overnight. His most serious problem was his inability to get out of bed in the mornings. Sometimes he fell into unemployment with his father for months. In these times, the narrator helped him financially. He bought the school books of Panco's younger sister or brother while Panco and his father were jobless. He also bought gifts for Panco such as wrist watches. However, Panco did not speak with him when anyone from his family was accompanying him.¹²⁹⁸

Panco was Greek. He sometimes went to theatres with the narrator. He loved the narrator; however, the narrator had strange habits which

¹²⁹⁸ Sait Faik. *Bütün Eserleri 7: Alemdağda Var Bir Yılan*, 2nd ed., Istanbul: Bilgi, 1976. p. 36.

sometimes made him angry. The narrator had many “Panco”s. All of them looked like this Panco in the story. One day, Panco saw his friend in his dream with another Panco. Panco, simultaneously, both was and was not his own self. When he woke up, he took a glance at his home and checked whether everything was in its proper place. Everything was in its proper place; however, something had changed.¹²⁹⁹

In this story, the narrator told of his imaginary friend Panco who was living in a poor quarter of Beyoğlu. Which quarter Panco was living in was not mentioned in the short story; however, it was a classical Beyoğlu suburb with its muddy streets and cosmopolitan population like Tarlabası. Both Greeks like Panco and other minorities were living in this quarter along with Turks. Panco was a young and poor boy in this story. The narrator’s interest in him was beyond the interest of one friend for another. He did favours to him with no thought of personal gain. However, these favours were not for the sake of friendship alone. He liked Panco. Sait Faik created an imaginary character, Panco, to be able to speak of his own sexual orientation more easily. Panco could have been any young men who he liked. This young boy responded to his sexual and emotional needs and did not belittle him. In the story, Panco saw the narrator in his dream with another Panco similar to himself. Panco was the image of many men who looked like each other in Sait Faik’s mind. They were young boys who did not belittle him for his personality and sexual orientation. As I said above, Sait Faik was a man running from the crowds and creating his imaginary friends by then in *Alemdağ’da Var Bir Yılan*. As a lonely and sick man, he felt even more of an outsider than in the past.

¹²⁹⁹ Ibid., p. 37.

10. 4. A *Flâneur* Wandering in a 'Medieval' City

The above mentioned three stories were from *Alemdağ'da Var Bir Yılan*. Before them, I discussed *Bir Takım İnsanlar* from *Semaver*, which was his first published book. That is, even in his first book, short stories involving some fantastic elements can be found. However, there are more fantastic stories in *Alemdağ'da Var Bir Yılan* than in all of his previous books combined. In some of his fantastic stories in his earlier works, he makes use of the Medieval architecture of Galata and Beyoğlu. *Serseri Çocukla Köpek* (A Street Urchin and the Dog) is a story involving some fantastic elements and makes use of the Medieval architecture of Galata. The story begins with the sentence "the street urchin, who was shouldering a dog, was on the move". Both of them were dirty. The dog was two months old. The child was 10 years old. It was midnight. Beyoğlu was looking like a Medieval city, as if naked captives would be dragging the lord's car at morning. Soldiers of the lord would raid the houses and drag away the women. These women would have such beautiful eyes and big butts that the artist who decorated the palace of the lord would tear his hair out. He would run from one woman to the other. He would ask for one of them from the soldiers to make her the woman of his dreams and paintings. The soldiers would say that he could choose whoever he wanted. But he would not be able to decide who he would choose.¹³⁰⁰

People of the conquered city would pour out into the streets under the midday sun. Wine would be poured down the slopes with the big wine casks making noises like gunshots. A fat sailor would drown among the wine. A raped woman would kill a soldier biting his neck. Tigers who

¹³⁰⁰ Sait Faik. *Havuz Başı*, İstanbul: Varlık, 1952. p. 81.

had escaped from ships would wander in the streets without attacking anyone because they are drunk. It would get dark. The city would be full of scents of olive oil, gillyflower and amber. A thick black curtain of lust, slavery, and tears would cover the city. Iron doors would be closed shut. Voices of laughter and music would be heard coming only from the lord's palace. As the little street child was walking with his little dog in Galata, the narrator was thinking about these things. The dog suddenly barked and turned ill-tempered. The child downed it from his shoulders and started to sing a folk song. The narrator realized that the year was 1948 and he was at the middle of a slope that went down to the Galata docks.¹³⁰¹

There were three characters in the story: a street urchin, a dog, and the narrator protagonist. The narrator was wandering in Galata at midnight. Galata was silent and desolate in that hour, contrary to Beyoğlu. It looked like a Medieval city. Just then, he saw a street urchin with a dog. It seemed to him as if nothing had changed in Galata since the Medieval ages. There were still street children in the streets, as in ages when people were bought and sold as slaves. The narrator used a symbolical language in this story. Galata had been surrounded by walls till the 19th century. When the gates were shut, life would stop in Galata. In 1948, too, Galata was silent at night as if its gates were shut.

I want to touch upon two different representations by the artist in the story. The Medieval artist was the servant of the lord in the story. He had a patron and could demand from the patron whatever he wished. However, the narrator had neither a patron nor a defined position in society. He was a lonely man wandering in Galata without knowing what to do and was imagining the past of Galata. I mentioned Benja-

¹³⁰¹ Ibid., pp. 81, 82.

min's representation of the artist as a *flâneur* in the second chapter. In the modern ages, Baudelaire had neither a patron nor a defined position in society, just like the writer of this story. The feeling of exclusion and suspension made artists like Sait Faik think about their positions in society, which led to the rise of modernism in the 1940s. The figure of the little man as an artist rose in literature in this way.

Another story in which medieval history and the Christian past of Pera shaped the story space is *Bir Bahçe* (A Garden) by Sait Faik. According to the narrator, people live for years in a city and then they are disgusted by and tired of it. They think that they have seen and known every place of that city. However, there might be many streets which they had not seen before in that city. People pass in front of many buildings every day. However, many of these buildings have numerous characteristics which were not recognized by these passers-by. When you raise your head, you recognize that you have not seen this building carrying such big sculptures on its top before.¹³⁰²

One night, the narrator was late to his house or rather, he did not want to go to his house. He was drunk and depressed. He stayed at a hotel in Beyoğlu. He opened the window before he went to bed in the hotel room. He was smoking in front of the window. It was a warm spring night. The scents of leaves and a sweet silence was leaking into the room. There was a garden in front of the window. The wind was shaking the big trees in the garden. The narrator gazed above them. The stars were more different than ever.¹³⁰³

A very thin mosque minaret and a coffeehouse were seen through a May night. The narrator felt like an outcast, a loner, an unemployed

¹³⁰² Sait Faik. *Mahalle Kahvesi*, Istanbul: Varlık, 1954. p. 82.

¹³⁰³ Ibid., p. 83.

man, and a dilly-dallier. He was longing for previous Augusts and August nights. He caught the whiff of nights, blue seas and water melons. Before he went into his hotel room, he was disgusted by everything. The idea of suicide had occurred to his mind. There was a red light shining far away. It could be seen from among the leaves. It was just about twinkling. He looked at the stars and chose one of them. It was playing with colours. Its colour was turning blue from orange and orange from blue. He was drunk, sleepless, and tired. So, while he was awake, he was dreaming. Maybe, there was no such star in the sky at all.¹³⁰⁴

He put out the cigarette, undressed, turned off the light and went to bed. He slept as soon as he went into the bed. When he woke up, he saw the coppice forest from the window. It was very beautiful. It was not a small hotel garden. There were big trees and small paths among them. The trees had different red, yellow, green, and even white leaves. The narrator felt that this coppice forest might extend to remote places, sea-shores, or a girls' school where young girls dozed off in morning oscitancy. He left the hotel. He saw a church when he looked to his right. He thought that he had walked staring straight down the previous night. He did not recognise even this hotel and church. Millions of leaves were streaming in front of its door. The building was rising up among the fog. He thought that he might still be in a dream and this church building would disappear soon. However, it did not disappear. He was not in a dream.¹³⁰⁵

There were small and silent paths beyond the church. Leaves were streaming there as well. The trees were invaded by birds immediately. He even heard the sounds of frogs. He thought again that he might be in

¹³⁰⁴ Ibid.

¹³⁰⁵ Ibid., p. 84.

dream. However, he continued to hear the sounds of birds. They were reminding the narrator of smooth and snowy plains. Suddenly he heard the whistles of the tram. There was the familiar Istanbul beyond this small forest and the church. Then, he recognized that he was in a hotel in Beyoğlu.¹³⁰⁶

The narrator protagonist was the only character of the story. He was melancholic, depressed and bored. He even thought of suicide. He did not want to go to his house and decided to stay in a hotel. There was a garden with trees in the hotel. Trees, their leaves, and silence gave him peace and cooled him down. He sank into a deep sleep. When he awoke at morning, he recognised that what he had seen at night was not a hotel garden with trees. It was a somewhat large coppice forest.

At the beginning of the story, he said that an unknown place could be discovered in a big city every day. Loiterature also means long travels over short distances within the city. While the narrator was wandering melancholically in Beyoğlu, he discovered a place of Beyoğlu which he had not seen before. It made him forget his suicidal thoughts and hatred of the city. It was like a different world within Beyoğlu. While the narrator was looking for a hotel in the darkness of the night, he went into a coppice forest which seemed to him like a different world. His melancholic mood also enabled him to perceive this space as a magical world. In the story, fantastic elements fed into the narrator's different perception of space.

The psychogeography of a metropolis continuously changes according to the moods of its residents. It is like an uncompleted map. Making discoveries on this uncompleted map might be possible through loitering. Loitering in this story was an activity which the narrator did to temper

¹³⁰⁶ Ibid., pp. 84, 85.

his melancholy as a *flâneur*. Melancholic young men were one of the popular themes of story writing in the 1940s which stemmed from authors' exclusion from positions of government authority and as a result, from the society, leading to their pennilessness and loneliness. It can be claimed that loitering could be a central element shaping the fiction in many stories in this way.

10. 5. Sorrows, Regrets, and Hesitations of the Narrator as a Little Man

Another story which involves fantastic elements and whose protagonist is a melancholic man wandering in Beyoğlu is *İki Kişi Arasında* (Between Two People) by Sabahattin Kudret Aksal. The short story begins with the narrator protagonist asking his friend whether they would drink that night. His friend told him that "your choice." The narrator said that they should, and then he added "where? Do we go to the Passage?" His friend said "I think it's the best place." And then the friend added "but there might be better places". He usually went to the small taprooms in every nook and cranny.¹³⁰⁷

It was almost about to rain. The Avenue and facades of houses and shops would be washed clean by the rain. Then, the narrator could see them as clear as on the first day they were built. "Let us go to another place rather than the Passage" he said to his friend. They went into a narrow side street. He wanted to purify himself from everything including all his thoughts, beliefs, and memories. He wanted to be as he was on the first day he had recognised the world. He should have been like a man who came to this city for the first time and randomly went into this

¹³⁰⁷ Sabahattin Kudret Aksal. *Gazoz Ağacı ve Diğer Öyküler*, 15th ed., İstanbul: YKY, 2013. p. 135.

quarter. They went into a taproom. Only one table was empty at the remotest edge. They sat at that table. He did not look at the other people in the taproom. After a short silence, he told his friend that he was the same as how he had been twenty days prior.¹³⁰⁸

His friend said "I see." He told his friend that he had said "I see" on that night as well. He lit a cigarette and asked what his friend would do on that night after they left. His friend said that they would be up all night in a park. And then his friend asked "and you?". "Me too" he said smiling. His friend smiled in a friendly manner and said that they could not do it. His friend was right. He could not do it.¹³⁰⁹

He used to think that as long as a person spoke, they unburdened their heart. However, he was mistaken. He felt more sorrow on the days that followed these kinds of nights. He thought that he should not have written that story. His friend said "you will say one day that I should not have written this story, as well." He said that no, it was not the same thing. His friend said "what did you say, but how did you explain." He asked "how should I have explained and what should I have said?" "I have only said that I am not that man." His friend asked "you mean the man in the story." He said "yes." His friend said "you should not have said that. Why are you not saying directly what you wanted to say?" He said that he did not understand. His friend said "have you not said now on the inside that I should not have written that story?" This was correct. He said "yes" but added "saying what is thought clearly is a very bad thing for a person." His friend said "yes, you are right."¹³¹⁰

Rain started outside. Men in their wet topcoats and hats were entering through the door of the taproom. Among them, there were peddlers

¹³⁰⁸ Ibid.

¹³⁰⁹ Ibid., p. 136.

¹³¹⁰ Ibid., pp. 136, 137.

who sold flowers, cigarette holders, and wallets. The narrator usually loved peddlers. However, he did not love them that night. His friend looked at his face in a friendly manner again; however, he spoke a sentence which was treasonous for the narrator: "You made a mistake." The narrator felt as if he had been stabbed in a side street on a rainy night. He asked his friend whether they really thought that. His friend recognized his anger and said "because of your laziness." He asked his friend what he was saying, for the sake of God! His friend repeated that he made a mistake because of his laziness. His friend spoke so precisely that there was no other way for the narrator except to accept his friend's view. He said that true, he made a mistake because of his laziness.¹³¹¹

He felt a wonderful ease in this taproom because nobody recognized him. He in turn recognized nobody else in this taproom. Nobody in the city knew that he was in this small taproom now. He got lost and severed himself from all his ties. No one knew his name, house, occupation, lover, friendships, or hostilities in this taproom. He did not feel, think, or wish anything. He was like a man who came to this city from another city for the first time. He did not desire any adventure in this foreign city. He wanted only to sleep in a hotel room.¹³¹²

His friend said that he would not sleep. Besides, he would do his level best not to sleep. He thought of a sentence, liked it very much, and said it. He added that he wanted to write this sentence down. His friend curled their lips and said that he should not write it. It was very meaningless. He insisted on his sentence and said that he wanted to write it. His friend said that he would abhor this sentence one day. This sentence

¹³¹¹ Ibid., p. 137.

¹³¹² Ibid., p. 138.

would continuously annoy and keep following him for his entire life. They ordered one more bottle of alcohol. They drank for a while without speaking. His friend gazed at his face and asked him what he was thinking. How could he say what he thought? He wanted to take a girl from this quarter away to another edge of the city where life was calmer.¹³¹³

They went out from the taproom and passed through an illuminated avenue. He asked his friend where they would go. His friend said that they had told where they would go. The narrator suddenly could not remember. His friend said they would go to the park. His friend would go to the park and spend the night on a tree branch. His friend asked "and you?". He said that he would go to the house. As his friend was leaving, he said "good night." He told his friend that he should not ridicule him, for the sake of God.¹³¹⁴

This story has two characters. One of them is the narrator protagonist. The other one is the friend of the narrator. Whether his friend is woman or man, their name, and their identity are not clear. Probably they are an imagined friend. In fact, he implies at the end of the story that his friend is imaginary, saying that his friend would go to the park and spend the night on a tree branch. The narrator is a melancholic man who regretfully wanders the streets of Beyoğlu. He was sorrowful and regretful because of something. However, what made him sorrowful and regretful is not explained in the story. He thinks that he should not have written or said anything. However, he did not say anything about the causes of his regrets and sorrows. Probably, they were ordinary regrets and sorrows which every person comes across.

¹³¹³ Ibid.

¹³¹⁴ Ibid., p. 139.

He wanted to be alone with his regrets and sorrows. For this reason, he went to a small taproom in one of the side streets of Beyoğlu rather than the Flower Passage. I said in the first chapter that the city enabled people to make long travels over short distances. Beyoğlu was also such a place where people could hide from other people, changing places over short distances. For example, the narrator of *Lüzumsuz Adam* (Superfluous Man) isolated himself from other people for seven years, living in Asmalımescit. The narrator of this story was also alone by himself in a small taproom for a night. If he had gone to the Passage, he could not be alone by himself. Probably, he would come across an acquaintance. In fact, he thought about staying in the Park the entire night. His imagined “friend” offered him in a roundabout way to stay in the Park. This imagined friend was his own self and they said what he could not confess himself. However, he could not dare. He went to his house.

Finally, I want to discuss how the narrator represented the taproom as the story space. As I said above, he preferred a small taproom rather than one of the taprooms in the Flower Passage, in order not to come across an acquaintance. In the side streets of Beyoğlu, many small taprooms of this kind could be found anyway. Beyoğlu and the small taproom were story spaces; however, he did not talk about them in a detailed way. He turned in upon himself, discovering an imaginary friend. We could not learn the precise cause of the narrator’s sorrows and regrets. However, he regretted writing some stories and speaking some words. Why was this so important? Some speculations can be made about his regrets. As told earlier, young literators of the 1940s had neither fame among people nor columns in newspapers or journals like the authors of the old generation did. They had to address a small group. They themselves were a small society. For this reason, perhaps under the fear of being excluded from this group, they might have regretted

some of their writings. However, more importantly, their lack of self-confidence as excluded intellectuals led them to hesitation in their writings and daily relations.

The first story which I discussed in this chapter was *Bir Takım İnsanlar* by Sait Faik. The story had some surrealistic themes. At a very late hour of the night, eighty dowdy men come together and march on the house of the governor. While discussing this story, I compared it to *Bronze Cavalry* by Pushkin and claimed that dowdy men's rebellion in *Bir Takım İnsanlar* was a flash in the pan, as in *Bronze Cavalry*. The other three stories were from *Alemdağ'da Var Bir Yılan*. These stories were written in a period when Sait Faik was running away from the crowds and crafting his imaginary friends in his stories. As a lonely and ill man, he felt his outsidership more intensely, compared to the past. In *Alemdağ'da Var Bir Yılan*, we saw that the narrator did not feel comfortable even in Beyoğlu anymore. People were looking at him belittlingly and even Panco was ignoring him. In *Öyle Bir Hikaye*, while wandering, he was thinking about morality and life. In *Panco'nun Rüyası*, the narrator told of his imaginary friend Panco who was living in a poor quarter of Beyoğlu. In another story *Serseri Çocukla Köpek* by Sait Faik, the characters were a street urchin, a dog, and the narrator protagonist. The narrator was wandering in Galata at midnight. Galata was silent and desolate in that hour contrary to Beyoğlu and smacked of its medieval past. The fantastic medieval artist character was important in this story. The medieval artist had a patron and could demand from the patron whatever he wished. However, the narrator had neither a patron nor a defined position in society. The last story of Sait Faik was *Bir Bahçe* in which the only character was the melancholic, depressed and bored narrator protagonist, contemplating even to commit suicide. He found a hotel in the late hours of the night in Beyoğlu. The hotels' big

garden covered by trees made him forgot his thoughts of suicide and his hatred of the city. The last story I discussed in this chapter is *İki Kişi Arasında* by Sabahattin Kudret Aksal. In the story, the narrator protagonist who wanted to forget his regrets and sorrows went to a desolate taproom with his imaginary friend in Beyoğlu. He regretted writing some stories and saying some words, but did not express them clearly. Seven stories in total were discussed in this chapter. Six of them were Sait Faik's and three of those were from *Alemdağ'da Var Bir Yılan*. In the three stories from *Alemdağ'da Var Bir Yılan*, the narrator focused on his sexual orientation and morality. In *Bir Takım İnsanlar*, he touched upon a social problem. That is why he preferred a fantastic style. In *Serseri Çocukla Köpek*, he discussed an individual problem which had a social dimension: his social position as an author and intellectual. Sait Faik's last story was *Bir Bahçe*. In this story, the narrator protagonist's hatred of the city was treated. He overcame this feeling by loitering in the city and discovering a new corner of the city. Sabahattin Kudret Aksal treated an individual problem in his one story discussed in this chapter. The narrator protagonist told some of his regrets and sorrows to his imaginary friend in *İki Kişi Arasında*. The narrator regretted some stories and writings he wrote. In fact, this was also a problem which had a social dimension. Young writers' and intellectuals' exclusion limited them to a small community and this created another pressure on them in addition to the pressure of the state. They were scared of being excluded by their community due to what they wrote and said.

11

Conclusion

In this dissertation, I examined, over seven main chapters, how short story writers from the generation of the 1940s in Turkish literature and especially Sait Faik represented Beyoğlu. Firstly, in the second chapter, I discussed the concept of the *flâneur* and other main concepts of my dissertation, relating them to literary modernism and claimed that the *flâneur* was the artist who took refuge in crowds because he had lost his old aristocratic position and could not gain a new one in the new capitalist society. His only occupation was to live among crowds and to render the lives of “parasitic” people readable to governing classes as a parasitic figure who could easily be discarded by them. This suspended position led him to suspend the discipline of bourgeois society. Therefore, I claimed that *flâneurs* and *flâneurship* can be examined under the heading of loiterature. The *flâneur’s* entire occupation was loitering. On the other hand, ordinary people might also suspend the schedule and discipline of work sometimes in a capitalist society.

The literature of loiterers focused not only on *flâneurship* but also on these moments of suspension. Hence, I made a distinction between *flâneurs* and loiterers. Loitering influenced not only the schedule and discipline of daily life but also of writing activity. For this reason, digression was both a style of writing and a source of pleasure for the *flâneur* and the loiterer. At this juncture, I brought up a literary genre: metropolitan miniature. These were short, condensed city texts which were written digressively and which focused on the city space. Many important literary figures of the nineteenth and twentieth century produced these kinds of texts from Baudelaire to Aragon, Benjamin to Kracauer, and Kafka to Adorno.

After I discussed the main concepts of the dissertation with examples from nineteenth and twentieth century France and Paris, I analysed the appearance of St. Petersburg as a modern metropolis and capital, and the superfluous men of St. Petersburg. First, I claimed, referencing Trotsky that old Russian literature mainly rested on the peasantry. With the emergence of the literature of more modernized, differentiated, and individualized radical intellectuals, Russian literature started to focus on both the city and the little men in the city. Petersburg and the modern life in Petersburg became one of the main themes of this new literature. Trotsky characterizes these young and radical authors as “the most unimportant ones of unimportant children of the world.” These young men represented a new intellectual type in Russia: young, educated, penniless men. Their identities were shaped in the Nicholas I period in which links between intellectuals and the state were broken. The author became a superfluous man as an intellectual and he lost his privileged position among the middle class. I examined Pushkin’s *Bronze Cavalry* and Gogol’s *Diary of a Madman*. These two authors represented a new type of literator for Russia as excluded, neglected, and poor men.

Their characters were also representing a new type of people who could generally be seen in Petersburg rather than other areas and cities of the Empire. In treating ordinary and poor men from Petersburg, they were expressing their individualities. Baudelaire's identity as a *flâneur* was shaped in a Restoration era after a Revolution. The Tsarist oppression at the eve of the Revolutions along with their personal traits turned Gogol and Pushkin into superfluous men of Petersburg.

After I presented the main concepts of my dissertation, I touched upon the history of Pera and Galata. I first briefly examined the history of Beyoğlu and Galata before the nineteenth century. Then, I mainly focused on the history of Pera and Galata in the nineteenth century, especially in the second half of it. In the nineteenth century, the borders between Pera and Galata as a centre of residence and entertainment and a centre of business became evident and Pera became enriched and grew larger under the influence of capitulations. At the beginning of the twentieth century, Pera and Galata started to lose some of their privileges brought about by capitulations. They became poorer and got Turkified under the influences of events such as World War I and the National Struggle. Events such as World War II and the introduction of the Wealth Tax showed that this situation of Beyoğlu and Galata was not temporary. The Incidents of September 6&7 in the second half of the twentieth century precisely proved that the old Levantine Pera and Galata were finished forever.

Even though changes took place in Beyoğlu in the first half of the twentieth century, Turkish literary figures who started to write in the first decade of the twentieth century continued to see Beyoğlu as the space of every kind of evil, as a centre of decadent consumption and entertainment. Journalists represented Beyoğlu with a literary language that was full of metaphors, dualities, and contradictions because of their

conservative and literary backgrounds in this period. Politics was among their main interests. Journalism was an occupation which was closely connected to both literature and politics. Therefore, many of them chose journalism as an occupation. As a result, literary figures who were born at the end of the nineteenth century dominated Turkish press in the 1940s and their representation of Beyoğlu became popular. They represented Beyoğlu negatively in both their newspaper essays and literary works with a metaphorical language full of dualities and contradictions even though they loved Beyoğlu and spent time there in their daily lives. Their literary hostility to Beyoğlu and the lifestyle there was a product of the era in which they were born. Shortly before World War I, they were educated young men of the middle classes. In this period, the intellectual world was militarized and came under the influence of romanticism and nationalism in Europe, too. Turkish intellectuals' world of thought was also shaped in this atmosphere. I indicated this approach of theirs in the fourth chapter.

In the fifth chapter, I discussed aesthetic modernism in Turkish literature from the 1930s to the 1950s, focusing especially on the 1940s and short story writing. In the 1930s, the leading figure of this current was Nâzım Hikmet. The long imprisonment of Nâzım Hikmet, political suppression in the 1940s, personal characteristics of leftist poets, and their theoretical and literary backgrounds curbed the influence of Nâzım. The revolutionary modernism of Nâzım Hikmet left its place to Baudelairean modernism in the 1940s. The leading current of poetry in the 1940s was Garip. At first, Garip became widespread with Nurullah Ataç's support, who influenced Turkish literature with his Westernist, individualistic, and modernist thoughts in the 1940s and 1950s. They remained the leading current of poetry throughout all of the 1940s. The modernist uprising led by Gavsî Özansoy also had an influence on the rise of

modernism in the 1940s. The short story writing of Sait Faik and the poetry of Garip fed into each other from the beginning. The short story writing of Sait Faik, which was completely new for Turkish literature, influenced two short story writer generations. His short stories prioritised the story space as much as the story line. Many short story writers of the generation of the 1940s did the same. Their bohemian life in Beyoğlu influenced the content and shape of their short stories. Many modernist authors and poets of this generation died at young ages. They had wrestled with economic and psychological problems all their lives. These authors who treated little men in their short stories were little men themselves. In this chapter, I claimed that the links between the state elite and the literary elite were broken in the 1940s in Turkey, as they had been in the Nicholas I era in Russia. As a result, the rising of the figure of the little man and the current of modernism was at the same time a result of this development.

As for the sixth chapter, *Middle Class Intellectuals Discovering Beyoğlu and Its Poor People*, I examined the representations of Beyoğlu through examples from short stories under the light of the theoretical concepts I discussed in the second chapter like literary modernism, loiterature, *flâneur*, superfluous man, digression, and metropolitan miniature. In the sixth chapter, I examined middle class intellectuals discovering the city and its poor people through stories whose space were Beyoğlu. At the same time, I focused on certain specific places of Beyoğlu such as the Galata Bridge, Yüksekaldırım, Tunnel metro, Taksim Square, The Avenue of Beyoğlu (or Istiklal Avenue or the Grand Avenue) and different spaces of Beyoğlu such as cinemas and cafés. I examined the different spaces through different themes such as women, '*hacığa*'s, disabled people, street urchins, loiterers, etc. Thus, I tried to provide a panorama

of Beyoğlu in the 1940s, filtered through the imaginations of different story writers.

While I examined representations of different spaces of Beyoğlu, I tried to follow a particular sequence. First, I focused on the Galata Bridge since it was perceived as both a gate linking the historical peninsula and Galata to each other and a border between them. I mentioned the concept of the door in the third chapter; how the Galata Bridge was a door and a border between the historical peninsula and Galata, how the ferry ports around it were doors which linked Galata to Üsküdar, other small Anatolian districts, and Bosphorus villages. For this reason, I then examined stories whose space was ferry ports. After that, I focused on other “doors” and “borders” of Beyoğlu: Yüksekaldırım, the Tunnel metro, and Taksim Square. Finally, I focused on short stories whose spaces were The Avenue of Beyoğlu (or İstiklal Avenue or the Grand Avenue) and different spaces of Beyoğlu such as cinemas, cafés, or brothels.

In the “People, Hours, Times and Seasons of the Bridge” section of this chapter, I discussed the story *Köprü Üstü* by Oktay Akbal. In this story, the Bridge was the moving and breathing place of the city. It was also the centre of the struggle between people and the city. In the “A Place Like in the Movies” part, I discussed the story *Mavnalar* by Sait Faik. In this story, too, the Bridge was treated as transit and loitering places of workers and working people. In the part “Men Who Could not Hold onto the City on the Bridge”, I discussed two stories by Sait Faik: *Satılık Dünya* and *Çöpçü Ahmet*. In the former one, the protagonist wandering on the Bridge was a man who lost his wife and child. In the latter one also, the protagonist felt defeated at the end of the story; he decided to return to his village. In contrast to the former protagonist, he had a village to return to. In the “Disabled Men on the Bridge” part, I examined three stories whose protagonists are disabled men on and under the Bridge:

Kestaneci Dostum, Gün Ola Harman Ola, and Uzun Ömer. In these three stories, too, little men were focused on. In the first story, the disability of the protagonist pushed him to the margin of the society. In the second story, the narrator was an ordinary man; his occupation rendered him blind. In the third story, too, the narrator was an ordinary man; however, his disability made him different from ordinary people. In all three stories, the Bridge was the workplace of the protagonists. However, for Ahmet in *Kestaneci Dostum*, it was not only a workplace but also a shelter.

After the stories set on the Bridge, I started to examine stories whose space is Yüksekaldırım. In the section titled “The Beyoğlu of Poor People: Yüksekaldırım and its musicality”, I discussed the story *Yüksek Kaldırım* by Sait Faik. Yüksekaldırım was mentioned as a crowded and lively quarter in summers as well as winters. It was like the second centre of Beyoğlu, suitable for ordinary people and people of moderate means. Besides, it was the border of Beyoğlu beyond which poor people seldom passed since it was expensive. Another story was *Bacakları Olsaydı*. This story was like a supplement to the first story. In the first story, the narrator described Yüksekaldırım like a sociologist, writing a monography about a quarter. In the second story, he continued to describe Yüksekaldırım and its crowd; and then chose a person from among this crowd and narrated him. In both stories, Yüksekaldırım was treated as a quarter which was intertwined with music. In the “A Sorrowful Young Man at a Crossroad on Yüksekaldırım” part, I discussed *Büyükanneimin Ölümü* by Sabahattin Kudret Aksal. Sait Faik’s two stories mainly told of Yüksekaldırım’s poor visitors. In this story, however, its residents were told. In daytimes, only middle aged housewives were in this quarter. Men and young women of the quarter went

to work. After they went out from work, they wandered in the Avenue, unlike the poor visitors of Yüksekaldırım.

In the “A Childlike Experience: Travelling underground” part, I discussed *Tüneldeki Çocuk* and *Havuz Başı* by Sait Faik. In both stories, he narrated people who got on or wanted to get on the Tunnel metro to enjoy themselves and to experience a different form of travel rather than people who got on the Tunnel metro to make it to their jobs or homes on time. The narrator whose entire occupation was loitering chose characters of his stories from among loiterers looking like himself.

In the part “Lonely and melancholic men and women in Taksim”, I discussed the stories *Meydan* by Oktay Akbal and *Parkların Sabahı, Akşamı, Gecesi* by Sait Faik. In the first story, the Taksim Square was treated as a meeting point. It was represented as a door and an entrance point of Beyoğlu and loitering place at the same time, like the Bridge. In the second story, the narrator was a lonely man wandering in Beyoğlu and its parks day and night. His entire occupation was to wander in the city’s squares, parks, and streets, like other loiterers, as in the previous story. His difference was in his ability of writing. He could make his “occupation” a part of his art.

In the part “A ‘Monography’ for the Avenue”, I discussed the story *Büyük Cadde* by Naim Tiralı. He narrated only the Avenue in all its details. From what he told about the Avenue, it can be seen clearly that the narrator of the story knew every hour of the Avenue. He knew its daytimes and nights, its weekdays and weekends, and even its bairam times. He knew all its places and recognised all kinds of its residents and visitors. In the part “The Avenue: Cafés and Cinemas”, I discussed the stories *Saatler* by Sabahattin Kudret Aksal. In this story, a little man was treated. Since he had to work, he could not loiter in daytimes. Like

many little people of Istanbul in the 1940s, going to the cinema was a very enjoyable leisure time activity for him. Moreover, sitting in a café and watching the crowd of the Avenue was a form of entertainment specific to Beyoğlu. Watching the crowd from an Avenue-front café was a very attractive loitering and leisure time activity. In this story, too, these activities in Beyoğlu were underlined.

In the part “Story Characters Who Dream about Beyoğlu and Its Cinemas”, I discussed the stories *Kalorifer ve Bahar*, *Bir Define Arayıcısı*, and *Ekmek mi Francala mı* by Sait Faik. In all three stories in which people dreaming about Beyoğlu are narrated, characters who could not succeed in making it in life were treated. The author focused on people at the margins. In the part “dreaming about being a shopkeeper in Beyoğlu”, I discussed two stories: *Hikayemiz* by Afif Yesari and *Kaçamak, Papağan, Karabiber* by Sait Faik. In the former one, two shoemakers were treated. Neither of them had any opportunity to make a life in Beyoğlu for themselves. Especially the old shoemaker had neither the money nor the time to settle in Beyoğlu. His only hope was to win the lottery. Perhaps for this reason, his dreams of Beyoğlu were so lively. The old shoemaker’s lively dreams were exciting his young partner as well. Both of them were poor and living in a poor quarter of Istanbul. Beyoğlu was their dream object. The roots of the story characters in their old quarters prevented them from making a good life for themselves in Beyoğlu. Throughout this study, we saw that Beyoğlu was usually the loitering space in stories. In Afif Yesari’s story, only the Beyoğlu dreams of a poor quarter’s poor people were narrated. In Sait Faik’s story, not only the Beyoğlu dreams of characters but also their poor quarter was narrated, along with their misfortunate lives.

In the part “The Non-Conformity of Loiterers: Those On the Inside and Those On the Outside”, I discussed the story *Cezayir Kahvesi* by Sait

Faik. Its story space was a coffeehouse. The narrator told of the loiterers inside and outside the coffeehouse. The narrator was also among the former. In the part “ntifascist little men in a Beyoğlu taproom”, the story *Kir Spiro* by Samim Kocagöz was discussed. In this story, the political atmosphere of the 1940s was treated around a group of Greek and Turkish little men. One night of these little men in a taproom was narrated. In the part “Summer heat, showcases of Beyoğlu, and loiterers of Beyoğlu”, I discussed *Barometre* by Sait Faik and *İlk Gençlik Sevdaları* by Oktay Akbal. In *Barometre*, the summer days of the Avenue were mentioned. In those summer days, Beyoğlu was left to vagabonds like the narrator. In *İlk Gençlik Sevdaları* as well, Beyoğlu and the Avenue were empty in summer days. Two young boys who longed for their childhoods were narrated. The narrator’s friend longed for his happy and wealthy childhood. The narrator himself was, again, poor when he was a child. However, he also longed for his happy, if poor childhood. They were children of a poor quarter and families.

In the part “Little people of Galata: Melancholic intellectuals, street children, and sailors”, I discussed the stories *Balıkçısını Bulan Olta* by Sait Faik and *Kaptanın Namusu* by Haldun Taner. In the first story, the narrator told himself. His occupation was writing. However, he did not want to write anymore. He needed freedom of love and unbridled thought to be able to write; however, he did not have this freedom. Hence, he chose fishing as a new occupation. However, he gave his fishing rod to a child who was more successful than him in fishing. He was a man without an occupation. He could not even succeed in fishing. He could be successful only in writing. However, he did not have the freedom of love to be able to write. The love which the narrator could not reflect to the reader was a love for men. The story space was the Galata Port; the narrator thought that the port also lost its old liveliness, like

himself. *Kaptanın Namusu* by Haldun Taner tells the story of sailors and crew who lived around Galata and its vicinity. Galata was a meeting point for the sailor characters of the story.

In the part “A quarter of Beyoğlu and the ‘world economy’: Şişhane”, I discussed the story *Şişhane’ye Yağmur Yağıyordu* by Haldun Taner. This is the story of how an accident in Şişhane influenced the business of a businessman in Sao Paulo and changed the life of an entrepreneur in Hamburg who was bankrupted because of Nazis. While the entrepreneur in Hamburg was rising back, another one in Istanbul declined and a horse in Şişhane was responsible for all of it. An accident in Şişhane changed the decision of a businessman in Sao Paulo and determined the fate of a man in Hamburg. As in many other stories, Haldun Taner did not get involved in the narration of this story either. In the story, he represented İstanbul as a part of the world economic network as a meta-narrator through an incident in the Şişhane quarter of Beyoğlu.

In the part “‘Hacıağa’s in Beyoğlu”, I discussed the stories *Beyaz Altın* and *Rıza Milyoner* by Sait Faik. In *Beyaz Altın*, how Beyoğlu became a centre of attraction for provincial merchants in World War II, as was the case in World War I, is told. Sait Faik wrote this story set in the years of World War I while World War II was looming. Everyone estimated in those years that a new World War would break out. Sait Faik estimated that provincial merchants, who would be called “*hacıağa*”s in the years of World War II, would appear in Beyoğlu during the new world war again. In *Rıza Milyoner*, Sait Faik’s background as a crime reporter played an important role. The story was written departing from a piece of news in the paper which was probably reported by him anyway. The provincial rich man was not a caricaturized type in the story. The short story did not include any humour element. Moreover, Rıza was not depicted as a bad man. He was only as bad as everyone else. He made

plans for being rich. For that to occur, the war had to break out. On the other hand, while he was thinking about the war, he thought of his son and family who could be imperilled by it at the same time. In short, he was a man like everyone else. The difference of the photographic realism of Sait Faik from social realism can be seen clearly by way of these two stories. Social realism reflected reality with the aim to change and transform it. However, photographic realism reflected it without any social agenda, as I discussed in the second chapter.

I examined twenty nine stories in total in the sixth chapter. Twenty of them belonged to Sait Faik; three of them to Oktay Akbal, two of them to Sabahattin Kudret Aksal, two of them to Haldun Taner, one of them to Naim Tiralı, one of them to Afif Yesari, and one of them to Samim Kocagöz. As seen, the majority of stories belonged to Sait Faik in this chapter. Seven of the ten writers I examined in this dissertation wrote about Beyoğlu's poor. However, it should be noted that they were unemployed young intellectuals who wanted to reflect their individuality by focusing on poor people of Istanbul whose loitering moments they depicted. Naturally, Beyoğlu was also the favourite place for these loitering moments. Many different places of Beyoğlu, from the Bridge to Taksim Square, were mentioned in this chapter.

In the seventh chapter, *a new rhythm of the city*, I discussed five stories in which the rhythm of the city was treated in several aspects. In *Dolmuş* by Sabahattin Kudret Aksal, Istanbul as a modern metropolis shaped by modern production and the money economy was resembled to a gear wheel of a factory. Coincidences and encounters in the modern metropolis stemmed from it being a 'gear wheel' that gathered people in certain central points. In *Neveser* by Ziya Osman Saba, the important place of objects in the life of city residents and their intimateness with city residents' existential problems were treated. The rhythm of the

metropolis made people grow older, in the same way that it eroded the objects within it. In *Atatürk Galatasaray'da* by Haldun Taner, how a visit by Atatürk changed the ordinary rhythm of the school and the Avenue is treated. In contrast, in *Biranedeki Adam* by Sait Faik, the ordinary man was treated in the ordinary rhythm of the metropolis. In *Menekşeli Vadi*, we saw the moral and rhythmic contrast between the rural areas and the centre of the metropolis, Beyoğlu. Three of five stories in this chapter belonged to Sait Faik. One of them belonged to Sabahattin Kudret Aksal. One of them belonged to Ziya Osman Saba. I discussed in this study that in the 1940s, Istanbul was not a workers' city. It was the city of small retailers, labourers, and small farmers. Nevertheless, economic modernization and capitalization that began in the nineteenth century led to the appearance of a rhythm special to the metropolis. At the least, the rhythm of the city was started to be examined in stories.

I began the eighth chapter, *"Loneliness and Individuality"*, with a story by Cahit Sıtkı Tarancı which focused on the last day of a petty state official whose death no one noticed. The main reason for this was his loneliness in the metropolis. In another story by Tarancı, one day of, again, a petty official was narrated. His every day was the same as the previous one. He was a little man and everything in his life was monotonous. However, a starched collar broke his routine. In another story by Tarancı, how the narrator protagonist became a regular drinker was told. As a lonely man wandering in Beyoğlu, he incidentally went into Mavromatis's taproom. However, he liked the warm atmosphere of the taproom which was hard to find in the city and became a regular customer. In Tarancı's stories, protagonists were petty state officials and Beyoğlu was the loitering space in evening hours after work. In Ziya Osman Saba and Sabahattin Kudret Aksal's two stories, petty officials who were appointed to Ankara were treated. Their longings and nostal-

gias for Istanbul were focused on stories and Istanbul became a part of the narrators' nostalgia as a personalized entity. The feeling of longing was the dominant feeling in many of Ziya Osman Saba's stories. In *Okumak, Yaz Gezintileri* and *Kış Gezintileri*, the main theme was the nostalgia for the beautiful days of childhood. He was missing his childhood because he sought a safe harbour in it as a little man with financial difficulties who was not content with his job and life. The longing for childhood was one of the main elements of his story writing as a modernist author. In the story *Haliç İskeleyi* by Oktay Akbal, the narrator protagonist was an unemployed man who loitered in Beyoğlu during rush hours of people. In *Yağmur Altında İnsanlar*, again by Oktay Akbal, the narrator protagonist was a melancholic man who wanted to see the romantic appearance of Beyoğlu under the rain and the happy people in Beyoğlu. In another story by Akbal, *Yağmur Rüzgarı*, loneliness became a part of the narrator protagonist's individuality. In the story, he sought his imagined girlfriend in Beyoğlu, but at the end, he left her without any reason. In *Garson* by Sait Faik, a waiter is told of who could live in Beyoğlu because of his occupation. However, he did not wish to live there. When he lost his everything and became a lonely man, he preferred to live in Beyoğlu. Being a lonely man was an important turning point in his life and in his decision to settle in Beyoğlu. In *Söylendim Durdum* by Sait Faik, even though the narrator mentioned a porter and a woman, he focused on himself as the main character. He hated the city and its crowd, but did not have any place to go. He tried to leave the city, but he could not. He was born to gaze at everything in astonishment. The city which could every day offer many chances to be astonished was his natural home even though it fuelled his hysteria and hatred. In *Lüzumsuz Adam* by Sait Faik, the narrator protagonist had shut himself in Asmalımescit and lived there for seven years. The image of a

lonely man who locks himself in his quarter is, in my opinion, very explanatory in understanding the Turkey of the 1940s. Many authors like Sait Faik were free only within a limited circle in the 1940s in Turkey. In *Yağlı Kapı* by Haldun Taner, the main character was an ill-paid worker. As a result of some coincidences, he found a job in a mansion with a generous salary. This new job was not as burdensome as his old job. Everything was fine in the first month in his new work, but in the end, he started to miss the friendly environment in his old workplace. He was missing his old workmates and collective work environment.

Three of fifteen stories belonged to Cahit Sıtkı Tarancı in this chapter. Four of them belonged to Ziya Osman Saba, three of them to Oktay Akbal, three of them to Sait Faik, and one each to Sabahattin Kudret Aksal and Haldun Taner. In most of the stories examined in the eighth chapter, protagonists were narrators. The authors' preference for this theme stemmed, to some extent, from their social position. Political pressures on young writers and their narrow circumstances were fuelling their loneliness and melancholy. The abundance of narrator protagonists in the story writing of the 1940s can be explained by this social position of young writers. They wanted to focus on their loneliness as young and penniless men. For this reason, the protagonists of the stories were usually the narrators, except in two of them where they were not. In *Yağlı Kapı* by Haldun Taner, a worker missing his collective work environment was treated. In *Garson* by Sait Faik, Beyoğlu was the space of lonely and melancholic young waiter who did not have anything in life.

I began the ninth chapter "*Sexuality, homosexuality, body, and women*" with the story *Bir Karpuz Sergisi* by Sait Faik. The narrator protagonist in this story was in homosexual love with an unemployed boy, so he helped him open a pitch to sell water melons. When it got dark, they went to the Bridge to loiter. They were in fact two vagabonds who did

not have regular jobs. When summer ended, they would become unemployed again. Another story in which homosexuality is discussed is *Zürafa* (The Giraffe) by Naim Tirali. Two lesbian women's lovemaking was narrated in this story in a very explicit manner. The narrator told the story of how he found out that they were a lesbian couple. However, he focused on impressions of their sexual intercourse on himself. How a young and bachelor boy was stimulated by even the sound of a bed creaking was told throughout almost the entire story. The representation of homosexuality in Naim Tirali's story was rather different from Sait Faik's. Tirali mentioned the stimulation of lesbian intercourse on himself. In contrast, Sait Faik's narrator protagonist was kissing the fingers of a young boy. Between the two authors, the representation of eroticism was rather different. Sait Faik was representing eroticism in a rather emotional way. Naim Tirali tells of men's homosexuality in a very explicit tone. In his story *Atlanta Bari* (Atlanta Bar), this explicit narration style can be seen very clearly. The sexual instincts of the characters were treated and reflected to the reader in a very detailed way as in many other stories of Tirali. I said previously that Beyoğlu was perceived as the space of freedom for young men in the story writing of the 1940s. In this story too, four young men who did not need to hide any of their desires were told of. American sailor men also had an important place in this story. In the 1940s, the significance of non-Muslims decreased considerably in Beyoğlu. However, their place was taken by American soldiers from the Sixth Fleet. The young characters of the story felt themselves inferior to the new visitors of Beyoğlu and this feeling of inferiority was emphasized in the story. American jacks' lifestyles and Turkish girls' preference for them further triggered the Turkish boys' feelings of inferiority. The quarrel in the bar erupted because of

their inferiority complexes which stemmed from their lack of English language skills and rejection by the girls.

In the part “An Asexual and Asocial Man in the Streets of Beyoğlu”, I discussed the story *Hüseyin Feyzullah’ın Evlenmesi* by Sabahattin Kudret Aksal. A young intellectual boy is treated in this story. He was a malcontent who only enjoyed the fictitious worlds in novels. He spent the limited budget of his mother in Beyoğlu which highly resembled the spaces in the novels. This obsession was so extensive that he came to Beyoğlu on the first night of his marriage. He was a jobless, penniless, and unesteemed young man wandering in Beyoğlu melancholically. He was also one of the *flâneurs* of Beyoğlu. He probably would have remained a man whose entire occupation was loitering, because of his asocial identity. The story involved the comparison of the protagonist’s house life to his life in Beyoğlu. This comparison both cast a light on his psychology and a generation of young intellectuals. They were living poor and conservative family lives in their houses. When they came to Beyoğlu, they felt the contradiction between their quarters where they were born and Beyoğlu. They were emulating the life in Beyoğlu. However, they could not do anything to solve the contradiction between their conservative world and Beyoğlu and modernize their lives. Beyoğlu was a space of freedom and the centre of the world they longed for. They believed that this free atmosphere and wealth did not exist in any other place of Turkey. However, when they struggled for freedom and wealth sharing, they were punished harshly by the political authorities. In this context, young intellectuals who saw Beyoğlu as the space of freedom were isolating themselves from their familial circles and the society. Their feeling of isolation reflected onto their works, as well. Hüseyin Feyzullah’s abhorrence of even the body of women dramatically indicated this generation’s feeling.

In the part “Men on the Avenue in Pursuit of Women”, I discussed the stories *Bir Çift Bacak* by Naim Tiralı and *Randevu* by Cahit Sıtkı Tarancı. *Bir Çift Bacak* was an adaptation of *Nevsky Prospekt* by Gogol. *Nevsky Prospekt* as a whole was different from *Bir Çift Bacak* as a long story consisting of two chapters. However, the story *Bir Çift Bacak* was very similar to the first chapter of *Nevsky Prospekt*. First, a very lively and long description of the Avenue was given at the beginning of the story, just like in *Nevsky Prospekt*. In both stories, two young men wandering in the Prospekt/Avenue were the main characters. In both of them, events started in the Prospekt/Avenue and continued beyond it. However, in *Nevsky Prospekt*, the narrator was not one of the characters of the story; he was a meta-narrator. In Tiralı’s story, the first-person singular narrator was one of the two young men. Another story in which a man in pursuit of a woman is told is *Randevu* by Cahit Sıtkı Tarancı. The narrator protagonist saw the woman character after years, as she was getting on the tram. He accompanied her on the tram ride and the story finished on the Avenue. The story simultaneously told how a girl climbed up the social ladder, which turned the Avenue into a beaten track for her.

In the section “Two Young Men and Women in a Beyoğlu Cinema”, I discussed the story *Esnaflık* by Naim Tiralı. There were two women and two men characters in the story and their sexual intercourses in a Beyoğlu cinema were told. The story is quite obscene both in its content and tone, like Tiralı’s previously told stories. In this story, too, young and middle class men suspend the morality of petty bourgeois life at a cinema of Beyoğlu. However, the men and women who were suspending the morality of petty bourgeois family life were young people in a conservative country. They might even have grown up in a province. As seen in this story, their suspension of the dominant morality could

evolve into a harasser's attitude which drew its strength from the traditional rules of patriarchy.

Another story by Tirali in which young people pushed the limits of petty bourgeois morality on the streets of Beyoğlu was *Gecenin Üçü* which I discussed in the part "Young Men and Women in Beyoğlu Streets at Night." In many stories in this study, when the nights of Beyoğlu were mentioned, it was pointed out that the Square, Avenue, or Bridge was left to the drunkards or vagabonds. In this story, what these drunkards did in Beyoğlu at night hours was narrated. In these hours, not only homeless men, poor drunkards, or whores but also young men like the characters of *Gecenin Üçü* could be seen in the streets of Beyoğlu.

In the part "Brothels and Whores of Beyoğlu", I discussed the stories *Tarlabaşı Asfaltına Yağmur Yağmıyordu* and *Arka Sokak* by Naim Tirali, *Matmazel Matilda* by Oktay Akbal, *O Sınıf* by Ziya Osman Saba, and *Tuş* by Haldun Taner. While discussing *Tarlabaşı Asfaltına Yağmur Yağmıyordu*, I underlined a basic characteristic of Naim Tirali's brothel stories. Characters' feeling of disgust in brothels is focused on very decisively in these stories. The naivete of young people stemming from their provincial roots, intellectual backgrounds, or the atmosphere of the brothel prevented them from properly enjoying themselves in brothels in Tirali's stories. Post-war middle class youth thought that they could pass beyond the boundaries of petty bourgeois morality. However, when brothels and whores who were the most disadvantaged group of the society were at stake, their attitudes probably changed. Despite the unintentional moral message, such a clear narration about what happened in a brothel was rather new in Turkish literature and the narrator could apparently describe a brothel environment without hesitation thanks to the freedom allowed to writing in the 1940s, except for social themes. In *Arka Sokak* by Naim Tirali, too, the narrator's feeling

of disgust in a brothel was underlined. In the story, two young men were narrated. They were wandering in the Avenue to fulfil their sexual drives. While his friend was returning to his dormitory at the end of the day, the narrator protagonist went to a brothel and the night ended in a feeling of disgust. The brothel as a story space was also illustrative to understand the life in Beyoğlu. The brothel room's decoration indicated how different lifestyles and entertainment cultures interacted with each other in Beyoğlu. Beyoğlu was famous for its cinemas and brothels in the 1940s. I mentioned some cinemas that whores waited in front of for customers. On the other hand, walls of the room in the brothel were covered by Hollywood posters. The room was stuffy, without sunshine, and narrow. However, posters of Hollywood movies on the walls were not neglected. In *Matmazel Matilda* by Oktay Akbal, a whore working in a brothel was told by means of the narrator protagonist's feeling of nostalgia for childhood days. However, when the narrator protagonist came across Matmazel Matilda in his middle ages, the spell of nostalgia was broken. Another story in which brothels and whores are mentioned along with a nostalgia felt for childhood and adolescence is *O Sınıf* (That Class) by Ziya Osman Saba. He started this story by telling of his class in high school. In the first half of the story, he described this class. In the rest of the story, he told of his workplace, his workmates, brothels, and whores. No event is told in the story. It was more like a collage of some of his memories. While he was telling of his class and school, he reflected his longing for his childhood and youth days as was the case in all his other stories. The story *Tuş* by Haldun Taner was rather different from the first four stories. Contrary to the other above-mentioned stories, prostitution is discussed in a socio-political context in this story. In the stories of Naim Tiralı, Oktay Akbal, and Ziya Osman Saba, all incidents took place around Beyoğlu. In this story, events began and developed in

a traditional quarter of Istanbul, but they ended in Beyoğlu. A poor girl without a family was raped and dismissed from the house where she worked. At first, she took refuge in an old woman's house in Langa. However, since she saw that the lawsuit process would come to grief and she was probably exhausted psychologically, she fled from this house and became a whore. Hence, the story ended in Beyoğlu which was famous for its brothels.

In the part “*Hacığa's and Whores in Beyoğlu*”, I discussed the stories *Ana... Ana...* by Afif Yesari and *Melahat Heykeli* by Sait Faik. *Ana... Ana...* was a realist story about the “*hacığa*’s. In the popular newspapers and journals of the 1940s, “*hacığa*’s were described as rough men from the province, who spent money thoughtlessly. Besides, they were described as men who could be deceived easily in the city. In short, they were caricatured types of the popular press. On the other hand, a more realistic portrait of a *hacığa* was drawn in this story. The *hacığa* character in this story was provincial and rough, but not an “idiot.” Rather, he was a dirty and thrifty guy. In *Melahat Heykeli*, the narrator character took sides. He defended Melahat, a whore, against his friend. At the beginning of the story, the narrator's friend was an intellectual middle class boy from the province. However, he became a typical member of his class by the end of the story. The narrator was the friend of this young provincial man. They studied in the same schools. They had more common characteristics. However, the narrator, who was an educated but penniless short story writer who did not have a family life, felt closer to Melahat.

In the part “A Different 'Hacığa', Beyoğlu, and a Young Woman”, I discussed *Beatris Mayvan* by Haldun Taner. Contrary to widespread representations, the author treated the popular theme of merchants' lack of manners thorough a non-Muslim merchant in this story. This story was

one of few stories in which the Wealth Tax was mentioned among those I examined. In the story, how this tax influenced two young people's life was discussed. The tax was not subjected to positive or negative criticism.

In the part "The Grudge of the Educated Men", I discussed *Geçmiş Zaman Olur Ki* by Haldun Taner and *Yitirdiğimiz* by Oktay Akbal. In Haldun Taner's story, a woman who had married a *hacıağa* was content with her situation. Because she turned into an imitation of her *hacıağa* husband, the narrator protagonist was also pleased that he was not married to her instead. That is, both sides were happy in Haldun Taner's story. In Akbal's story, both sides were unhappy and a melancholic attitude shaped the entire story. The woman was unhappy that she preferred her trader husband to the narrator. However, the narrator was unhappy only because he was not preferred to a *hacıağa*. He was not content with his present petty bourgeois family. On the other hand, he was not sure whether his life would change if he were married to his old girlfriend. His life consisted of a circle between the workplace and family house. If he were married to his old girlfriend, this vicious circle would not change. Nothing would be different.

In the part "Naïve Intellectual Young Men and Women", I discussed *Takma Dişli Tanrıça* by Afif Yesari. In the story, a naïve love poet was mentioned. Since he poeticized and romanticized his entire life experience, he turned into a naïve character. Some educated, young, intellectual, but penniless poets expressed themselves in this manner in the 1940s. The entire story was set in Tunnel and another spot in Beyoğlu near Tunnel Square.

In the part "Emotional and Ridiculous Young Men", I discussed *Aşık Adam*, *Telefonda Bir Konuşma*, *Yadigâr*, and *Hayat Bu* by Cahit Sıtkı Tarancı. In the first story, the three main characters were the narrator

protagonist, Nejat, and Bedia who Nejat saw at a ball and platonically fell in love with. Contrary to story characters examined in this story, Nejat was a middle class man living comfortably. However, he was living in an emotional void. He wanted to love and be loved. Therefore, he told fictional love stories to his friends. In the end, he also told the same stories to himself, writing fictional letters. In the second story, a young man who lives in a mansion in Suadiye and a young woman who lives in Ortaköy are narrated. The characters of this story are two middle class people. Cahit Sıtkı used his own name in the story; however, he narrated himself as a middle class man who lived in a mansion in Suadiye. Perhaps he was longing for such a life. In the story, he had been carrying a torch for a young woman for five years. Nevertheless, he could neither meet with this girl nor tell her his feelings. He could come across her on the Bridge which was the most central place of the city and the place of encounters. In the third story, the friendship of a university student and a tobacco worker girl was narrated. However, this friendship was ended by the decision of the narrator protagonist. He was a university student and at the beginning of life. He wanted to meet new people, especially women. Moreover, he was coming from a petty bourgeois family and wanted to make friends with women from his class circle. However, when he looked back 12 years into the past as an early to middle aged man, he thought that he made a mistake when he left Zehra. Even though this was not clearly expressed in the story, this regret was a result of his failure in starting a petty bourgeois family and his unsuccessful career. In his last story, *Hayat Bu*, the protagonist's casual sexual and romantic affairs were treated in a neutral tone in the story. He was mentioned as the friend of the narrator in the story and his pursuit was described as something interesting. He was an interesting but not a strange man, for the narrator. As in many stories of the

1940s generation, his pursuit was not evaluated according to a moralistic approach. Beyoğlu was the natural space of his pursuit.

In the part “Beyoğlu as the Space of Uncelebrated Relationships”, I discussed the stories *Gazoz Ağacı* by Sabahattin Kudret Aksal, *Allegro Ma Non Troppo* by Haldun Taner, *Güzeller Seçiliyor* and *Kıraliçenin Evinde* by Sait Faik. In *Gazoz Ağacı*, the main story space was a bed-sitting room in Beyoğlu. A young man and woman were living in this room even though they were not married. They were born in one of the same poor quarters of Istanbul. Both of them wanted to save themselves from this quarter, so they left it together. However, after a while, the life spent between work and the small and cold room started to bore Saim. He was longing for his old loiterer life in his quarter. In other stories in this dissertation, Beyoğlu was treated as the loitering place. In this story, one of the main characters missed his loitering days in his old quarter. In Beyoğlu, he did not have time to loiter except going to the cinema at nights since he worked the entire day. For Melahat, everything was fine in her life in Beyoğlu in the beginning. However, her life was passing in a small, cold, and unpainted room. Her sole form of entertainment was to go to the cinema at evenings. After Saim started to go to their old quarter, she felt betrayed. By the way, he met a new boy who enlivened her days. She probably ran off with him. In *Allegro Ma Non Troppo*, the story space was a bedsitting room in a poor quarter of Beyoğlu; Tarla-başı. The narrator told in this story why he did not play the violin his entire life after his adolescence. His music tutor was responsible for it. Thus, his music tutor and platonic girlfriend had an important place in the story. Even though sexuality was not mentioned much in the story, it determined the flow of the fiction. Firstly, the innocent platonic love of the narrator was mentioned. At the end of the story, the relationship of the tutor and the girl was touched upon. Even though the tutor was a

middle aged and poor man, his intelligence and cultural background attracted the girl to him. The tutor, as a poor and an excluded man, was probably pleased by being liked by a young and beautiful girl. However, the narrator could not understand their “odd” relationship and got disgusted by them as a sensitive and educated teenage boy. In the stories of authors from the generation of the 1940s, these kinds of subjects could be easily touched upon. As told earlier, thanks to the rise of literary modernism, these kinds of individual issues could be treated in literary works independently of moral and national agendas, which was possible as a result of the exclusion of the young literary intelligentsia from the state elite and their impoverishment as a social group. In this way, they could think upon excluded, intellectual, and penniless residents of the city like themselves and make them characters of their stories. The last two stories by Sait Faik were connected with each other. In the first story, the narrator told of a beauty pageant and its atmosphere. The jury of the competition consisted of old conservative men who were columnists of big newspapers. They were conservatives and critics of popular culture, but participated in and even directed popular activities such as beauty pageant. Their attitudes towards the girls were snobbish and priggish. They were even harassing, as seen in the example of Nizamettin Nazif. In the second story, the narrator was going to the home of the winner in Tarlabası. Her home was a small apartment on a muddy street. In fact, it had been constructed as a detached house and later divided as apartments. It was a neglected building like most of the buildings in Tarlabası. As was the case in all the other stories set in Tarlabası, its muddy streets were mentioned in this story as well. As a daughter of a modest family living in Tarlabası, her only hope for moving up the social ladder was her beauty. At first, she said that the occupation of her prospective husband did not matter. Shortly after she said

that he might be lawyer, doctor, or contractor. She was singing in night-clubs but her main goal was to be a cinema star. She was a Beyoğlu girl after all. Probably, she dreamed of a husband who would assist her economically while she was moving up as a cinema star.

In the last part, “A Young Man’s Platonic Love in a Dark Street”, I discussed the story *Şimal Sokağı* by Oktay Akbal. In this story, too, the narrator protagonist was a melancholic young man who liked a woman he did not even see the face of. He was poor, had come to the metropolis recently, and was alone. Such a man could probably not find a woman to be friends with. However, he was thinking a woman who he saw in darkness could liven up his dreams and life. However, when he saw the real face of the woman, he recognised that she was also “ugly” like everything in his life and left the house of the woman. It might be said at the risk of overstatement that the story was telling a young man’s despair in the metropolis. Desperate and melancholic young men were a very common theme in stories of authors from the generation of 1940.

In the ninth chapter, I examined twenty five stories; seven of them belonged to Naim Tirali, five of them belonged to Cahit Sıtkı Tarancı, four of them belonged to Sait Faik, three of them belonged to Haldun Taner, two of them belonged to Afif Yesari, two of them belonged to Sebahattin Kudret Aksal, and one each belonged to Oktay Akbal and Ziya Osman Saba. The most explicit narration about sexuality in Beyoğlu was seen in Naim Tirali’s stories. On the other hand, in Cahit Sıtkı Tarancı’s stories, sexuality was discussed more through petty bourgeois characters and boundaries. Homosexuality was mentioned in only Naim Tirali and Sait Faik.

In the tenth chapter, *the fantastic*, I discussed fantastic elements in the stories I examined. I discussed seven stories. Six of them were Sait Faik’s, three of which were from his book *Alemdağ’da Var Bir Yılan*. In

the three stories from *Alemdağ'da Var Bir Yılan*, the narrator focused on his sexual orientation and morality. For this reason, he preferred a fantastic tone. In *Bir Takım İnsanlar*, he touched upon a social problem. In *Serseri Çocukla Köpek*, he discussed an individual problem which had a social dimension: his social position as an author and intellectual. Sait Faik's last story was *Bir Bahçe*. In this story, the narrator protagonist's hatred of the city was treated. He overcame this feeling by loitering in and discovering a new edge of the city. Sabahattin Kudret Aksal treated an individual problem in his one story discussed in this chapter. The narrator protagonist told of some of his regrets and sorrows to his imagined friend in *İki Kişi Arasında*. The narrator regretted some stories and texts he wrote. In fact, this was also a problem which had a social dimension. Young writers' and intellectuals' exclusion limited them to a small community and this created another pressure in addition to the pressure of the state on them. They were afraid of being excluded by their community due to what they wrote and said.

So far, when examining short story writers of the 1940s generation, I pointed out what their subject matters. However, there were certain issues which they did not treat in their stories to a sufficient extent or which they touched upon only indirectly, which is not surprising for several reasons. When discussing the genre-based approach of Moretti in the second chapter, I claimed that the relationship of political history and the history of literature is more indirect in this approach. To put it in different words, for example, when periodizing political history, World War II might be an important departure point; however, when periodizing the history of literature, this might not be the case. On this point, I want to clarify why I called the writers who began to write in the 1940s as the 1940s generation rather than the World War II generation. World War II was the most important event both of international

politics and the politics of Turkey in the 1940s. However, as indicated in this study, it was treated to a lesser extent than expected in the short stories of the 1940s generation. In their stories, they treated little people whom the war conditions impoverished, but not necessarily the war itself.

Young men of letters themselves were also impoverished, like most Turkish people in the 1940s. However, the impoverishment of young writers was as a result of the weakening of their links with the state. World War II did not directly cause men of letters to turn into little men and face economic problems like “ordinary people”. They were little men because they were “dismissed” from the state elite. Therefore, they identified themselves with ordinary people on the street. Rather than treating issues of “high politics” like World War II, they treated the direct and indirect influences of the World War II on people.

Another event of the 1940s which received less attention in stories than expected was the Wealth Tax. Even though this event led some non-Muslims to leave Beyoğlu and Istanbul and changed their sense of belonging towards their countries, it was not treated much in the short stories in this study. Only in *Beatris Mayvan* by Haldun Taner, was the Wealth Tax one of the events which shaped the narration. Actually, there were non-Muslim characters in stories in significant numbers, especially in Sait Faik’s stories. In stories in *Alemdağ’da Var Bir Yılan*, Panco was a poor non-Muslim boy who the narrator sometimes liked. In *Kir Spiro*, Samim Kocagöz told of communists in Beyoğlu, some of whom who had migrated from Greece. In *Allegro Ma Non Troppo*, Haldun Taner narrated a poor White Russian teacher and his weird affair with his young student. In short, story writers of the 1940s did not hesitate to treat non-Muslim characters in their stories. They were treating these characters in depth just like their Muslim characters. If that is so,

why did they hardly ever treat the Wealth Tax Event? The answer to this question might be found in the story *Lüzumsuz Adam* by Sait Faik. He summarized his feelings towards rich people with the words “I don’t like rich.” These words were not a product of a conscious socialist attitude towards capital and capitalists, but were a reflection of a populist feeling in support of ordinary people. Haldun Taner approaches this event more systematically in his story. According to the picture drawn by Haldun Taner in *Beatris Mayvan*, rich non-Muslims like Mayvans were not affected seriously by the Wealth Tax. In short, they probably saw the Wealth Tax as an issue which would not make any significant change in their own or poor non-Muslims’ lives and did not care about this matter enough.

Even though it is possible to speculate about why they did not treat some more specific events in their stories, that they kept distance from “high politics” can be claimed without hesitation. This attitude can be explained by the concept of escapism, which can be defined as the tendency to escape unpleasant social realities. However, I did not make use of this concept in this study, since it would limit our understanding of the intellectuals of this generation. Explanations developed by making use of this concept tend to identify the distance of literary intellectuals from high politics in authoritarian periods with fleeing from realities and the fear of the authoritarian power. Even though literary intellectuals focus on little men and literary modernism rises as a current in authoritarian periods as indicated in this study in a comparative context, explaining the rise of little men and their “little problems” through escapism would lead us to neglect social and political transformations’ influence on literary men and rather underline how they conformed to the changing political atmosphere. Such an attitude usually results in a

depreciatory gaze towards literary men and accusing them with conformism.

To conclude, I want to summarize the main argument of this study. I focused on how the authors who produced their first products in the late 1930s and early 1940s represented Beyoğlu, which had previously been represented as the space of moral corruption and cosmopolitanism. I indicated that when literature began to go beyond the East-West dichotomy, negative representations of Beyoğlu in the stories of young writers decreased. On the other hand, for authors who were in their middle ages in the 1940s, criticizing Beyoğlu was still in a way a sign of intellectualism. I conceptualize the fact that they loved to spend time in Beyoğlu, but they did not reflect these positive experiences in their works with literary or metaphoric hostility. Young writers struggled via their literary works against the literary hostility of older generation writers who were in a dominant position in the press and publishing world. For older generations, Beyoğlu was representing “false Westernization”, cosmopolitanism, and degeneration as discussed in the fourth chapter.

Another argument of my study was that short stories of the 1940s generation might be seen as metropolitan miniatures since these stories were also written in a struggle against more conservative city narratives in the mainstream press and represented the new accelerated rhythm of the city with a spatialized and digressive tone in a period in which the gradually modernizing pace of the country and small town was still dominant, albeit losing ground. In the European context, too, metropolitan miniatures appeared in such an atmosphere.

Middle aged and conservative writers’ hostile attitude towards Beyoğlu which I examined under the concept of metaphoric hostility could also have been examined through gender. In my opinion, such an analysis

might be the subject of another study. In Joan W. Scott's article *Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis*, it is noted that "culturally available symbols (..) evoke multiple (and often contradictory) representations" such as "myths of light and dark, purification and pollution, innocence and corruption."¹³¹⁵ In the fourth and ninth chapters of this study, it was discussed that Beyoğlu was also represented in such a contradictory manner and feminized. Different literary generations' perceptions of Beyoğlu might be examined through concepts of feminization and de-feminization under the main concept of gender.

Another conceptual category which might be useful in studies about Beyoğlu's literary representation might be the field theory of Pierre Bourdieu. There are two main styles of criticism among cultural and literary critics. The first is the outer criticism which examines the cultural products according to the conditions of the era, social transformations, and economic relations. The second is the inner criticism which examines the cultural product according to aesthetic criteria peculiar to the relevant cultural field. Especially when inner and outer criticisms contradict each other, the field theory becomes useful. According to Bourdieu, both inner and outer critics are commonly mistaken. They both forget that the literary field itself is an element of social reality. The acceptance that the literary field is an element of social reality relates the historical era, the writer, and their work to each other.¹³¹⁶ Strict borders between aesthetic and social attitudes of authors disappear and the relationality of these two fields can be better underlined.

¹³¹⁵ Joan W. Scott, *Gender: A Useful Category of Social Analysis*, The American Historical Review, Vol. 91, No. 5 (Dec., 1986), pp. 1053-1075.

¹³¹⁶ Göksel Aymaz. *Nâzım Hikmet ve Memleket: Kalabalığın İçinde Kalabalıkla Beraber*, İstanbul: Yasakmeyve, 2011, p. 28.

According to the field theory of Bourdieu, the field of power imposes itself on all other fields, the cultural field being one of them. The cultural field, which the literary field is a subfield of, occupies a non-hegemonic position within the field of power. At the same time, for Bourdieu, artists, writers, and intellectuals are a faction of the dominant classes. They are a part of the dominant class, however, they are not in an equal relationship with the other factions. They are a ruled and dominated part of the dominant class.¹³¹⁷ The scope of my discussion of the dominated positions of little men as men of letters was limited to literature. However, changes in the images of the writer and men of letter turning into “little men” might also be examined under the light of the literary field concept. Changes in the position of literary intellectuals from the 1930s to the 1950s as a faction of dominant classes might be an interesting and illuminative research subject.

Lastly, I want to say some words about the writers examined in this study. Sait Faik died at 48 years old and never held a regular job throughout his entire life. Cahit Sıtkı Tarancı died at 46 years old and was a petty state official during his entire life. Ziya Osman Saba died at 47 years old and he was also a petty state official even though he had graduated from the Faculty of Law. Afif Yesari did not have a regular job his entire life and earned his living through small copyright fees. He wrote thousands of books, plays, and essays to be able to earn his living and for this reason he was referred to as a popular writer. Oktay Akbal spent his youth in the 1940s as a poor writer. He managed to lead a middle class life only in his middle ages. In short, their poor and irregular lives even weighed down on their health. As I mentioned in the fifth chapter, the early deaths of men of letters drew the attention of their

¹³¹⁷ Pierre Bourdieu. *Seçilmiş Metinler*, Ankara, Heretik, 2013, p. 217.

colleagues in the 1940s. These writers were “little men” writing about little men and, for this reason the feeling of empathy shaped all of their works.

On the other hand, the little man and modernism constituted a rising current in these years, which attracted more middle class young writers like Sabahattin Kudret Aksal, Haldun Taner, and Naim Tiralı as well. And they remained faithful to literature during their long lives.

The most salient characteristic of the 1940s generation was their avoidance of history and tradition. They can be characterised as the writers of the “now and here.” These characteristics of theirs contradict the previous generation writers like Yahya Kemal, Peyami Safa, Necip Fazıl, Reşat Nuri, and Yakup Kadri. Even though these writers had very different political ideas, history and a different interpretation of tradition occupied an important place in their works.

On the other hand, there are some anomalous voices among the 1940s generation, as well. For example, Attila İlhan, whose ideas were described in detail, criticizes young poets of the 1940s and 1950s for detaching Turkish poetry from tradition. However, Attila İlhan did not make the same criticism for young story writers, i.e. his close friend Sait Faik, in my opinion, for two reasons. Firstly, the short story was a very recent genre for Turkish literature. Secondly, and, more importantly, since other genres were seen as more senior even in the 1940s, figures like Attila İlhan did not express significant criticism of short story writing. In any case, the short story was one of few genres in which Attila İlhan did not produce any works.

Before mentioning changes in Turkish literature, especially in story writing in the 1950s, I want to give Niyazi Berkes his due concerning the political atmosphere of the 1950s. For Berkes, domestic politics were divided into two hostile camps which did not have significant ide-

ological differences from each other in the 1950s: Supporters of CHP and supporters of DP. With that being the case, politics turned into a puss in the corner in Ankara and a blood feud between supporters of two hostile camps in the province.¹³¹⁸ As a result, literary intellectuals' estrangement from politics continued in the 1950s, too.

Leyla Erbil, who was a leading story writer of the 1950s, characterizes this decade "as the era of breaking from tradition." In this generation, too, the first rebellion against tradition came from poetry; poets were later followed by story writers. In the 1940s, this rebellion came from *Garip*; in the 1950s, it came from *İkinci Yeni*. In the 1940s, the literary intellectual who recognised that they were little and ordinary people turned their eyes to the little and ordinary men in the street. The feeling of empathy came forth in literary products of this era. In the 1950s, young intellectuals turned inward and began to ask existential questions like "who am I", "what is my identity?"¹³¹⁹

In this change, the flight and alienation of the intellectual from politics as a result of right populist policies played a significant part. However, according to Jale Özata Dirlikyapan, for the first time in this period in Turkish literature, literary intellectuals began to follow philosophical discussions in the West contemporaneously. They read writers like Jean Paul Sartre, Simone de Beauvoir and Albert Camus while they were alive and continuing to write. Existential questions and the tendency of turning inward in literature increased as a result of this intellectual influence, at the same time.¹³²⁰

¹³¹⁸ Niyazi Berkes. *Türk Düşününde Batı Sorunu*, İstanbul: Bilgi Yayınevi, pp. 143, 144.

¹³¹⁹ Jale Özata Dirlikyapan. *Kabuğunu Kıran Hikâye: Türk Öykücülüğünde 1950 Kuşağı*, İstanbul: Metis, 2010, pp. 16, 37.

¹³²⁰ Ibid, pp. 40, 41.

The 1950s were the childhood years of multiparty politics in Turkey. In this decade, political rivalry deepened, but the importance of ideas decreased in politics. Consequently, intellectuals' loss of "mission" and weakening of their links with the state which began in the 1940s continued and, even deepened. In this era, young story writers like Ferit Edgü, Orhan Duru, Leylâ Erbil, Bilge Karasu, Feyyaz Kayacan, Onat Kutlar, Demir Özlü, and Adnan Özyalçın discovered new themes in literature and experienced new shapes and techniques in story writing. They gave rise to a more introverted, experimental, individualistic, and existentialist literature.

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NOTE: The in-house editor of the Atatürk Institute has made detailed recommendations with regard to the format, grammar, spelling, usage, syntax, and style of this dissertation.