

REFLECTIONS OF CONSERVATISM AND NOSTALGIA IN YAHYA KEMAL
BEYATLI AND AHMET HAMDİ TANPINAR'S REPRESENTATION OF
ISTANBUL

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ABSTRACT

Reflections of Conservatism and Nostalgia in Yahya Kemal Beyatlı and Ahmet
Hamdi Tanpınar's Representation of Istanbul
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The aim of this study is to investigate Istanbul nostalgia in texts and poems by Yahya Kemal Beyatlı and Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar. The nostalgia of Istanbul in texts belonging to these two intellectuals is closely connected with their conservative thinking style. Therefore, this study will be separated into two main parts. The first part of the study will focus on the appearance of conservatism in Turkey as a thinking style and a result of the East and the West issue. It will be determined in which points Beyatlı and Tanpınar were participating in conservative thinking in Turkey through citations from their original texts as well as second-hand sources about them.

The second part of the study will focus on nostalgic Istanbul representations produced by the conservative thinking style of these two intellectuals. For this reason, architectural transformations in the city and the daily life of the city will be taken into account, and it will be determined to what extent these fit the conservative ideals of Beyatlı and Tanpınar and to what extent and by which means they contribute to the production of nostalgic Istanbul representations.

Keywords: Conservatism, Nostalgia, Istanbul, East, West

ÖZ

Yahya Kemal Beyatlı ve Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar'ın İstanbul Temsillerinde
Muhafazakâr ve Nostaljik Yansımalar

Çankaya, Ercan

MS, Medya ve Kültürel Çalışmalar

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Bu çalışmanın amacı, Yahya Kemal Beyatlı ve Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar'a ait düzyazı metinler ve şiirlerdeki İstanbulnostaljisinin incelenmesidir. Bu iki entelektüel ve edebiyatçıya ait metinlerdeki İstanbulnostaljisi, onların muhafazakâr düşünce biçimleriyle yakından ilgilidir. Bu sebeple, çalışma iki ana temel kısma ayrılacaktır. İlk kısım, muhafazakârlığın bir düşünce biçimi olarak Türkiye'de ortaya çıkışına ve Doğu Batı meselesine odaklanacak; metinlerinden yapılacak alıntılar ve ikinci el kaynakların kullanımı yoluyla, Beyatlı ve Tanpınar'ın, Türkiye'deki muhafazakâr düşünceye hangi noktalarda katıldıkları belirlenecektir.

İkinci bölüm ise, bu iki entelektüelin muhafazakâr düşünce biçimlerinin ürettiği nostaljikİstanbul temsillerine odaklanacaktır. Bu amaç doğrultusunda, kentteki mimarî dönüşümler ve gündelik hayat, temsilleri üreten iki alt tema olarak ele alınıp, bunların Beyatlı ve Tanpınar'ın muhafazakâr idealleriyle ne derece örtüştüğü tespit edilecektir. Örtüşmeyen noktaların belirlenmesi suretiyle, bu noktaların nostaljikİstanbul temsillerinin üretilmesine ne derecede ve hangi vasıtalarla katkıda bulundukları anlaşılabacaktır.

Anahtar kelimeler: Muhafazakârlık, Nostalji, İstanbul, Doğu, Batı

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The main issue of this study is Istanbul nostalgia in texts and poems of Yahya Kemal Beyatlı and Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar. Beyatlı and Tanpınar, as conservative intellectuals and by their approaches to the East and the West problem have been studied for a long time. In this study, they will be accepted as conservative intellectuals who focus on the East and the West problem. The main contribution of this study to the literature is to show how their conservative thought had shaped their perceptions about a city-Istanbul. For them, Istanbul is both the most important case to confer the East and the West issue as well as the most suitable city to perform their conservative ideals. The main claim of this study is that Istanbul nostalgia in their works is a manifestation of inconsistency between their ideal city and the real city. This inconsistency is mainly based on the gap between their conservative ideals about Istanbul and their real experiences in this city.

To be able to examine the matter of Istanbul nostalgia in their texts and poems, I firstly examine different dimensions of conservative thought and discussions on the East and the West in Turkey. In this section, I show that conservative thought has mainly developed as a result of the social and cultural dynamics of the Republican Era of Turkey. However, the first examples of it had emerged in the process of Ottoman modernization. Istanbul had been transforming culturally and spatially in these periods. For this reason, Beyatlı and Tanpınar's perceptions and expectations about the city focus on its cultural and spatial dimensions. The architectural and spatial transformations as well as daily life of Istanbul create a nostalgia in their texts and poem. The main problem of this study is also the investigation of this Istanbul nostalgia in their texts and poems.

Yahya Kemal Beyatlı was born in Skopje in 1884 and died in Istanbul in 1958. He attended primary school in Skopje, which was an Ottoman city in those times. In 1897, he migrated to Thessaloniki with his family. Then, he went to the Istanbul to study at high school. He was unable to study at Robert College or Galatasaray Lycee. He enrolled in Vefa Lycee. While there, he wrote in *Servet-i Fünun (The Wealth of Sciences) Journal*.¹ In his high school years, he was interested in the Young Turk movement and went to France. As it will be seen in further chapters of this study, his years in France affected both his literary approach and political ideas. When he returned to Turkey in 1913, he became an academician at *Darülfünun*² (Houses of Sciences), which was the sole Turkish university at that time. In 1922, he went to Ankara and became editor-in-chief at *Hakimiyet-i Milliye*³ (National Sovereignty) Newspaper. He later became a member of parliament and an ambassador.

Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar was born in 1901 in Istanbul and died there in 1962. In 1923, he graduated from the Literature Department of Turkish University. While there, he became Beyatlı's student. Between 1921 and 1923, eleven of his poems were published in *Dervish Lodge (Dergah) Journal*, which was published by Beyatlı. From 1923 to 1930, he worked as teacher in various high schools. In 1930, he became a teacher at *Gazi Muallim Mektebi*⁴ (Gazi Teacher School). In 1933, he became an academician in *Sanayi-i Nefise Mektebi*⁵ (Fine Arts School) and gave lectures there for a long time.

Beyatlı did not publish any books during his lifetime. His poems and essays were published by the Beyatlı-Institute after his death. Tanpınar, however, published many books and some poems throughout his life. His other poems, diaries and letters with Hasan Ali Yücel were published after his death. Both Beyatlı and Tanpınar

¹ Servet-i Fünun was a journal which created an école in Turkish literature. It published between 1891 and 1901 years.

² Darülfünun is the first university of Ottoman Empire which was founded in 1900.

³ It was official newspaper of Ankara government in National Struggle.

⁴ Gazi University Faculty of Education

⁵ Mimar Sinan University

were born in the last period of the Ottoman Empire. They saw the collapse of Ottoman Empire and the foundation of the Republic of Turkey, and were witness to the transformation of Istanbul during this period. Conservative thought also developed in this period in Turkey. They were observers of this developing thought. At the same time, they were contributing to this type of thinking with their ideas, writings and literary works. Moreover, this thought was the main theoretical framework that shaped their expectations and perceptions about the city.

One of the most important sources of inspiration of Beyatlı and Tanpınar's conservative thinking style was intuitionist philosopher Henri Bergson. Some concepts of his philosophy such as *continuity*, *evolution* and *harmony* constitute the general framework of these two writers' thinking styles. They evaluated both their country and the city in which they lived using Bergson's concepts. These concepts are related to a specific understanding of tradition. The anxiety which appears as a result of the loss of tradition in modern society is one of the main problems of conservative thought. According to this specific understanding of tradition, the past is attempting to become a part of the present. In this way, it aims to change the flow of present. Change is placed within some borders which themselves are constructed by the past. In doing so, the feeling of the loss of the past might be prevented.

Heidegger's perception of temporality also has some similarities with the philosophy of Bergson. Tradition has an important place in his philosophy as well. According to Heidegger, human beings are subjects who act in the direction of the future. Actions which are directed towards the future are shaped according to the necessities of the present; the past is also reevaluated according to these necessities. Thus, sharp borders between the past, the present and the future are erased. Thanks to this evaluation of Heidegger, tradition is not a fixed point in his philosophy as it is in Bergson's philosophy. It is continuously discovered in different manners in the flow of time. The necessities of the present determine the discovery of tradition. For this reason, Heidegger's schematization between past, present and future will be important tools to understand Beyatlı and Tanpınar.

Bergson's and Heidegger's temporality analyses are important for this study, since Beyatlı and Tanpınar will be mentioned as intellectuals who are interested in the problem of change of civilization in Turkey. In the process of change of civilization, Beyatlı and Tanpınar chose Western and modern civilization; they were supporters of Turkey's Westernization. For them, Turkey should have been an independent national identity among Western civilization. However, this was not possible; residuals of old Eastern civilization had started to live side by side with new Western lifestyle. Through the use of literary examples, they would try to show what they mean by residuals of the past and Western lifestyle which is not national. We will see this in the Western and Eastern style discussion in the second chapter.

Modernization experience created dualities and contradictions within the body of society during Turkish-Ottoman modernization. Intended with this argument was the discussion of Eastern and Western style. On the other hand, as conservative intellectuals, Beyatlı and Tanpınar were opponents of any kind of duality or, contradiction in society. For this reason, they wanted to make Western civilization a part of the tradition of the Turkish nation. Only on this condition, Westernization could be a local experience springing from tradition of the nation. Beyatlı and Tanpınar may be also regarded as Kemalists as they say themselves as such. They supported the disappearance of old Eastern civilization with its culture and institutions. The destruction of the Ottoman Empire and the foundation of a laicist national state were seen as positive developments. However, this was not enough. Unless life experiences of the past and old civilization were included in the new life of the state, they would live side by side with Western ones. Beyatlı and Tanpınar were striving to prevent this situation. However, being in the periphery of Kemalist elites, they did not have the political power to influence the Kemalist elites. For this reason, Turkey's modernization experience resulted in an anxiety of the loss of the past. For them, the loss of the past was the loss of a former national order which was removed from these kinds of contradictions and dualities. They experienced this feeling of a loss of order of the past mostly in city spaces. This also led to Old Istanbul nostalgia in their works.

They had some reasons to experience the loss of the past in city space due to its architectural transformation. In his book, Murat Gül(2015) claims that the transformation and modernization of Istanbul started in mids of 19th century and continued until 1960s.⁶ The necessity of modernization of the city had appeared as a result of the Ottoman Empire's being a part of world economy with the English-Ottoman Trade Treaty. This development created a new commercial elite who mostly resided in the Beyoğlu and Galata districts of Istanbul. Economical necessities which had emerged as a result of the new state policies as well as cultural necessities of new elites gave shape to the transformation of Istanbul from the mid of 19th to 20th century. Turgut Cansever also accepts that the transformation of Istanbul began mid 19th century and continued until the 1960s. However, he views this transformation critically. His criticism is mainly cultural focusing on the loss of national character of the city. Murat Gül's book (2015) enables the understanding of different dimensions of the transformation of Istanbul. Turgut Cansever's approach also makes it easier to understand Beyatlı and Tanpınar's critical approaches, since they have many common characteristics. For example, the loss of the past was the loss of identity for Beyatlı and Tanpınar, as well. This discussion of the national identity was also related to the discussion of the loss order of the past. The new lifestyle and architecture of Galata and Beyoğlu were creating dualities and contradictions within the body of the city. Its expansion against the rest of the city was making new life and the architecture of the city remote from the guidance of the past. For this reason, change in the city space was progressing in a chaotic manner.

As a last point, Walter Benjamin's concept of the loss of aura will be an important concept for this study, because it means the loss of unity of the subject with the space. This loss of unity with the space is seen as the result of the loss of the order of the past. Using Benjamin's concept, spatial influences of the loss of the past can be discussed more comprehensively. In this context, Selahattin Hilav's (1973) concept of the literature of escape and Sarah Atış Moment's (2011) the concept of the literature of dream is used to develop the discussion about this

⁶Modern İstanbul'un Doğuşu: Bir Kentin Dönüşümü ve Modernizasyonu (The Emergence of Modern İstanbul: Transformation and Modernisation of a City).

matter. Escape in literature by Beyatlı and Tanpınar are a result of alienation from the space and the daily life of the city. As a result of alienation from the city space and the daily life of it, Beyatlı's and Tanpınar's ideal city becomes a part of their literature as an imaginary city. They fictionalize their imaginary city as Old Istanbul. For this reason, the literature of escape and the literature of dream concepts will be critical concepts for this study.

The escape and the dream were important elements in Beyatlı and Tanpınar's literature. However, there were some issues which impaired the integrity of the dream. The dream became possible in their literature with the escape from the real daily life of the city. There are some elements which made possible the escape and the dream in their literatures such as water of Bosphorus, nights or eternal districts of the city like Üsküdar. However, for example, most of the residents of Üsküdar were living in conditions of severe poverty. Istanbul as an imaginary city was in the center of their literatures, but it was seen as being equal to non-nationality and treason in popular perception. These developments reminded themselves during the dream and impaired the integrity of the Old Istanbul. However, as it will be seen in the third chapter in this study, Beyatlı and Tanpınar did not have any solution except to escape to the dream again.

CHAPTER II

INFLUENCES OF THE CONSERVATIVE THOUGHT TO THE LITERATURES OF BEYATLI AND TANPINAR

The aim of this part of the study is to examine the East and the West issue in Beyatlı and Tanpınar's proses and poetries. As mentioned above, their conservative thinking shaped their approaches to the East and the West. Due to this, this part of the study focusses mainly on how their conservative thinking influenced their approaches on the East and the West discussions. To this aim, firstly, an evaluation of the subject of the general arguments of conservative thinking in Turkey will first be conducted. The works of İdris Küçükömer (1994) and Şerif Mardin (1992) on the subjects of East and West will be used to link the East and West issue to the general discussion about conservatism. Finally, where Beyatlı and Tanpınar stand in the discussion of East and West will be determined based on their conservative thoughts.

In order to discuss the subject of conservatism, we must firstly examine whether it is an ideology, a thinking style or a mentality. According to Tanıl Bora (2006: 234), conservatism cannot be evaluated as a coherent ideological approach. Conservatism is a thinking style peculiar to modernization. Since it is a thinking style, it can easily be included by other ideologies or become a part of them.⁷ For Ömer Türkeş (2006: 234), as well, conservatism needs modernization as a thinking style; this need is satisfied by the republic in Turkey.⁸ Both writers assert that conservatism is a thinking style and needs modernization to develop. Nazım İrem (2006: 107), who is another writer about Turkish conservatism, claims that Republican conservatism is

⁷ Bora, Tanıl. Onaran, Burak. "Nostalji ve Muhafazakârlık: Mazi Cenneti" In Modern Türkiye'de Siyasî Düşünce, 234. Vol. Muhafazakârlık. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları. 2006.

⁸ Türkeş, Ömer. "Muhafazakâr Romanlarda Muhafaza Edilen Neydi?" In Modern Türkiye'de Siyasî Düşünce, 590. Vol. Muhafazakârlık. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları. 2006.

an outcome of a historical moment when Republican elites sharply experienced the tension between the traditional and modern orders.⁹ To sum up, conservatism in Turkey is a product of a certain historical context. It stems from the tension between the traditional and the modern in the Republican Era. Dualities between the East and the West, old and new, and Islam and laicism are the main issues of conservative thinking.¹⁰ Conservatism developed in a historical moment during which the tension between traditional and modern was being strongly experienced.

2.1 Different Easts and Different Wests: Alternative Sources of Modernization

When writers mention conservative thinking style in Turkey, they refer to five or six intellectuals; Beyatlı and Tanpınar are among these few. Others mentioned as conservatives are Ahmet Haşim, Samiha Ayverdi, Abdülhak Şinasi Hisar, and Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi. All of them are intellectuals who started to publish their works before 1950's. Conservative thought is only discussed in reference to writers who began publishing before the 1950s; all of these intellectuals did so. There are many reasons for this. For Ayvazoğlu, (2006: 530) after the 1950s, Anatolian provinces rapidly began to join the social and political life of the country. The region's cultural demands were different from city-dwelling intellectuals. Their Islamic understanding was also different from conservatives who published their first works before the 1950s,¹¹ since influences of peasant and peasantry were more dominant in their understanding of Islam. Conservatism after 1950's was influenced by new demands of peasant and peasantry. This new understanding which sprang up after the 1950s was different from that of Kemalist elites, but it was also different from the ideas of conservative intellectuals, who started to write before 1950, because of their peasant roots.

⁹ İrem, Nazım. "Bir Değişim Siyaseti Olarak Türkiye'de Cumhuriyetçi Muhafazakârlık: Temel Kavramlar Üzerine Değerlendirmeler" In Modern Türkiye'de Siyasi Düşünce, 107. Vol. Muhafazakârlık. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları. 2006.

¹⁰ Bora, Tanıl. Onaran, Burak. "Nostalji ve Muhafazakârlık: Mazi Cenneti" In Modern Türkiye'de Siyasi Düşünce, 234. Vol. Muhafazakârlık. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları. 2006.

¹¹ Ayvazoğlu, Beşir. Tanıl. "Türk Muhafazakârlığının Kültürel Kuruluşu" In Modern Türkiye'de Siyasi Düşünce, 530. Vol. Muhafazakârlık. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları. 2006.

Another common characteristic of conservative thinking was its approach to society and reorganization of society. According to this understanding, society is an organism and therefore, must be a harmonic entity. For Ayvazoğlu, (2006) Beyatlı and Tanpınar's idea of historicity and Tanpınar's idea of continuity differentiated them from other conservative intellectuals. These two different concepts became the indivisibility of time -*imtidâd*- in Beyatlı's works.¹² However, all of them refer to the same phenomena. For Beyatlı and Tanpınar, historicity is the continuity of the past in the present and its giving shape to the future. Past is meaningful to solve problems of the present and to give shape to the society of the future. This thought of theirs about time changed their ideas about the organization of society. For them, the East and the West, and the old and the new became different sources to organize society. Old Eastern civilization is a part of the new Western civilization as long as it is able to solve the problems of the day. It is meaningful when it has meaning in the system of values of Western civilization.

When the past becomes a part of the living present, it is subjected to a selection. When it becomes functional in the living present, it is reinterpreted in different ways. Old was the old Eastern civilization in Beyatlı and Tanpınar's dictionaries. That is, there is no single East. There is no single West, because there are many Westerners reinterpreting the past in various ways according to the different needs of the present. Beyatlı and Tanpınar's plurality of Easts and Wests argument is connected to their definition of modernization to a large extent. For Besim Dellaloğlu (2013: 52), the concept of modernization in Tanpınar corresponds to a process. Modernization as a term is acceptance of being not modern and it is a word peculiar to Non-Western societies. A feeling of belatedness accompanies all modernization processes.¹³ Sources of inspiration for the mainstream version of Turkish modernization were Durkheim and Auguste Comte. However, Tanpınar was influenced by critical moderns of Western literature like Prost, Bergson, Benjamin¹⁴ and, therefore was aware of the existence of different Wests. He did not

¹² Ayvazoğlu, Beşir. Tanıl. "Türk Muhafazakârlığının Kültürel Kuruluşu" In Modern Türkiye'de Siyasi Düşünce, 522, 523. Vol. Muhafazakârlık. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları. 2006.

¹³ Dellaloğlu, Besim. Modernleşmenin Zihniyet Dünyası. 3rd ed. İstanbul: Ufuk Yayınları, 2013. 52.

¹⁴ Ibid, 53, 54.

have a belatedness feeling peculiar to the intellectuals of the mainstream modernization;¹⁵ because, for him, a civilization was not only composed of material indicators. It is a whole with its past and present. Its envisagements about the future are also included in this whole. That is, a civilization is a collection of past life experiences and values which governed these experiences. Solving the problems of the present and constructing the future is possible by reevaluating of past life experiences of life with new ones under the guidance of values governing these experiences. This process of reevaluation is not constricted with experiences of the past and the present. Values of the past and the present are also included. A chain of continuity is created between the values of the past and present. His this understanding makes the mental and spiritual side of a civilization more important. The mental sides of a civilization can be taken with a single movement. Material sides continuously progress and are continuously strived to reach. His awareness of different Wests enabled him to look at different sources of this civilization like Bergson, and Prost, for whom historicity and temporality are of more critical importance. In this way, he saved himself the habit of evaluating Eastern and the Western civilizations by their material indicators, and technical means. Thus, he could save belatedness feeling of Turkish modernization process and progressive approaches.

The duration concept used by Dellaloğlu to examine Tanpınar (2013: 80, 81) is an important concept for Bergson's philosophy. Tanpınar owes his approach, which emphasizes the spiritual sides of a civilization, to this concept. In his philosophy, Bergson investigates temporality under two titles: Time and duration. Time is universal. It is a geographical category and common in the entire universe. Duration belongs to special organisms. It springs from their inner experience and is a result of their inner evolution, transformation, and improvement. For Tanpınar, the West is a kind of special organism; modernity is the result of the inner experience of this organism. That is, it is a phase of the duration belonging to the West. However, this special duration of the West is perceived by Non-Western countries as what Bergson's would call time. Turkey also accepted the duration of the West as

¹⁵ Ibid. 57.

universal time and organized its process of modernization according to this universal criterion. For Dellaloğlu, Beyatlı as teacher of Tanpınar does not think differently on that matter. Beyatlı and Tanpınar were an anomaly evaluating modernization as duration.¹⁶

Another distinction taken by Nurettin Topçu (2003: 31, 78, 79) from Bergson makes the distinction of duration and time of Bergson clearer. This distinction is the distinction of reason and intuition. According to Bergson's philosophy, the main objects of reason are geometrically solid objects. That is, reason is interested in immobile objects or recognizes its objects in an immobile state.¹⁷ However, reality is in flux and can be recognized only in motion. Duration is an expression of this motion; duration and reality are not different categories and cannot be separated from each other. Both of them can be comprehended by intuition. For Bergson, intuition is the single ability to apprehend reality with a single leap. However, it needs immobile objects and concepts of reason to be able to make this single leap. Objects and concepts of reason are practical as long as they function as leaping boards. When they become objects of daily life, they lose their function as leaping board for intuition. The more people occupy themselves with daily life, the less apt they are to intuit. The artist is the wo/man who passes beyond practical interests of daily life and relates him/herself with objects without practical interests.¹⁸ Moreover, reality was a flux and could not be separated from duration. In this respect, Western modernity was a special duration which had formed in special societies as a result of reality's taking a determinate shape in its flux. It was an outcome of changing of mentalities of Western societies in a determinate historical era. After explanations by Nurettin Topçu, we can say that modernization of the West for Beyatlı and Tanpınar is society's taking a new shape as a result of action for modernization. Action is the product of inner dynamics of society, because it

¹⁶ Dellaloğlu, Besim. *Modernleşmenin Zihniyet Dünyası*. 3rd ed. İstanbul: Ufuk Yayınları, 2013. 80, 81

¹⁷ Topçu, Nurettin. *Bergson*. 3rd ed. İstanbul: Dergah Yayınları, 2003. 31, 78, 79

¹⁸ *Ibid.* 79, 113.

was a result of a mental change. In Turkish society, as well, they think that modernization should be a result of inner dynamics of society.

Tanıl Bora (2006: 244) also argues that the concept of evolution belonging to the philosophy of Bergson was one of the main concepts of conservative thinking. Continuity was another concept, as well. His philosophy gave reference and importance to the past as a part of the present. For this reason, this philosophy could be easily accepted by conservative thinking.¹⁹ Bergson's concepts of evolution and continuity are connected with each other. These concepts are connected to the concept of duration at the same time. Each change in the organization of an organism should be a reform for this understanding. The concept of evolution refers to a change which has a direction. On the other hand, it is different from the positivist concept of progress. In Bergson's philosophy, past and tradition are not rejected on behalf of progress. The past is the main factor governing the change. In this way, the change becomes evolution. Duration is a kind of temporality which cannot be separated from reality in flux, as above mentioned. When this temporality takes different shapes according to different localities, it becomes an expression of these localities. Tanpınar (1962: 28) says that national life is a product of geography and history for Beyatlı.²⁰ Moreover, for Tanpınar, Beyatlı (1962: 42) starts Turkish history from the Victory of Manzikert.²¹ That is, for Beyatlı, national culture is a product of a settled, civilized culture, and history constituted by this culture. As known, before the Victory of Manzikert, the history of Turks is history of nomads to a large extent. Beyatlı give a reference to Manzikert as a result of a continuity pursuit. For Beyatlı, Turks created their own duration after Manzikert, giving a determinate shape to flux of reality in a special geography.

We said that, for Tanpınar, modernization was a conscious action of society as an organism. Modernization was a matter of mentality rather than material, technical indicators. According to this understanding, society is an independent entity. It was

¹⁹ Bora, Tanıl. Onaran, Burak. "Nostalji ve Muhafazakârlık: Mazi Cenneti" In Modern Türkiye'de Siyasi Düşünce, 244. Vol. Muhafazakârlık. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları. 2006.

²⁰ Beyatlı, Yahya Kemal. Edebiyata Dair. 9th ed. İstanbul: İstanbul Fetih Cemiyeti, 1962. 28.

²¹ Ibid. 42.

being described as an organism. Modernization was this conscious organism's acceptance of its not being modern and its attempt to become modern. The organism reevaluated its past life experience in order to be able to be modern. All past, life experience collected in past ages is reinterpreted by a new mentality. For Beyatlı, as well, duration was nations' creating their own history in a special geography. Modernization as a duration is giving a new shape to the reality coming from the past as a flux. Heidegger is not among sources of inspiration of Turkish conservatives including Beyatlı and Tanpınar, according to the sources used in this study. However, concepts of tradition and historicity in Heidegger's philosophy are functional concepts for understanding Beyatlı and Tanpınar. One of the main couple of concepts of Heidegger philosophy is 'Being' and 'becoming.' Being is a general name and is the base for the existence of becomings one of which is humanity. However, it has a difference from other becomings. It is a single becoming which can question about Being. The special name of human being in Heidegger philosophy is Dasein; dasein always exist as its own past and can discover tradition. It can protect this tradition or follow it in a determinate direction. However, the definition of this tradition and what kind of things will be accepted as a part of tradition are a part of Dasein's responsibility.²² In other words, Dasein discovers its own historicity to constitute its own future. On the other hand, it transforms itself with its each action and each transformation enables it to evaluate tradition differently. Beyatlı and Tanpınar's understanding of historicity displays large similarities with Heidegger's definition of historicity. Past experiences are evaluated through this aim. According to Beyatlı and Tanpınar, society was an organism which reinterpreted its own past to be able to found its new life. In this way, it created its own duration. Heidegger's human and Beyatlı and Tanpınar's nation discover the tradition as the collection of past life experiences to construct their future. Their approaches underline historicist historiography. For example, for Trouillot (1995:15), who is a historicist historian, "the past does not exist independently from the present. Indeed, the past is only past because there is a present, just as I can point to something over there only because I am here." (...)

²²Heidegger, Martin. Time and Being. İstanbul: Agora Kitaplığı, 2006. 21.

“Thus, in no way we can identify past as past.”²³ Past is not only past. What people see in the past, which set of values is selected from the past is shaped by the present. The present is also shaped by hopes and worries about the future. However, the definition of the past which appears as a result of this process also shapes the present. Beyatlı and Tanpınar’s approach also has great similarities with this approach of history.

As mentioned above, Tanpınar was a student of Beyatlı at university. However, Tanpınar first came together with Beyatlı in a magazine as an independent intellectual. The name of this magazine was *Dergah* (*Dervish Lodge*) in Turkish.²⁴ It can be translated in English as *Sources*. Beyatlı published the magazine during the National Struggle years. Metin Çınar (2006: 85) says that *Dergah* was promising a resurrection for intellectuals who wrote in it. This resurrection can be defined by Bergson’s *elan vital* concept, or “leap for life” concept. Leap for life is explained with an example from Turkish history. Turks closed themselves in dervish lodges in interregnum, and chaotic eras of Turkish history. When these chaotic eras finished, they left these lodges for a new leap for life. Leap for life was the movement of the society.²⁵ The name of the magazine became *Dergah* for this reason. However, *Dergah*’s sources is an important meaning for our matter. According to the analogy, people who close themselves reevaluate their past life experiences before the leap for life. In short, even the name of the magazine in which Beyatlı and Tanpınar first came together is meaningful.

With *Dergah*, Beyatlı and Tanpınar aimed to propose solutions for the crisis of their society and state; the society and the state had gone through a crisis. However, on the other hand, the solution of the crisis was in the West again. To save the state, the state needed to be Westernized. They wanted to make Westernization a local experience which stems from past experience of the life of the nation. Explanations of Gaonkar about alternative modernities can be functional for understanding this

²³ Trouillot, Michel-Rolph. *Silencing the Past*. Massachusetts: Beacon Press, 1995. 15.

²⁴ Çınar, Metin. "Dergah Dergisi" In *Modern Türkiye’de Siyasi Düşünce*, 85. Vol. Muhafazakârlık. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları. 2006.

²⁵ Ibid. 85.

awareness of them. As stated above, if there are different Easts and different Wests according to the evaluation of different sources and selection of these sources according to needs of the present, there is no single modernity. Rather, there are different modernities. For Gaonkar, to think in terms of alternative modernities is to admit that modernity is inescapable process. This is the first point which Beyatlı and Tanpınar have in common with Gaonkar. Beyatlı and Tanpınar's main thesis of conservative thinking is that modernity can be experienced in different ways; they do not have an aim to return to premodern ages.

For Gaonkar, thinking in terms of alternative modernities necessitates putting a distinction between 'societal modernization' and cultural modernity. Societal modernization involves a set of cognitive and social transformations. The cognitive transformation includes or implies the growth of scientific consciousness, the development of a secular outlook, and the doctrine of progress. The social transformation includes emergence and institutionalisation of market driven industrial economies, bureaucratically administrated states, increased mobility, and urbanization. According to the understanding of societal modernization there is a single modernity and some criterias for it. When these succeed, modernization as a process is completed. However, cultural modernity rose in opposition against this understanding. Societal modernization is claimed as bourgeois order by cultural moderns. It first appeared in the aesthetic realm led by different avant – garde writers and artists.²⁶ It must first be emphasized that Beyatlı and Tanpınar do not have any problem with bourgeois order. However, due not having a single definition of modernity avoided an approach which sees modernity as something able to be handled in the same manner everywhere. This removes them from the understanding of societal modernization and approximates them to cultural modernity.

2.2 Conservative Thinking between East and West

In Turkey, the discussion of modernization was a discussion of Westernization. Therefore, the conservative thinking style was being discussed in connection with

²⁶ Gaonkar, Dilip Parameshwar. "On Alternative Modernities." In *Alternative Modernities*, 1. Vol. 11. Durham: Duke University Press, 2001. 2.

East and West issue. As mentioned above, Beyatlı and Tanpınar wanted to make the experience of modernization a part of a chain of tradition. There are historical roots of this thought. According to Beşir Ayvazoğlu, (2006: 510) breaking off all links with the past was the single way to modernize for the founder cadre of the Republic.²⁷ Nearly all institutions inherited from the Ottoman Empire like the caliphate, Dervish Lodges, madrasas, and waqfs were abolished or lost their functions. People who had grown up in this culture did not submit themselves to this engineering effort which was performed to construct a new identity.²⁸ As a result of radical rejection of the past by the Turkish founder elite, conservatives emphasized the traditional and the local to be able to protect themselves from extreme results of such kind of modernization. The wish to be protected from extreme results of modernization is a common point both in Ottoman modernization and the Republican Era for Tanıl Bora.²⁹ (2006: 239) Beyatlı and Tanpınar also emphasized the tradition to save society from these extreme results.

They were heirs of a discussion which had continued during the last eras of the Ottoman Empire. This era of the Ottoman Empire was the years in which efforts of modernization were continuing. One of the critics of this process of modernization greatly resembles critics of Beyatlı and Tanpınar. This critic was Said Halim Pasha. He was an Islamist Ottoman bureaucrat and eventual grand vizier who lived during the last years of the Ottoman Empire. For him, legitimization of social institutions or arrangements should have been subjected to social determinism rules of the society. Political shape and actions of a nation appeared if and only if they came together with its past and social and political manners.³⁰ Said Halim Pasha's intention with social and political manners of a nation was also past political and social experiences of the state. The new ones should have had its links with these

²⁷ Ayvazoğlu, Beşir. Tanıl. "Türk Muhafazakârlığının Kültürel Kuruluşu" In Modern Türkiye'de Siyasi Düşünce, 510. Vol. Muhafazakârlık. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları. 2006.

²⁸ Ayvazoğlu, Beşir. Tanıl. "Türk Muhafazakârlığının Kültürel Kuruluşu" In Modern Türkiye'de Siyasi Düşünce, 511. Vol. Muhafazakârlık. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları. 2006.

²⁹ Bora, Tanıl. Onaran, Burak. "Nostalji ve Muhafazakârlık: Mazi Cenneti" In Modern Türkiye'de Siyasi Düşünce, 239. Vol. Muhafazakârlık. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları. 2006.

³⁰ Küçükömer, İdris. Düzenin Yabancılaşması: Batılılaşma. İstanbul: Bağlam Yayınları, 1994. 19.

experiences. In reference to Heidegger, it was mentioned that limitations were put on the future by the past. In Bergson, as well, construction of the future was possible with reinterpretation and revaluation of the past. A common argument of theirs was that links of the new with these experiences of the past should have been found.

Another argument of Said Halim Pasha is that unless Sultan Hamid was born, his contemporaries would create another Sultan Hamid again.³¹ For him, Sultan Hamid's dictatorship was a result of the rejection of experienced social and political manners of the country. Reforms during the Tanzimat Era disengaged governments of this age from social and political manners of the past. Old structure of the state was disappeared, but some institutions of it remained. The new one could not be brought, but some institutions could be brought. As a result, reforms resulted in an extreme duality in society. For example, schools of old structure like madrasahs existed. However, new schools inspired by the West were also being founded. As a dictator, Abdülhamit used these kinds of dualities for his own benefits, eliminated his rivals in the state apparatus and tried to bring back the old order during nearly thirty years of his reign. These criticisms against Ottoman modernization cited by Küçükömer from Said Halim Pasha show similarities of criticisms of the Young Ottomans against Tanzimat regime. For the Young Ottomans, as well, the Tanzimat regime neglected traditional Ottoman and Islam values and imitated policies of European state non-exhaustively. Place of religious class of the empire which was an element of balance in old order was shaken. However, it cannot be brought a new balance element in place of them. The outcome was a dictatorship by the Tanzimat Pashas. The solution proposed by Young Ottomans was parliamentary monarchy.³² The main problem of Young Ottomans was not protecting old institutions or classes with their old conditions. Their main problem was avoiding radical results of radical changes. The Young Ottomans did not strive to bring back old order. However, they sought new balance elements like parliament. On the other hand, these new balance elements needed to become a part of chain of

³¹ Ibid. 21.

³² Zürcher, Eric Jan. *Turkey: A Modern History*. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1995. 104, 105.

tradition. For example, the Young Ottomans based their idea of parliament council – *şûra*- tradition of Islam. The aim of Said Halim Pasha was not different from the Young Ottomans.

According to Nazım İrem (2006: 106), in the Republican Era as well, conservatives did not oppose national state and parliamentary democracy which were main institutions of Kemalist modernization project. They did not propose any economical system rather than capitalism.³³ Their aim was to render these institutions taken from modern societies a part of tradition. For Tanıl Bora (2006: 234), conservatives needed approval of tradition for reforms in modernization process. Their acception or rejection of these reforms is shaped according to the approval of the tradition. Therefore, the past is one of the most important elements of this thinking style.³⁴ Intellectuals of the Republican Era characterized as conservative did not oppose the new and institutions of new order. For example, Beyatlı and Tanpınar were members of parliament and parts of a chain of thought from the Young Ottomans to the Republican Era. None of them avoided proposing radical solutions for the problems of society; however, they avoided radical results of these solutions. For example, the parliament the Young Ottomans proposed to solve the problems of the state was a radical solution in the conditions of that era; nevertheless it should not have resulted in radical results. This could be possible only on the condition that solutions were in accordance with political and social experiences of past ages.

Küçükömer (1994: 21) expands the arguments by Said Halim Pasha with the claim that capitalist society was a natural result of a lengthy historical transformation in the West. Moreover, the class structure of the state could be clearly seen in the West. In Ottoman modernization, the class structure of the state could not be seen clearly, since the Westernist laicist group, that is bureaucrats, captured the power in this society as result of a crisis in the old order and in an anarchic atmosphere. They

³³ İrem, Nazım. "Bir Değişim Siyaseti Olarak Türkiye’de Cumhuriyetçi Muhafazakârlık: Temel Kavramlar Üzerine Değerlendirmeler" In Modern Türkiye’de Siyasi Düşünce, 106. Vol. Muhafazakârlık. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları. 2006.

³⁴ Bora, Tanıl. Onaran, Burak. "Nostalji ve Muhafazakârlık: Mazi Cenneti" In Modern Türkiye’de Siyasi Düşünce, 234. Vol. Muhafazakârlık. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları. 2006.

were not a social or economic class possessing roots in society. Their single dependency was to the Sultan and this dependency had weakened.³⁵ A change under leadership of a class which has its roots in society could make the change a part of chain of tradition, since this class was a product of past experiences of society anymore. Then, in Turkey, a modern society would be possible. However, there was no such a class in Turkey.

For Beşir Ayvazoğlu (2006: 515), conservative intellectuals of the Republican Era did not want contradiction literally. They wanted to establish a link between the present and the past again, because they thought that the links of society with the past had been broken. They were seeking a reconciliation ground for this aim.³⁶ This approach was common characteristic of intellectuals considered conservative. Beyatlı and Tanpınar emphasized historicity and tradition more. Discussions carried out by Said Halim Pasha in the last years of the Ottoman Empire were again revived in the writings of Beyatlı and Tanpınar. Even this confirms that discussions of tradition and past are nearly natural outcome of modernization eras. It occurs when modernization efforts result in contradictions between the old and the new. Modernization itself is not objected, rather modernization's inability to become a part of constitution of society. When it is unable to be a part of constitution of society, it loses the characteristic of being modern. On the condition that the old society disappears and new ones cannot be founded, the remained one is a social structure which strives to cope with contradictions. The solution proposed to this problem both by Beyatlı and Tanpınar is modernization in all branches of life. However, it is a solution only on the condition that its links with the nation's social and political experiences of the past was founded. This approach is the basis of their conservative thinking style. Conservatism was one of the versions of Kemalism according to Nazım İrem. (2006: 106) It was developed in the periphery of the political center. However, it was not out of the center. They are semi-elite

³⁵ Küçükömer, İdris. *Düzenin Yabancılaşması: Batılılaşma*. İstanbul: Bağlam Yayınları, 1994. 21.

³⁶ Ayvazoğlu, Beşir. Tanıl. "Türk Muhafazakârlığının Kültürel Kuruluşu" In *Modern Türkiye'de Siyasi Düşünce*, 515. Vol. Muhafazakârlık. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları. 2006.

intellectuals of Kemalism and Turkish revolution.³⁷ In other words, at least for Beyatlı and Tanpınar, they are not opponents of Kemalism and its program of modernization. They wanted to make this program a part of social and political manners of the state. In the last years of the Ottoman Empire, Said Halim Pasha was not proposing anything other than this. Like him, they were also a part of the state elite. Both Beyatlı and Tanpınar became members of parliament. However, their influences were limited. The majority of their suggestions remained limited to writings and reflected in their literatures.

As pioneers of Republican Conservatives including Beyatlı and Tanpınar, Young Ottomans or Said Halim Pasha were state elites felt responsible for the state. Their aim was to protect and save the state. Şerif Mardin (1992: 4) focuses on a different state elite of the Ottoman Empire to explain this characteristic. The question of why the empire was declining is started to be questioned with the political events of 17th and 18th centuries. These kinds of examinations firstly emerge in the scribal service of the Ottoman Empire (*kalemiye*) for Mardin.³⁸ They were also bureaucratic elites like conservatives of the Republic. However, when they were compared to military (*seyfiyye*) and religious classes of state elites (*ilmiye*), their role was more modest among these elites. As elites in the periphery, they wanted to reform the state. However, they wanted to do this within legal borders of the state. They also had an evolutionist approach and this approach of theirs was not out of the borders of the tradition.

İdris Küçükömer (1994: 24) mentions a handicap of this Ottoman modernist bureaucratic class. For him, they could not spend the surplus exploited from lower classes for production. Perhaps, some people among them could do so individually, but as a group, they did not have this ability. This Westernist group was striving to Westernize even though the opposition lower, and exploited classes. Lower classes evaluated the Westernization as a movement contradicting with their own interests.

³⁷ İrem, Nazım. "Bir Değişim Siyaseti Olarak Türkiye'de Cumhuriyetçi Muhafazakârlık: Temel Kavramlar Üzerine Değerlendirmeler" In Modern Türkiye'de Siyasi Düşünce, 106. Vol. Muhafazakârlık. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları.

³⁸ Mardin, Şerif. Türk Modernleşmesi: Makaleler IV. Vol. IV. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1992. 4.

Westernization effort did not recover their economic condition. Conversely, these efforts of Westernization were corrupting their economic conditions due to large expenses in the state budget. For these reasons, Westernization was a movement which developed despite the opposition of majority of society. Therefore, The Westernist movement became an agent of Western interests in Ottoman lands. In these conditions, Easternist Islamism could not also be turned into a class movement in itself. The struggle of these two movements is secondary and mostly in ideological institutions. These secondary struggles sometimes occurred very violently. For this reason, the solution to the main contradiction, the contradiction of classes, has been delayed up until 1970s for the author.³⁹ Westernization became a movement which developed despite the opposition of a majority of society. The bureaucratic elite of the state, which initiated the Westernization movement, broke off their roots from society, but cannot be turned into an economic class. That is, they could not take a new root in society.

Moreover, when Ottomans saw the superiority of the West, they started to take some institutions of the West to be able to struggle against it. These military, political, legal and educational institutions belonged to Western capitalism and they are products of longtime development. So that they could appear in Ottoman lands, modern classes should have formed and these classes should have possessed power and accumulated capital.⁴⁰ In Ottoman lands, there were not these modern economic classes. For Şerif Mardin (1992: 12) again, even in countries which does not have constitutional government, kings who wanted to found a national state understood the importance of proprietary rights of their subjects. As a result of these policies of kings in West, middle classes gained the power.⁴¹ In Ottoman modernization, bureaucrats turned into agents of Western interests since existent middle classes of Ottoman Empire did not appear as an element of balance as being in the West.

³⁹ Küçükömer, İdris. Düzenin Yabancılaşması: Batılılaşma. İstanbul: Bağlam Yayınları, 1994. 24.

⁴⁰ Küçükömer, İdris. Düzenin Yabancılaşması: Batılılaşma. İstanbul: Bağlam Yayınları, 1994. 27.

⁴¹ Mardin, Şerif. Türk Modernleşmesi: Makaleler IV. Vol. IV. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1992. 12.

In Ottoman modernization, values of Western civilization on the subject of prosperity and prosperity rights influenced the Ottoman administrative classes. However, especially lower and middle classes in Istanbul perceived this as a privilege of upper classes and as an enemy of their local culture. In the West, middle classes were in productive activity. These classes could benefit from prosperity rights. In Ottoman Empire, only bureaucratic classes which were not in productive activity could be benefited from these rights. In these conditions, middle classes made an alliance with Janissaries and this resulted in a reactionist movement against modernization.⁴² This argument is common both in Şerif Mardin and İdris Küçükömer. Arguments by İdris Küçükömer as a Marxist historian and economist are similar with Şerif Mardin on that matter.

2.3 Eastern Style vs. Western Style in the Turkish Literature

It was mentioned above that conservative thinking style had appeared during Republican Era in Turkey. However, it was a thinking style with roots in the modernization era of Ottoman Empire. There were multiple causes for the rise of conservative thought. Firstly, the Ottoman Empire was living within the borders of Eastern civilization before. Political obligations forced this empire to a Westernization project. Westernization obligation was a result of the defeat against the West. The intellectuals discussed above did not oppose this modernization or Westernization; rather they supported it. We remarked above that especially in Tanpınar, modernization was described as a process and acception of being not modern. He believed modernization should have been a part of chain of tradition able to be completed as a process. Otherwise, society could not be freed of the suspending position between the East and the West. There are many examples in literatures of Beyatlı and Tanpınar exemplifying this suspending position.

Western style (*alafranga*) and Eastern Style (*alaturka*) in Turkish Literature are two types exemplifying the mentioned suspended position between the East and the West. These people are outcomes of a society in which the East disappeared as a civilization, but where Western civilization cannot be found. Eastern style and

⁴² Mardin, Şerif. Türk Modernleşmesi: Makaleler IV. Vol. IV. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1992. 12.

Western style are products of this duality. The literature regarded as Western was written by people who saw being Western as a rising fashion. However, this did not mean they were Western. They were represented in Turkish Literature as Eastern-born people imitating the West as a rising fashion. For example, Beyatlı did not want to become part of the Western style. He wanted to become European and have an identity in European culture like a French or English. For him, Westernization needed to become a product of life of the nation, not remain as a fashion. The duality between Western style and Eastern style was a result of this identity crisis. The East had died; however, the West did not come with its all institutions and mentality. A rising fashion came, but this was not West's itself.

First, Eastern style will be evaluated. Eastern style was the rival current of Western style and a bad imitation of old East. In his essays on subject of the literature, Beyatlı mentions Ali Emîrî.⁴³ Ali Emîrî is a man who can be called as old in his mind, spirit, and pleasures. One day, he aspires to write poetry in a new method and begins to publish poems including words like telephone, submarine, airplane. The words were new, but the mentality was old. One poem, for example, reads as such:

My darling is wandering with coyness as explaining the plane.

Tayyâreye binmiş geziyor nâz ile cânân

This poem is very remote from the velocity of the age for Beyatlı. If the plane was replaced with the words below, it would not change anything in the mentality of the poem.

My darling is boating with coyness in sandal.

Zevrakçeye binmiş geziyor nâz ile cânân

Or

My darling is drinking with coyness as taking her chalice.

Peymâneyi almış içiyor nâz ile cânân⁴⁴

⁴³The title of the essay is *Ali Emîrî and New Poetry*.

⁴⁴Beyatlı, Yahya Kemal. *Edebiyata Dair*. 9th ed. İstanbul: İstanbul Fetih Cemiyeti, 1962. 33.

That is, the words had changed in the poem of Ali Emîrî, but the mentality did not change. Beyatlı's main goal was to change mentality. With this change, he intends to create a context in which modernity becomes an organic part of the society, where the traditions of society were also modern. Otherwise, residuals of old Eastern culture and modern Western culture would live side by side, producing contradiction. Examples of literatures like Ali Emîrî's are outcomes of this contradiction.

According to Beyatlı, Eastern Style and Western Style are outcomes of the same social structure. In his essays on subject of literature, Beyatlı (1962: 142) explains Western style in this context as a product of deficiency of local and national literature.

However, with a broader glance, the main current, that is Western style appeared in our literature as a finishing which always rises more a fortiori. However, if the time of maturity came, mentioned artists who gave the first national and native pleasure would appear.

Lâkin geniş bir bakışla, bu nümûnelere rağmen, asıl cereyan, yâni alafranga, bütün hayâtımızda olduğu gibi, edebiyâtımızda da dâimâ daha ziyâde yükselen bir med hâlinde, galebe etmiştir. Halbuki rûşt, olgunluk saati çalsaydı, demin zikri geçen, ilk millî ve yerli zevki vermiş sanatkârların galebe etmeleri iktizâ ederdi.⁴⁵

Beyatlı says in his passage that Western style appeared in Turkish literature as a rising fashion. Eastern style and Western style are outcomes of same social structure, but Western style is a rising fashion. Both Eastern style and Western style are outcomes of bankruptcy of old Eastern civilization in front of West and Western style is the rising fashion because of that bankruptcy. However, it was creating its subordinate rival –Eastern style- as well. If the time of maturity came for Turkish literature, our literature could give its first national example, because for Beyatlı, nationalism is a natural outcome of Westernization. However, at the same time, it was founded upon local, and native. That is, if Western style could be a part of local life of the country, it would not remain as rising fashion and a national literature would arise from the local life. This Western which arose from the local life would not be a Western style; it became national. He says that we should have abandoned

⁴⁵ Beyatlı, Yahya Kemal. Edebiyata Dair. 9th ed. İstanbul: İstanbul Fetih Cemiyeti, 1962. 142.

the East and we abandoned it. This abandonment was a positive development. We entered the school of European culture and started to study in this school. However, it could not be graduated from the school for seventy years. That is, we could not be a national identity in European civilization as other nations.⁴⁶ These arguments give a self-perception of Beyatlı about himself. He saw himself as the first man of literature who wrote national Turkish works in Western style. Tanpınar also defined his teacher as a man who speaks in an equal manner with the West.

Tanpınar (1970: 45) approaches to this matter from a different position. In one of his essay *Yaşadığım Gibi (As I Live)* he says:

The disposition which began in 1923 finished the struggle between the old and the new. When we removed from our life these half dead life shapes living in us, institution residual which does not have any function in our life, we started to see it in its great truth. Today, a past respect began on all sides.

1923'te başlayan tasfiye, eski ile yeni arasındaki bu denksiz mücadeleye son verir. İçimizde yaşayan bu yarı ölü hayat şekillerini, yeni bir terkipte fonksiyonu kalmamış bazı müessese artıklarını hayatımızdan çıkarınca birdenbire onu büyük hakikatinde görmeye başladık. Bugün her tarafta haklı bir mazi saygısı başladı.⁴⁷

The main argument of his passage is that the disposition which started in 1923 resulted in a respect of the past. Tanpınar believes the local is the functional parts of the past which is wanted to continue in the present. Definition of tradition was given above as the pastlife experiences. The local is also the pastlife experiences which are wanted to continue in present. The local is the collection of life experiences which make nationalism, which is a Western concept, a part of tradition chain in an Eastern country. It was mentioned above that Beyatlı saw the Victory of Manzikert as a turning point in Turkish history, because Turks had a homeland with this victory. The local is unhistorical and eternal experiences of life which arises from the relationship of Turks as an historical actor with a special geography- Anatolia. Western style is a fashion which broke off its link with this homeland. On the other hand, Eastern style gets stuck on unfunctional residuals of the past and it falsely evaluates them as local experiences.

⁴⁶ Ibid. 142.

⁴⁷ Tanpınar, Ahmet Hamdi. *Yaşadığım Gibi*. 6th ed. İstanbul: Dergah Yayınları, 1970. 45.

As seen in the citation, Tanpınar's attitude towards Kemalist revolution is very positive. According to him, Kemalist revolution abolished old Eastern mentality within the state apparatus and finished the struggle between the old and the new, declaring the victory of the new. Thanks to Kemalist reforms, Turks could get rid of the old unfunctional residuals. Tanpınar saw himself among intellectuals who would succeed in completing the Kemalist revolution. The local experiences of nation would take their place in the new as a part of national life. He said that a rightful respect of the past began after the Kemalist revolution. The original value of the past started to be seen through the Kemalist revolution. That is, Tanpınar also sees himself as a product of the revolution, since he is an intellectual who can see the original value of the past. Then, it can be said that the Kemalist revolution is a national political experience beyond Eastern style and Western style for Tanpınar. Beyatlı does not give reference to Kemalism in the East and West discussion. However, neither Beyatlı nor Tanpınar oppose institutional reforms of the Republic as stated above. They want to place these institutions into chain of tradition. Besim Dellaloğlu (2013: 122) says that, in common sensically, Tanpınar and Beyatlı are reactionary men. However, Tanpınar was a member of parliament representing Republican People's Party. In those years, RPP was the single political party of the country and pioneer of Westernization movement in Turkey. Turkey was also governed by a one-party system. In such a political atmosphere, many decisions about the country were made in the house of Mustafa Kemal, who was the president of the state and chairman of RPP, at dinners. Beyatlı is closer to the dinner table of Mustafa Kemal than men who saw him as reactionary.⁴⁸ Neither Tanpınar nor Beyatlı were reactionist.

2.4 Suspended Between Civilizations

Discussion of Eastern style and Western style is a part of a broader discussion. I claimed that the issue was mainly issue of the change of civilization. Tanpınar wanted to be freed of this position. He clearly poses the question, what do we have when compared with the West? The answer is Süleymaniye Mosque, three or four

⁴⁸ Dellaloğlu, Besim. *Modernleşmenin Zihniyet Dünyası*. 3rd ed. İstanbul: Ufuk Yayınları, 2013. 122.

songs. We have these as masterpieces of civilization for him. The experience of nationalism will take its shape through these things. However, it cannot remain there. Westernization must be an experience dominating all aspects of life. Being local is valuable as long as a modern life dominates society.

Saatleri Ayarlama Enstitüsü (The Time Regulation Institute) is one of the novels of Tanpınar taking on the matter of civilization change. The novel was written ironically. The Time Regulation institute in fact represents the new civilization. In the novel, the Institute is founded to regulate people's watches. Founding an institute to regulate the time is an irrational thing when it is thought independently from irony. However, civilizations are irrational things anymore. They bring some values; societies internalize these values and experience them spontaneously. There are some experiences shaped by these values and are experienced by humans without questioning. Like civilizations, institutions also enforce their own values. They have also material conditions and rules. Analytical divisions between their rules and physical environments cannot be determined. Civilizations, like institutions, also cannot be differentiated between their spiritual and technical sides. Formulations such as taking the technic, method of one civilization, therefore, become unsuccessful. The passage cited below from the novel displays dualities created by these formulations with words of the president of the Institute:

_He was saying how can it be?, How can it be? How can people not understand people who work in the most perfect and the newest conditions this work in the most modern institution of the world? What are they doing at the Institute then? Why did they applaud new building? Why did they congratulate us? It means they are lying.

I tried to tell Halit Ayaracı.

_No, they are not lying. They were sincere in both of them. They loved innovation as long as its result did not affect them. They still love this situation. However, they love being secure and durable in their life.

_ Nasıl olur?.. diyordu, nasıl olur? Dünyanın en modern müessesesinde, en mükemmel ve yeni şartlar altında ve bu kadar yenilik içinde çalışan bu insanlar bu işi nasıl anlamazlar? O hâlde enstitüde ne işleri var? Niçin yeni binayı alkışladılar? Niçin bizi tebrik ettiler? Demek yalan söylüyorlar!..

Ben Halit Ayaracı'ya anlatmaya çalışıyordum.

_Hayır, yalan söylemiyorlar, diyordum.İkisinde de samimi idiler.Yeniliği kendilerine ucu dokunmamak şartıyla seviyorlardı.Hâlâ da o şartla severler.Fakat hayatlarında emniyetli ve sağlam olmayı seviyorlar.⁴⁹

In the passage, the Institute is described as one of the most modern institutes in the world, meaning it meets all technical criteria. Moreover, there are many people who work in this institute. However, to work in the most modern institute in the world with the most developed technical means does not make them modern people in the full sense of the word. They want the modernity for others, but not for themselves. This results in duality in the personalities of human beings. They experience two different worlds in their private life and public life. The author's main issue is this problem. People who live in this country generally dress like Westerners and use technology produced by this civilization; however, they think in their private lives like Easterners. This results both in duality in the culture of the society and in the personalities of people living in the country.

These dualities are a serious problem for Tanpınar. They undermine society and people living in the society. In a passage from Tanpınar's novel *Mahur Beste* (Mahur Melody), this can be seen very clearly. It is a conversation between Behçet and a friend of his father, Sabri Hodja. Sabri Hodja is one of the last representatives of the tradition; however, at the same time, he is a person open to new ideas. Behçet as a suspended person is an example of the modernization process.

My son Behçet, do you know what destruction of a civilization is? Humanity spoils, humanity finishes; a civilization is a collection of values constituting human as human. Do you understand the greatness of the problem now? You are making book skin, thus you know what headband is. Humanity does not have a headband in us. Life, therefore is being managed by death values which does not hold each other, without harmony, does not respond life of the present. We are seeing differently when we look at the world. When we stay alone, we think differently.

_Oğlum Behçet, sen bir medeniyetin iflası nedir, bilir misin? dedi. İnsan bozulur, insan kalmaz; bir medeniyet insanı yapan manevî kıymetler manzumesidir. Anlıyor musun şimdi derdin büyüklüğünü?... Cahilsin; okur, öğrenirsin.Gerisin; ilerlersin.Adam yok; yetiştirirsin, günün birinde meydana çıkıverir.Paran yok; kazanırsın.Fakat insan bozuldu mu, bunun çaresi yoktur. Sen cilt yapıyorsun;

⁴⁹Tanpınar, Ahmet Hamdi. Saatleri Ayarlama Enstitüsü. 23rd ed. İstanbul: Dergah Yayınları, 1962. 387.

şiraze nedir bilirsin. Bizde insanoğlu şirazesiz kalmış. Hayat onun için ahenksiz, birbirini tutmayan, günün hayatına cevap vermeyen bir yığın ölü kıymetler tarafından idare ediliyor. Dünyaya baktığımız zaman ayrı görüyor, kendi kendimize kaldığımız zaman ayrı düşünüyoruz.⁵⁰

Headbands held pages together in old books. If there was not a headband in a book, that book lost its unity. As a conservatist, the aim of Tanpınar is to enable unity of people and society. What is the thing which destructs the unity of civilization in Turkey? The Time Regulation Institute mentioned death values. Some institutions and values of old Eastern civilization live in society. Maybe they are not seen in public life. However, they were a part of personalities of humans living in this society. On the other hand, it is also taken from some institutions, and technical reforms from the West. The Time Regulation Institute was an ironical example of these institutions. Taking some institutions from the West and making technical reforms was not a solution for problem of civilization change. These institutions were not enough to dispose of unfunctional values of the old. They were living side by side. To pass over this duality, Western civilization needed to be accepted with its mentality and all values. The tradition shaped by old Eastern civilization needed to be completely reevaluated by Western values and mentality and it should be disposed of its death shapes. Its functional and eternal parts should be made a part of national life. To save society from a suspending situation makes people authentic individuals. In this way, society and human beings can be saved from being undermined.

The renaissance is a concept used by Cahit Tanyol to understand Beyatlı better. Tanyol does not use the Renaissance as a historical era; for him, the Renaissance is the formation of national culture and is a laicist world understanding. It proposes reevaluation of values in the process of the formation of the nation. Nations joining this movement reach a mental maturity.⁵¹ The discussion of Renaissance is very important with its meaning of formation of national culture. Another meaning of the Renaissance of Cahit Tanyol was reevaluation of values. These two meanings of it are not different meanings. Renaissance is the discovery of tradition and local.

⁵⁰ Tanpınar, Ahmet Hamdi. Mahur Beste. 11th ed. İstanbul: Dergah Yayınları, 1975. 91.

⁵¹ Tanyol, Cahit. Türk Edebiyatında Yahya Kemal. İstanbul: Remzi Kitabevi, 1985. 23.

In the West, the Renaissance was an outcome of historical conditions. After the Renaissance, secular discovery of the tradition in the West began. The first steps towards the national formations were a result of this development. According to Tanyol's explanation, in Islamic culture, as well, Muslims had necessary conditions for the Renaissance. That is, this culture developed enough to reevaluate its sources to found a new civilization. Another Non- Western country, Russia, was successful in this aim, but the Ottoman Empire could not. Then, Tanyol asks how the Russian nation could make its Renaissance, but we could not. The main reason for this is our perception of the Renaissance as a social and political movement rather than an intellectual movement. Our experiences, therefore, come to naught. The thing making Russians European is not the reforms movements of I. Petro. Behind these movements, there are the great masterminds of Pouchkine, Tolstoy, Gogol, Borodine, and Tschaikovsky.⁵² The matter is again whether technical and institutional reforms are enough for the appearance of a modern society or not. Cahit Tanyol implies that the Ottoman Empire as the pioneer figure of the Eastern Islamic world saw modernization as technical or institutional reforms. For this reason, it could not make its Renaissance. However, Russia, a non-Western Christian power, could.

Many approaches evaluating the civilization change problem in Turkey are influenced by Ziya Gökalp, who was the most leading thinker of Turkish nationalism. However, Beyatlı and Tanpınar are different from him due to their understandings of nationalism. Orhan Koçak (2006: 377) says that both Beyatlı and Tanpınar reject dualities like essence and form, content (national) and technic (universal) in an absolute manner. These dualities are the results of Western positivist sociology inspired by Gökalp.⁵³ According to Gökalp, Ottoman culture and literature was the enemy of Turkish culture and they must disappear. The main enemy of culture for Gökalp was cosmopolitanism, meaning that which ruins culture. The old Ottoman culture was the product of a culture of empire. So that new national Turkish state

⁵² Tanyol, Cahit. *Türk Edebiyatında Yahya Kemal*. İstanbul: Remzi Kitabevi, 1985. 24.

⁵³ Koçak, Orhan. "1920'lerden 1970'lere Kültür Politikaları." In *Modern Türkiye'de Siyasi Düşünce*, 377. Vol. *Kemalizm*. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları. 2006.

could be founded, they had to be disposed of. As a result, the old Ottoman culture was disposed of as a part of old Ottoman civilization. Certain aspects such as poetry, music, dancing, and folk theatre remained in the culture part of the duality of Gökalp.⁵⁴ That is, culture was reduced to folklore and museology. This was nationalism devoid of national character for Tanpınar; it accepted Western civilization as universal and technical without reevaluating it under the guidance of tradition. Tradition was also rejected as a part of old Ottoman cosmopolitan culture. For this reason, old Eastern culture continued to live within the personalities of people who dressed like Westerners and used Western technology. This could result in the duality within the personalities of people.

In *Beyatlı*, the past beyond its functional parts in formation of nation turns into a matter of nostalgia. Tanpınar explains this in his biography of *Yahya Kemal*, saying that:

Beyatlıs' was an investigation and a nostalgia. He was seeking the thing which he cannot find anymore, the thing which did not exist anytime with this condition apart from it is being in the art. He was seeking a world in which God exists in each field of the life, all differences melt in the spiritual love. He was seeking a world in which being in the love is a love poet. In fact, this was meant that the East died.

Yahya Kemal'inki ise nostalji ve araştırmaydı. O artık bulamayacağını, sanatın dışında o şekliyle hiçbir zaman mevcut olmadığını bildiği eski ledünnî şarkı, Tanrı'nın her var olanda kendiliğinden var olduğu, bütün ayrılıkların ilahî aşkta eriyip kaybolduğu, yaşanan aşkın sadece bir aşk neşidesi olduğu şarkı arıyor, onun yokluğuna sızlanıyordu. Hakikatte bu , "Şark öldü!" demekti.⁵⁵

In the passage, Tanpınar mentions an East which had died. It is the matter of nostalgia anymore. However, beyond this, there is an East which did not exist in any age of history. The death East is the main source of the nostalgia. This nostalgia creates an East in the literature of *Beyatlı* which did not exist anytime and anywhere according to Tanpınar.

⁵⁴ Koçak, Orhan. "1920'lerden 1970'lere Kültür Politikaları." In *Modern Türkiye'de Siyasi Düşünce*, 377, 378. Vol. *Kemalizm*. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları. 2006.

⁵⁵ Tanpınar, Ahmet Hamdi. *Yahya Kemal*. 8th ed. İstanbul: Dergah Yayınları, 1962. 27, 28.

According to Tanıl Bora, (2006: 235)nostalgia appeared in the first phases of modernization process as a longing for coherence to the old society.⁵⁶ It is one of the main elements of conservative thinking. However, it was not reactionist nostalgia. Beşir Ayvazoğlu (2006: 514) also says that Beyatlı and Tanpınar avoided reactionists who did not look at literature, music and other arts of old era selectively. For Beyatlı and Tanpınar, old literature, music and other arts must be evaluated by eyes of modernity. They are beautiful under this condition.⁵⁷The nostalgic old Eastern world in the literature of Beyatlı is a source enriching his literature. At the same time, it is a product of modern necessity, sincethe poet attributes the order whose deficiency he feels in the present to the past. If it is returned to Tanpınar again, nostalgia is the result of dualities and contradictions experienced in the present world. According to above-cited passages from The Time Regulation Institute and Mahur Melody, these dualities and contradictions were the results of modern culture not dominating all phases of life. That is, it was said that these dualities and contradictions were results of a suspending problem between civilizations. Both Beyatlı and Tanpınar emphasized this problem in themes about Eastern style and Western style. Nostalgia was the outcome of this problem. They emphasized this problem with the word of deficiency of order. Tanpınar mentioned a world in which God is felt in each corner. He was referring to the word of order with this analogy. When looking at the past from existent chaos, it was seen that it was a spiritual order.

2.5 Evolution, Civilization, Development

As it was said above, historicity is the main element of nationalist thought of Beyatlı and Tanpınar. Intended with historicity isthe reevaluation of the past, and experiences of the past. This is a process of evaluation to determine what is functional and unfunctional in the past for theprocess of the formation of the nation.Nationalism mentioned by Tanpınaras devoid of history is a nationality in

⁵⁶ Bora, Tanıl. Onaran, Burak. "Nostalji ve Muhafazakârlık: Mazi Cenneti" In Modern Türkiye'de Siyasi Düşünce, 235. Vol. Muhafazakârlık. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları. 2006

⁵⁷ Ayvazoğlu, Beşir. "Türk Muhafazakârlığının Kültürel Kuruluşu" In Modern Türkiye'de Siyasi Düşünce, 514. Vol. Muhafazakârlık. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları. 2006.

which the idea of continuity is lost. The idea of continuity is a very important part of nationalism understanding of conservative thinking. *Yaşadığım Gibi (As I Live)* is a book which was composed of some essays of Tanpınar on subjects of art, politics, and literature. In his one essay, he takes the matter of society and intellectuals. Some themes about the idea of continuity can be found in this essay. He (1970: 101) says about society that:

Everlasting continuation exists in the society. When we put community life in the place of individual life, dying becomes an experience which does not have any rustic side anymore.

Ebedî devam cemiyette vardır. Fert hayatının yerine, topluluk hayatını koyduğunuz an, ölüm bizim için hiçbir hoyrat tarafı kalmamış bir tecrübe olur.⁵⁸

There are several themes in the passage emphasized by Tanpınar. One of them is continuity, which is important to show the comparison between individual and social life. This comparison also enables him to make philosophical speculations about death. According to the passage, death is an experience special to individual living creatures. However, social life includes the idea of continuity and is therefore immortal. We mentioned above the local entities made nationalism meaningful in Beyatlı and Tanpınar. Locality, which is an element enabling continuity in society, is the collection of experiences of the life which is born from the combination of tradition and a special geography. It is an inseparable part of the idea of nationalism at the same time. That is, according to Tanpınar, eternal continuity in society is possible when it becomes a nation.

In the same essay, Tanpınar (1970: 80) explains the difference between nation and mass as such:

There is a great difference between nation and mass. Nation is the equilibrium of life. Mass is composed of destruction of this equilibrium. The man of nation feels like a genius of this equilibrium himself. The man of mass takes his power from a coterie and reigns due to this.

Milletle kitlenin arasında büyük bir fark vardır. Millet hayatın muvazenesidir. Kitle ise bu muvazenenin bozuluşundan çıkar. Millet adamı bu

⁵⁸Tanpınar, Ahmet Hamdi. *Yaşadığım Gibi*. 6th ed. İstanbul: Dergah Yayınları, 1970. 101.

muvaazenenin dehasını kendinde duyandır. Kitle adamı kudretini zümreden alır ve onun sayesinde hükmeder.⁵⁹

In this passage, it was mentioned the contrast between nation and mass. Nation is matched with the idea of equilibrium. Mass is a result of breaking of this equilibrium in the structure of the society. It was said that continuity was possible with society's being a nation. Continuity makes the tradition a part of living present and this makes society a nation. When society becomes a nation, contradictions between different groups of the society finish. When it was mentioned Sait Halim Pasha above, it was claimed that the appearance of dictatorship of Sultan Hamid was the result of dualities and contradictions in society which were created by modernization efforts. Sultan Hamid was taking his power from the majority striving to live on the conditions of the old society. This duality created a reaction in majority of society and Abdülhamid used this reaction for himself. Tanpınar does not want this kind of reaction in Republican Era. However, if efforts of modernization turned society as a mass into a nation, contradictions between elites who are supporters of modernization and people who strived to live on conditions of old Eastern civilization would not occur. Then, Abdülhamit would not appear as a dictator. In short, if values of old Eastern civilization could make a part of Westernized national entity, two different systems of values could be melted in one; then dictators who use this duality on behalf of themselves would not arise.

Nationalism as the discovery of the local was a style of relationship with the past in Beyatlı and Tanpınar's works. For them both, founding a relationship with the past is the precondition of nationalism. As a result of the relationship with the past, modernization became a part of the chain of tradition. Thus, modernization would not remain as an experience producing contradiction. However, we can say that at least Tanpınar knew that there could not be single type of relation with the past. There were various styles of relationships with the past according to changing conditions. In a passage selected from *Huzur (A Mind At Peace)*, Tanpınar (1949: 347) states:

⁵⁹Tanpınar, Ahmet Hamdi. Yaşadığım Gibi. 6th ed. İstanbul: Dergah Yayınları, 1970. 80.

Because we also change with incidents and are created over again while changing. The Human mind was like that. Duration is constituted in it again. The present, this knife edge, both moves the burden of the past and changes it partly.

Çünkü hadiselerle beraber biz de değişiriz; ve biz değiştikçe mazimizi yeni baştan kurarız. İnsan kafası böyleydi. Zaman, onda daima yeniden teşekkül ederdi. Hâl, bu bıçak sırtı, hem mazinin yükünü taşır, hem de onu çizgi çizgi değiştirirdi.⁶⁰

In the passage, the present for Tanpınar both moves the burden of the past, and changes it line by line. If it is repeated again, there is no single way of reevaluating the past. His conservative approach which was shaped by the philosophy of Bergson accepted the flux of reality. The past was the collection of life experiences when it is looked from the present instant. The local was constructed by selecting from this collection of experiences of life and nationalism was formed by constructing the local from these life experiences. Therefore, nationalism as the discovery of the local was a type of discovery of tradition.

Tanpınar's approach accepts different reevaluations of the past. While the present changes, the past also changes. According to him, unless perceptions about the past change while the present is changing, a reactionist reading of the past may be induced. A character from *Mahur Beste* (*Mahur Melody*) exemplifies this situation. Ata Molla is a Muslim scholar in the state elite. He is a negative character in the novel of Tanpınar and dislikes his age.

Mahur Beste (*Mahur Melody*) is a novel of Tanpınar whose events flows in Istanbul in last decades of Ottoman Empire. The place of the novel is the capital of a destructing country. Chaotic atmosphere caused by efforts of civilization change, and position of suspension between civilizations make people feel alienated in all branches of the life. This position of suspension makes people immobilized or past obsessed. I will focus on two characters in the novel: Ata Molla and Behçet. For Ata Molla and Behçet, alienation from the present age is an outcome of problem of civilization change in their country. However, one of them becomes a reactionary; the other one remains immobilized between ages. Ata Molla is a product of a stubborn characteristic; Behçet is a product of physical weakness as characters.

⁶⁰Tanpınar, Ahmet Hamdi. Huzur. 17th ed. İstanbul: Dergah Yayınları, 1949. 347.

However, their alienation from their ages is a socio-historical phenomenon. First, it can be looked at Ata Molla:

If Ata Molla had not been created as a negative person, his hostility against his age would have promoted and united him with formations working against despotism, throwing him into frontline ideas of his age. The opposite of this happened. His hostility against his age did not promote him, but turned back and threw him into a strange past longing. His mind working like a watch toward the past started to live in the past. His interest in history which began recently was caused from this. As long as he thought eras in which the class of ‘ulema’ is dominant in the state, could change the city with one word, dethrone sovereigns, and decapitate viziers, his age in which he lives seemed ridiculous and meaningless to him. Like an animal in the cage wandering and remembering days in which it wandered in the forest as sniffing its prey, he also thought of the time which would give him the possibility of trying all forces of his paws.

Ata Molla, menfi yaratılmamış olsaydı bu devir düşmanlığı onu ileriye götürür, istibdat aleyhinde çalışan teşekküllerle birleştirir, yaşadığı zamanın ön saftaki fikirleri içine atardı. Bunun tam tersi oldu: Devrine olan düşmanlığı onu ileriye değil geriye götürdü ve acayip bir mazi hasretine attı. Kafası daima geriye işleyen bir saat gibi, geçmiş zamanı yaşamaya başladı. Son zamanlarda kendisinde başlayan tarih merakı da buradan geliyordu. ‘Ulema’ sınıfının bütün devlete hakim olduğu, şehrin manzarasını tek bir sözle değiştirdiği, hükümdarları tahttan indirdiği, vezir başları aldığı zamanları düşündükçe yaşadığı hayat kendisine gülünç ve manasız geliyor, kafesteki vahşi hayvanın av kokusu alarak dolaştığı ormanı hatırlaması gibi, o da kendisine ve sanatına tırnaklarının, pençelerinin bütün kuvvetini denemek imkanını verecek zamanı düşünüyordu.⁶¹

Ata Molla has some characteristics in the novel. Firstly, he is an enemy of his age. This hostility is due to his alienation from his age. As a result of this alienation, he obsesses over a determinate era of the past. He tries to bring back an age in which the religious class dominated the state. This is a reactionary nostalgia, because the longed age is an image of the golden age. Ata Molla strives to live according to the age he longs for in the present. Tanpınar’s fictional character and this character’s understanding of the past are completely opposite to Tanpınar’s understanding of the past. For this reason, he fictionalizes Ata Molla as a negative character. The past is important in Tanpınar’s conservative understanding of nationalism. However, this past is a past which changes according to the needs of the present. As long as reality flows, the past is faced with its new combinations. Nationalism is a different style of reevaluating the past. There is not a single reading of nationalist history. On the

⁶¹Tanpınar, Ahmet Hamdi. Mahur Beste. 11th ed. İstanbul: Dergah Yayınları, 1975. 43, 44.

other hand, Ata Molla lodges himself in a determinate era of the past in a determinate way. He wants to bring this determinate era to life in the present in the same way as the past.

Tanpınar's characters obsessed with the past are not restricted to Ata Molla. Another past - obsessed character in *Mahur Beste* (*Mahur Melody*) is Behçet. The most important characteristic of Behçet is his indecisive character. As a man who got stuck between times, he can act neither in direction of the past nor the future. Unlike Ata Molla, Behçet does not want this:

He does not understand styles and works except from somethings like book covers and miniature. He does not differentiate three hundred or five hundred year old art work from its imitation made twenty or forty years ago, just as he does not differentiate Hamdullah script from a plaque written by Kamil Efendi himself several years ago. For him, datedness was a different thing. It was consecration of duration. The ware gained a warmness and became humane when it entered the human life, passed from human hands. Datedness cannot have another meaning for Behçet Bey. His want from the ware is its being a frame for its imagination and opening a way to escape for him.

Cilt, minyatür, yazı gibi bazı şeylerin dışında üslûptan, işten pek anlamazdı. Üç yüz beş yüz senelik hakiki mânasında eski bir sanat eseriyle otuz sene evvel yapılmış taklidi arasında, tıpkı Hamdullah yazması bir eserle Kâmil Efendi'nin birkaç sene evvel kendisi için yazdığı levha arasında olduğu gibi hiçbir fark gözetmezdi. Onun için eskilik ayrı bir şeydi; o zamanın takdisi idi; insan elinden geçmek ve insan hayatına girmekle eşya tabiatından ayrı bir sıcaklık kazanır, adeta insanileşirdi. Bunun dışında Behçet Bey'e göre eskiliğin başka bir mânası olamazdı. (...) Onun bütün bu eşyadan istediği şey, hülyasına bir çerçeve olmaları, ona bir firar kapısı açmalarıydı.⁶²

Behçet is a man who collects old writings, miniatures, coverings of the books; but their artistic values or ages are not important for him. Their single value is their agedness. Old artistic works are important for him since signs of time can be observed in them.

Behçet is a man who cannot act because of his indecisiveness. To explain this indecisiveness, Bergson can be consulted. In Bergson's philosophy, reality and duration are two sources producing life in its biological and social meaning. Temporality is an expression of this life. Behçet watches residuals of old lives in

⁶²Tanpınar, Ahmet Hamdi. *Mahur Beste*. 11th ed. İstanbul: Dergah Yayınları, 2013. 17, 18.

old artistic works. He is a physiologically weak person. He cannot act in society because of his physical weakness. Moreover, as mentioned above, the chaotic suspension of his society makes him an indecisive person. His physical weakness is visible cause of his immobility. An asocial man, he is interested only in his collection. That is, Behçet cannot adapt the society or live in a metaphorical way. Agedness leaves its traces the life to the matter. Therefore, he collects old works without looking at their ages or artistic values. Old works are remainders of old lives for him. He watches them as parts of old lives.

Tanpınar's characters almost always have problems with the past. Their obsessions about the past stem from the above-mentioned contemporary problems. On the other hand, Beyatlı as a teacher figure represents the ideal relationship with the past for Tanpınar. In his biography *Yahya Kemal*, Tanpınar (1962: 131) describes this relationship through a discussion of literature. For Tanpınar, Beyatlı benefits from Western literary sources in his odes. However, he can efficaciously visualize the old world in his literature. The old Eastern world is comprehended even more comprehensively by the new methods taken from the West in this literature.

(...) always the ode genre, to sort out language and image element in its own frame, with the condition of changing the organization, to apprehend the world of the old more deeply and belongings of his primary phases like ‘Mahurdan Gazel’, ‘Şerefâbâd’, ‘Bir Sâki’ in which his decorative inspiration was closer to the old world (...)

daima gazel nevini, kendi çerçevesinde dil ve imaj unsurlarını ayıklamak, düzeni değiştirmek şartıyla eskinin âlemini daha derinden kavradığını ve başlangıç devresine ait olan ‘Mâhurdan Gazel’, ‘Şerefâbâd’, Bir Sâki’ gibi az çok dekoratif ilhamının eski âleme daha fazla yaklaştığını (...) ⁶³

In the passage, Tanpınar says that Beyatlı was writing odes. However, his gazelles are different from old gazelles. With these different odes, he can comprehend the old world more deeply. How can this be possible? He changes the order of old odes. In old Court Literature of the Ottomans, couplets of odes were not connected with each other. Odes which have inner organization are products of a new mentality Beyatlı gained from Western literature. The order of odes is changed according to the needs of the new civilization. It is expressed with pleasures of new Western

⁶³Tanpınar, Ahmet Hamdi. *Yahya Kemal*. 8th ed. İstanbul: Dergah Yayınları, 1962. 131.

civilization. When the order was changed, old Eastern world is apprehended more comprehensively. The old world with old literary kinds is founded under the borders of new literature again. This was an outcome of a mentality shift. Turkish court literature, which did not have the idea of inner organization, gained this idea thanks to Beyatlı.

This new structure of old literature in Beyatlı is because of a Western view and Western technique. However, his Western approach does not change his nationalist attitude.

Whatever his debt to Western writers owes, these articles did not go beyond a natural relationship a culture with another culture. It can be said that he transformed the relationship of our literature with Western literatures into a discussion within the family and a natural transaction.

Garplı muharrirlere borcu ne olursa olsun bu makaleler bir k lt r n  b r k lt rle tabii m nasebetinden  teye ge miyordu. Denebilir ki edebiyatımızın garp edebiyatlarıyla olan m nasebetini aile i inde bir konu ma, tabii bir alı veri   ekline sokmu tu.⁶⁴

As mentioned above, in Beyatlı and Tanpınar's understanding of modernization, the West is not a fixed target which should be reached. It is a mental and spiritual transformation. For example, pioneer of Russian modernization was not Petro I. Before him, there were the masterminds of Pushkin and Borodine. Modern society was becoming concrete in their minds and literary works. And then, they were being realized as technical reforms. Beyatlı was a name like Pushkin and Borodine for Turkish literature both to himself and in the eyes of Tanpınar. For Tanpınar, Beyatlı is the man who knew how to fix the broken chain between the past and the present again.⁶⁵ He studied Western literature as a Westerner. While he was in Paris, he began to write poems in Turkish with Western technique. The Turks' Eastern past was important for him as long as this past became a part of the chain of tradition. It did not have an importance in itself. For example, his odes were important when they became a part of Western pleasure. He was a Western and writing odes appealing to Western pleasures.

⁶⁴ Tanpınar, Ahmet Hamdi. Yahya Kemal. 8th ed. İstanbul: Dergah Yayınları, 1962. 131. 49.

⁶⁵ Ibid. 71.

The passages cited above by Tanpınar explained Beyatlı's understanding of Westernization. For Tanpınar, he represented the ideal of Westernization and tradition issues. Tanpınar constituted his understanding of Westernization around this example. In a passage cited by Erol Köroğlu from *Yaşadığım Gibi (As I Live)*, Tanpınar says that:

The real inheritance for us is neither in the past nor in the West; but it is in the life standing in front of us like a knitted ball. When we catch it, think about its issues, be kneaded by them, accept them as the base of our intellectual life rather than accepting them necessary moments, we will reach the great role tasked to us by our geography. Then the chain of the continuity will be linked in us and in the contemporary world, we will take the place convenient for us with our uniting face and life framework constituting this face.

Bizim için asıl miras, ne mazidedir, ne Garp'tadır; önümüzde çözülmemiş bir yumak gibi duran hayatımızdadır. Onu yakaladığımız, onun meseleleri üzerinde durduğumuz, onlarla yoğrulduğumuz, bu meseleleri fikir hayatımızın zaruri yol uğrakları gibi değil, temeli olarak kabul ettiğimiz zaman tarihin ve hususi coğrafyamızın bize yüklediği büyük role erişeceğiz. O zaman 'devam'ın zinciri tekrar içimizde bağlanacak ve biz muasır dünyada, birleştirici çehremizle ve bu çehreyi teşkil eden hayat çerçevesi ile kendimize lââyık yeri alacağız.⁶⁶

In this passage, the great role tasked to us by our geography is mentioned. Another emphasis is the place in contemporary world. However, the place in contemporary world is relied upon to link the chain of continuity with the past. In short, Tanpınar refers to the problems of his society. These problems needed to be solved within borders of contemporary society. He does not think any solution beyond the borders of Western civilization.

The past and the West are sources to solve problems of present life. In the cited passage, this understanding can be clearly seen. However, Western civilization should not be imitated one to one with its technics and institutions. It should be made a part of a chain of tradition. (Sometimes Tanpınar uses the concept of a chain of continuity.) Then, the old Eastern world and contemporary Western society become two different sources of life. However, Eastern civilization is a defeated and dead civilization. In the passage cited above, Tanpınar stated this many times.

⁶⁶ Köroğlu, Erol. "Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar ve İstanbul." Varlık, no. 1087 (1998):30

Therefore, the main source of life is Western civilization. On the other hand, this Western civilization should be linked with the past.

He mentioned the great role tasked to us by our geography. Turks are one of the first Eastern nations facing Westernization movements because of their direct links with the West. Even this geographical emphasis says many things about Tanpınar's approach. Many problems of Eastern civilization and especially the Ottoman Empire are born from military and political encountering with the West. However, at the same time, many problems can be solved by Westernization. These problems like duality of the Eastern and Western styles, indecisiveness, and reactionarism were outcomes of one general problem: Being suspended between civilizations. The great role tasked by geography to us is to solve this problem according to Tanpınar.

2.6 Some Nuances between Beyatlı and Tanpınar

As stated above, for Tanpınar, his teacher was the first man who wrote like a Westerner in Turkish literature. Beyatlı was the man who went beyond the difference of Eastern style and Western style and gave the first national examples of Turkish literature for both himself and Tanpınar. He rearticulated old kinds of Turkish literature in a new way. In his biography of *Yahya Kemal*, Tanpınar takes the definition of classic of Valery. Classic is a masterpiece which goes beyond its author's world of thought and becomes property of society. Another definition given by Tanpınar is that classic is a work which is shaped by customs of society rather than tastes of individuals. Thus, exorbitances in aesthetic planning can be disposed of and appeal to the entirety of society.⁶⁷ In short, the literature of Beyatlı can appeal to all classes and groups of the nation. However, the classic is a neo-classic, because Beyatlı gave a new shape to the prosody, rhythm of old poetry and founded a new structure. This new structure was formed as a result of reevaluating old Turkish poetry with new Western pleasure. That is, the superior side was the West in this relationship. The combination of old Turkish literature with new Western ideas made it national.

⁶⁷Tanpınar, Ahmet Hamdi. *Yahya Kemal*. 8th ed. İstanbul: Dergah Yayınları, 1962. 117, 118, 124.

Tanpınar says these words about his master. However, his literature also displays these characteristics. Firstly, according to Tanpınar, a classic is beyond social groups and classes. Both Tanpınar and Beyatlı accept that beyond different classes and groups of living together, there are society and nation. Nation is their main departure point. Therefore, they try to form a language which applies to the whole nation. For example, they use the Turkish of daily life. They do not invent new concepts or terms. However, it is Istanbul Turkish. They absolutely cannot use any dialect apart from İstanbul Turkish. Their literary topics are also compatible with Tanpınar's definition of classic. Their main theme is the loss of the past. All other themes are connected with this issue. For example, Tanpınar takes matter of the past-obsessed characters as mentioned above. They are not matters or characters chosen from a determinate class or group of society. Suspending between civilizations is a problem which interested in everyone living in the country. In some poems, Beyatlı chooses glorious characters from the past. This selection of the past also corresponds to the lost of the past problem. Beyatlı's glorious characters of the past are like conquerors, military and statesmen are representations of determinate classes or statues. However, they are born from a contemporary problem, the problem of being suspended between civilizations. Therefore, the literature of Beyatlı is also born from a national issue. This nuance between them can be seen more clearly with citations from their works.

In Tanpınar's (1949: 124) *Huzur* (A Mind at Peace), Mümtaz (one of the main characters of the novel) says:

The path does not have small or large way. It has our walks and steps. The Conquerer conquered Istanbul at twenty-one years of age. Descartes wrote his philosophy at twenty-four years old. Istanbul is conquered once. Discourse on the Method is also written once. However, there are millions of people who are twenty-one or twenty-four years old. Do they die since they are not the Conquerer or Descartes? Let them live densely, this is enough. That is, the greatness of things named by us as great paths is in us.

Yolun büyüğü, küçüğü yoktur. Bizim yürüyüşümüz ve adımlarımız vardır. Fatih, yirmi yaşında İstanbul'u fethetmiş. Descartes da yirmi dört yaşında felsefesini yapar. İstanbul bir kere fethedilir. Usul Üzerinde Konuşma da bir kere yazılır. Fakat dünyada milyonlarca yirmi bir, yirmi dört yaşında insan vardır.

Fatih veya Descartes değıllerdir diye lsnler mi? Kesif yaşıasınlar yeter. Yani byk yollar dediėiniz şeyin byklė bizim iimizdedir.⁶⁸

Firstly, what kind of a person Mmtaz is should be explained. He does not have a family and is looked after by his uncle, an academian. Beyond his occupation, he is a real intellectual in the novel. Mmtaz will also become an academician. Moreover, he also thinks about problems of his society and artistic issues like his uncle. He is a middle class man who lives densely in the words of Tanpınar.

As mentioned above, living this life aesthetically and protecting the unity of personality are two of the common characteristics of the conservative thinking style. Beyatlı and Tanpınar do not think differently on that matter. In Tanpınar, the characters are men of ages in which a glorious age is lost. They are humble people striving to catch their unity of their personality. His historical characters are not generally glorious characters of the past, rather, they are humble characters of the past living their lives densely within the borders of old civilization. Tanpınar mentions Sleymaniye or the conquest of Istanbul; however, they are mentioned as events or values enriching civilization. However, in Beyatlı, they are indicators of power. His characters are from the past, and he mentions glorious characters and events of Ottoman past like Mehmet the Conqueror, Selim I or Mosque of Sleymaniye, Conquest of Istanbul. They are expressed with a heroic language as examples of the glorious past. They are examples of epics of Turkish literature.

In *Eski Ŗiirin Rzgariyla* (*With the Winds of Old Poetry*), examples of Beyatlı's attitude can be seen. His poem *Selimname* (*Letters about Selim*) is an influential example of his epical approach.

How many conquerers of the age saw the ground of Iran?

Let's see them by whose victorious armies came.

Sovereignty symbols became evident to people.

Sovereignty symbols run off from the ground of skdar.

Ka fth- zamn gren ran-zemn bugn

Grsn kiminle hangi cyş-u zafer gelr

⁶⁸Tanpınar, Ahmet Hamdi. Huzur. 17th ed. İstanbul: Dergah Yayınları, 1949. 124.

Tekbîrlerle halka ıyân oldu tûğlar

Sahrâ-yı Üsküdâr'a revân oldu tûğlar⁶⁹

In *Selimname (Letters about Selim)*, Beyatlı (1962: 4) says lands of Iran who see conquest armies are honoured lands. Lands of districts of Üsküdar of Istanbul are also honoured lands, since armies of conquest departed from there. In the poem by Beyatlı, lands gain character. However they gain their character as parts of a glorious history.

While his teacher is reviving the past with its all grandeur, Tanpınar continues to seek more humble characters in the past. It can be seen in an example of these characters in a conversation between Nuran and Mümtaz, who are the main characters of *Huzur (A Mind at Peace)*.

For example, Şeyh Galip... He dies at a young age, in his most glorious time. He had an education which is an example of a life philosophy in all aspects. This education killed in him the deleterious things at the beginning. He has neither morning nor mid-afternoon. The movement like a calm night is composed of the play of the light. For Example, Dede Efendi. He has almost one thousand work. We are looking at his life, any ordinary life. But, only his life...

Mesela Şeyh Galib... Genç yaşta, en parlak devrinde ölüyor. Başlıbaşına hikmet olan bir terbiyeden geçmiş. Bu terbiye onda birçok şeyleri, muzır şeyleri, başında öldürmüş. Ne sabahı ne ikindisi var. Sakin bir akşam gibi, hareket, ışığın oyunundan ibaret. Meselâ, Dede. Bine yakın eseri var. Hayatına bakıyoruz; herhangi bir hayat. Fakat sade kendisinin.⁷⁰

It can be questioned how a poet like Şeyh Galip can be a humble character. However, in the passage cited above from Tanpınar, Descartes and Mehmet the Conqueror were mentioned. Descartes became a turning point in history of philosophy and Mehmet II was a conqueror who conquered Istanbul. Şeyh Galip was the last great poet of Ottoman Court Literature. However, he could influence neither Turkish literature after himself nor world literature. He was a member of a class of elites of the Ottoman Empire. However, he did not have any influence in governance of the state. That is, the importance of him for Tanpınar was his living his life densely. During his life, Eastern civilization was in its last legs; however,

⁶⁹Beyatlı, Yahya Kemal. *Eski Şiirin Rüzgarıyla*. İstanbul: İstanbul Fetih Cemiyeti, 1962. 4.

⁷⁰Tanpınar, Ahmet Hamdi. *Huzur*. 17th ed. İstanbul: Dergah Yayınları, 2009. 125.

he was still living. He was speaking from inside the unity of this civilization. His life was not suspended between civilizations. What Tanpınar means with living densely is such a life. Therefore, he is different from contemporary characters of Tanpınar like Mümtaz or Behçet. Mümtaz tries to live his life densely. However, Şeyh Galip does not have such a problem. He lives his life densely anyway.

The common point between Beyatlı and Tanpınar is their view of the past as a field of lost unity, as above mentioned. The past is the field of imaginary unity of the self and society. I mentioned past-obsessed characters of Tanpınar. These characters were products of a socio- historical context produced by efforts of modernization. The same socio-historical context produced glorious characters of old glorious ages in Beyatlı. On the condition that characters do not exist, there remains only nostalgia. Then, nuances between them which are caused from character selection are lost and there remained only a longing for ages in which people lived densely.

The life of that bird, in a beautiful night,
Passes with the singing a beautiful song.
That bird sings in the nookest yards.
It lives in a dream,
It dies in a dream.
O kuşun ömrü, bir güzel gecede,
Bir güzel beste söylemekle geçer.
O kuş en kuytu bahçelerde öter;
Hayâl içinde yaşar,
Hayâl içinde ölür.⁷¹

In his poem, Beyatlı mentions living with dreams and dying with dreams. Birds living with dreams sing a beautiful song. The song is the song of imagined times and the unity of old ages. Whether society and individual were complete unities in the old ages is not important. Beyatlı feels this unity as a deficiency in the present and attributes it to the old glorious age.

⁷¹Beyatlı, Yahya Kemal. Kendi Gök Kubbemiz. 39.th ed. İstanbul: İstanbul Fetih Cemiyeti, 1961. 68.

Birds singing songs recall an analogy of Ottoman Court Literature. The analogy of rose and philomel is one of the frequently used molds of Court Literatures of Ottoman Empire. The analogy has several meanings. According to one of them, philomel is turning around the rose, singing a song during the night. At night, the rose is closed. When the dawn appears, the philomel falls to sleep. It cannot see the opened rose. This continues for days. The effort of the philomel is an everlasting effort. It is not going to be able to see the opened rose, yet it longs for it. This is a desperate longing. Beyatlı's longing for days of the past is such a longing. He, therefore, uses this analogy. He does not know the past apart from his readings from history books. Like the philomel, he longs for a thing which he does not know.

In a poem, Tanpınar also uses similar themes with his master:

We are remote, very remote from the light now.

From voices of children, rose and ivy

Uzak, çok uzağız şimdi ışıktan

Çocuk sesinden gül ve sarmaşıktan⁷²

He says that we are far from the light. Light brings his to mind roses and ivy, which is also one of symbol plants of old Ottoman culture in Eastern civilization like grapes or cypress. The poet thinks that he is very far from the light of the old world. The lost world cannot be brought back again. Nostalgia is born from this feeling of the lost world. Therefore, he feels himself like a philomel longing for the rose.

All in all, this chapter of the study tried to examine the conservative thoughts of Yahya Kemal and Tanpınar. To this aim, general characteristics of conservatism as a thinking style were first mentioned. It was seen that conservatism was a thinking style that gains power in catastrophic eras. Some historical events of last eras of the Ottoman Empire were mentioned as events creating the catastrophe which enabled the appearance of conservative thinking in the Republican Era. The catastrophe was the result of the crisis in the old Ottoman order and the absence of the new one. Concepts like evolution, continuity, and aesthical life were concepts

⁷²Tanpınar, Ahmet Hamdi. *Bütün Şiirleri*. 14th ed. İstanbul: Dergah Yayınları, 1961. 32.

taken from Bergson's philosophy by conservative thinkers in Turkey. Beyatlı and Tanpınar thought about Turkey's problems with these concepts. This argument is proved by original passages cited from Beyatlı and Tanpınar.

CHAPTER 3

NOSTALGIC ISTANBUL REPRESENTATIONS OF BEYATLI AND TANPINAR'S WORKS

In the first chapter of this study, I tried to examine the conservative thoughts of Beyatlı and Tanpınar. To this aim, first, I mentioned general characteristics of conservatism as a thinking style which gains power during catastrophic eras. Some historical events of the last eras of Ottoman Empire were mentioned as events that created the catastrophe enabling the appearance of conservative thinking in the Republican Era. The catastrophe was the outcome of the crisis in old Ottoman order and the absence of new order in place of the one lost. Conservative thinkers, including Beyatlı and Tanpınar took concepts like evolution, continuity, and aesthetic life from Bergson and used them to think about Turkey. This argument was proven by original passages cited from Beyatlı and Tanpınar.

The main approach of conservative thinking is the protection of the idea of continuity in all parts of the life. Civilization should save itself from dualities and contradictions. These dualities and contradictions are outcomes of Westernization, conflict between the old and new. Conservative thought asserts that continuity should first be found between the old and the new, thereby allowing both society and the people in it to unify their identity. Then, people could also organize the city in which they live as a harmonic space. The aim of this chapter is also to examine in which points these two writers' approaches to Istanbul fit in this framework. Beyond this, Istanbul is very convenient case for the investigation of East and West issue, since Beyatlı and Tanpınar's hopes and fears about their culture, and their thoughts that developed from these hopes and fears shaped in this city. To give context, the architectural transformation of Istanbul must first be explored, which is a city's cultural transformation. Via this connection, modernity and conservative thought about the city can be discussed.

In the first chapter of the study, it was asserted that conservative thought is a thinking style that develops during modernization of societies. In this chapter, I will mainly examine Beyatlı and Tanpınar's conservative thoughts on their understanding of Istanbul. We said that conservative thought develops during modernization of societies. Turkey is no exception, and Istanbul was a part of this modernization process as the capital of the Ottoman Empire. The first tram appeared in 1869, the first busses in 1926, and the first ferries in 1944.⁷³ With ferries, trams, busses linking, quarters of the city, men and women, Muslim and Non-Muslim, and Turk and Non-Turk encounters were increasing in the city. While borders between quarters were disappearing, new instruments of entertainment peculiar to modern life, such as cinema, were coming into the city. Furthermore, the city itself was expanding during the 19th and 20th century. In the old Turkish quarter, each new family to the quarter should have found a guarantor family for itself.⁷⁴ However, this rule gradually disappeared while the city was expanding. Briefly, Istanbul was a city with at least minimal standards of a modern city in beginnings of 20th century. However, it was not a modern city in the full sense of the word. When compared with a modern city, it had serious deficiencies.

3.1 Structural Plan of Prost, Transformation of Istanbul According to Needs of a Modern City

Istanbul may not have been a modern city; however, it was a transforming city. Its transformation was a modernization at the same time. For Murat Gül (2015: 15), in mids of 19th century İstanbul was a chaotic, misgoverned, and crowded city. It did not have even a sewer system. In of the mid-20th century, it was a metropol with its large streets, postwar modernist architecture, and apartments which destroyed the traditional texture.⁷⁵ This century was the era of transformation and modernisation for Istanbul. Even in the 18th century, examples of Western architecture genres like

⁷³Kaynar, Hakan. Projesiz Modernleşme: Cumhuriyet İstanbulu'ndan Gündelik Fragmanlar. İstanbul: İstanbul Araştırmaları Enstitüsü, 2012. 53.

⁷⁴Ibid. 98.

⁷⁵ Gül, Murat. The Emergence of Modern İstanbul: Transformation and Modernisation of a City. İstanbul: Sel Yayıncılık. 2015. 15.

baroque and rococo had begun to be seen. However, the real transformation of Istanbul has begun after the 1838 Ottoman-United Kingdom Treaty of Commerce. Similar treaties with other powers in Europe were signed. With these treaties, Istanbul became a center of commerce. Because the city lacked the necessary infrastructure, the first and foremost priority was to modernize the city.⁷⁶ The above-mentioned developments were outcomes of modernization efforts of 19th century. For Turgut Cansever (2013: 91) who was an architect approaching the modernization and transformation of Istanbul more critically, destruction of the city's traditional order and its social, moral, cultural and economical bases is a result of reform movements of 19th century.⁷⁷

On the other hand, the transformation of Istanbul was also a part of a simultaneous global change. St. Petersburg, Paris, and New York all underwent radical structural transformations in 18th and 19th centuries, respectively.⁷⁸ In the 19th century, the majority of old European cities faced new problems stemming from rapid population growth, inadequacy of housing, and great fires, Istanbul included. The Commerce Treaty of 1838 made Ottoman Empire a part of global economy, meaning that Istanbul encountered problems European metropol cities also faced.

Istanbul started to be a part of global economy; however, it did not have a municipal government. This was necessary for the city to be able to be solved infrastructural problems.⁷⁹ Therefore, all efforts were focused on solving infrastructural problems and founding a municipality. Firstly, it was focused on solving infrastructural problems. In this period, since the city did not have a municipal organization, infrastructure works was tried to realize by the state. A building bylaw that outlawed wooden structures from 1839 brought forth some proposals for the structural organization of Istanbul. Moreover, the bylaw decreed that new buildings

⁷⁶ Gül, Murat. *The Emergence of Modern İstanbul: Transformation and Modernisation of a City*. İstanbul: Sel Yayıncılık. 2015. 43.

⁷⁷ Cansever, Turgut. *İstanbul'u Anlamak*. İstanbul: Timaş Yayınları, 2013. 91.

⁷⁸ Akpınar, İpek Yada. "İstanbul, "Yıkarak Yapmak..." *Betonart* 2011: 41. Print.

⁷⁹ Gül, Murat. *The Emergence of Modern İstanbul: Transformation and Modernisation of a City*. İstanbul: Sel Yayıncılık. 2015. 45.

should be constructed according to a plan and made from stone. The bylaw proposed to show new places in the city for these stone buildings; they should have been on large streets.⁸⁰ Between the 1830s and 1850s, the majority of these proposals could not be performed. However, the mentality of these proposals would shape the future of Istanbul.

There were some other events which made Istanbul a part of the global economy apart from the British-Ottoman Treaty of Commerce. A Russian – Ottoman War took place in 1856. France and England supported the Ottoman Empire in this war. English and French soldiers came to Istanbul. In this year, a telegraph line was laid between Europe and Istanbul. Moreover, the differences between districts of Beyoğlu and Galata and the walled city, the old traditional district of Istanbul, became noticeable in this era. Merchants and bankers who prospered during the war were living in Galata and Beyoğlu. Europeans also chose to live there and were also prospering due to economical privileges granted to people of European states. Some of non-Muslim subjects of the Empire were also living there and were benefiting from privileges granted by embassies of European states. As a result of all these factors, the Beyoğlu and Galata districts were transforming culturally and architecturally. At the same time, the old city's living conditions remained unchanged. In this part of the city, the Muslim majority were living. While Beyoğlu and Galata were prospering, they were becoming poor and this impoverishment was reflected in the architecture and culture of this area. However, it should not be forgotten that even with their transformation, Beyoğlu and Galata were also remote from Western standards. For example, streets were still narrow and not taken care of.⁸¹ While Istanbul was transforming due to modernization, the process was causing dualities and contradictions in the city space.

In 1855, the first municipal organization of Istanbul was founded. The duties of the municipality were to collect taxes, build and repair roads, and clean the city. The lack of know-how and experience together with economical problems led to

⁸⁰ Gül, Murat. *The Emergence of Modern İstanbul: Transformation and Modernisation of a City*. İstanbul: Sel Yayıncılık. 2015. 52.

⁸¹ *Ibid.* 61, 62.

municipality being unsuccessful. As a result, a commission was founded to perform the duties of the municipality in 1856. In accordance with the proposal of the commission, Istanbul was divided in eighteen municipal zones. Seventeen zones remained under control of the Commission. The sixth one, which included Galata and Beyoğlu, became an independent, pilot municipality.⁸² In 1868, this pilot scheme enlarged to the entirety of the city and the municipality of Istanbul was founded again. However, Istanbul did not have a cadastral map; therefore, the municipality could not collect property taxes. For this reason, the municipality could not significantly serve in the rest of Istanbul apart from Beyoğlu and Galata.⁸³ All efforts of modernization had the same end result. The districts of Galata and Beyoğlu were modernizing; however, the rest of the city was declining. Istanbul needed a planned development.

The first city plan was made in 1910 for Istanbul; however, it could not be performed because of the Balkan Wars and The First World War. However, the problems of Istanbul which could be solved by a large-scaled city plan continued. Therefore, the city plan issue would again come to the fore in the Republican era. In 1910, an engineer from Lyon came to Istanbul. He became the chief in infrastructural affairs department of the Istanbul municipality. He was the first man who prepared a structural plan for Istanbul. Andre Auric's plan could not be performed anytime because of above-mentioned reasons.⁸⁴

In 1923, the Republic of Turkey was founded. Ankara was named as capital, and Istanbul lost all its political privileges. Moreover, the new state aimed to create national bourgeoisie. As a result of this policy, the majority of non-Muslim merchants and bankers left Istanbul, weakening the city's economy. Economical infrastructure of the city weakened. In 1927, the population of Istanbul decreased to 690. 857. This was half of the population before the First World War.⁸⁵ In this era,

⁸² Gül, Murat. *The Emergence of Modern İstanbul: Transformation and Modernisation of a City*. İstanbul: Sel Yayıncılık. 2015. 63, 64, 65.

⁸³ Ibid, 69

⁸⁴ Ibid, 91

⁸⁵ Ibid, 114

Istanbul was deliberately neglected economically and received less economical sources allocated than many Anatolian cities. During a trip by Atatürk in 1927 he visited Anatolian cities, but not Istanbul, an example of the attitude of state elites towards Istanbul.⁸⁶

Nevertheless, politically, Istanbul was not a city that could be neglected for a long time. Because of its economical and intellectual capacity, it was the showcase of the state. The new regime wanted to leave its marks on this city. For this reason, in 1933, the government organized a competition for a structural plan for Istanbul. Famous city planners Alfred Agache, Herman Ehlgötz, and Jacques Henri Lambert were invited for this competition. Henri Prost was invited but was unavailable as he was the president of the planning office Paris that year. Both Agache and Lambert's resembled each other, focusing on architectural heritage. Both of them were planning to clean up the area around monumental structures like the Hagia Sophia and Sultan Ahmet Mosque. Ehlgötz's plan was distinct in its emphasis on the natural and historical character of the city. He wanted to link historical artefacts to one another via byroads, thus separating historical artefacts from routes of main roads. The plan also protected the silhouette of the city seen from the Golden Horn and the Bosphorus. Moreover, Ehlgötz's plan wanted to remove port areas from the walled Old İstanbul and moved to Haydarpasha. For the jury, Ehlgötz's plan was the most realistic one. It interfered less in the natural and historical beauties of Istanbul compared with the other two ones. However, Ehlgötz's plan was never realized.⁸⁷ Turgut Cansever thinks differently about Ehlgötz's plan. He says that offers of Ehlgötz's ideas are not essentially different from activities which resulted in the destruction of Istanbul for one century. For Turgut Cansever, all planners had an incorrect attitude. According to this attitude, historical structures are thought as an object of museums and independent from their surroundings.⁸⁸

⁸⁶ Gül, Murat. *The Emergence of Modern İstanbul: Transformation and Modernisation of a City*. İstanbul: Sel Yayıncılık. 2015.

⁸⁷ Ibid, 120, 121.

⁸⁸ Ibid, 96

For Turgut Cansever and Murat Gül as well, one city planner was different: Charles-Edouard Jeanneret, more widely known as Le Corbusier. His city plan was not entered in the competition, but afterwards. Like Ehlgötz, Le Corbusier supported the protection of the old peninsula. To protect old Istanbul, he proposed the city expand on western side. In a review in 1949, Le Corbusier says that he wrote a letter to Mustafa Kemal and claimed the protection of historical texture of Istanbul is necessary. According to him, If he had not written this letter, he could have been the city planner of Istanbul in place of Henri Prost.⁸⁹ With these words, he implies that Mustafa Kemal was an opponent of controlled transformation of Istanbul. He did not support the protection of the old texture of the city while it was transformed, but was proponent of a radical transformation.

Four plans proposed in 1933 were not also accepted. However, a plan similar to the plans of Agache and Lambert was accepted as the structural plan of Istanbul. In 1935, the duty of preparation a plan for Istanbul was offered Prost again and he accepted.⁹⁰ Even though we do not know reasons Agache and Lambert's plans were rejected, we know why Prost's plan was accepted. Prost's plan was in accordance with the secular and modernist policies of the state. For example, there were a large number of parks in Prost's plan. These parks foresaw equal participation of women and men in social life. Bouvelards planned by Prost broke the old traditional city texture.⁹¹ Prost's plan was aiming to transform Istanbul into a modern metropolis city.

Although transformations began in the 19th century, Istanbul truly became to transform in the Republican era. These transformations can be separated as the era of Prost and after Prost. From 1935 to 1950s, the structural transformations of the city were made according to his plan. This plan has continued to affect the structure of the city after this era. For Prost, in old Istanbul, there was no dense structuring.

⁸⁹ Gül, Murat. *The Emergence of Modern İstanbul: Transformation and Modernisation of a City*. İstanbul: Sel Yayıncılık. 2015. 122.

⁹⁰ Bilsel, F. Cânâ, and Pierre Pinon, eds. *From the Imperial Capital to the Republican Modern City: Henri Prost's Plannig of İstanbul*. İstanbul: İstanbul Araştırmaları Enstitüsü, 2010. 39.

⁹¹ Gül, Murat. *The Emergence of Modern İstanbul: Transformation and Modernisation of a City*. İstanbul: Sel Yayıncılık. 2015. 148.

However, there were too many streets and the municipality's budget to take care of them was inadequate. One of the main aims of his plan was to decrease number of streets and rationalize them. Henri Prost was a city planner supporter of protecting historical and natural environment in his previous urban planning works. However, in Istanbul, he accepted a strategy aiming to transform historical city structure completely. Prost's arrangements in the city space emphasized mainly the Greco – Roman heritage of Istanbul rather than its Ottoman-Turkish past. However, monumental structures belonging to Ottoman past were exempted from this attitude. He proposed to highlight monuments belonging to Greco Roman heritage as well as the Islamic monuments of the city.⁹² Their surroundings were cleared and the structures were highlighted. Beyond these monumental structures like Sultan Ahmet Mosque or Hagia Sophia, the historical texture of the city was radically transformed.

Which structures would be accepted and protected as architectural inheritance was a decision made as a result of national and political worries of the age. Therefore, Prost's plan can be evaluated as a part of broader nationalist strategy. For Hobsbawm, (2014: 64, 65) nationalism is one of causes of forgetting. However, at the same time, it is a remembrance style. Some things from the past were forgotten in modern life; some things were imagined and created from nothing to be able to construct nations as imagined communities. These imagined communities filled the blanks created due to the disappearance of real human communities and networks.⁹³ The structural transformation of Istanbul might be evaluated with his explanations. Monumental structures which remind one of the glorious past of the Ottoman Empire were protected as remembrance centers. The city's Greco Roman heritage was also protected, since it offered a secular past. However, the historical texture of Ottoman past not classified under architectural inheritance was not protected. In short, only architectural structures which were functional in shaping memories in accordance with nationalist aims were protected.

⁹²Bilsel, F. Candaş, and Pierre Pinon, eds. *From the Imperial Capital to the Republican Modern City: Henri Prost's Planning of İstanbul*. İstanbul: İstanbul Araştırmaları Enstitüsü, 2010. 121, 122, 128.

⁹³Hobsbawm, E. J. *Milletler Ve Milliyetçilik*. 5th ed. İstanbul: Ayrıntı Yayınları, 2014. 64, 65.

The reasons of this can be sought in inner dynamics of capitalist economies. As mentioned above, Ottoman Empire started to be a part of the capitalist world economy after the 1838 Treaty of Commerce with the United Kingdom. The renewal period of fixed capital is shorter in capitalist economies. The term of continuous technological revolution explains the worldwide expansion of capitalism⁹⁴ and it is a result of a shorter renewal period of fixed capital. The city is also not independent from continuous technological revolution. According to Karl Marx, production is continuously transformed and all social relations are perpetually shaken. All settled and dull relations are swept away. Everything, which had newly formed, is being ossified at an equal rate. All that is solid melts into air.⁹⁵ Bourgeoisie society is separated from other societies in this way. Therefore, forgetting is one of the most important problems of this society. The effect of continuous technological expansion to the city is to break down its borders. The city is not an established entity whose borders can be determined. In the city space, the structured order of architecture is established and destructed regularly. For example, according to an investigation made in London in 1936, apart from famous historical monuments, apartments and other structures have thirty years life.⁹⁶ A continuous destruction and construction in Istanbul is not restricted with Beyatlı and Tanpınar's era. Burak Boysan (2011: 41) says in his article written in 2011 that there are between five thousand and ten thousand buildings which are older than fifty years old among two millions of buildings in Istanbul. That is, 99.5 percent of buildings in Istanbul are new.⁹⁷ In this cyclical construction and deconstruction process, cultural memory corrodes. The Main building blocks of the city like quarters, squares, and avenues disappear. However, monumental constructions are important when they function as memory centres. Therefore, they are protected by states.⁹⁸

⁹⁴ Mandel, Ernest. *An Introduction to Marxist Economic Theory*. (New York: Young Socialist Alliance, 1967), accessed June 12, 2015, <https://www.marxists.org/archive/mandel/1967/intromet/>

⁹⁵ Berman, Marshall. *All That Is Solid Melts Into Air*. 16th ed. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2013. 135.

⁹⁶ Connerton, Paul. *How Modernity Forgets*. İstanbul: Sel Yayıncılık. 103, 114, 117.

⁹⁷ Boysan, Burak. "Genişliğin Azameti, Sağlamlığın Heybeti, Hennesinin Güzelliği, Trafikğin Hakimiyeti" *Betonart* 2011: 49. Print.

⁹⁸ Connerton, Paul. *How Modernity Forgets*. İstanbul: Sel Yayıncılık. 44, 45.

While cities are destructed and reconstructed; monumental structures as memory centers are protected so that they remind people the glorious age of their state. This is an outcome of an understanding seeing nation as an eternal category. Nation is not an historical category for nationalist ideologies; rather nations have existed since the beginning of history and will continue to exist forever. These national memory centres are also important as long as they strengthen this idea.

Historical works and buildings are not important on their own in this context. They are important as long as they are functional to use memory centres and direct memories of people in a determinate way. Even mosques are not important for themselves. If they do not have a functional meaning, they can be demolished. For example, the subject of *Yakın Tarihimizde Cami Kırımı (Mosque Massacre in Our Recent History)* by Mehmet Şevket Eygi (2003: 108) is mosques demolished during the İsmet Pasha Era. However, when the book is read carefully, it can be seen that destruction of old Ottoman mosques and small mosques had continued for a long time and it was not the result of policies of a single government. In 1966, İsmet Pasha makes a statement saying no mosque was demolished under my government not demolished any mosque.⁹⁹ As a response to this claim of İsmet Pasha, Mehmet Şevket Eygi wants letters from his readers which report mosques demolished in İsmet Pasha era. Moreover, he makes investigations about demolished mosques. As a result, a map appeared showing the demolished mosques of Istanbul. In *Massacred Mosques and Small Mosques* chapter of the book, there are one hundred thirteen mosques and small mosques. From these, eighty-five are small mosques. Three of the demolished small mosques were constructed by Mehmet the Conqueror, four of them was constructed by Süleyman I.¹⁰⁰ Demolition dates of some mosques were given in the book. According to the book, four mosques (or small mosques) were demolished before the Republic after 1900s. Four mosques were demolished between 1930 – 1935 years. Between 1936 and 1940, as well, four mosques were demolished. Between 1941 and 1945, five; between 1946 and 1950, one; between

⁹⁹ Eygi, Mehmet Şevket. *Yakın Tarihimizde Cami Kırımı*. İstanbul: Tarih Ve İbret Yayınları, 2003. 8.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid. 117, 168.

1951 and 1955, three; and between 1956 and 1960, eight mosques were demolished. One mosque was also demolished after 1960. However, it must not be forgotten that from one hundred thirteen mosques, only thirty mosques' date of demolition is known.

In 'Massacred Mosques in Fatih and the Other Townships' chapter, there are three hundred mosques. Again, most of them are small mosques, two of which was designed by Mimar Sinan. The author gives the destruction dates of only fifty-nine of the three hundred mosques. Of the fifty-nine, thirteen were demolished between 1956 and 1960. Between 1930 and 1940 ten mosques were demolished. Before 1923, three mosques were demolished. After 1970, two mosques were demolished.¹⁰¹ Briefly, historical buildings were not important on their own whether they were mosques inherited from the Ottoman or works of Mimar Sinan. I said above that transformation of Istanbul into a modern city had continued for a century from the mid 19th century to of the mid 20th century and there were demolitions of mosques during this time. However, there were more demolitions between four years including 1956 and 1960. It can be seen in this book that if they were not considered monumental structures, mosques were demolished during the last era of the Ottoman Empire. It was under the Democrat Party, however, that the majority of the mosques were demolished.

The demolition of the majority of the mosques in the Democrat Party Era could be understood as normal when viewed within the scope of construction activities of this era. In the last four years of Democrat Party government, Istanbul was subjected to one of the biggest construction activities of its history. So much so that one of the biggest missions of Menderes was to make the traffic flow like water in Istanbul. The traffic should have flown like water, because Istanbul as to be the space for national and international radical changes, tourism, the Hilton Hotel, private companies and banks.¹⁰² Briefly, the city was radically changed and transformed

¹⁰¹ Eygi, Mehmet Şevket. *Yakın Tarihimizde Cami Kıyımı*. İstanbul: Tarih Ve İbret Yayınları, 2003. 171, 242.

¹⁰² Bilşel, F. Cânâ, and Pierre Pinon, eds. *From the Imperial Capital to the Republican Modern City: Henri Prost's Plannig of İstanbul*. İstanbul: İstanbul Araştırmaları Enstitüsü, 2010. 173, 176.

according to the necessities of a modern economy. Nationalist aims became effective only in the protection of monumental structures. Four-years of Menderes's government is a special era of architectural history of Istanbul. After 1956, the Democrat Party government started a great structural transformation operation in Istanbul and city space was transformed radically. Muzaffer Uluşahin, who was one of the important names in the Democrat Party during this transformation process, says that this city was a hunchback and had to be fixed.¹⁰³ In this era, a few numbers of works were accepted as architectural inheritance like some monumental mosques, the Grand Bazaar, and palaces. The rest of Istanbul is separated as road regions and other places. However, nearly all regions of Istanbul were under the classification of a road zone. Thus, Istanbul faced a radical transformation.¹⁰⁴ This transformation was different from the previous ones and went beyond Galata and Beyoğlu completely changing the face of Istanbul totally.

The architectural transformation of Istanbul united different political ideas. For example, Esat Mahmut Karakurt from Republican People's Party said in a newspaper article titled "The Beautiful Cannot Be Criticized" that there was an energy which strived to give Istanbul the beauty and magnificence which it had never seen to such an extent before. Such an attempt could not be opposed.¹⁰⁵ Structural transformation in Istanbul in this era is the result of the industry's becoming widespread and the necessity of rapid conveyance of these industrial goods. In the 1950s, other Mediterranean countries also attempt such kinds of architectural operations because of the same reasons.¹⁰⁶ These factors united different political sides in the transformation of Istanbul.

Turgut Cansever (2013: 146) says that many values of Istanbul and its historical identity was disappeared in 1950s. Smooth and large roads were constructed; large squares and ports were made in this era. However, all of them were devoid of an

¹⁰³ Boysan, Burak. "Genişliğin Azameti, Sağlamlığın Heybeti, Hennesinin Güzelliği, Trafikinin Hakimiyeti" *Betonart* 2011: 49. Print.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid, 50.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid, 51.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid, 51.

organization, a broader planning. Plans were not open to the critics of professionalists and the society. Critics were evaluated as sabotages to the services of the government by Menderes.¹⁰⁷ Murat Gül (2011: 202) cites some passages from The Defence of Adnan Menderes in Court of Yassıada the court founded after 1960 Coup D'etat of Turkey to judge politicians from Democrat Party. Menderes said in this court that the number of buildings constructed in this era was between eight thousand and ten thousand buildings per year in Istanbul. He asks how that could be without a plan. In his government years, Prost's plan was in operation. Each construction was made according to this plan.¹⁰⁸ In 1951, Prost was edged out of his position as city planning of Istanbul. In the same year, a consultant commission for the structural transformation of Istanbul was founded. This commission made some revisions to Prost's plan. According to Murat Gül, (2011: 203) the construction activities of Menderes Government were compatible with this revised version of the plan.¹⁰⁹ In 1960, Adnan Menderes declared that 'we are going to rescue Istanbul from 1900's gaze. He succeeded in his aim to a large extent. He transformed the historical texture of Istanbul radically. In so much that, seven thousand eight hundred eighty nine buildings were demolished so that straight roads could be built.¹¹⁰ The intervention in city space was this radical.

The aim of this study is to examine representations of Istanbul and Istanbul nostalgia in texts and poems of Beyatlı and Tanpınar within the frame of their conservative thinking. One of the main factors of nostalgic Istanbul representations in their texts and poems is the radical architectural transformation of Istanbul. As mentioned above, this transformation is compatible with policies of newly founded nation state. However, Beyatlı and Tanpınar will oppose this nationalist architectural strategy from a different nationalist point. To be able to see their

¹⁰⁷ Cansever, Turgut. İstanbul'u Anlamak. İstanbul: Timaş Yayınları, 2013. 146.

¹⁰⁸ Gül, Murat. The Emergence of Modern İstanbul: Transformation and Modernisation of a City. İstanbul: Sel Yayıncılık. 2015. 202.

¹⁰⁹ Gül, Murat. The Emergence of Modern İstanbul: Transformation and Modernisation of a City. İstanbul: Sel Yayıncılık. 2015. 203.

¹¹⁰ Ibid, 190.

differences, the dominant nationalist approach of the age must be examined and which points they participated in to this approach.

3.2 Nationalism in Texts and Poems of Beyath and Tanpınar

The structural transformation of Istanbul with the Prost's structural plan and after him was a nationalist transformation shaped according to the necessities of a modern economy. However, the transformation of Istanbul from the 1930s to the 1950s was not restricted to the architecture of the city. The national state also resulted in some changes in Istanbul daily life. However, changes in daily life and architecture are connected with each other.

How nationalist policies of the state transformed the daily life of the city can be best seen in narratives of minorities. Leyla Neyzi's oral history works give important clues about the national transformation of the city. Ferruh Doğan is one of the names in oral history work of Leyla Neyzi-*Istanbul'da Unutmak ve Hatırlamak (Forgetting and Remembrance in Istanbul)*. He was born in 1932. When he was in primary school, the 'Citizen, speak Turkish!', 'Use domestics' campaigns were enacted.¹¹¹ With these campaigns, the youth was being pushed to mobilize. Amy Mills also narrates how a district is Turkified in the example of Kuzguncuk in her study. According to Amy Mill's oral history work, rural and urban population from provinces of the country were migrating to the city. However, on the other hand, non-Muslim communities of the city were collectively emigrating from the city.¹¹² Narratives of Kuzguncuk emphasize three specific events in Turkification of the district: the 194243 Wealth Tax, the 67 September Events of 1955 and the deportation of Greek citizens in 1964.¹¹³ Migrations from the province were not planned migrations. However, emigration of non-Muslim communities was a result of conscious policies of the state.

¹¹¹ Neyzi, Leyla. *İstanbul'da Hatırlamak Ve Unutmak*. İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1999. 137, 138.

¹¹² Mills, Amy. "The Place of Locality for Identity in the Nation: Minority Narratives of Cosmopolitan İstanbul." *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 40, no. 3 (2008): 384.

¹¹³ *Ibid.* 388.

After the destruction of the Ottoman Empire and the foundation of The Republic of Turkey, the cosmopolitan structure of Istanbul composing of Muslim, Muslim Turks and non- Muslims changed gradually on behalf of Muslim Turks. While Tanpınar and Beyatlı was mentioned old Istanbul, they did not mention cosmopolitan Istanbul as it will be seen in passages cited from them. That is, they were also looking at old Istanbul from a national perspective. On one hand, their literature was a product of this nationalist atmosphere. On the other, they were intellectuals influencing this nationalist atmosphere with their writings.

Their nationalism and image of Turkish Istanbul shaped around this nationalism can be seen in passages written by them about Beyoğlu. Beyoğlu in Turkish literature is generally a symbol of cosmopolitanism and ‘degeneration’. For Levent Cankat, in the 1940s, political discussions and complaints about daily life were expressed with typifications belonging to novels. Narratives comparing European style types of Tanzimat literature and Muslim Turkish morality were common in these years. Beyoğlu was frequently used as the setting of these narratives. The contrast of Eastern style and Western style was exemplified through a contrast of Beyoğlu and Muslim Turkish quarters.¹¹⁴ Beyatlı and Tanpınar were among these writers making these kinds of typifications. I mentioned above that the architectural transformation of Beyoğlu was a result of changes in economy policies of the Ottoman Empire. Beyoğlu transformed while the rest of Istanbul was remaining in its old condition, and even was declining. This experience of Westernization created a duality within the body of Istanbul. This reflected both in the architecture of the city and its daily life. Beyoğlu as a negative fact in Turkish literature is an outcome of this duality.

In Aziz Istanbul (Glorious Istanbul), Beyatlı (1964: 102) mentions Beyoğlu:

Ah! Our great ancestors! They are also settled in Frank quarters like Beyoğlu, Galata. However, in the quarters which they settled, the light of Islam appeared. Adhan is heard five times. Minarets with grape arbors, shabby small mosques started to appear. In the edges of streets the kandils of a shrine awakes. To sum up, the quarter became Muslim with its all edges.

¹¹⁴ Cankat, Levent. Cumhuriyetin Bülüş Çağı: Gündelik Yaşama Dair Tartışmalar (1945-1950). İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2008. 27.

Ah! Büyük cetlerimiz! Onlar da Beyoğlu, Galata gibi Frenk semtlerinde yerleşirlerdi, fakat yerleştikleri mahallede Müslümanlığın nuru belirir, beş vakitte ezan işitilir, asmalı minare, gölgeli mescit peyda olur, sokak köşelerinde bir türbenin kandili uyanır, hâsılı o toprağın o köşesi imana gelirdi.¹¹⁵

In the passage, Beyatlı mentions ancestors who settled in Frank quarters like Beyoğlu and Galata. Beyatlı saw the minorities and non- Muslims that arrived after 1838 as foreigners of Turkish Islamic civilization. Beyoğlu and Galata were also foreigners of this civilization. The argument of the passage is that these foreigner quarters could be included in Muslim Turkish civilization of the country in powerful ages of Ottoman Empire. However, they could not be included in last ages of the Empire and Republican Era. According to Beyatlı, the ideal one is to include these quarters in Muslim Turkish culture. As mentioned in the second chapter of this study, Beyatlı saw last ages of Ottoman Empire as years in which contradictions within the body of society like Eastern style and Western style increased. The Ottoman Empire was an identity in Eastern civilization in its classical age. Because of the above-mentioned reasons, Ottoman Empire declined with this civilization. It tried to become a part of Western civilization, but was unsuccessful. As a result, Turkish society was a suspended society between old Eastern civilization and Western civilization. The dualities of the Beyoğlu and Muslim quarters, Eastern and Western style were results of this position of suspension. In the second part of this study, I said that nationalism is a reaction to Westernization in Beyatlı and Tanpınar. They also want to make Turks an independent national identity in Western civilization. However, especially for Beyatlı, the Ottoman Empire was a national power in his glorious age. This approach of him can be evaluated both as a result of his nationalist ideology and nationalist framework shaped with the influence of the national state atmosphere.

For Tanpınar, (1962: 212) as well:

The main threat was the expansion of Beyoğlu which was like a foreign knot in the body of Istanbul, overflowing across that below and the sea through new opportunities given by Tanzimat.

¹¹⁵Beyatlı, Yahya Kemal. Aziz İstanbul. 14th ed. İstanbul: İstanbul Fetih Cemiyeti, 1964. 102.

Asıl tehlike İstanbul'un dört asır kendi bünyesinde yabancı bir örgü gibi taşıdığı Beyoğlu'nun birdenbire, Tanzimat'ın verdiği yeni imkanlarla genişlemesinde ve aşağıya, denize doğru taşmasındaydı.¹¹⁶

For Tanpınar, the expansion of Beyoğlu and its architectural style was a threat for Turkish İstanbul. This threat started to expand in İstanbul after Tanzimat, that is after 1839. Firstly, the term Turkish İstanbul should be defined. Turgut Cansever (2013: 46) says that İstanbul became an important center of both Turks and the Muslim world after the conquest. During Turkish Ottoman Era, İstanbul was garnished with many architectural works and gained Turkish identity. Beyatlı and Tanpınar had a similar perception with Cansever on that matter. For example, in the passage cited above, Beyatlı mentioned minarets, shrines, and adhans. These factors gained a quarter Turkish Islamic identity. Tanpınar also says in the passage that Beyoğlu is a foreign element within the body of İstanbul. Why does he say this? Beyoğlu is a district in which non – Muslim minorities and European residents of İstanbul live. These wealthy minorities have a different culture, which is reflected in the architecture of the district. This architecture is a threat. Its expansion to the rest of İstanbul should be prevented. However, from the mid 19th century onward, the aim of state elites promoting the architectural development of İstanbul was to complete the modern transformation of İstanbul and to expand this transformation to the rest of the city. In the Republican Period including both the Republican People's Party and Democrat Party eras, this aim did not change. Thus, both Beyatlı and Tanpınar are opponents of architectural transformation of İstanbul which have continued for a century. In these architectural attempts, main solutions proposed to protect national identity of the city were to highlight monumental historical structures of the city and to clear their surroundings. They would function as memory centers for city residents. However, since Beyatlı and Tanpınar are opponents of duality, they did not want to remain these monumental structures as centers of memory independent from the rest of the city. Turgut Cansever said that clearing the surrounding of some historical structure and highlighting them as breaking off from the rest of the city was a common, but false attitude. Beyatlı and Tanpınar unite with Cansever on that matter. It was not enough to protect some

¹¹⁶Tanpınar, Ahmet Hamdi. Yaşadığım Gibi. 6th ed. İstanbul: Dergah Yayınları, 1962. 212.

monumental structures in some zones of the city. Rather, each district should reflect stamps of Turkishness and Islam, hear sounds of adhan, and be enlightened by lights of shrines. However, at the same times, these adhans and shrines should shape the culture and the architecture of the district.

Turgut Cansever mentions some opposition actions of people in Istanbul in the 19th century. In one of them, the central authority decides to demolish a palace in Üsküdar which was constructed by the famous Ottomans architect Sinan for Süleyman I. It would be destructed and made Selimiye Barracks in place of it. People and handicraftsmen rebel against construction of the barracks. These people are called reactionist in Ottoman historiography. However, for Cansever, they are city residents aiming to protect their quarter. For Cansever, declaring handicrafts and people as reactionists was because of lies of Westernist bureaucrats and the palace, since there was a struggle between them and people. In this struggle, Westernist bureaucrats and the palace resulted in mistakes and failures in reconstruction of Istanbul. High – ranking military enlightened men who took these decisions challenged common cultural attitude of the society according to Cansever.¹¹⁷ Beyatlı and Tanpınar's opposition against radical transformation of the city can also be evaluated as successor of the opposition tradition mentioned by Turgut Cansever. However, in the second part of this study, I claimed that Westernization movements of 19th century created a cultural contradiction between people and bureaucrats, since while society did not change, Westernized bureaucrats fell under influence of Western consumption patterns. Thus they became agents of the West in Ottoman society. Discussions about transformation of the city can be evaluated in this context. Architecture is also a part of these consumption patterns. However, it should not be forgotten that Beyatlı and Tanpınar are also parts of the state elite. Their inconsistency is born from this condition. They do not have any coherent objection against modern capitalist economy. However, they want to limit reflections of this economy on the city space. They are mainly men of culture and indifferent to economy. However, changes caused in city space by changing economic order resulted in their alienation from the city. Their Istanbul nostalgia is

¹¹⁷ Cansever, Turgut. *İstanbul'u Anlamak*. İstanbul: Timaş Yayınları, 2013. 134, 135, 139.

a result of this alienation. However, regardless of their social statute and position, they continue to oppose expansion of architectural style of Beyoğlu. In Tanpınar, decription of Beyoğlu's architecture as threat is not restricted to the above cited passage.

Istanbul gradually started to look like the character of Flaubert possessing good intention. All architecture plans published in magazines of outer states were performed as being prospered by individual fantasies. Singer sewing machines, candelabra with platforms, tucker bags, dentist etagere, houses looking like children's toys, apartments looking like Chinese paddock or the tower of Babel, with a more clear statement apartments which do not look like anything, eight or nine cornered which go out of any kind of correlation to exploit unlogical geometry or without geometry gradually started to fill Kadıköy, Suadiye, from there to Bosphorus.

Istanbul yavaş yavaş Flaubert'in iyi niyet sahibi kahramanlarına benzemeye başladı. Dışarı memleketlerde çıkan magazinlerdeki bütün mimarî plânları, şahsi fantezilerle zenginleşerek tatbik ediliyor. Yavaş yavaş singer dikiş makinesi, tablalı şamdan, sefer taşı, dişçi etajeri, çocuk oyuncağı kılıklı evler, Çin padoguna veya Babil kulesine benzeyen, daha iyisi hiçbir şeye benzemeyen apartmanlar, bir arsanın mantık dışı hendesesini veya hendesesizliğini behemehal ve sonuna kadar istismar için her türlü nispet fikrinin dışına çıkmış sekiz, dokuz dıllı acayip duvarlılar, Beyoğlu'ndan Kadıköy ve Suadiye taraflarına, oradan da Boğaziçi'ne geçmeye başladı.¹¹⁸

Tanpınar mentions an architectural attitude in his passage. For him, this attitude began in Beyoğlu and then continued to Kadıköy and Suadiye. The main characteristic of this attitude is that it tries to carry out all architectural plan published in magazines of foreign countries in Istanbul. These plans are also moved as being enriched by individual fantasies. Structures builded as a result of these plans are disorganised and incompatible with each other. They also contrast with each kinds of idea of proportion. Furthermore, it can be inferred from the passage that Beyoğlu is an alien element in Istanbul with its architecture and culture. It creates contradictions within the body of Istanbul with these characteristics. On the other hand, it is not also composed of a coherent style in itself. It is a confrontation area of different styles of Western architecture. While Tanpınar and Beyatlı were mentioning conflicts between the old and the new, the East and the West, they were referring to the same problem with its different aspects. Dualities between the East

¹¹⁸ Tanpınar, Ahmet Hamdi. Yaşadığım Gibi. 6th ed. İstanbul: Dergah Yayınları, 1962. 216.

and the West, the old and the new were creating contradictions within the body of society. These dualities were making society and individual indecisive and immobile. Moreover, authenticity of society and individuals was disappearing. For Istanbul, as well, the same titles come to the forefront. The architecture of Istanbul is also suspended between the Eastern past and Western present. For example, Beyoğlu imitates the West; however, it is not Western. In the West, a district like Beyoğlu cannot be found. It is a district of an Eastern metropolis imitating the West. This set of contradictions do not make Istanbul a Western city. It turns into an area in which different styles of new and the old conflict with each other. When returned to the second chapter of this study, it can be seen that they were saying the same things for the society as well. There are a city fluctuating between the East and the West. It can neither return to the past nor find a future.

3.3 Nostalgia of the Things Lost in Istanbul

The architecture which expanded to Istanbul from Beyoğlu and Galata was the concrete manifestation of the above-mentioned conflict. However, aside from this manifestation, there were some invisible things which had disappeared in this process. Some little things in lives of people are not realized while they are living. However, if they disappear from the lives of people before new ones come in place of them, they are noticed due to their absences. Their absences are manifestations of the end of a civilization. At the same time, remembrance of them as deficiencies demonstrate that society cannot be still accommodated to its new civilization. Nostalgia about these little things stems from this contradiction. Trees, coffeehouses, and even fires of Istanbul become nostalgic manifestations of a civilization change problem. They are also manifestations of a civilization problem like the architecture and culture of Beyoğlu and Galata.

Tanpınar mentions trees of Istanbul, for example. He (1946: 161, 162) says in *Five Cities(Beş Şehir)* on that matter that:

Istanbul is gradually becoming without tree. This condition does not look like the lost of this or that tradition, or ritual among us. Traditions go since another traditions come after them, there is no need for them anymore. However, the loss of a centuries-old tree is a different thing. Even if another tree is planted in its

place, it takes time to regain its old appearance. Even if it gains its old appearance, that tree does not become the tree which our fathers sat underneath.

Istanbul gittikçe ağaçsız kalıyor. Bu hâl, aramızdan şu veya bu âdetin, geleneğin kaybolmasına benzemez. Gelenekler arkasından başkaları geldiği için veya kendilerine ihtiyaç kalmadığı için giderler. Fakat asırlık bir ağacın gitmesi başka şeydir. Yerine bir başkası dikilse bile o manzarayı alabilmesi için zaman ister. Alsa da evvelkisi, babalarımızın altında oturdukları zaman kutladığı ağaç olmaz.¹¹⁹

The message of the passage is clear. It says that Istanbul is gradually becoming without tree. Tanpınar compares trees with the tradition. The description of tradition in this passage is meaningful. The tradition renews itself according to necessities of the age. It changes continuously. In second part of the study, as well, he said that while we change, we create our past again and again. However, there are somethings which should not be changed forever. Trees of Istanbul are also one of them. They must live forever according to Tanpınar. Why he wishes that they must not change forever, it can be well understood with the passage below.

Two trees have left their marks on Turkish life and imagination. Cypress and plane. The general landscape of the city seen from outside is made of cypress groves in Karacaahmet, Edirnekapısı, Ayazpaşa and Tepebaşı. Those spiritual corners in the Bosphorus and some landscapes were being collected around planes. Cypress groves of Eyüp were giving their touch to all of the Golden Horn landscape. We are indebted to the noble sadness of Eyüp and these two trees and pines and umbrella pines.

İki ağaç Türk muhayyilesinde ve hayatında izini bırakmıştır: servi ve çınar. Şehrin bilhassa dışarıdan görünen umumî manzarasını daha ziyade Karacaahmet, Edirnekapısı, eski Ayazpaşa ve Tepebaşı gibi servilikler yapardı. Boğaziçi'ndeki o çok uhrevî köşelerle, bazı peyzajlar da çınarların etrafında toplanırdı. Eyüp servilikleri bütün Haliç manzarasına üslûbunu verirdi. İstanbul peyzajındaki asîl hüznü biz bu iki ağaçla, çam ve fıstık çamlarına borçluyuz. Hissî terbiyemizde onların büyük payı vardır.¹²⁰

In this passage, it is mentioned that two trees have an important place in imagination of Turks: Cypress and plane. The general scenery of Istanbul is also made by these trees according to Tanpınar. Tanpınar thinks that disappearance of Istanbul's trees spoils the national scenery of Istanbul. In the second part of the

¹¹⁹Tanpınar, Ahmet Hamdi. Beş Şehir. 32nd ed. İstanbul: Dergah Yayınları, 2014.161, 162.

¹²⁰Tanpınar, Ahmet Hamdi. Beş Şehir. 32nd ed. İstanbul: Dergah Yayınları, 2014.161, 161.

study, it was said that geography and historicity occupy an important place in Tanpınar's understanding of nationalism. For Beyatlı, the Turkish nation was formed on Anatolian lands one thousand years after Manzikert. With this claim, he was emphasizing the importance of locality. Locality is born from the interaction of tradition and geography. By the way of geography, some elements of tradition gain eternal characteristics. Geography enable them live eternally. Trees of Istanbul can be accepted as examples of locality. Tanpınar took his understanding of nationality from his teacher to a large extent. He knows the importance of locality in this understanding. For this reason, he worries about the disappearance of these trees. These trees are born from interaction of the tradition with a special geography. Regardless of how tradition changes according to needs of the day, they must live. However, tradition does not change as a result of natural evolution of the society in Istanbul in this time. The problem of remaining suspended between civilizations was mentioned above. The architecture of Beyoğlu or Galata is the visualized state of this problem in the architecture of Istanbul. This style's spread the rest of Istanbul made these trees disappear.

Beyoğlu or Galata can be resembled as Western styles types of Tanzimat novels which were mentioned in the second chapter. Western styles and Eastern styles as types are results of a social structure in which society was suspended between the old East and the new West. This position of suspension created reactionist or indecisive types in society. The architecture of Istanbul is also in a position suspended between the East and the West. There is an architecture imitating the West; however, it is not national. Briefly, it is neither Western nor Eastern. This suspended position of the city effaces projections of the city's residents about the future of the city. Beyatlı and Tanpınar determined the suspended position of the society and highly recommended to pass it. However, while they spoke about the city, they forgot these determinations. This suspended position of the city puts them in a nostalgic mood. Absences of some little things in the city life became the manifestation of the lost life order of the past.

For example, in an essay in *Glorious Istanbul (Aziz Istanbul)*, Beyatlı (1964: 145) mentions old semaî coffeehouses:

I stopped to be able to choose a good memory which I guessed that I could always protect while I was leaving from those trees, those red flags, those natural, double cries, semai. I looked carefully at that coffeehouse again which maybe the last coffeehouse singing semai.

O ağaçlardan, o al bayraklardan, o tabi, kıranet çifte nara ve semaî seslerinden ayrılırken, daima muhafaza edeceğimi tahmin ettiğim bir hatırayı iyi seçebilmek için durdum. Belki son semaî söylenen yer olan o kahveye bir daha dikkatle baktım.¹²¹

According to the passage, Beyatlı goes to a coffeehouse where semaî, which was a genre of old classical Turkish music, is sung. While Beyatlı was leaving from this coffeehouse, he became sad, since he thought that this coffeehouse may be the last coffeehouse in which semaî is sung. Coffeehouses were parts of people's entertainment culture in a long era of old Istanbul. These coffeehouses were separated according to the entertainment they serve. Semaî coffeehouses were one of them. To see the last semaî coffeehouse makes Beyatlı upset, because it was the symbol of the end of a culture. For Beyatlı, as said above on a number of occasions, the past is meaningful as long as it becomes a part of a new life. However, in this example, he grieves for a thing which was completely a part of old civilization. This is the result of alienation from the new one. The new in the city resembles Western styles of Tanzimat novels. In this position of suspension, he grieves for the semaî coffeehouses which were one of the last parts of a cultural harmony. His grief cannot be regarded as a manifestation of reactionism. In the second chapter, two characters of *Mahur Beste* (*Mahur Melody*) were mentioned. There were two characters who love the old. One of them was Ata Molla. He was longing for a century of the past and wanted to live this century in the present. It was an example of reactionist. On the other hand, Behçet, who was another character of the same novel, loved old things for themselves. Agedness symbolized life experiences of old people for him. Old objects were symbols of old life experiences for him. Beyatlı's nostalgia is closer to Behçet's. This old coffeehouse was meaningful for him, since it reminded old civilization and cultural unity of it. It reminded old people who were experiencing the life as remote from dualities and contradictions.

¹²¹Beyatlı, Yahya Kemal. Aziz İstanbul. 14th ed. İstanbul: İstanbul Fetih Cemiyeti, 1964. 145.

Fires and firemen of Istanbul also awaken the same feelings in Tanpınar. Tanpınar (1962: 167, 168) mentions these fires of Istanbul in *Five Cities (Beş Şehir)*:

Ironically fires which were leaving our life naked created a banal pleasure among city dwellers after Tanzimat. As soon as it was heard ‘‘There is fire!’’, well known beys and pashas, humans who are amateur of this business, mansion dwellers were getting out to watch the fire with their red jackets on half naked.

Ne gariptir ki hayatımızı o kadar çıplak bırakan yangın Tanzimat’tan sonra İstanbul’da şehirli arasında bayağı bir çeşit zevk yarattı. Kırmızı ceketli, yarı çıplak, ellerindeki kargı kadar ince köşklüler koşarak bağırdıkları o korkunç ‘‘Yangın var!’’ sesi duyulur duyulmaz bu işin amatörü olan insanlar, tanınmış beyler ve paşalar yangın seyrine çıkarlardı.¹²²

Another passage, from *Beş Şehir (Five Cities)*, mentions firemen:

Odd and strained ruffian types belonging to Istanbul named as fireman–tulumbacı– was born thanks to this disaster. It came to us with magic and colour of the things which does not return to us and and we are, therefore, finding odd its lack.

Tulumbacı dediğimiz ve şimdi bize bir daha dönmeyecek şeylerin büyüsü ve rengi ile beraber geldiği için biraz da yokluğunu yadırgadığımız, yalnız İstanbul’a mahsus o çok acayip ve süzme külhanbeyi tipini de bu korkunç âfet doğurmuştu.¹²³

In the first passage, the fires of Istanbul are mentioned. These fires in fact denude the lives of Istanbul residents. However, after Tanzimat, it created a banal pleasure among the residents of Istanbul. People enjoyed watching the fires. Among these people, there are well known governors, and military men, as well. However, although he says that this was a banal pleasure, he does not become angry at the fanciers of this banal pleasure. In the following page, he mentions the firemen of these fires. Firemen are a type of ruffian. This type of ruffian is born from these terrible disasters. Tanpınar feels absence of these men, because he thinks that they went with colors and magic of things which will not return.

Old wooden houses of Istanbul should be mentioned in order to be able understand things whose magic and color is lost according to Tanpınar. According to Samiha Ayverdi, which was another conservative writer, the most important characteristics

¹²²Tanpınar, Ahmet Hamdi. *Beş Şehir*. 32nd ed. İstanbul: Dergah Yayınları, 1962. 167, 168.

¹²³Ibid. 169.

of these houses are their courtyards. These courtyards have cantilevers which open out onto the courtyards of houses. Doors of rooms open out to these cantilevers and are independent from each other. Another characteristic of these houses is their being constructed on narrow streets. The windows of the houses look at each other. These houses firstly provided their residents an opportunity of individuality in their rooms independent from other rooms. However, whenever they wish, they can socialize with other family members in the cantilevers of the house. The windows also enable family members to take part in public life with residents of opposite houses.¹²⁴ These old houses were replaced by the apartments. Flats effaced individuality of family members. The opportunity for social life on the street also disappeared. These houses were the visualized life order of old civilization. The main defect of them is their being prone to the fires because of their wooden material. As said above, narrow streets also made municipality services difficult. For these reasons, they wanted to replace them with stone houses after Tanzimat. This replacement continued for a century up to the mid-20th century. These houses with their defects were a part of the life order of a civilization. Watching the fires of the city was an activity like watching roof ridges of mosques on Ramadan nights. Even if Tanpınar sees watching a disaster as a banal pleasure, he does not become angry at them. While a civilization was disappearing, it was still trying to shape the entertainment culture of people. In a civilization change period which the society was in a position of suspended between civilization, this banal entertainment reminded a cultural harmony. While a civilization which was a whole with its wooden houses, fires, and entertainments was disappearing, even its most banal sides were reminding the writer the loss of order of the past.

3.4 Architecture and the National Character of the City

Some specific causes of negative typifications of Beyoğlu in Beyatlı and Tanpınar were mentioned above. Firstly, Beyoğlu contrasted with the rest of Istanbul, saying it created duality within the city. Moreover, it was not coherent in itself, as well. It was an area of conflicting architectural styles. Typifications of Beyoğlu showed parallelism with narratives of Western style. Lastly, some

¹²⁴ Ayverdi, Sâmiha. *Hatıralarla Başbaşa*. 3. Baskı Ed. İstanbul: Kubbealtı Neşriyatı, 1977. 218.

examples of small things that disappeared with the culture and architecture of Beyoğlu were given. Briefly, in Beyatlı and Tanpınar's works, Beyoğlu represents negative aspects of the city. It was the opposite of being an ideal one. In that case, it is important to know how they characterized their ideal city. The answer to this question can be found in their narratives about Old Istanbul.

In the compilation of his essays *Aziz İstanbul (Glorious İstanbul)*, Beyatlı (1964: 3) narrates the cultural, architectural story of Istanbul which had been continuing for ages. The passage below is from the essay *Türk İstanbul (Turkish İstanbul)*.

Turkishness has engraved Istanbul and the Bosphorus into the imagination of humanity for five hundred years in this way. As if to say, while the architecture was expanding every hill, every shore, every corner of the city: This land will remain Turkish, as long as the world exists.

Türklük, beş yüz seneden beri İstanbul'u ve Boğaziçi'ni bütün beşeriyetin hayaline böyle nakşetti. Mimarîsini bu şehrin her tepesine, her sahiline, her köşesine kurarken güya: 'Artık bu diyar durdukça Türk kalacaktır.' dediği hissedilir.¹²⁵

From the passage, we can understand why Beyatlı perceives Beyoğlu and Galata as threats to Istanbul. For him, Beyoğlu is a threat to the architectural style which has been influenced by Turkishness for centuries.

The nationalist atmosphere of Istanbul in the eras of Beyatlı and Tanpınar was also mentioned above. They were influenced by this atmosphere and contributed to it as well. Beyatlı's description of Turkish Istanbul is also influenced from this atmosphere. He looks at Old Istanbul from the national state atmosphere and sees a Turkish Istanbul. The historical texture of the city inherited from the Ottoman Empire is perceived as a stamp of the Turkish nation in Istanbul and the cosmopolitan structure of old Istanbul is neglected. This comment has some current implications. In the second part of this study, I said that for Beyatlı and Tanpınar, a real Westernization is to become an independent national identity within Western civilization. Old Istanbul was living in the old Eastern civilization. However, it was a national identity in this Islamic Eastern civilization. When this argument is combined with his ideas about nationalism, it can be claimed that

¹²⁵Beyatlı, Yahya Kemal. *Aziz İstanbul*. 14th ed. İstanbul: İstanbul Fetih Cemiyeti, 1964. 3.

Beyatlı wanted to an Istanbul which was a national identity in Western civilization. Beyatlı did not oppose modern transformation of Istanbul. However, this modern transformation should not destroy its national identity. Conversely, it should create this national identity within borders of Western civilization again.

Beyatlı (1964: 4) describes Old Istanbul in another passage from *Aziz Istanbul (Glorious Istanbul)*:

So much the more, Turkishness did not create this city on an empty region which had not seen construction until that day. It was founded upon the ruins of the Eastern Roman Empire which had been the single civilization of Europe for ages and had dazzled with its splendour. The Turkish Istanbul which was founded upon the ruins of old Byzantium had different identity completely from its forerunner and was like the expression of the nation, and nationality upon which it was founded.

Bahusus ki Türklük bu şehrini imar görmemiş, hali bir sahada kurmadı; Şarkî Roma İmparatorluğu gibi asırlarca Avrupa'nın yegâne medeniyeti olmuş ve şaşaasıyla bütün milletlerin gözlerini kamaştırmış bir devletin payitahtının harabesi üzerine kurdu. Bunun muzâaf bir kıymeti vardır. Eski Bizans harabesi üzerine kurulan Türk İstanbul, selefinden bambaşka bir hüviyetteydi ve yalnız kendini kuran milletin, milliyetinin bir ifadesi gibiydi.¹²⁶

Beyatlı says that Turkishness did not found Istanbul upon an empty space, but on the ruins of Eastern Roman Empire. The existence of Turkish Istanbul symbolized the Turkishness. In this passage, the main issue is to become an independent identity within a civilization again. The passage narrates the story of Istanbul's becoming a national identity within Islamic civilization. When the Turks conquered Istanbul, they were able to erase residuals of Byzantium from the city and make the city a Turkish one; since they internalized values of Eastern Islamic civilization and formed their style in this civilization. Eastern Islamic civilization became Turkish Islamic civilization with masterpieces like Istanbul. While he is describing the past as ideal, he also speaks about the present. To be able to be an independent national identity within Western society is a contemporary problem for Beyatlı. He defends the Turk's being an independent identity within Western civilization. When he looks at the past of Istanbul, he saw a city which is product of an independent nation within Eastern civilization.

¹²⁶Beyatlı, Yahya Kemal. *Aziz İstanbul*. 14th ed. İstanbul: İstanbul Fetih Cemiyeti, 1964. 4.

Again, in *Aziz Istanbul (Glorious Istanbul)*, in another essay, he (1964: 50) says that:

Turkishness, which had created beautiful quarters of old Istanbul, was living in Eastern civilization. Then the city created them with a spiritual atmosphere, moral and social intercourses, and conditions of life. But this city is living in Western civilization, its rules, and living conditions, it is obliged to create houses, quarters and city according to this civilization. If Turkishness has its national consciousness, the life and existence landscape can be beautiful again, but in a different style from the old.

Eski İstanbul'un güzel semtlerini yaratan Türklük, şark medeniyeti içinde yaşıyordu; o zaman o medeniyetin manevi havasıyla, ahlâk ve muâşeret kaideleriyle, hayat şartlarıyla onları yaratmıştı; şimdi garp medeniyetinin havası ve onun kaideleri, hayat şartları içinde yaşıyor, ona göre mesken, semt ve şehir yaratmaya mecburdur. Türklük, milli şuuruna sahip olursa, hayat ve varlık manzarası, eskisinden farklı bir üslûpta, fakat yine güzel olabilir.¹²⁷

As clearly said in the passage, Turkishness, which created the old districts of Old Istanbul, was living within the Eastern Civilization. Mentioned districts were created by moral rules and life conditions of this civilization. Beyatlı says that they were living within the Western civilization. That is, Turkishness had to create its settlements according to the moral rules and life conditions of this civilization. Thus, he does not oppose organization of the city space in Istanbul according to necessities of Western civilization. His main issue is firstly to make Turkish society an independent identity in Western Civilization; then to gain cities of this society including Istanbul a national identity.

Beyatlı mentions some conditions which gained Istanbul a national character in Eastern civilization. These conditions can be found in some verses of a poem by Beyatlı, *Bir Tepeden (From One Hill)*:

While your nation was creating you as resembling your climate,
Flags which had run on many conquests competed with horizons.
To be able to reflect your face as its own history
Blood of many conquerors melted with marbles.
İrkın seni iklîmine benzer yaratırken,

¹²⁷Beyatlı, Yahya Kemal. *Aziz İstanbul*. 14th ed. İstanbul: İstanbul Fetih Cemiyeti, 1964 . 50.

Kaç fethe koşan tuğlar ufuklarla yarışmış

Târîhini aksettirebilsin diye çehren

Kaç fâtihin kanı mermerle karışmış.¹²⁸

Beyatlı describes Istanbul in this poem. Istanbul is a city whose nation created it as similar with its climate. Moreover, according to the poem, the face of Istanbul reflects the history of the nation, because the blood of many conquerors was shed on the land of this city. There are two emphases in this poem for the national formation of the city. The city should be firstly created as compatible with its climate. At the same time, it should be a product of history of the nation. I translated it as the nation. However, in this poem of Beyatlı, it was used the word of race in place of the nation. I mentioned the importance of the race in Beyatlı's thought. The world of race also represents here the unity of geography and history. Beyatlı thought that after the period of Westernization, Istanbul started to lose its national characteristic. It can be inferred that Beyatlı thinks that Istanbul should be planned as compatible with its geography in the period of Westernization, as well. The history of the nation should also be evaluated according to needs of the present and reflected to the city space.

The poem *Süleymaniye'de Bayram Sabahı* (*A Bairam Morning in Süleymaniye*) in *Kendi Gök Kubbemiz* (*Our Own Heavens*) can be examined using this understanding.

This bairam hour under our own heavens

In its nine centuries, all the people, all the country

reflecting partly from the landscape turning blue

the dusty curtain of timerises from the space in each instant.

Kendi gök kubbemiz altında bu bayram saati,

Dokuz asrında bütün halkı, bütün memleketi

Yer yer aksettiriyor mâvileşen manzaradan

Kalkıyor tozlu zaman perdesi her ân aradan.¹²⁹

¹²⁸Beyatlı, Yahya Kemal. *Kendi Gök Kubbemiz*. 39.th ed. İstanbul: İstanbul Fetih Cemiyeti, 1961.

In this poem, Beyatlı draws a portrait with words. ‘‘Heaven’’, ‘‘landscape turning blue’’, ‘‘bairam hour’’ are important words for this part of the poem. Beyatlı (1964: 3) says in *Aziz İstanbul (Glorious İstanbul)* that if there is a harmony among landscape, architecture and people of a region, fatherland portrait appears in the people’s mind.¹³⁰ In his poem of A Bairam Morning in Süleymaniye draws such a fatherland portrait. The poet uses words like landscape turning blue, and heaven. He emphasizes the special geography of İstanbul uniting the blue of the heaven with the blue of Bosphorus. Süleymaniye is an example of architecture which is born through the combination of this geography with tradition. That is, this structure as an architectural masterpiece is a product of the Turks’ five century old adventure in Anatolia. Geography, history, and people’s need united with technical mastership and creates Süleymaniye. From this poem, two main conclusions about the matter of this study can be drawn. Firstly, Süleymaniye is born from a necessity. It is a place of religious experience. Architecturally, as well, it is born from the combination of the special geography of İstanbul and the five century-old history of Turks in Anatolia. Beyatlı believes that this eternal structure should shape the life of İstanbul with its architecture. On the other hand, we can speculate about Beyatlı’s idea of ideal spaces. According to this poem, he believes that whether within the borders of Eastern civilization or Western civilization, the architecture of İstanbul should reflect geography, history and the lives of people. Only on that condition, can it be national.

Tanpınar does not think differently on this subject. For him, history and geography are also inseparable parts of a nationalism understanding. According to the main character of *Huzur (A Mind at Peace)*, Mümtaz:

He was saying İstanbul, İstanbul. Unless we recognize İstanbul, we cannot find ourselves.

According to Mümtaz, the silhouette of İstanbul, our entire civilization, the dirty, the rusty, all its beautiful sides, all of them were in the music.

¹²⁹ Beyatlı, Beyatlı. *Kendi Gök Kubbemiz*. 39.th ed. İstanbul: İstanbul Fetih Cemiyeti, 1961. 3.

¹³⁰ Beyatlı, Beyatlı. *Aziz İstanbul*. 14th ed. İstanbul: İstanbul Fetih Cemiyeti, 1964. 3.

Istanbul, Istanbul diyordu. İstanbul'u tanımadıkça kendimizi bulamayız.¹³¹

Mümtaz'a göre İstanbul peyzajı, bütün medeniyetimiz, kırımımız, pasımız, güzel taraflarımız, hepsi musikîdeydi.¹³²

There are two passages cited from Tanpınar above. Tanpınar says in these passages that if we do not recognize İstanbul, we cannot find ourselves. To be able to find ourselves, we should firstly recognize İstanbul's silhouette and this silhouette can be recognized through Turkish music. I will mention the discussion of music in proceeding parts of this study. Firstly, the question of why the silhouette of İstanbul is important should be answered. Both architecture and geography are important in the appearance of a silhouette. Architecture is a product of historical experiences of the nation on the one hand. Geography is the place in which this history is lived. That is, the silhouette of the city is a product of the history which is experienced in a special geography. Moreover, it is equalized with the civilization in the second passage. After a second citation from Tanpınar, it can be well understood why he equalized the silhouette of İstanbul with the civilization. This citation is also from *Huzur (A Mind at Peace)*:

The Bosphorus always seems to me as one of the nodes of our pleasures and feelings. Such that, I believed when we solved the meaning of it which was sintered in us, we would find one of our great truths. This could be a dream. Many beauties give humans the impression of being equal and counterparts of the world. When we are face to face them, they give the impression of a truth becoming self-sufficient for themselves.

Boğaz bana daima zevkimizin, duygularımızın büyük düğümlerinden biri gibi gelmiştir. Öyle ki, onun bizde külçelenmiş manasını çözdüğümüz zaman büyük hakikatlerimizden birini bulacağız sanmışımdır. Bu bir hayal olabilir. Birçok güzellikler insana kâinatın eşi veya eşiti oldukları vehmini verirler. Onlarla karşılaştığımız zaman bizde büyük, kendi kendine yetebilecek bir hakikat karşısında imişiz hissi uyanır.¹³³

In the passage, the Bosphorus is told as one of the nodes of Turks' pleasures and feelings. According to Tanpınar, it is one of great realities of Turks and should be understood. Bosphorus is also the most important geographical element of İstanbul;

¹³¹Tanpınar, Ahmet Hamdi. *Huzur*. 17th ed. İstanbul: Dergah Yayınları, 1949. 168.

¹³² Ibid. 170.

¹³³ Ibid. 183.

it is the most important component of Istanbul's silhouette and architecture. Why it was so important for Beyatlı and Tanpınar can be understood by looking at another discussion. If one looks at Beyatlı and Tanpınar's discussions about Gökalp, it can be seen that one of their criticisms against Gökalp was his reduction of the culture to the peasant's folklore. All the products of the old civilization were being rejected, since they were products of the old civilization. Istanbul was one of the most important products of this civilization. Beyatlı and Tanpınar's understanding of nationalism is an urban nationalism. They discuss problems of the society with reference to Istanbul, because Istanbul is the place in which Turkish culture reached its peak. Therefore, if Istanbul is not understood, Turks can not find themselves. To be able to understand Istanbul, the Bosphorus should firstly be understood. For this reason, it was the peak of pleasure and feelings of Turks.

Briefly, Istanbul is important with its texture shaped during the history and with its special geography. Therefore, for Tanpınar, its architecture should reflect its special geography in current ages as well as its history. How this history is reflected can be discussed according to needs of the present. However, it should be reflected. Moreover, Beyatlı believes in the importance of geography in the formation of a nation. This was an outcome of his Bergsonian understanding. As said in second part of the study, reality continuously flows. Geography is also a part of this flow. Thus, it becomes an element of formation of the nation. Therefore, for both Beyatlı and Tanpınar, designing architecture compatible with geography would fulfil at least one condition of a national architecture.

Tanpınar was seeking eternal things in the flow of the reality. This inclination stems from his desire to draw a frame for change. This is important for a discussion under the title of city and change. A change without a frame or direction scares him. Mümtaz, the main character of *Huzur (A Mind at Peace)*, supports this idea:

And, like I sat and thought for twenty years... However, neither the mosque was like that then ... He completed his thought with a great grief: " Nor this quarter...

Ve tıpkı benim yirmi sene evvel oturduğum ve düşündüğüm gibi... Fakat o zaman cami böyle değildi...' Büyük bir kederle düşüncesini tamamladı: 'Ne de mahalle...' ¹³⁴

Everything was changing in the city for Mümtaz, causing him grief. In the second chapter of the study, it was claimed that all conservative approaches dislike changes in society. However, Beyatlı and Tanpınar know that the change cannot be stopped. Therefore, the change must be within some determinate borders. In this passage we see that Mümtaz as a city resident is disturbed from the change in city space. When thinking, he grieves for the city; however, in conversation, he says that everything can change. However, this change must be within some borders:

Everything can change, even we change with our own will. Things which will not change are things pressing our stamp onto life.

Her şey değişebilir, hattâ kendi irademizle değiştiririz. Değişmeyecek olan, hayata şekil veren, ona bizim damgamızı basan şeylerdir. ¹³⁵

Since a change can happen within some borders, some eternal things are needed. The Bosphorus, Sultanahmet and Shrine of Sümbül Sinan were mentioned above. These are things which existed as soon as Istanbul existed. Since Turgut Cansever criticized the structural plans of Istanbul, saying they isolated Ottoman masterpieces from their surroundings and the rest of the city, it can be inferred that Tanpınar also agrees with this argument. Nations are products of special geographies for his understanding of nationalism. Bosphorus is important for this reason. Masterpieces like Sultanahmet are products of this special geography and history. Therefore, they should influence the architecture and space of the city like geography and history for Tanpınar. Tanpınar does not say anything about the question of how can this be achieved. However, this is an ideal in his literature. At the same time, it is a question repeated in different ways. Tanpınar seeks an answer to this question.

This ideal required as transformation of the city space aesthetically. However, it was necessary to persuade the state and financiers. Beyatlı and Tanpınar, being elites, did not strive to mobilize the people to oppose the state elite; rather, they

¹³⁴ Tanpınar, Ahmet Hamdi. Huzur. 17th ed. İstanbul: Dergah Yayınları, 1949. 18.

¹³⁵ Ibid, 21.

wanted to persuade the rest of the state elites for their ideal city. Therefore, they should have spoken about economy as well. However, both Beyatlı and Tanpınar were men of culture. Therefore, comprehensive economical proposal for the transformation of Istanbul cannot be found in their works.

Nevertheless, it can be said that at least Tanpınar is aware that issues of city and change in the city could not be discussed without mentioning the economy. This was also consistent with his Bergsonian approach. Change in life and in society was inescapable according to Bergson. However, this change needed to be governed in a harmony. The links with the past should not have been broken. However, the needs of the present should be enough, as well. This problematic is stated in another passage in *Huzur (A Mind at Peace)*:

Two things must be separated from each other. On the one hand, there is a necessity of social development. This can be achieved by thinking about the realities of society and changing them. Of course, Istanbul will not remain as a city which grows lettuce forever. Istanbul and each part of the fatherland want a production program. However, our links with the past are also numbered among these realities, because they are one of the shapes of our life today and they will be one of the shapes of our life in the future.

İki şeyi birbirinden ayırmak lazım... Bir tarafta sosyal kalkınma ihtiyacı var. Bu, cemiyet realiteleri üzerinde düşünerek, onları değiştire değiştire yapılır. Elbette İstanbul, sonuna kadar, sadece marul yetiştiren bir memleket kalmayacaktır. İstanbul ve vatanın her köşesi bir istihlal programı istiyor. Fakat bu realiteler içine maziyle bağlarımız da girer. Çünkü o, hayatımızın bugün olduğu gibi gelecek zamanda da şekillerinden biridir.¹³⁶

He says that Istanbul will not remain as a city which grows lettuce forever. That is, other production activities like industry should be developed in the city. However, in this case, city space should be developed according to the needs of the industry. Or for example, if tourism should be developed as the main economical sector, there must be some organizations in city space according to the needs of this sector. For example, in the 1950s, one of the most important architectural manifestations of radical national and international changes in Istanbul was the Hilton Hotel.¹³⁷ In an

¹³⁶ Tanpınar, Ahmet Hamdi. *Huzur*. 17th ed. İstanbul: Dergah Yayınları, 1949. 172.

¹³⁷ Bilsel, F. Cânâ, and Pierre Pinon, eds. *From the Imperial Capital to the Republican Modern City: Henri Prost's Planning of İstanbul*. İstanbul: İstanbul Araştırmaları Enstitüsü, 2010. 173.

Istanbul in which structures similar to Hilton increase, how can the past remain a part of the present? How can structures like Sultanahmet be connected with the rest of the city? Tanpınar's writings offer no answers. Literary texts or poems may have not been convenient for such an investigation anyway. However, did Tanpınar have answers to these questions in his own mind? We can speculate about this.

In his writings about another city, some clues can be found about his ideas of the city, social development and tradition. In *Beş Şehir (Five Cities)*, he (1946: 31) mentions Erzurum after the First World War. Nearly all men in the city go to the military services. The majority of them do not return. The ones who do are disabled men or former prisoners of war. The life conditions in the city before the war are described:

Erzurum of that time was very different from the Erzurum I saw ten years later. Erzurum, in which the crowd with each kind of cloths filled its markets, was different from the devastated Erzurum I saw ten years later. It was different from that prosperous city fed by Iran transit and with fifty-four mosques, thirty-eight madrasahs, rich persons and notables, storehouses, coffeehouses, coppersmith shops, jewellers and goldsmiths.

O zamanın Erzurum'u, on yıl sonra gördüğüm Erzurum'dan çok başkaydı. Her türlü kıyafette bir kalabalığın çarşı pazarını doldurduğu, saraç, kuyumcu, bakırcı dükkanlarıyla, senede o kadar malın girip çıktığı hanlarıyla, ambarlarıyla, eşraf ve âyânı, esnafı, otuz sekiz medresesi, elli dört camisiyle, İran transitin beslediği refahlı ve mâmur Erzurum'la on yıl sonra gördüğüm harap şehir arasında kolay kolay münasebet tasavvur edilemezdi. Sonradan öğrendiğime göre, muhtelif çarşılarında on binlerce zenaatçi çalışır, saraçlarının yaptığı eyerler bütün şark vilâyetlerine hattâ Tebriz'e kadar gidermiş.¹³⁸

In the passage, Tanpınar describes the pre-war period of Erzurum as a period in which the residents of Erzurum lived in abundance. Artisanships like saddlery, jewellery and coppersmith developed. The middle class of the city composed of notables and landed proprietors were powerful. On these conditions, madrasahs and mosques are important places in social life of the city. I mentioned earlier that Tanpınar viewed democracy as a continuity. He avoided radical outcomes of social events. The First World War resulted in radical outcomes in Erzurum as seen in the passage, for instance. For Tanpınar, the nation is also based upon the idea of

¹³⁸Tanpınar, Ahmet Hamdi. *Beş Şehir*. 32nd ed. İstanbul: Dergah Yayınları, 1946. 31.

continuity. Nation as an idea is possible only on the condition that masses of society living in a determinate geography are united under a common history. That is, according to Tanpınar, nationalism and democracy cannot be separated from each other. Social, economical and cultural breakdowns are dangerous both for society as a whole and its cities. These arguments demonstrate that Tanpınar is an evolutionist approach. For him, national state and democracy are necessary both for Turkey and the world. States should solve their problems in democratic system and keep away from actions causing radical results. This way, they can continue their economic and political transformation and intellectuals like Tanpınar can prosper. They think about cultural issues of the society like the issue of change and tradition. In this atmosphere in which the society is remote from social and economical breakdowns, cultural breakdowns can also be prevented.

If this passage about Erzurum is connected to Istanbul, some clues can be found to what he thinks about issues of the city, social development and tradition. He described Erzurum before the First World War as a city in which middle classes were powerful and the economy was functioning well. For this reason, the cultural life of the city was developed. Madrasahs and mosques had important places in the city. He serves us a portrait of his ideal city. He mentioned above the necessities of a city. These are social development as well as links with the past and cannot be separated from each other. The links with the past and tradition are serious issues. However, a large middle class is needed to think about these issues. There should be a social structure in which economical problems are solved; thus, people can think about social problems of the state and the city. For Istanbul, as well, social development and tradition issues should be thought about together. As soon as economy developed in the city and the state, the number of people who think about the past and cultural issues of the city and the state would increase, and solutions of the social development and links with the past would progress together. That is, his evolutionist approach leaves the answer of the city and tradition question to time.

3.5 Loss of the Past as a Loss of Aura

In the development of Istanbul, both Beyatlı and Tanpınar most oppose reconstruction movements, because they make themselves responsible for the

protection of the city's links to the past as the men of culture. For Beşir Ayvazoğlu (2006: 510), as well, both Beyatlı and Tanpınar displayed their most concrete opposition against reconstruction movements, since they gave big importance to the historicity idea. Both of them were disturbed by being damaged by historical textures of cities by reconstruction movements.¹³⁹ However, on the other hand, they supported the idea that the new should have come as a whole. The old should be reevaluated according to the needs of the new and gain new meanings in new era. However, especially in Tanpınar, it was seen that this attitude could result in some confusions in its architectural applications. A modern city in which all parts of the past make themselves apparent was mentioned. However, no real solutions were offered.

This failure in transforming city space the ideal city makes the literature of Beyatlı and Tanpınar a literature of escape. Escapology is a term used by Selahattin Hilav as a definition of escape from the real world to the world of imagination in literature.¹⁴⁰ In his article, he qualifies the literature of Tanpınar as literature of escape. In this study, the same qualification will be made for Beyatlı. Tanpınar or Beyatlı strive to turn the world into an aesthetic space. Sarah Atış Moment mentions a method used by Tanpınar in his short stories. This method is a component of escapology. In this method, a dream becomes the main component forming the text. Moment shows this method by means of his short stories. *Abdullah Efendi'nin Rüyaları (Dreams of Abdullah Effendi)* takes place in a dream atmosphere. Narrator is neither asleep nor awake and it is not clear whether the events take place in reality or in a dream.¹⁴¹

At this point, how the above-mentioned failure could make Beyatlı and Tanpınar's literatures ones of escape should be made clearer. It was seen above that the Westernization period for them meant a period of loss of memory. The political

¹³⁹ Ayvazoğlu, Beşir. Tanıl. "Türk Muhafazakârlığının Kültürel Kuruluşu" In Modern Türkiye'de Siyasi Düşünce, 510. Vol. Muhafazakârlık. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları. 2006.

¹⁴⁰ Hilav, Selahattin. "Tanpınar Üzerine Notlar." Yeni Ortam, no. 106 (1973). 7.

¹⁴¹ Atış, Sarah Moment. Çağdaş Türk Hikâyesinde Semantik Yapı: Tanpınar'ın Abdullah Efendi'nin Rüyaları'ndaki Hikâyelerinin Tahlili. İstanbul: Dergah Yayınları, 2011. 57, 61.

assertation of Beyatlı and Tanpınar was to pass over this loss of the past and make the Western style and Eastern style a part of national life. However, it was seen at least in the matter of architecture that they could not be successful in this aim. Therefore, the loss of the past turned into an aesthetic component which enriches their literatures.

Nurdan Gürbilek (2014: 17) emphasizes the aura concept of Benjamin on this issue while expounding the loss of the past matter in Tanpınar. This concept is described by Gürbilek, who says that in a world which does not have a common memory, the subject does not have any solution rather than trying to remember. In a novel, a person who remembers comes together with the remembered thing. Dream makes the past a part of the novel aesthetically. In modern world in which subjects do not have a common memory, the subject who looks at the other one expects response from the other one. However, the modern world is the world in which this aura is lost and this response is not possible. This becomes possible only in literature with dreams.¹⁴² After this description of Gürbilek, it can be understood why Beyatlı and Tanpınar use the dream as a component of their literatures. Possessing a common memory makes the past a living part of the present. However, in the city space of Istanbul, this is not possible. As mentioned above, one of the main characteristics of capitalist economies is that renewal period of fixed capital has shortened. As a result, continuous technological revolution becomes the rule. This reflected itself on the city space in continuous destruction and construction. On these conditions, a common memory in city space is not possible. Both Beyatlı and Tanpınar want to a city in which the past leaves its mark on each corner of the city. However, Istanbul transformed radically and the transformation is shaped by economical needs rather than the past. Therefore, both Beyatlı and Tanpınar construct an imagined city in their literature. This is a passive opposition against the transformation of the city.

Another concept of Benjamin must be looked at in order to be able to understand this passive opposition concept. Benjamin says that there are people who can be named as *conspirators de professions*. For these people, the single way of a revolution is plots, magical discoveries and destruction machines which are thought

¹⁴² Gürbilek, Nurdan. *Yer Değiştiren Gölge*. 4th ed. İstanbul, Metis Yayıncılık, 2014. 17.

to create revolutionary miracles. These people avoid enlightening workers about their class interests.¹⁴³ The conspirator revolutionary does not connect him/herself to an organization or to the working class. S/he wants to achieve his/her aim with his/her individual efforts. Flaneurs also hate from this order. However, they do not enter into an organizational action to change it. They wander the city and observe all its beautiful and ugly aspects.

Beyatlı and Tanpınar are nationalist intellectuals. They cannot be explained by flaneur theory of Benjamin. They depart from the same point with the flaneur, but reach different points. Both the flaneur and Beyatlı and Tanpınar's literature of escape are outcomes of the same phenomenon. Both of them are results of the loss of aura. At the same time, they are results of the loss of the past. Both the flaneur and Beyatlı and Tanpınar are alien to their city. In the aura concept, unity between the subject which looks at the other one and the looked one are enabled with a common memory. Common memory is the result of unity with space. The loss of memory is the result of the loss of unity with the space. For Beyatlı and Tanpınar, alienated space is a place from which it must be escaped. Each confrontation attempt with this space ends with the escape.

They construct the city as a dream object around some themes which are thought as eternal objects reminding of old Istanbul. In *Bebek Gazeli (Ode to Bebek)*, Beyatlı mentioned this dream atmosphere as a consolation of the spirit. He tries to found some signals in the city which can be points of departures for an imagined world and tries to live in this imagined world in the present condition of the city:

What remains for the spirit apart from the wine?

Other than the moonlight for three nights at the Bosphorus

In the word we do not have any inheritance

Apart from watching the water dance in Bebek cove.

Ne kaldı rûha teselli şarâbtan başka

Boğaz'da üç gecelik mâhtâptan başka

¹⁴³ Benjamin, Walter. *Passages*. İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2008. 110, 111.

Cihanda olmadı bir hisse-î verâsetimiz

Bebek koyunda temâşâ-yı âbdan başka.¹⁴⁴

Bosphorus is the symbol of eternity; for Beyatlı, it must be a part of the life of the city. It must give shape to the architecture of the city and culture of it. However, as I said above, the architectural transformation of Istanbul was remote from ideal of Beyatlı and Tanpınar. The past was being protected only in some monumental constructions which are disconnected from their surrounding and the rest of the city. Therefore, the poet constructs imagined worlds by using some living residuals of Old Istanbul. Bosphorus, and Bebek Cove are mentioned in the poem. These are departure points and fictionalizes the old world with these symbols. Wine also symbolizes eternity like the Bosphorus. Moreover, it is a figure which erases sharp distinctions of the reason and gives place to the imagination. The night also fades out the rest of Istanbul, because this Istanbul is degenerating architecturally and culturally. Thus, the poet's imagination creates an imagined world from eternal objects. This is a nostalgic Istanbul imagination.

Water and music are the main components of escape constructed on the frame of Istanbul. This can also be seen in *Eski Musîkî (Old Music)*, a poem by Beyatlı:

If you listen to kemancha in Kanlıca once

Listen to the tambour one night in spring in Çamlıca

Only fatherland is heard in each string of these instruments

A magical wind always blows from this land.

Bu yaz kemençeyi bir dinledinse Kanlıca'da,

Baharda bir gece tanburu dinle Çamlıca'da.

Bu sazların duyulur her telinde sâde vatan,

Sihirli bir rüzgâr eser daimâ bu topraktan.¹⁴⁵

¹⁴⁴Beyatlı, Yahya Kemal. *Eski Şiirin Rüzgarıyla*. İstanbul: İstanbul Fetih Cemiyeti, 2012. 13.

¹⁴⁵Beyatlı, Yahya Kemal. *Kendi Gök Kubbemiz*. 39.th ed. İstanbul: İstanbul Fetih Cemiyeti, 2014. 22.

In this poem as well, Bosphorus and the night are taken as main components of the poem. On the other hand, old classical music is added to them. In Beyatlı's poetry, water is always connected with the past, and tradition. As an element of space which continues to exist eternally, water is accepted as a component of the space which collects experiences of the past. This is not a metaphor, since for Beyatlı and Tanpınar, the water is the witness of the flowing time as a result of their Bergsonian attitude. Music is also meaningful in this context. It also flows from the past to the present and moves experiences of the past today. Magical winds are the third emphasis which completes the water and music elements. The poet continuously emphasizes flowing time and reality. The water of Bosphorus and Old Turkish Music moves experiences of the past today. However, this can be possible only at night. The rest of Istanbul is plunged into darkness. There remain geographical and eternal symbols like hills of Istanbul and Bosphorus. Around these symbols, the old imagined Istanbul is created again with the help of the music.

On the other hand, the poet creates an imagined world by escaping from the city to which he was alienated. Beyatlı's understanding of different nationalism understanding occupies an important place in this escape literature. In his nationalism, tradition and founding links with tradition are important issues. The main place in which the past can be visible is the architecture. As long as the writer does not see this architecture, he takes refuge to the past. It was said that the past and a common memory is the main condition for the idea of nationality. That is, the loss of the past is the loss of identity. The lost identity is national identity. The poet takes refuge in the past for this reason as well. Beyatlı also escapes from this position of non-identity. Kanlıca, Çamlıca, and old classical Turkish music are means of an escape to the imagined national past. The poet clearly says that in each instrument who listens in these hills, he hears the voice of fatherland.

There are other poems of Beyatlı in which the water and the music are used as components of a dream atmosphere founding the unity of the past with the present. A part of *Mevsimler (Seasons)* poem in *Kendi Gök Kubbemiz (Our Own Heavens)* says:

From the Bosphorus turning blue before the rising Sun

Wished to open Nevakar from voice and strings
Music of music of victories is wished to continue.
‘‘Güneş doğmadan mâvileşmiş Boğaz’dan
Nevâ-kâr açılsın bütün ses ve sazdan,
Ufuklarda sürsün zafer mûsikîsi.¹⁴⁶

The time of the poem is the night again. Nevâ-kâr is one of the modes of classical Turkish music. This mode is described in the poem as music of victory and is thought together with the Bosphorus. Both the music and the Bosphorus are witnesses of victory days of the past. When the city is plunged into darkness; they are means to move the imagination to these days of victory. In another poem, *Itrî*, in *Kendi Gök Kubbemiz (In Our Own Heaven)*, these themes can be well understood:

From Budapest to Iraq, to Egypt
From conquered, remote regions
Free blowing wind onto the fatherland
That brilliant genius collected us such that
Our story continuing seven hundred years
Being listened to from old planes...
Tâ Budin’dan Irak’a, Mısır’a kadar,
Fethedilmiş uzak diyarlardan,
Vatan üstünde hür esen rüzgâr,
Ses götürmüş bütün baharlardan.
O dehâ öyle toplamış ki bizi,
Yedi yüz yıl süren hikâyemizi
Dinlemiş ihtiyar çınarlardan.¹⁴⁷

Beyatlı clearly mentions in this poem the story of Turks which has continued for seven hundred years. Itrî’s music is both the witness and a part of this story.

¹⁴⁶Beyatlı, Yahya Kemal. *Kendi Gök Kubbemiz*. 39.th ed. İstanbul: İstanbul Fetih Cemiyeti, 1961. 24.

¹⁴⁷ Ibid, 9.

Comparing this music with the Bosphorus is meaningful. It is also a witness of the Turk's history like music. It is in Istanbul in which stories of different geographies of the Ottoman Empire have intersected for centuries. The water like music is an element collecting these stories. Briefly, the Bosphorus, and thus Istanbul is a memory protecting old stories of Ottoman Empire.

The face of the woman, which will be used more in Tanpınar, is a mirror enlightening these stories. For Bergson, the memory in humans is the place where all experiences of the past are collected without exception and reason is not enough to grasp this collected past alone. However, when a point of departure which moves the mind beyond reason is found, human beings can discover the reality collected by the memory again. Elements like the night, the Bosphorus and the hills of Istanbul are these kinds of points of departures in Beyatlı's poetry, like the face of woman. In his poem *Bir Tepeden (From One Hill)*, Beyatlı mentions the hills of Istanbul again:

You came to watch a night like a dream.

In every hill of the country which you love very much.

I looked at you. You are beautiful one more time while you are speaking.

I heard Istanbul in your voice one more time.

Rüya gibi bir akşamı seyretmeğe geldin,

Çok benzediğin memleketin her tepesinde.

Baktım konuşurken daha bir kere güzeldin,

Istanbul'u duydum daha bir kere sesinde.¹⁴⁸

Words like dream, night and hill are in this poem, as well. A night like a dream is mentioned. Another emphasis is for Istanbul; Istanbul is heard in the voice of the darling. Again, the poem takes place at night. In this way, the poet fictionalizes its imagined city. The imagined city is identical with the darling. Darling speaks; the poet hears Istanbul's voice. However, we do not know what the darling says. She is a darling in whom the poet sees himself. His imagined Istanbul can speak from the

¹⁴⁸ Beyatlı, Yahya Kemal. *Kendi Gök Kubbemiz*. 39.th ed. İstanbul: İstanbul Fetih Cemiyeti, 1961. 11.

voice of the darling with him. This night like a dream is in a world which aura is not loss. There are two subjects identical with each other, since in the imagined city, the poet feels at home. He is not alienated from the space. This poem also demonstrates how the poetry of Beyatlı is explained by the loss of aura concept of Benjamin. In Beyatlı's imagined city, there are two subjects who can completely understand each other. He attributes things which he feels as deficiencies in the present to his imagined city. Subjects who can understand each other completely and a space where the subject is not alienated are aspirations which stems from modern problems. The poet takes these problems in the present age. Whether old Istanbul was really such a place is not important; therefore it is a nostalgic perception of Istanbul.

Tanpınar also says that the love against the old is the result of deficiencies which are felt in the present. In *Huzur (A Mind at Peace)*, the main character-Mümtaz says:

No, certainly we do not love old things for themselves. The thing attracting us toward them is the empty space which is left by them. Whether their traces have been apparent or not, we are seeking one of our sides which we think are lost as a result of the bickering in ourselves.

Hayır, muhakkak ki bu eski şeyleri kendileri için sevmiyoruz. Bizi onlara doğru çeken bıraktıkları boşluğun kendisidir. Ortada izi bulunsun veya bulunmasın, içimizdeki didişmeden kayıp olduğunu sandığımız bir tarafımızı onlarda arıyoruz.¹⁴⁹

Mümtaz seeks his lost side in the old things. Tanpınar's imagined old Istanbul is shaped according to deficiencies felt in existent one; it is also a part of an imagined world which looks like neither the existent Istanbul nor the old one. In the passage below, this can be well understood. The passage is an inner speech by Mümtaz from *Huzur (A Mind at Peace)*:

Do we love each other or Bosphorus? Sometimes deliriums and blisses connected to the exuberance brought by old music and thought that these old magicians are playing us in their hands and strove to think Nuran different from them and strove to seek her only inside of his own beauties. However, the mixture was not such superficial as thought by him. As soon as Nuran entered in

¹⁴⁹Tanpınar, Ahmet Hamdi. Beş Şehir. 32nd ed. İstanbul: Dergah Yayınları, 1946. 213.

his life, he could not differentiate neither Istanbul nor Bosphorus, old music and beloved woman from each other. Nuran was enlightening things which had in his spirit and constituting a great part of his life.

”Birbirimizi mi, yoksa Boğaz’ı mı seviyoruz?” Bazen çılgınlıklarını ve saadetlerini eski musikinin getirdiği coşkunluğa yorar, “Bu eski sihirbazlar bizi ellerinde oynatıyorlar...” diye düşünür ve Nuran’ı onlardan ayrı düşünmeğe, yalnız başına ve kendi güzellikleri içinde aramağa çalışırdı. Fakat halita onun zannettiği kadar sathî olmadığı, Nuran hayatına birdenbire gelişiyse kendisinde öteden beri mevcut olan, ruhunun büyük bir tarafını yapan şeyleri aydınlattığı âdeta kendisini kabule hazır şeylerin arasında saltanatını kurduğu için, artık ne İstanbul’u, ne Boğaz’ı, ne eski musikîyi, ne de sevdiği kadını birbirinden ayırmağa imkân bulurdu.¹⁵⁰

In the passage, there are three elements of narration: the face of Nuran, the Bosphorus, and Mümtaz. Water represents flowing. It is connected with flowing of reality. Mümtaz is the subject who tries to find its links with past. In the passages cited from Beyatlı, the night functioned as an element breaking off the subject from the rest of the city. In the passage above from Tanpınar, Nuran functions in the same manner with the night. Mümtaz says that he cannot separate Nuran from the Bosphorus. When he focuses on her face, Mümtaz breaks off his links with the rest of the Istanbul. The flowing water of the Bosphorus unites with timbres of old classical Turkish music. Both of them move the past to the existent instant. The existence of the woman reunites this flowing time in a subject. In Tanpınar, the beloved subject is often the subject with whom a direct relationship can be found. For this reason, in almost all of his texts, lovers cannot unite. For example, Nuran and Mümtaz’s love ends badly. Therefore, fictionalized Istanbul as a part of an imagined world can be explained with the loss of aura. In the passage, as well, Tanpınar mentions dark sides of the spirit enlightened by the coming of Nuran. The loss of aura, that is the loss of direct authentic relationships among subjects cannot be explained without the issue of the loss of the past. For this reason, the coming of the beloved subject enlightens dark sides of the spirit. In this way, Nuran, Bosphorus and classical Turkish music become a part of the past ages created in the living instant. This is an imagined city in which Istanbul is not changing and transforming. It is a city which is created in Bosphorus nights and in where everything is in its proper place.

¹⁵⁰Tanpınar, Ahmet Hamdi. Huzur. 17th ed. İstanbul: Dergah Yayınları, 1949. 207

In his poem *Her Şey Yerli Yerinde (Everything in its Proper Place)*, Tanpınar (1976:44) describes his ideal space:

Everything is in its proper place; a cypress at a poolside

A cupboard was continuously creaking afar.

Wares are such reflecting from a deep sleeping.

Creepers and voices of insects wrapped the house.

Her şey yerli yerinde; havuz başında servi

Bir dolap gıcırıyor uzaklarda durmadan,

Eşya aksetmiş gibi tılsımlı bir uykudan.

Sarmaşıklar ve böcek sesleri sarmış evi.¹⁵¹

The place in which everything is in its proper place is described with flowing water and a life springing from the cypress at the poolside. There is the voice of a cupboard which continuously creaks from afar. The water and the voice coming from afar awaken wares from their sleepings. A new life is born from awakened objects. The house is the full of creepers and voices of insects. The cupboard can be likened to classical Turkish music. Classical Turkish Music includes the voice of remotes: voice of the past times. The water was mentioned above as a thing collecting experiences of the past ages. In this poem, the water is the basis of the new life. From unity of the water and the music, a new life is born. The space in which everything is in proper place is born from two elements including experiences of the past. The deficient thing is this in real space of the poet. That is, in Istanbul to which the voice of the past is remote, everything is in chaotic order.

However, as said above, that kind of space is not possible. This impossible space turns into a dream in the mirror of woman face.

A woman was born in one instant.

from the ridge of a sea wave

a woman, black and dark blue

¹⁵¹Tanpınar, Ahmet Hamdi. *Bütün Şiirleri*. 14th ed. İstanbul: Dergah Yayınları, 1976. 44.

with her hairs with sea foams
as if I am the center of a dream
which collects my life from the first to the last
she lived, loved, and died in one instant screaming from pleasure beyond the
living.
my two lovers Istanbul and Paris were dancing hand to hand in the depths
and in the garden of all my summers.
Bir kadın doğdu bir lahzada
bir dalganın sağırsından
siyah, lacivert bir kadın
köpük köpük saçlarıyla
yaşadı, sevdi, öldü bir lahzada
hazdan çılgınlık atarak
yaşamının ötesinde...
(...)
Sanki ömrümü baştan başa toparlayan
bir rüyanın ortasında
iki sevgilim Paris ve Istanbul
el ele rakediyorlar derinde,
bütün yazlarımın bahçesinde¹⁵²

In this poem as well, a woman which is brought forth by the water is mentioned. The hairs of the woman are under foam. She is composed of the water. The poet feels himself in the mid of a dream. In this dream, two darlings of him, Paris and Istanbul dance hand by hand. In this poem, as well, the water is the basic element of the poem. In this context, the woman brought forth by the water can be thought as the lost past. The woman is the poet's imagination of completeness. When compared with the poem above, the woman is the thing enlightening the dark sides of poet's spirit. Again, the deficiency of the past in the modern city is passed as

¹⁵² Tanpınar, Ahmet Hamdi. Bütün Şiirleri. 14th ed. İstanbul: Dergah Yayınları, 1976. 88.

creating a dream. The dream is the fiction of imagined cities. The difference of this poem from other ones is that the poet mentions two cities. It can be said that the poet knows both Paris and Istanbul and speaks through these cities. However, beyond this, the loss of the past is a feeling which can be experienced in each metropolitan city. This approximates Tanpınar more to the narrative of Benjamin, because for Benjamin, the loss of aura is a modern illness which cannot be restricted to a single society.

Moreover, the loss of the past was visualized as the loss of the glorious national past in Beyatlı. For example, the Bosphorus was meaningful as a part of a glorious history. In Tanpınar, the theme of the loss of the order is more prominent than of the grandness of the past. In the second part of this study, some nuances between Beyatlı and Tanpınar were emphasized. Based off of these nuances, this difference is understandable. However, on the other hand, the loss of the past is the main element in their literatures whether the loss of the grandness or of order.

Tanpınar's nuance can be seen well passage below from *Huzur (A Mind at Peace)*:

The reign of the night began after Üsküdar. A mass of houses bordered by avenue lamps and with their dark cliffs appeared brusquer, more mysterious and imaginary than they were.

He said, look, how it is knitted like a wavy cloth. Then, curves... See, one more curve, as if it is a flowing star. Further up, on our side, these reflections merge with the lamps of sandals. However, the most beautiful is these. An arithmetic created by the light...

Üsküdar'dan sonra gecenin saltanatı başladı. Tepelerde keskin sokak fenerlerinin hudutlandığı büyük ev kitleleri, aralarındaki karanlık uçurumlarıyla olduklarından daha haşın, daha esrarlı ve hayalî görünüyorlardı. (...)

“Bakın, dedi, nasıl hareli bir kumaş gibi dokunuyor... Sonra kavisler... İşte bir tane daha, sanki akan bir yıldız gibi... Daha yukarılarda, bizim tarafta bu akislere balıkçı sandallarının feneri de karışır. Fakat en güzeli bu kavislerdir... Işıktan bir riyaziye...”¹⁵³

Space in Tanpınar is also one of main elements, which creates the dream atmosphere in the text. To be able to create it, the theme of the night has also critical

¹⁵³Tanpınar, Ahmet Hamdi. *Huzur*. 17th ed. İstanbul: Dergah Yayınları, 1949. 117.

importance. In the passage, the fishermen's lights meddle with lights of the night in Üsküdar. The night has almost a regulatory influence on the chaotic atmosphere of the city. The unity of darkness and light makes the architecture a natural part of the dream. This can be understood from the houses appear more mysterious and imaginary than they are. They gain an identity different from their real images. It was said that the architecture of Istanbul should have been compatible with its geography for Beyatlı and Tanpınar. Again for them, existent architecture of Istanbul did not have this characteristic. Since Tanpınar did not believe the architecture in Istanbul was compatible with its geography, as he believed it should be, he makes it more mysterious in an imaginary dream atmosphere in the passage.

In this passage there was no emphasis on the loss of grandness. However, as known, the loss of grandness is an almost natural part of dream and imagination themes in Beyatlı. For Nurdan Gürbilek (2010: 108), Tanpınar tries to approximate Beyatlı to his individual fairy tale while instrumentalizing the literature of his teacher. Beyatlı's voice is loud and strong. However, Tanpınar emphasized his melancholic side.¹⁵⁴ In his biography of *Yahya Kemal*, he evaluates Beyatlı's literature somewhat psychoanalytically. In his investigation, *Kaybolan Şehir (The Lost City)*, which Beyatlı wrote for Skopje, plays an important role. Skopje is the city in which Beyatlı was born and brought up, and Tanpınar comments about this in connection with his deceased mother. His mother and land of his mother, the loss childhood city and the home in which he was born, all of these are collected around the same thing: The loss of the past.¹⁵⁵

The lost city whose image remains in my heart

The sorrow left by the loss of it is deep

Leaving has continued for a long time, many years have passed from till to now

Even if we are not in you, you are in us.

Kalbimde bir hayâli kalıp, kaybolan şehir

Ayrılmanın bıraktığı hicran derindedir.

¹⁵⁴ Gürbilek, Nurdan. *Kör Ayna, Kayıp Şark*. 3rd ed. İstanbul: Metis Yayıncılık, 2010. 108.

¹⁵⁵ Ibid. 107.

Çok sürse ayrılık, aradan geçse çok sene,
Biz sende olmasak bile sen bizdesin yine¹⁵⁶

The poet says that the lost city of his childhood is in his mind. This city lives only as an imagination with its former state. It is not the childhood city of Beyatlı anymore. Tanpınar emphasizes this part of the poem according to Gürbilek.

However, in another part of the poem he writes:

Skopje, which is the region of Yıldırım Beyazıt Khan, is
his inheritance to sons of the conquerors.
With its azure blue domes, it was our city.
It was only ours, with its face and spirit it was only us.
Üsküp ki Yıldırım Beyazıt Han diyâdır.
Evlâd-ı fâtiḥâna onun yâdigâdır.
Fîrûze kubbelerle yalnız bizim şehrimizdi o;
Yalnız bizimdi, çehre ve rûhiyle yalnız bizdi o.¹⁵⁷

Skopje is the lost past. However, the lost past is not restricted with the loss of childhood. The city was also the loss of a glorious past according to Beyatlı, since the name of Yıldırım Beyazıt, a famous sultan and general, is emphasized in this part of the poem. The phrase sons of conquerors and Yıldırım Beyazıt appear. That is, unlike Tanpınar, Beyatlı uses a grandeur name of the past. The loss of the past is the loss of grandness. This feeling of the loss of the past is meaningful when it is thought in connection with Istanbul. Istanbul is a city like Skopje for Turkish history. It was also conquered from a Christian state and made a Islamic city for hundreds of years. Turkish Islamic civilization's most mature works took place in this city. The cultural and architectural loss of the city is a loss of this glorious past. For this reason, the literature of Beyatlı emphasizes the past of this city and enlightens this past with imaginary elements. He wants to keep this city alive at least in his literature.

¹⁵⁶ Beyatlı, Beyatlı. *Kendi Gök Kubbemiz*. 39.th ed. İstanbul: İstanbul Fetih Cemiyeti, 2014. 43.

¹⁵⁷ Ibid. 43.

This is apparent in his appeal to keep certain districts of Istanbul alive, including Koca Mustafa Pasha district in the eponymous poem:

That conquering event, my God! How great a miracle!

To narrate it step by step is long.

But its one step wraps the spirit for hours.

There is Koca Mustâpaşa, its mosque and quarter.

Şu fetih vak'ası, yâ Rab! Ne büyük mu'cizedir.

Her tecellîsini nakletmek uzundur bir bir;

Bir tecellîsi fakat, rûhu saatlerce sarar:

Koca Mustâpaşa var, câmii var, semti de var.¹⁵⁸

Yaşar Şenler (1997: 131) says that writing poems under the names of city districts was a characteristic of Beyatlı which he took from Verlaine. This characteristic unites him with the love of Istanbul.¹⁵⁹ Koca Mustafa Pasha is one of these kinds of poems. This district of Istanbul is one of the religious districts of Istanbul. With its shrines, it attracts many Muslim visitors and Islam is experienced in this district in a national manner. For example, visiting shrines, and making wishes at shrines is a religious experience special to Turks. Moreover, it is one of the districts of Istanbul which has changed very little both culturally and architecturally. The mosque and shrine are dominant in the life of the district. With these characteristics, he likens the district to the last living part of the old Istanbul. In this poem, he neither benefits from darkness of the night nor uses music or water metaphors. The past lives in this district in its most original version. When the poet looks at the districts, he dreams of a glorious past and wants to protect these districts, at least in his own literature.

Tanpınar (1962: 155) says that this atmosphere could be protected only in works of great letters of men like Beyatlı:

Beyond any doubt, this silhoutte will also change tomorrow. Those old pavilions which are used as sock ateliers etc. will disappear. Modern ateliers will take their

¹⁵⁸ Beyatlı, Beyatlı. Kendi Gök Kubbemiz. 39.th ed. İstanbul: İstanbul Fetih Cemiyeti, 2014. 27.

¹⁵⁹ Şenler, Yaşar. Kültür ve Edebiyata Dair Görüşleriyle Yahya Kemal. İstanbul: Ötüken Neşriyat, 1997. 131.

place. Human beings whose work conditions changed, whose worldviews are different, will start to live around Smbl Sinan; however, the love and mercy poetry of Beyatlı will protect this atmosphere for us.

phesiz yarın bu peyzaj da deęiecek. imdi orap atelyesi filan gibi eyler olan o eski harap konaklar ortadan kalkacak, yerlerini modern atelyeler alacak, i artları deęimi, dnyaya baka gzle bakan insanlar Smbl Sinan'ın etrafında yaamaya balayacaklar; fakat Yahya Kemal'in merhamet ve sevgi iiri asırların yıędıęı bu havayı bize muhafaza edecek.¹⁶⁰

The shrine of Smbl Sinan is in Koca Mustafa Pasha and gives this district its character. Tanpınar also mentions old mansions, which are used as ateliers. He guesses that these ateliers will disappear and be modernized. Briefly, Koca Mustafa Pasha will also resemble other districts of Istanbul, but will be kept alive in Beyatlı's literature.

Another part of Koca Mustafa Pasha poem of Beyatlı is such that:

Koca Mustâpaa! Solitary and poor Istanbul!

It has been faithful, resigned and poor for the conquest.

People who take sadness as pleasure are living here.

I stayed with them all day in this beautiful dream.

Our nation so meddled in this fatherland district.

We are seen, heard only in this fatherland district.

Koca Mustâpaa! Ücrâ ve fakîr Istanbul!

Tâ fetihten beri mü'min, mütevekkil yoksul,

Hüznü bir zevk edinenler yaıyor burada.

Kaldım onlarla bütün gün bu güzel rü'yâda.

Öyle sinmi bu vatan semtine milliyetimiz.

Ki biziz hem görlen, hem duyulan yalnız biz.¹⁶¹

When the passage from Tanpınar and the Beyatlı's poem are viewed together, it can be understood that it was one of the poor districts of Istanbul in the mentioned era. In this district, historical texture remained unchanging because of its poor

¹⁶⁰Tanpınar, Ahmet Hamdi. Be ehir. 32nd ed. İstanbul: Dergah Yayınları, 1946. 155.

¹⁶¹ Beyatlı, Beyatlı. Kendi Gk Kubbemiz. 39.th ed. İstanbul: İstanbul Fetih Cemiyeti, 1961. 26.

economical conditions. Moreover, since it is a religious center, its people are probably religious people. Beyatlı reads this condition of the district as the manifestation of a type of eternal people type and life conditions and he wants to protect it as a part his literature forever. For Svetlana Boym (2009: 33), modern nostalgia is mourning for impossibility of a mythical return. It is a mourning for a magical world which possesses clear borders and values. This nostalgia is a secular expression of a spiritual longing. Nostalgic individuals seek a spiritual interlocutor to be able to remember mythical days of the past. They seek eternal symbols and read them falsely with despair.¹⁶² Koca Mustafa Pasha can be evaluated as such a symbol. Poverty of its residents is evaluated as a sufistic ascetism and its religious structures as a part of glorious days of the past. The district becomes a part of a dream.

While the historical texture of Istanbul is rapidly transformed, finding places resembling Koca Mustafa Pasha is difficult in Istanbul anymore. Therefore, structures of other poems by Beyatlı dedicated to districts are different. One example is *Üsküdar Vâsfinda Gazel (Ode to the Characteristic of Üsküdar)* from *Eski Şiirin Rüzgarıyla (With the Winds of Old Poetry)*. One part of it is such that:

The river of paradise is always seen in this city.

From each fountain, the water of the fountain of Üsküdar flows.

(...)

In each of its yard, there is a cypress swinging with affectation.

In each its pavilions, the ornament is a flirtatious woman.

Firdevs bu şehrin şeb- ü rûzunda iyandır

Her çeşmeden âb-ı Şeref-âbâd revandır.

(...)

Her bâğına ziynet nice bir serv-i hırâman

Her kasrına revnak nice bir şûh-i cihândır¹⁶³

¹⁶² Boym, Svetlana. Nostalgia for the Future. İstanbul: Metis Yayıncılık, 2009. 33.

¹⁶³ Beyatlı, Yahya Kemal. Eski Şiirin Rüzgarıyla. İstanbul: İstanbul Fetih Cemiyeti, 1962. 44.

This poem is also one of the poems dedicated to a district. However, the contemporary condition of the district is unimportant. 16th century Üsküdar is depicted with the language of this century. Phrases like the river of paradise, and the cypress swinging with affectation are moulds which were usually used in the literature of this era. Yards and pavilions are also mentioned; they disappeared with the order of life which revealed them. For this reason, Beyatlı creates an imaginary district using literary texts of 16th century in his literature. This attempt is not different from creating an imaginary Old Istanbul using the darkness of the night and lights of the Bosphorus.

However, even in this poem, influences of Western literature can be seen. Firstly, as mentioned above, writing poems under the names of the city's district is a clear Verlaine influence. Moreover, exactly like poems of Verlaine in his book of *Fetes Galantes*, the mentioned district is handled with the language of its mentioned century. For instance, in this book of Verlaine, Versailles of the 18th century is told with the language of the 18th century.¹⁶⁴ Beyatlı does the same for Üsküdar. Moreover, in the Court Literature of Ottoman Empire, there is no inner consistency for odes, couplets are independent from each other. However, in Beyatlı's odes, as can be seen in an excerpt of the poem. *Istanbul Fethini Gören Üsküdar (Üsküdar Which Saw the Conquest of Istanbul)* is such that:

Everyone says: Which city did see what it sees?

The lucky day in which we conquered Istanbul!

How great a spectacle it was!

As if that which the people awake saw were a dream

Now five hundred years have passed from that great memory

That tumult was seen from here for fifty-three days.

Hepsi der: Hangi şehir görmüş onun gördüğünü?

Bizim İstanbul'u fethettiğimiz mutlu günü!

Elli üç gün ne mehâbetli temâşâ idi o!

¹⁶⁴ Şenler, Yaşar. *Kültür ve Edebiyata Dair Görüşleriyle Yahya Kemal*. İstanbul: Ötüken Neşriyat, 1997.

Sanki halkın uyanık gördüğü rü'ya idi o!

Şimdi beş yüz sene geçmiş o büyük hâtıradan

Elli üç günde o hengame görülmüş buradan¹⁶⁵

The main theme of the poem is the conquest of Istanbul. Üsküdar 16th century is depicted around this event. Üsküdar was important since the conquest could be seen from here. This district of Istanbul had been conquered before the conquest of Istanbul in 1453. For this reason, the poet says that Üsküdar witnessed the dream of Üsküdar for fifty-three days. He depicts the dream of the 15th century in the 20th century again. Like passage above of Üsküdar, the glorious history of Üsküdar is made a part of the literature which will live forever. The issue is again the loss of the glorious past and the attempt to have it live partially through literature.

3.6 Disappearing of the Dream and Feeling of Being out of Scene

The construction of Istanbul as an imagined city was the result of a rapid architectural transformation and modernisation of the city. As a result, Beyatlı and Tanpınar escaped from the real Istanbul and constructed an imagined city as a part of their literature. This escape was mainly because of the architecture of the city, which resembles the Western style types of Tanzimat novels. Districts like Üsküdar or Koca Mustafa Pasha were mentioned as eternal symbols. They are thought of as parts of a dream because they were the least transformed districts of Istanbul because of poverty of their residents. However, on the other hand, this poverty turned into an element which impaired the integrity of the dream created in these districts and Istanbul.

In the passage below, Tanpınar (1949: 171) in *Huzur (A Mind at Peace)* says about Mümtaz:

He loved Üsküdar. However, its people were poor and the quarter itself was uncared. Mümtaz was wandering among this wretchedness singing acemaşiran, sultanîyegah (musical maqams of classical Turkish music.) To do something, to cure these sick peoples, to find jobs for unemployed persons, to make sad faces laughs, to get out of this past residual condition...

¹⁶⁵Beyatlı, Yahya Kemal. Eski Şiirin Rüzgarıyla. İstanbul: İstanbul Fetih Cemiyeti, 1962. 16.

Üsküdar'ı seviyordu, fakat halkı fakir, kendisi bakımsızdı. Mümtaz bu biçarelikler arasında acemaşiran, sultanîyegâh diye rahatça yaşıyordu. Ama hayat, hayatın daveti nerde kalıyordu? Bir şeyler yapmak, bu hasta insanları tedavi etmek, bu işsizlere iş bulmak, mahzun yüzleri güldürmek, bir mazi artığı halinden çıkarmak...¹⁶⁶

While Tanpınar tells Mümtaz, he says Mümtaz loves Üsküdar; however, it is uncared and its people are poor. He wanders while mentioning modes of Classical Turkish Music among these desperations of Üsküdar. On the other hand, there was life and its invitation. These people should have been cured; the unemployed should have been employed. Üsküdar should have been saved from its image of the residual of the past. The poverty of Üsküdar is causing a contradiction with its fiction as a part of the dream. In Tanpınar's world, this contradiction cannot be easily passed over. Firstly, he says that the district should be developed and modernized. However, there were also such kinds of developed and modernized districts in Istanbul like Galata or Beyoğlu, which were criticized by Tanpınar. Regarding Koca Mustafa Pasha and Sümbül Sinan, he proposed modernizing the district and protecting the shrine as an element which protects the spiritual atmosphere of the district. However, this also was not a solution. He opposed contradictions within the body of the city. In a modernized district texture, the Shrine remained a foreign element. I think, he could estimate this result. For this reason, he showed the poem of Beyatlı as the real protection place of the spiritual atmosphere of Koca Mustafa Pasha. Desperate scenes faced by Tanpınar in Üsküdar were impairing his dream. However, there was no solution apart from escaping to the dream again.

Beyond its districts, there was also another problem which were interested in all residents of e Istanbul and impaired the integrity of the dream of Tanpınar. He (1962: 57) mentions this problem in *Yaşadığım Gibi (As I Live)* such that:

Those comings are coming from purple mornings of Balkan countries and maybe the most essential edges of our history as even their hopes about the future. Around their heads the half of the Turkish history is being shaken like a Sun.

Gelenler, mor sabahlı Balkan memleketlerinden her şeylerini, hatta yarına ait ümitlerini bile bırakıp gelenler ise, tarihimizin belki en öz taraflarından

¹⁶⁶Tanpınar, Ahmet Hamdi. Huzur. 17th ed. İstanbul: Dergah Yayınları, 1949. 171.

geliyorlar. Onların başları etrafında Türk tarihinin yarısı kanlı bir güneş gibi çalkalanıyor.¹⁶⁷

In this passage, Tanpınar mentions Balkan immigrants of Istanbul. They came from the Balkans having left everything they owned behind. They even left their hopes about the future. Murat Gül (2011: 114) says that the rate of immigrants within the total population of the city was sixty four percent in 1927.¹⁶⁸ Istanbul became a city of immigrants, the poor and the homeless. They represented the heyday of Ottoman Empire an age of order and life order for Tanpınar. For Beyatlı, as well, this age was the symbol of grandness. However, in all cases, people who represent heyday of the past were living in poverty. Recalling the passage about the poor of Üsküdar, the influence of these immigrants on Tanpınar can be well understood. The dream created in literature was being impaired in real life.

Another passage from Beyatlı helps to understand this issue more clearly. Beyatlı (1966: 80) also thinks similar things with its student on these matters. One of his essays in *Eğil Dağlar (Incline Mountains)* mentions houses of war orphans.

The word of orphanages has been becoming notorious in Istanbul for years. Ones whose ears filled with this word passing continuously in newspapers suppose that in the capital city of this nation which gave millions of martyrs, there are institutions harbouring at least one million martyr orphans. However, in these institutions which moves a brilliant title like Istanbul Orphanages, there are only four thousand orphans.

Kaç senedir İstanbul'da bir dârü'l eytamlar sözü dönüp dolaşır; gazetelerde bir düziye geçen bu sözle kulakları dolanlar sanır ki milyonlarca şehit veren bu milletin payitahtında hiç olmazsa bir milyon şehit oğlunu barındıran müesseseler vardır, heyhat, bin kere heyhat, bütün bu patırtı, bu gürültü, utanarak söylüyoruz, yalnız dört bin öksüz içindir. Evet bugün İstanbul dârü'l eytamları gibi muhteşem bir unvan taşıyan müesseselerde ancak dört bin öksüz vardır.¹⁶⁹

In the passage, the majority of Istanbul was comprised of war immigrants, amongst them many war orphans. Each encounter with them impairs the dream created in the literature. However, there is no solution apart from creating this dream again.

¹⁶⁷Tanpınar, Ahmet Hamdi. Huzur. 17th ed. İstanbul: Dergah Yayınları, 1949. 57.

¹⁶⁸Gül, Murat. The Emergence of Modern İstanbul: Transformation and Modernisation of a City. İstanbul: Sel Yayıncılık. 2015. 114.

¹⁶⁹Beyatlı, Yahya Kemal. Eğil Dağlar. 14th ed. İstanbul: İstanbul Fetih Cemiyeti, 1966. 80.

Istanbul left behind its glorious days. Both Beyatlı and Tanpınar unite in this feeling. For both of them, it corresponds to the loss of the past.

The feeling of the loss of the past is strengthened by another feeling: The feeling of being out of the scene. To be able to understand this feeling, first general characteristic of Turkish literature should be mentioned. According to Erol Köroğlu, (1998: 29) Istanbul has been the norm; other cities have been deviations in Turkish literature. Istanbul has been the source of inspiration and production centre of Turkish literature since 1453.¹⁷⁰ Worries and hopes of certain cultures are reflected in their literatures. For example, images about the despotism of Abdülhamit the Second were shaped by the poem *Sis (Smog)* by Tevfik Fikret as well as texts written by historians.¹⁷¹ This poem was the first to question special role of Istanbul in literature. In this poem, Tevfik Fikret reflected his negative feelings against the reign of Sultan Hamid by saying the city was gaining dark and dirty epithets connected with political discussions of the age. On the other hand, Tevfik Fikret was exposed to many serious critics because of his poem of *Sis (Smog)*.¹⁷²

Beyatlı's poem *Siste Söyleniş (Grumbling in Smog)* as an answer to the Tevfik Fikret's poem: *Smog of the poet which suffocated an era with its damnation*,

The most poisoned of conscience and spirit grieves
Reflected my imagination like a malianity again.
-Shut and sleep forever. Oh city!- That damnation
Bir devri lanetiyle boğan şâirin Sis'i,
Vicdan ve rûh elemelerinin en zehirlisi,
Hulyâma bir ezâ gibi aksetti bir daha;
-Örtün! Müebbeden uyu! Ey şehir!- O bedduâ¹⁷³

¹⁷⁰ Köroğlu, Erol. "Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar Ve İstanbul." Varlık, no. 1087 (1998): 29

¹⁷¹ Ibid. 29.

¹⁷² Ibid. 30.

¹⁷³ Beyatlı, Yahya Kemal. Kendi Gök Kubbemiz. 39.th ed. İstanbul: İstanbul Fetih Cemiyeti, 1961.

For Beyatlı, the damnation of Fikret was a malicious and poisonous thing which torments his imagination, conscience, and spirit. Why is Fikret's damnation so important? It was mentioned as central place of Istanbul in the literature of Beyatlı. When Istanbul is damned, all the past, history, and glorious ages of the Ottoman Empire are damned as well. In the second part of this study, it was said that the past is meaningful as a part of a glorious history in Beyatlı's literature. Istanbul is a stage of this history. The loss of Istanbul is the loss of the past. Due to this, it can be well understood why Beyatlı was so sensitive against the architectural transformation of the city as well.

Negative dispositions against Istanbul were not restricted to Tevfik Fikret. After Fikret, negative attitudes in Turkish literature against Istanbul would continue to increase. This was again the outcome of political events of the age. However, it mainly gained power after the appearance of Turkish nationalism in the Ottoman-Turkish modernization process. Ziya Gökalp determined basic orientation of Turkish literature with his principles toward the people and the West. The West represented civilization, and people represented culture in Ziya Gökalp. According to his schematisation, Western educated intellectuals would transfer Western civilization to the people. In return, they would extract original Turkish culture from the people.¹⁷⁴ The old Ottoman Court Culture was rejected in this duality as a part of an old civilization. Thus, the past of Istanbul was also rejected. That is, the loss of the past is correlated with the loss of Istanbul again. Moreover, during the National Struggle, nationalists in Istanbul made their decisions according to Ankara's instructions. This was the first after the conquest of Istanbul Mehmet II. Istanbul was always in the centre of political decisions. It was the most important reason of feeling of being out of the scene for intellectuals living in Istanbul. In the Court Literature of Ottoman Empire, Istanbul had an important place. However, in modernization era of the Empire, it began to lose its privileged place in literature, and in the policy of the state.

¹⁷⁴ Atış, Sarah Moment. *Çağdaş Türk Hikâyesinde Semantik Yapı: Tanpınar'ın Abdullah Efendi'nin Rüyaları'ndaki Hikâyelerinin Tahlili*. İstanbul: Dergah Yayınları, 2011. 25, 26.

The national Literature Movement, which developed in this era, was the clearest example of this condition. Ömer Seyfettin, Halide Edip Adıvar, Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu, and Reşat Nuri Güntekin were representatives of this National Literature movement in Turkish literature, according to Atış.¹⁷⁵ This movement dominated nearly thirty years of Turkish literature from the 1910s to the 1940s. It began with the National Literature Manifest published in *Young Pens (Genç Kalemler) Review* in 1911 and continues up until 1940s. This movement was characterized by a romanticization of life in the Anatolian countryside and less on city life.

In short, an era appeared in which the place of Istanbul in Turkish literature was diminishing. The transformation of Istanbul, and its loss of its political and literary privileges strengthened the feeling of the loss of the past in Beyatlı and Tanpınar. This was also reflected in both Beyatlı's and Tanpınar's literatures.

For example, in *Eğil Dağlar (Incline Mountains)* Beyatlı (1966: 105) says:

Even the dream of a reign which lived for ages continues for years. It can be said that we are still in this dream as a big majority. It can be supposed that the war experienced in Anatolia today looks like our old war exposed by us several times and ended with honour.

While we were thinking such that, the time walked. In these three years, a Turkish societal appearance which possesses a government, an organization, and an army was formed. Turkishness will consist of that core again. We will merge with it rather than it will merge with us.

Asırlarca yaşamış bir saltanatın battıktan sonra bile senelerce rüyası sürer. Denilebilir ki büyük bir ekseriyetle hâlâ bu rüya içindeyiz. Zannediyoruz ki Anadolu'da bugünkü cidal, şimdiye kadar birkaç maruz kalıp da sonra şerefle neticelenmiş olan eski cidallerimize benzer.

Biz böyle düşünürken zaman yürüdü. Bu üç senede yeni bir Türk hey'et-i ictimâiyesi tekevvün etti, onun bir hükûmeti, bir teşkilatı, orduları var. Türklük artık o nüve etrafında yeniden teşekkül edecek. O bizimle değil, biz onunla kaynaşacağız.¹⁷⁶

¹⁷⁵Beyatlı, Yahya Kemal. *Eğil Dağlar*. 14th ed. İstanbul: İstanbul Fetih Cemiyeti, 2012. 27.

¹⁷⁶Ibid. 115.

Firstly, Beyatlı says in the passage that this victory is different from our previous victory, since it was won by a political power whose center was not Istanbul. According to him, we are in the dream of the old empire. For this reason, the victory of National Struggle was likened to old victories of the Ottoman Empire. However, this empire had ended along with its dream. In this context, he mentions merging with the new political power in Anatolia. However, in his poems, he continues to imagine old glorious days. Some explanations for this contradictory attitude can be speculated. He imagines the old glorious days of the empire as a resident of Istanbul to a large extent. This was firstly due to the transformation of Istanbul he experience. Against this transformation, he constructs an imagined old Istanbul in his literature. His literature is an urban literature unlike that of the National Literature Current. Therefore he does not rely upon Anatolia in his literature. The current situation of Istanbul is not compatible with his above-mentioned conservative nationalist understanding. In this situation, he is obliged to rely upon old Istanbul. Moreover, the place of the past and tradition in his nationalism understanding was mentioned. Istanbul is the most developed city of Turks in which the old civilization created its most mature works. In short, for Beyatlı's world of thought, there is almost no way of writing except fromreferencing to old Istanbul.

I mentioned above some writings of Beyatlı and Tanpınar about the Beyoğlu and Galata districts of Istanbul. Their criticisms were about the architectural and cultural transformation of the city. However, main points of these criticisms was also that Beyoğlu and Galata were not national. However, when these criticisms aregenaralized for all Istanbul by other writers or politicians, Beyatlı opposed this claim. The example of this attitude of him can be found in the passage below:

The trial in the last year has been shown that Istanbul is not worthy of titles like run down Byzantine, or the land of discordto which it as deemed worthy until now. We saw with astonishment an era which had each kind of poison to decay a nation from inside to outside. Istanbul did not decay. The spirits of the sultans, the ghazis, saints melted with the land from the conquest are keeping Istanbul Turkish and Muslim.

Son üç senelik büyük imtihan gösterdi ki Istanbul öteden beri duçar olduğu ‘‘köhne Bizans’’, ‘‘nifak ve şikak toprağı’’ sıfatlarına pek o kadar lâıyk değildir.

Bir halkın, içinden dışına kadar tamamıyla çürüyüp cife olması için her türlü zehirleri olan bir devrede, hayretle gördük. İstanbul çürümedi. Fetihten beri toprağına sinmiş olan padişah, gazi, evliya ruhları İstanbul'u, feleğin her türlü germ ü seddine karşı, Müslüman ve Türk olarak yaşatıyor.¹⁷⁷

Firstly, it is understood from the passage that there were critics for İstanbul which claim that İstanbul was still the land of Byzantium. Briefly, it was claimed that İstanbul was not national. On the other hand, the National Struggle had been going on for three years. Beyatlı says that İstanbul might have decayed in these three years. Beyatlı says that İstanbul was a city under occupation. However, İstanbul did not decay and was still Muslim and Turkish. In this passage, how the past and tradition occupy an important place in the thought of Beyatlı is seen. For him, the condition of nationality of İstanbul is the sultans and ghazis of the past times. The thing which turns a part of land into national land is the experiences of past for him. Therefore, it can be understood both why he criticizes Beyoğlu and Galata and why he criticizes people who generalize their criticisms about Beyoğlu and Galata to include the whole city. The expansion of Beyoğlu's architectural style in İstanbul would result in erasure of old life experiences. On the other hand, characterizing İstanbul as the land of discord would also mean that the efforts of old heroes were meaningless. Moreover, when it is thought from the viewpoint of Beyatlı, İstanbul should have remained the capital city of the Republic of Turkey as well. While he did not ever write this, it became the most natural result of his conservative thinking. The foundation of a modern national state at the heart of an old empire and civilization would have had a symbolic meaning. Both the main issue of Beyatlı and Tanpınar was continuity. İstanbul was the center of Turks while they were under the borders of Eastern civilization. If it protected its place after Westernization, it would show that experiences of old ages and efforts of old generations could find places in modern Turkey. However, Ankara became the capital of the state. As a result, a new generation of nationalist intellectuals rose up. The thoughts of old generations of nationalist intellectual lost their influence.

Beyatlı explains his thoughts about this matter in *Eğil Dağlar (Incline Mountains)*:

¹⁷⁷ Beyatlı, Yahya Kemal. *Eğil Dağlar*. 14th ed. İstanbul: İstanbul Fetiht Cemiyeti, 2012. 115.

Their styles were destructed like old mansions, and pavilions became ridiculous like old clothes. Do not ideas of these men who were discredited like old propriety and education which have influenced political events until today?

Üslupları eski konaklar, yalılar ve köşkler gibi yıkılmış; eski esvaplar gibi gülünç olmuş; eski edep, eski erkân, eski terbiye gibi itibardan düşmüş bu adamların fikirleri o zamandan bugüne kadar bütün siyasî hadiseler hakim olmadılar mı?¹⁷⁸

He compares the ideas of old men to ridiculed old pavilions and mansions. These structures represent the culture of a determinate layer of the empire. Modernists of the last period of the Ottoman Empire grew up in this layer of the empire. They were nationalist; however, they grew up in an emperorship culture. The names Beyatlı mentioned in this essay are Namık Kemal, Abdülhak Hamit Tarhan, Recizade Mahmut Ekrem and Samipaşazade Sezai. Beyatlı says that these new children of new literature were brought up in these old mansions and pavilions. They were the children of bureaucrat gentlemen of the old state.¹⁷⁹ For this reason, they were ideal names of modernization for Beyatlı. They knew the old culture; however, at the same, they were modernists. Therefore, the problem of how the past can live in the new could have been solved by these men. The disappearing of their influence in political and intellectual life was the manifestation of the loss of the past during modernization. The main issue for Beyatlı is to make the past a part of the present again. Even if the state order changed, the capital should not have been changed. Intellectuals growing up in this capital should not have lost their influence. He escapes each kind of duality and contradiction as a conservative thinker. Therefore, he thinks that contradictions between different generations should also be prevented.

Factors like the transformation of Istanbul and of its absence from the political scene made Beyatlı feel out of scene. It was seen above how he fictionalizes old Istanbul in a dream atmosphere. These feelings of him are elements which enrich his literature. The same effect can be seen in Tanpınar. According to Erol Köroğlu (2013: 99), the novel *Sahnenin Dışındakiler (Ones Who Are Out of Scene)* by

¹⁷⁸ Beyatlı, Yahya Kemal. *Eğil Dağlar*. 14th ed. İstanbul: İstanbul Fetih Cemiyeti, 2012. 71.

¹⁷⁹ Ibid. 71.

Tanpınar is a novel shaped around this feeling of out of scene. *İki Ateş Arasında* (*Between Two Fires*) is a scenario adaptation made from *Ones Who Are Out of Scene*. The novel gives to its readers a feeling that the novel read by them is an unfinished novel; a feeling of ambivalence is dominant in the text. The scenario version of the text gets rid of this ambivalence. However, the disposition of uncertainties and ambivalence does not improve the text. Even some expressions assumed as ‘banal’ for a literary text are found in the text.¹⁸⁰

One of these expressions is such that:

(He opens the cabinet, grabs clothes. A large-sized and uniformed picture of Mustafa Kemal is seen.) I am also from you. I am a prostitute, but from you.

(Dolabı açar.Elbiseleri çeker.Büyük, üniformalı Mustafa Kemal resmi görülür.) Ben de sizdenim! Oropuyum ama sizdenim.¹⁸¹

‘‘I am a prostitute, but from you.’’ is a rigid expression when Tanpınar’s other texts are thought about. In his other texts, such an expression cannot be found. However, it is a functional expression when the literary genre of this text is thought. *Between Two Fires* is a text belonging to a genre special to Turkey: National Struggle Narratives. The reader or the audience expects some phrases in this genre. I am a prostitute, but from you is one of them. The distinction of us and them is a functional distinction for this genre and does not exist in the novel. However, the scenario concentrates on forming these distinctions. Ambivalence in the novel embellishes and enriches the text. However, the rigidity of the scenario which is founded upon distinctions makes it an average work.¹⁸²

Due to this, there is not one text and adaptation of it. There are two different texts. The setting’s time in the texts is also different from each other. In the novel, the present of the text is between 20 September 1920 and the first months of 1921. In the scenario, it is between 21 August 1921 and the end of the Sakarya combat. Even

¹⁸⁰ Köroğlu, Erol. ""Sahnenin Dışındakiler"i Tamamlamak: Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar Ve Kurtuluş Savaşı Anlatıları Türü." Bilig, no. 66. 99. 2013.

¹⁸¹ Ibid. 100.

¹⁸² Ibid.101.

the time period of the novel is more suitable for an indecision and uncertainty.¹⁸³ The out of scene condition can be well described in this time period. On the other hand, the time interval of the scenario is the severest time of National Struggle. Who are these ones out of scene? There is no answer to this question in the novel. The text is an inner investigation possessing philosophical sides. In the scenario, some scenes follow in which traitors are determined and mocked. The novel is a more complicated text. For example, one of the expressions used for Ali Kemal, who is one of the most influential supporters of the Sultanate of Istanbul and the allied powers, is nebbish; not traitor. Even this emphasizes that novel is not founded upon dualities.¹⁸⁴ Briefly, the novel is an expression of ambivalence. Tanpınar, as a nationalist intellectual, supports the National Struggle. However, he is disturbed from dualities. He is disturbed from seeing of Istanbul in bad side of these dualities. As a nationalist, he struggles with ideas of intellectuals depending on the old Ottoman order like Ali Kemal. However, he is a resident of the same city. He speaks from same cultural pole with them. Therefore, he cannot see them as a part of a duality.

The example of Ali Kemal is important to see different nationalism understandings of Beyatlı and Tanpınar. Therefore, what Beyatlı says about him should also be examined. Beyatlı (1968: 81) says:

This man who is familiar with our nationalities more than many nationalist showed a psychology which is not forgiven even by coteries who reject ideas of fatherland and nation. His ego was offended, and he got excited by his soul's excitement.

Millîliklerimize birçok millîyetperverden fazla aşînâ olan bu adam, yalnız benliği rencide olduğu için, kendini nefsâniyetinin galeyanlarına kaptırarak, her zaman ve her memlekette, hatta vatan ve milliyet fikirlerini reddeden siyâsî zümreler karşısında bile affedilemeyen bir rûhiyyet gösterdi.¹⁸⁵

Beyatlı (1968: 100) allotted thirty pages to Ali Kemal in his *Siyasi ve Edebi Portreler (Political and Literary Portraits)*. In comparison, he allotted only thirteen

¹⁸³ Köroğlu, Erol. "'Sahnenin Dışındakiler'i Tamamlamak: Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar Ve Kurtuluş Savaşı Anlatıları Tüğü." Bilig, no. 66, 102. 2013.

¹⁸⁴ Ibid. 105.

¹⁸⁵ Beyatlı, Beyatlı. *Siyasi Ve Edebi Portreler*. 4th ed. İstanbul: İstanbul Fetih Cemiyeti, 1968. 81.

pages to Ziya Gökalp. He tries to make a phsychological analysis of Ali Kemal. Rather than calling him a traitor, Beyatlı believes that he made serious mistakes by being offended. In the last page of the essay, there is a note from the Institute of Yahya Kemal. In the note, it is claimed Beyatlı said:

It cannot be asserted that Ali Kemal betrayed the fatherland. His end is the result of his insistence in a direction conflicting with the majority of the nation.

Ali Kemal'in vatana ihanet ettiği ileri sürülemez. Uğradığı âkıbet millet mizâcına ve millet ekseriyetine muhâlif bir ictihatta inad ve ısrâr etmesindendir.¹⁸⁶

Whether Beyatlı really said these sentences or not is not important on this matter. It can, however, be inferred that of the political center had not changed, Ali Kemal might not have died. Beyatlı described Ali Kemal as a man who is familiar to our nationalities more than many nationalists. If the political center did not change and politicians brought up in Istanbul continued to hold the power, political struggles between nationalist and the other ones could not be so violent. Ali Kemal and Beyatlı or Tanpınar matured in the same cultural pole and intellectual environment. Their issue was not with the political ideas of Ali Kemal. It was the loss of this cultural environment. Istanbul in which they gain their intellectual maturity was losing. Ali Kemal was important for them for this reason.

In short, the Ottoman Empire started to become a part of the global word economy after 1838. This was an outcome of political events of the 19th century and modernisation efforts. Due to this, Istanbul entered a radical transformation process. This was firstly observed in the architecture and life of the city. For example, the telegraph came to the city after 1850. In fact, some traces of the transformation of Istanbul which began in the 19th century started to be seen in the 18th century in the architectural disposition of the city. Styles like Rococo and Baroque started to become common. However, one century of Istanbul between the mid-19th and 20th century had a critical importance in the modern transformation of the city. This transformation was radically completed in four years between 1956 and 1960. The transformation of Istanbul was first reflected in Beyatlı and Tanpınar's literature as negative evaluations about Beyoğlu and Galata. They believed these districts of

¹⁸⁶ Beyatlı, Beyatlı. Siyasi Ve Edebi Portreler. 4th ed. İstanbul: İstanbul Fetih Cemiyeti, 1968. 100.

Istanbul resembled Western styles of Tanzimat novels and were not Western districts. They were districts of an Eastern capital which were imitating different Western architectural styles contradicting with each other. After the foundation of the Republic, these architectural styles started to expand to the rest of Istanbul. The expansion of this architectural style of Beyoğlu and Galata strengthened the feeling of loss of the past in Beyatlı and Tanpınar. This resulted in an imagined old Istanbul fiction in their literature. This was called dream literature in this study. Some political events in the country impaired the integrity of this dream. For example, there were many immigrants in this city and it was losing its privileged position in the country. However, while the same events impaired the integrity of Beyatlı's and Tanpınar's dream, they did not have any solution except from creating this dream again.

CHAPTER IV

CONCLUSION

The aim of this study was to investigate Istanbul nostalgia and nostalgic Istanbul representations in texts and poems by Yahya Kemal Beyatlı and Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar. In order to investigate this, the second part of the study generally discussed conservative thinking in Turkey. It was seen that conservative thinking style was not disengaged from Westernization and modernization issues in Turkey. Conservatism as a thinking style appeared in modern societies and socially and politically catastrophic eras. Beyatlı and Tanpınar were also conservative intellectuals. Their understanding of conservatism was not proposing another social order apart from modern society. They were modern men discussing their problems which they faced in modern life with reference to tradition. In the East and West discussion, they were supporters of Westernization in all parts of life. However they thought that Westernization could only be succeeded through a re-evaluation of tradition. In the West, as well, society became modern by re-evaluating tradition. The past should have been felt in each aspect of life as an element giving direction to the change. This understanding of theirs shaped their attitude about the city. The change in the city should have also been shaped under the guidance of past experiences.

Beyatlı and Tanpınar's conservative thinking style was shaped by Bergson's philosophy. Concepts like continuity, harmony, and evolution were basic concepts in their thinking schema. All of these concepts referred to the same problem and suggested solutions for it. This problem was the problem of change and the past. Their main political aim was to become an independent identity within Western civilization. Istanbul should also have reflected this independent identity. A change which breaks off its links with the past might have resulted in the loss of identity. The change should have been directed as not breaking off its links with the past.

In the second part of this study, the Turkish-Ottoman modernization process was mentioned. This process had produced some results. The most important one was that the past and tradition were neglected in this experience of modernization. Westernization turned into a rising fashion and could not be a natural part of the social life. The political results of this condition were extremisms and the loss of the identity. For both Beyatlı and Tanpınar, Turks were an independent identity within Eastern civilization. Westernization for Turks was an obligation as a result of the decline of Eastern civilization. However, Turks could not be an independent identity within new Western civilization as they had been in Eastern civilization. That is, their national identity was lost. Consequently, the society was separated into masses. Society as the collection of masses was the source of each kind of extremism.

The nucleus of the conservative thinking style appeared in the last ages of the Ottoman Empire. For example, Said Halim Pasha said that if Sultan Hamid had not been born, another dictator would have come in place of him. Abdülhamid was the product of the contradiction between Easternist poor masses and Westernist bureaucrats, and used this contradiction to construct his own dictatorship. Young Ottomans who were struggling with Abdülhamid and Said Salim Pasha were men thinking about democracy and tradition problems. A democracy could live when its links with the chain of tradition were founded. Only on this condition, could contradictions within the body of society be prevented. For Beyatlı and Tanpınar as well, each kind of duality and contradiction should be solved in society to avoid extreme results of the modernization period. For this reason, they can be evaluated as descendents of this chain of thought. The discussion of Eastern and Western Style was important in this context. The process of Westernization produced dualities and contradictions within the body of the society for Beyatlı and Tanpınar. Eastern style and Western style were literary reflections of these dualities.

In the third part of the study, the architectural style of Beyoğlu and Galata took precedence in the discussion of the transformation of Istanbul. The daily life and architecture which emerged in this district of Istanbul was the result of economical and social developments of the 19th century. These developments made Turkish-

Ottoman modernization an experience suspended between civilizations. The architectural transformation of Istanbul was also a result of such a position. This architectural style which expanded to Istanbul from Beyoğlu could be compared with Western styles of novels. It was a style special for an Eastern capital imitating the West. Beyatlı and Tanpınar were supported to solve the contradiction created by this architectural style within the body of the city space. For this reason, the past should have been experienced in city space as a part of the living present. However, they did not have a coherent architectural program to get past this contradiction. As a result, incompatibility between the ideal city space of Beyatlı and Tanpınar and real city space alienated them from the real city. This alienation of them was explained with the loss of the aura concept of Benjamin. As a result of the feeling of the loss of aura, they constructed an imagined Old Istanbul in their literature. Their attitude is named the literature of escape or dream aesthetics, which used concepts borrowed from Selahattin Hilav and Sarah Moment Atış. Their dream was impaired by the poverty of people living in classical districts of Istanbul or political developments which made residents of Istanbul felt left out. However, there was no way except from creating this dream in literature again.

Nostalgia of Istanbul was one of the main elements of literatures of Beyatlı and Tanpınar; there were common nuances in their old Istanbul nostalgias. These nuances stemmed from their understandings of the past. The feeling of the loss of the past was the common feeling in both of them. However, the loss of the past was more present as the loss of the grandeur of the past in Beyatlı's works. The same feeling was distinguished with the loss of order of the past in Tanpınar's works. Istanbul was also meaningful as a part of a glorious history in Beyatlı. Conversely, it was reminded with the lost life order in Tanpınar.

In short, the architectural transformation of Istanbul was first discussed in the third chapter. Some contradictions which appeared in the social life of Late Ottoman Empire were seen in the city space, as well. For example, Beyoğlu was likened to Western style types of novels by both Beyatlı and Tanpınar. This was seen as a result of the Turkish-Ottoman Westernization process. For this reason, their proposals for modernizing society were used for the city space as well. If the city

space was shaped again as remote from contradictions, its daily life should also have changed. However, this was impossible. This condition of the city meant the loss of the aura in the city space, or the loss of the past. Therefore, their ideal city turned into a part of their literature as an imagined old Istanbul. This imagined old Istanbul was examined in this study through the literature of escape and dream concepts. Beyatlı and Tanpınar formed their ideal city using some signals in the city space. For example, some districts of Istanbul such as Üsküdar and Koca Mustafa Pasha, as well as some shrines and the Bosphorus were among these signals. However, they were facing some poverty and economical backwardness scenes in these districts. Moreover, some political events of the era like the National Struggle and the capital change equalized Istanbul with perceptions of traitorism and ‘‘the old capital of Byzantium’’. Moreover, the intellectual power of Istanbul was shaken, since a new political elite was formed in Ankara. All of these created a feeling of out of scene in them. However, they were sharing the same ideology with the elites in Ankara. They did not have a coherent program to change these conditions. For this reason, there was no way except from escaping the dream again for them.

Concerning the East and the West and the conservative thinking issues, Beyatlı and Tanpınar have been studied for a long time. The main contribution of this study to the literature about Beyatlı and Tanpınar is to examine them in the context of Istanbul. It was asserted that they viewed Istanbul as the city in which old civilization reached its most mature point. Moreover, it was in this city’s architecture and daily life that traces of Western civilization were firstly seen in the architecture and the daily life of this city. They discussed about the East and West, and conservative thinking concerning Istanbul. This study examines their texts and poems around the theme of Istanbul. In this way, it was seen that nostalgic Istanbul representation in their texts and poems was an outcome of the failure of their conservative ideals in city space. Thus, Istanbul nostalgia in their texts and poems was placed into a historical and sociological context.

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APPENDICES

A

TEZİN TÜRKÇE ÖZETİ

Bu tezin temel meselesi, Yahya Kemal Beyatlı ve Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar'a ait nesir ve şiirlerde, yazarların muhafazakâr düşünce tarzlarından doğan ideal şehir tasavvurları ile İstanbul'un gerçek hali arasındaki çelişkiden doğan nostaljidir. Bu nostaljiyi üreten temel etken kentteki mimari ve mekânsal dönüşümlerdir. Bu mimari ve mekânsal dönüşümler kentin gündelik hayatını etkilediği ölçüde gündelik hayat da tezin ilgilendiği konulardan biri haline gelmiştir. Hem mimari ve mekânsal dönüşümleri hem de kentteki gündelik hayatı etkilemesi bakımından dönemin siyaseti de bu çalışmada önemli bir yere sahiptir.

Mekânın, gündelik yaşamın ve siyasetin dönüşümü her kentli gibi Beyatlı ve Tanpınar'ın yaşamını da etkilemiştir. Beyatlı ve Tanpınar metinlerindeki çalışmamıza konu olan nostalji de buradan doğmuştur. Onların metinlerindeki nostaljiye dair bu tartışmayı yapabilmek için Beyatlı ve Tanpınar'ın hayatını genel hatlarıyla da olsa bilmek gerekmektedir.

Yahya Kemal Beyatlı 1884 yılında doğar, 1958 yılında ölür. Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar ise 1901 yılında doğar, 1962 yılında ölür. İkisi de hayatlarının büyük bir bölümünü İstanbul'da yaşamışlardır. Tanpınar'ın doğum yeri de İstanbul'dur. Beyatlı daha önce yazmaya başlasa da ikisi de aşağı yukarı aynı dönemde yazmışlardır. İkisi de şairdir. Fakat Beyatlı bugünün okuru tarafından daha çok şiirleriyle, Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar ise nesirleriyle hatırlanır.

Erol Köroğlu'nun da belirttiği gibi belirli bir kültürün kendi şehirleri hakkında yazdıkları, o kültürün korkuları ve umutları hakkında çok şey söyler. Bu çalışmanın

da amacı, bu iki entelektüelin eserlerindeki İstanbul nostaljisi üzerinden, onların kültürlerine dair umutlarını, korkularını ve değerlendirmelerini analitik bir üslupla verebilmektir.

Fakat bundan önce, bu nostaljinin oluşumunu sağlayan sosyo-kültürel ortam ve yazarların bu sosyo-kültürel ortama baktıkları düşünce dünyaları vardır. Bu bağlamda, çalışmanın ikinci bölümü yazarların ideolojilerine ayrılmıştır. Beyatlı ve Tanpınar üzerine yapılmış pek çok çalışma onların muhafazakâr entelektüeller olduğunu iddia eder. Bu yüzden ilk bölümde genel hatlarıyla bir muhafazakârlık tartışması yapılmıştır. Muhafazakârlığın Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun Batılılaşma serüveni sırasında ilk nüveleri ortaya çıkan, cumhuriyet döneminde olgunlaşan bir düşünce biçimi olduğu iddia edilmiştir. Muhafazakârlığın Osmanlı macerası Sait Halim Paşa, Genç Osmanlılar gibi örnekler üzerinden anlatılmış; Cumhuriyet dönemi macerasında ise kısaca Ayverdi kardeşler, Abdülhak Şinasi Hisar gibi örneklerden bahsedilse de Beyatlı ve Tanpınar üzerine odaklanılmıştır.

Doğu Batı tartışması, Türkiye'de muhafazakârlığın en önemli gündem maddesidir. Beyatlı ve Tanpınar da bu tartışmanın bir parçasıdır. Her ikisi de Batılılaşma karşıtları değil; tersine Batılılaşmanın toplum bünyesinde ikilik ve çatışma yaratılmadan koterilmesini savunan entelektüellerdir. En önemli özelliklerinden biri toplumsal sorunlar üzerine Henri Bergson felsefesinden aldıkları kavramlarla düşünceleridir. İmtidâd, devamlılık, gelenek bu kavramların en önemlileridir ve bu kavramlar Beyatlı ve Tanpınar'ın metinlerinde ve şiirlerinde de önemli bir yere sahiptir. Zaman üzerine yaptıkları değerlendirmelerin benzerlik göstermesi sebebiyle bu çalışmada Martin Heidegger'in felsefesinden de yararlanılmıştır.

Çalışmanın ikinci bölümü, Beyatlı ve Tanpınar'ın bu kavramlarla ve muhafazakâr düşünce biçimleriyle, şehir üzerine düşünme çabalarının, bir eski İstanbul nostaljisiyle sonuçlanmasının nedenlerini konu almaktadır. Şehir ve meseleleri üzerine düşünürken de yukarıda belirtilen kavramlarla düşüncelerindedir. Modernleşmeye karşıt değillerdir; fakat modernleşmenin gelenekle bağları kurulmalı, yerel bir tecrübe haline getirilmelidir. Şehrin mimarisini ya da gündelik hayatı da bu çerçevede ele almaktadırlar. Fakat, bir tarafta da modern kapitalist toplumlarda şehrin mimari dönüşümünü ve dolayısıyla gündelik hayatını yöneten

ekonomik deęişkenler vardır. Modern şehir düzenli aralıklarla yapılan ve yeniden yıkılan şehirdir. Mimarisi de buna uygun yapılandırılır. Geçmişle bağları kurmak üzere bırakılan kadim yapılar, ulusun “şanlı” tarihiyle bağlantı kurmaya yarayacak hafıza merkezleridir. Fakat bunlar dışında şehir her parçasıyla deęişime tabidir. Beyatlı ve Tanpınar’ın muhafazakâr zihin dünyası bu tür ikiliklerin reddi üzerine kurulmuştur. Deęişim şehrin her parçasına hakîm olabilir, fakat gelenek de aynı ölçüde hakîm olmalıdır. Zaten onlara göre gelenek, geçmişten geleceğe akmakta olan zamanın, bugüne kadar biriktirdiğı her şeydir. Her deęişim geleneğin yeni bir keşfi bir şekilde gelişmelidir. Böyle olmadığı ölçüde, onların muhafazakâr idealleri ve şehrin gerçek hali arasındaki çelişkiden, edebiyatlarını zenginleştiren bir İstanbul nostaljisi doğdu. Bu nostalji, hayal edilen şehrin, bir rüya atmosferinde tekrar kurgulanması şeklinde gelişiyordu. Nostalji, mevcut durumda yokluğu hissedilen şeylerin, nostaljik bir kurguyla, muhayyel bir İstanbul şeklinde ifadesiydi. Bu muhayyel İstanbul, Tanpınar için her şeyin yerli yerinde olduğu, hayatın belirli bir nizam dairesinde aktığı İstanbul’du. Beyatlı’da ise şanlı bir geçmişin parçası olarak anlamlıydı. Fakat her ikisinde de devamlılık, gelenek gibi kavramlar ortak temalardı.

İstanbul, muhayyel bir İstanbul olarak, edebiyattaki rüyanın bir parçası haline gelmektedir. Rüya, ancak gündelik hayatın dışına/üzerine çıkılabildiğı koşullarda mümkün olmaktadır. Fakat kentin, varlıklarıyla kendilerini güçlü bir şekilde hissettiren ve rüya atmosferini bozan problemleri de vardır. Mesela, rüya kurgularının temel mekânlarından biri olan Üsküdar halkının muzdarip olduğu ağır yoksulluk hâli ya da şehrin popüler imgede gayri-millilikle, ihanetle eşdeğer görülmesi yazarları rüya atmosferinden çıkarmakta; kentin gerçekleriyle yüzleştirmektedir. Öte yandan, kendi düşünce dünyaları açısından bakıldığında, bu gerçekler karşısında tekrar rüyaya sığınmaktan başka bir çıkar yolları da yoktur. Bu sebeple, Selahattin Hilav’ın deyimiyle Beyatlı ve Tanpınar’ın edebiyatlarına kaçış edebiyatı da denilebilir.

Kısacası, Beyatlı ve Tanpınar’ın edebiyatlarında İstanbul nostaljisi yazarların karşı çıktıkları uygulamaları deęiştirecek bir ideolojik programa sahip olmamalarından kaynaklanmaktadır. Bu ideolojik programa sahip olamamalarının bir nedeni de

uygulamalarına karşı çıktıkları insanlarla, mesela İstanbul'u gayri-millilikle eşitleyen yazarlarla aynı ideolojik temelde, milliyetçilik temelinde birleşmeleridir. Onları farklı kılan şey, toplumsal hayattaki dönüşümlerin mümkün olduğunca az çelişki yaratarak gelişmesi yönündeki istekleridir. Bunun mümkün olabilmesi ise ancak ve ancak geleneğin değişime rehber olmasıyla mümkündür. Onların milliyetçiliğini çağdaşlarından farklı yapan şey de bu milliyetçiliğin temelindeki gelenek ve tarihsellik vurgusudur.

Nostalji bir yönüyle geçmişin farklı türden bir hatırlamasıdır. Yukarıda Beyatlı ve Tanpınar'da nostaljinin iki farklı başlık altında öne çıktığı söylendi: geçmişin ihtişamı ve geçmişin düzeni. Bu iki farklı başlık, Beyatlı ve Tanpınar'ın geçmişi nasıl hatırladıkları üzerinden mevcut zamanda nelerin eksikliğini hissettiklerini anlamamızı sağlar. Aynı zamanda aralarındaki bazı kişisel farkları da görmüş oluruz. Tanpınar'da milliyetçilik hamasi taraflarından kurtulmuş; geleneğin etkisiyle yaşanan zamana yön vermeye çalışan bir eyleme dönüşmüştür. Beyatlı'da ise esas vurgu geçmişin ihtişamıdır. Fakat onun milliyetçilik anlayışında da geçmişteki düzenlilik öne çıkan vurgulardan biridir.

B

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