KARE DERGİ

International Journal of Comparative Literature

Değerli Kare Uluslararası Karşılaştırmalı Edebiyat Dergisi Okurları,

Bu sayımızda, dil, edebiyat, toplumsal dönüşüm ve kültürel etkileşim konularını ele alan birbirinden kıymetli beş makale ile karşınızdayız.

Fatma Öztürk Dağabakan ve Memet Karaca'nın makalesi, dilbilimin önemli iki kavramı olan Pragmatik ve Söylem'i sosyodilbilimsel bağlamda karşılaştırarak, ortak ve farklı yönlerini derinlemesine inceliyor. Bu çalışma, dilsel analizlere sosyokültürel bir bakış açısı ekleyerek, literatüre değerli katkılar sağlıyor.

Sümeyye Öztürk'ün Wordsworth ve Arnold üzerine yaptığı karşılaştırmalı edebiyat çalışması, romantik ve eleştirel bakış açılarının şiir anlayışındaki dönüşümünü ele alıyor. Makale, edebiyat tarihi açısından önemli bir sorgulamaya ışık tutarak yaratıcı ve eleştirel unsurların dengesi üzerine düşünmemizi sağlıyor.

Aslı İdil Kaynar, Türkiye ve Japonya'daki 1920'lerin ve 1930'ların Modern Kız figürünü kadın yazarların perspektifinden analiz ediyor. Batılılaşma süreçlerinin kadın kimliği üzerindeki etkilerini karşılaştırmalı olarak ele alan bu çalışma, sosyokültürel tarih ve edebiyat incelemeleri için yenilikçi bir yaklaşım sunuyor.

Elif Durmuş ve S. Göksel Türközü'nün çalışması, Osmanlı Devleti ve Kore Joseon Hanedanlığı'nın saray mutfaklarını karşılaştırarak kültürel etkileşimlerin gastronomi üzerindeki yansımalarını ortaya koyuyor. Tarih ve mutfak kültürü açısından özgün bir inceleme sunan makale, iki medeniyetin yaşam biçimlerini yansıtan değerli bir kaynak niteliğinde.

Son olarak, Umud Orujov'un Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'ndaki Ermeni milliyetçiliği üzerine yaptığı çalışma, milliyetçilik ve toplumsal dönüşüm arasındaki ilişkiyi etnosembolik bir çerçevede analiz ediyor. Makale, çokkültürlü toplumların dinamiklerini anlamak için önemli bir referans niteliğinde.

Bu sayımızda yer alan çalışmaların siz değerli okuyucularımız için ilham verici olmasını temenni eder, keyifli okumalar dileriz.

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From The Perspective of Women Writers: Representations of Modern Girls in 1920s and 1930s Turkey and Japan

Kadın Yazarların Perspektifinden: 1920'ler ve 1930'lar Türkiye ve Japonyası'nda Modern Kız Temsilleri

Aslı İdil Kaynar[1]

Abstract: In the 1920s, Modern Girls emerged in both Turkey and Japan, drawing attention with their Westernized appearance and liberal lifestyles. They became popular subjects among authors and media outlets. However, portrayals of Modern Girls by male authors and in the media predominantly relied on stereotypes, such as fashion icons, femme fatales, materialistic party girls, and so on. Studies on the Japanese Modern Girl focus on media portrayals to define the figure, while Turkish Modern Girls in literature have been viewed as a neglected topic. Most scholarly works use newspaper articles or advertisements as primary sources, often mentioning the Modern Girls' descriptions in literary texts only briefly. My paper challenges the limited representations of Modern Girls by exploring themes of desire and self-representation in women's writing. I analyze the portrayals of Modern Girl characters in the selected works of Japanese authors Uno Chiyo (1897-1996) and Nomizo Naoko (1897-1987), as well as in works by Turkish authors Suat Derviş (1905-1972) and Güzide Sabri (1886–1946) to demonstrate that Modern Girls' definitions extend far beyond the representations offered by male authors and mainstream media. My project supports the idea that examining the experiences of Modern Girls in Turkish and Japanese contexts offers valuable perspectives on the impact of Westernization on women's lives in non-Western societies. It presents an innovative approach to understanding the Modern Girl figure by drawing comparisons between these two cultures.

Öz: 1920'lerde Modern Kızlar hem Türkiye'de hem de Japonya'da Batılı görünümleri ve liberal yaşam tarzlarıyla dikkat çekmekteydi. Bu figürler, yazarlar ve medya organları arasında popülerdi. Ancak, erkek yazarlar ve medyada Modern Kızların tasvirleri ağırlıklı olarak moda ikonları, femme fatale, maddiyatçı parti kızları gibi klişelere dayanmaktadır. Japonya'daki Modern Kız üzerine yapılan çalışmalar, figürü tanımlamak için genellikle medya tasvirlerine odaklanırken, Türkiye'de edebiyatta Modern Kızlar, ihmal edilen bir konu olmaya devam etmektedir. Çoğu akademik çalışma, ana kaynak olarak gazete makaleleri veya reklamları kullanmakta ve edebi metinlerdeki Modern Kız tanımlarına genellikle yalnızca kısaca değinmektedir. Bu makale, kadın yazarların eserlerinde arzu ve öz temsil temalarını inceleyerek, Modern Kızların sınırlı temsillerine meydan okumaktadır. Japon yazarlar Uno Chiyo (1897-1996) ve Nomizo Naoko (1897-1987), ayrıca Türk yazarlar Suat Derviş (1905-1972) ve Güzide Sabri'nin (1886–1946) seçili eserlerindeki Modern Kız karakterlerinin tasvirlerini analiz ederek, Modern Kızların tanımlarının erkek yazarlar ve ana akım medyanın sunduğu temsillerin ötesine uzandığını göstermeyi amaçlıyorum. Bu araştırma, Türkiye ve Japonya bağlamında Modern Kızların deneyimlerini incelemenin, Batılılaşmanın Batı dışı toplumlarda kadınların yaşamları üzerindeki etkisi hakkında değerli perspektifler sunduğu fikrini desteklemektedir. İki kültür arasında karşılaştırmalar yaparak Modern Kız figürünü anlamaya yönelik yenilikçi bir yaklaşım sunmaktadır.

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Introduction

The figure of the Modern Girl emerged worldwide in the 1920s, a period characterized by the rise of consumerism and commodity culture. As a key element in this culture, the image of Modern Girls was extensively commercialized, positioning them as desirable objects to sell products. With their youthful, slender, almost "boyish" but also feminine qualities, Modern Girls redefined the established beauty standards.[2] They were known for using certain commodities (cosmetics and fashionable clothing), challenging gender roles, pursuing romantic love, and being sexually liberal.

An anthology of Modern Girl stories provides a comprehensive overview of Japanese Modern Girls (*modan gaaru* or *moga* in short), listing their key characteristics as short hair, fashion inspired by Paris and New York, modern kimono, a passion for sports, and interests in music, cinema, and art.[3] Suzuki explains that they embodied freedom and intelligence, choosing their partners and engaging in romantic relationships based on their preferences. The Meiji ideology of *ryōsai kenbo* (good wife, wise mother) appeared in the late nineteenth century as a part of national task to build a modern state which put even more importance on domestic roles that are attributed to women. Modern Girls, who challenged this ideology with their lifestyles, often faced harsh criticism from social critics and intellectuals of the time. Even some members of the New Woman group looked down upon Modern Girls.[4] Poet Yosano Akiko remarked: "These girls in their Western dress and short haircuts just copy whatever comes from abroad"[5]. Initially viewed as fashion icons, or the products of consumerism, Japanese Modern Girls became associated with loose morals during the *ero guro nansensu*[6]「エログロナンセンス」(erotic grotesque nonsense) movement. The Japanese media began to portray them in a more negative light, emphasizing their supposed immorality (see Fig. 1).

Unlike their Japanese counterparts, defining Turkish Modern Girls poses a challenge as the term 'modern kız' (modern girl) is rarely used in scholarly work. They are more frequently referred to as *alafranga* girls, or flappers.[7] As Coşkun states, between 1877 and 1923, four types of women could be seen in Turkish literature: traditional, Westernized (liberal lifestyle, still tied to traditions), *alafranga* (copies Western style, a consumerist, and a rebel) and foreign (typically a mistress/temptress) women.[8] The *alafranga* type fits the stereotypical definitions of Modern Girl, whereas the Westernized type evokes the image of New Woman. The ideal republican woman was urban, modern and secular, and was expected to fulfill her maternal duties akin to the Meiji Government's "good wife, wise mother"

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[2] Jane Nicholas, *The Modern Girl: Feminine Modernities, the Body, and Commodities in the 1920s* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2015). Nicholas also refers to the concept of 'visual consumption' in her book, stating that one of the markers of modernity was visuality and for women, it meant displaying the self more than before. In the 1920s, cultural expectations dictated that women should look beautiful in a certain way to be deemed modern; they were expected to be desirable.

[3] Suzuki Sadami, *Modan gaaru no yūwaku* (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1989), 1.

[4] In some cultures (i.e., German) the terms "Modern Girl" and "New Woman" were used interchangeably. However, in most cultures, including Japanese, New Woman represented a feminist group that emerged in the 1910s, often described as the "the mother of the Modern Girl," whereas her "daughter" pursued romance and fashion. Alys Eve Weinbaum et al., eds., *The Modern Girl around the World: Consumption, Modernity, and Globalization* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2008), 9. Many scholars associate New Women with political activism, whereas Modern Girls are linked with consumption. Although there is a clearly drawn line between them in historical texts as well as scholarly work, it should be noted that some Modern Girls were also engaged with political activism, and New Women identified with some qualities that were associated with Modern Girls.

[5] Barbara Sato, *The New Japanese Woman: Modernity, Media, and Women in Interwar Japan* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2003), 56.

[6] An artistic and literary movement that emerged in the 1920s and reached its peak in the 1930s. It promoted eroticism, cross-dressing, sexual freedom, queer sexuality and 'strange' fantasies, usually including gore. See Alisa Freedman, *Tokyo in Transit: Japanese Culture on the Rails and Road* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2011). Cafés were associated with *ero guro* culture, leading to the eroticization of café waitresses (a Modern Girl type).

[7] The term "Turkish flappers" comes up in Zafer Toprak's book as a fashion phenomenon. Toprak mostly comments on how these "flappers" dressed (they were among the first women not to wear hijab) and cut their hair. See Zafer Toprak, *Türkiye'de Yeni Hayat: İnkılap ve Travma 1908-1928.* Istanbul: Doğan Kitap, 2017).

However, "modern" and "girl" do not come together in most scholarly books or articles. The 'girl' figure is not as popular as the figure of the New Woman among Turkish scholars. An important research that explores the concepts of age and "girl" (kız) in the republican era belongs to Peruccio. See Kara A. Peruccio, "Not a Girl, Not Yet a Woman: Nezihe Muhiddin and Age in Turkey, 1923–35," *Journal of the Ottoman and Turkish Studies Association* 10, no. 1 (Spring 2023): 15-36.

[8] Betül Coşkun, "Türk Modernleşmesini Kadın Romanları Üzerinden Okumak: Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyet'e," *Journal of Turkish Studies* 5, no. 4 (2010): 930-964.

ideology. In literary works and media alike, modern/new women were described as patriotic, motherly, and educated figures. .Modern Girls, particularly Turkish Modern Girls deviated from the newly emerged Turkish state's concept of the modern woman and were often depicted as having a superficial interest in the West and materialistic tendencies (see Fig. 2).

Fig. 1 (left): A Japanese Modern Girl 'seducing' a man by threatening him with a pistol.[9] Fig. 2 (right) features a Turkish Modern Girl and a Modern Boy. The rest of the page contains their dialogue, highlighting the Modern Girl's consumerist side.[10]

Recent years have seen growing scholarly interest in Modern Girls, yet their representations by women authors remain underexplored. Studies on Japanese Modern Girls focus on media portrayals, often generalizing the characteristics of the figure without investigating individual cases, with Japanese history and gender studies scholars such as Barbara Satō and Vera Mackie emphasizing Modern Girls' portrayal as consumerist figures shaped by capitalism.[11] On the other hand, Miriam Silverberg offers an alternative approach, arguing that the Modern Girl was not only a symbol of consumerism but also a politically engaged figure who challenged "good wife, wise mother" ideology in Japan.[12] Analyzing Modern Girl types in films and women's magazines, Silverberg argues that although the Modern Girl "movement" was not organized, Modern Girls were political and militant activists who embodied resistance to patriarchal norms. Mark Driscoll's chapter on Modern Girls builds on Silverberg's work, connecting Modern Girls to the *ero guro nansensu* movement in Japanese literature. However, like Satō and Mackie, Driscoll's analysis prioritizes male-authored works and does not address how women authors portrayed Modern Girls.

Similarly, there has been increased interest in the Turkish modern women (not particularly girls) as historical figures, yet scholarly work exploring their literary representations remains limited with a few notable exceptions.[13]

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[9] *Tokyo pakku* (Tokyo Puck, 1929). Many other cartoons like this one depicted Modern Girls' sexuality as 'threatening'. Another one in *Gendai* (Modern Times, 1927) magazine criticizes Modern Girls for destroying traditions of femininity.

[10] *Akbaba*, August 16, 1923, no. 73, 3, translated and included in Yasemin Gencer, "Today in 1920s Turkey: A Textual-Visual Translation Series and Experimental Database (List I, Posts 1-50: August 2016-January 2017)."

[11] See Barbara Satō, *The New Japanese Woman* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2003) and Vera C. Mackie, "New Women, Modern Girls and the Shifting Semiotics of Gender in Early Twentieth Century Japan," *Intersections: Gender and Sexuality in Asia and the Pacific* 32 (2013): 1–13. Using examples from 1920s-1930s popular magazines, Satō discusses the bias against Modern Girls and how they were compared unfavorably to the New Woman figure. Mackie turns to media representations, highlighting biased depictions in newspapers, where the Modern Girls were often criticized or scandalized.

[12] See note 5 and Elise K. Tipton, "Pink Collar Work: The Café Waitress in Early Twentieth-Century Japan," *Intersections: Gender, History and Culture in the Asian Context*, no. 7 (April 2002). Freedman explores *basu gaaru* (bus girl) in her research, whereas Tipton points to the difficulties (sexual harassment, objectification) of being a *jokyū* (café waitress).

[13] See Ayşegül Yaraman, "İstanbul Örnekleriyle Kadınlık Durumunun Dönüşümü ve Kadın Romancılar", in *Cumhuriyet İstanbul'unda Kadın* (Istanbul: İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi, 2021), 351-387.Yaraman stands out by discussing *asrî* (modern) women in literature, highlighting their economic independence, Western education, and attire. Her work explores the roles of Turkish women's magazines in promoting women's novels

Historians such as Zafer Toprak have shown how historical narratives and popular magazines shaped the image of the Turkish modern woman, yet neglected literary works that depict Modern Girls' experiences.[14] İnci Enginün's work on women's magazines, for example, provides crucial context, but does not delve deeply into how women authors subverted media portrayals or challenged cultural norms within their novels.[15] Studies focusing on Japanese or Turkish Modern Girls rarely mention how these women perceived themselves or how women authors portrayed Modern Girls in their texts. Toyoda Kaori, for instance, turns to literary texts to explore Modern Girls' identities, but mainly focuses on male-authored portrayals.[16]Literary critic and essayist Saitō Minako explores Modern Girls through the lens of what she refers to as "desire-based history." While Saitō emphasizes the agency of Modern Girls, such as their desire to work, her analysis does not primarily rely on women-authored literary texts. Instead, she examines broader cultural trends and historical narratives.[17] Fewer studies have turned to women-authored texts in relation to Modern Girls. Among the Modern Japanese literature scholars who have done so is Kawasaki Kenko. In her chapter on Osaki Midori, Kawasaki refers to the Modern Girl as a transformative figure, shifting from the traditional concept of the "girl" to one influenced by women's liberation, socialist ideas, and urban culture. She explores how these influences are embedded in the protagonist, Machiko, in Osaki's *Dainana kankai hōkō* (Wanderings in the Realm of the Seventh Sense, 1931). Although the chapter is not primarily focused on Modern Girls, it highlights their role in the changing cultural landscape of early twentieth century Japan.[18]

Existing research on Modern Girls, particularly in the Turkish case, often overlooks lesser-known women authors of the early twentieth century. The analysis of feminist movements in the Turkish context tends to focus predominantly on prominent figures like Halide Edib.[19] Pelin Batu points out that first-wave feminists have largely been forgotten, except for Edib, stressing the need to reconsider contributions from lesser-known women authors.[20] As in the case of Güzide Sabri, much of the limited research on lesser-known women authors' works remain autobiographical, underscoring the need for comprehensive literary studies that reassess her contributions and those of other overlooked authors.[21]

As demonstrated by these examples, Modern Girls are often analyzed within a context where they are typically positioned as objects of desire, such as in 1920s and 1930s advertisements and male-authored works. This oversight raises a seemingly simple yet under-investigated question for this research: What did Modern Girls desire?

Academic and critic Rita Felski point out that the male gaze in literature overshadows other aspects of women's lives, such as motherhood, love and friendship between women:

> …we are accustomed to finding broader resonances in male bodies, to glimpsing the sublime in stories of heroic struggle and drawing existential metaphor out of images of male solitude. We are less used to endowing female bodies with this kind of authority and reading female lives as rich in general resonances.[22]

Felski supports the idea that it is significant to read into women's experiences to get a fuller understanding of how women faced social challenges during the period they lived in. Women's writing becomes an important tool for women challenge the stereotypical portrayals. Hélène Cixous, who coined the term *écriture féminine* (women's writing) argues that writing is a way for women to express and explore their desires, thereby breaking free from

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and includes examples from Halide Edib's works.

[14] Zafer Toprak, *Türkiye'de Yeni Hayat: İnkılap ve Travma 1908-1928* (Istanbul: Doğan Kitap, 2017).

[15] İnci Enginün, "Mücadele Dönemi Edebiyatında Türk Kadını," in *Cumhuriyet İstanbul'unda Kadın*, (İstanbul: İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi, 2021), 273-319.

[16] Toyoda Kaori, "Modanizumu bungaku ni miru modan gāru," *Bunka Gakuen Daigaku Kiyō. Jinbun Shakai Kagaku Kenkyū* 22 (January 31, 2014): 101–114.

[17] Saitō Minako, *Modan gāru ron* (Tokyo: Bungei Shunjū, Bunshun Bunko, 2003).

[18] Kawasaki Kenko, "Tensei suru 'Ono Machiko,'" in *Osaki Midori: Sakyū no kanata e*, (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 2010), 211–329.

[19] See note 13.

[20] Pelin Batu, "Türkiye'de Kadın Haklarının Tarihçesi," [The History of Women's Rights in Turkey], in *Cumhuriyet İstanbul'unda Kadın*, (İstanbul: İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi, 2021), 111-167.

[21] See Nihat Sami Banarlı, *Resimli Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi II* (Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1983). Bilge Ercilasun, *Edebiyat Tarihi ve Tenkit* (Dergâh Yayınları, 2013). Erol Üyepazarcı, *Unutulanlar, Hiç Bilinmeyenler ve Bilinmek İstenmeyenler* (Istanbul: Oğlak Yayınları, 2019). The same applies to Nezihe Muhiddin, whose political identity has been studied more extensively than her work as an author.

[22] Bartky, *Femininity and Domination*, 17.

patriarchal constraints.[23] In Cixous' terms, the systematic, law-abiding, stable masculine libidinal economy reduces women to bodies, repressing their voice, bleaching the language of the unconscious; "to submit to the classical social and psychoanalytical narratives of what it means to be a feminine woman is to enter into an alienated relationship with one's own desires."[24] She argues that rather than submitting to and internalizing what male-authored narratives are saying about the feminine subject, women should write about their desires to create their subjectivity so that the silenced can find a voice. Women's writing becomes an economy of passions, a dialogue between the self and the "other" (represents everything that has been marginalized or excluded by patriarchal structures) providing a pathway for women to escape the confines of patriarchal identities.[25] Through exploring this "otherness", the female subject escapes the danger of pursuing an identity that identifies with the patriarchal system.

In line with these approaches, I examine the themes of love, freedom, autonomy, and self-expression in the selected literary works of two Japanese and two Turkish women authors: *Aru hitori no onna no hanashi* (The Story of a Lonely Woman, 1971)[26] by Uno Chiyo (1897-1996), *Kadın Aşksız Yaşamaz* (A Woman Doesn't Live Without Love, 1935) by Suat Derviş (1905-1972), *Jojū shinri* (The Psychology of a Female Beast, 1930) by Nomizo Naoko (1897-1987), and *Hicran Gecesi* (The Night of Parting, serialized 1936; book 1937) by Güzide Sabri (1886–1946). These authors wrote in different genres and styles and came from diverse socio-economic backgrounds, which allows me to showcase the diversity of Modern Girl portrayals. Uno's novel is autofictional, and Derviş's book also contains autofictional elements, whereas those of Nomizo and Sabri are fictional. Each work reflects society's reactions to the Modern Girl figure and Modern Girls' shared experiences and desires that extend beyond the sexual.[27]

This project offers a novel perspective on the figure of the Modern Girl by comparing Turkish and Japanese cultures and contributes to comparative studies. Japanese Modern Girls have been compared to Chinese, Korean, and Western Modern Girls, including the American flapper and the German *Jungfrau*, yet they have never been discussed in conjunction with another country like Turkey. As Esenbel suggests, "Turkey-Japan comparative studies invite our attention, for it opens a window onto an alternative, ambivalent arena of international relations between these so-called 'Non-Western regions' in modern history."[28] By pointing to the importance of comparative studies between two cultures, Esenbel raises another significant issue: there is always the perceived need for cultural comparisons to depart from a Western model. Comparative literature, too, is associated with comparisons between Western countries, or at least one of the countries in question is Western. Comparative studies invite more variety. Expanding the scope to include comparisons between non-Western countries like Turkey and Japan provides valuable insights into the effects of Westernization on these regions. Examining Turkish and Japanese Modern Girls reveals how Western influences intersect with their cultural contexts and impact women's lives.

Uno Chiyo and *Aru hitori no onna no hanashi* (或る一人の女の話)

Uno Chiyo was born in 1897 in Iwakuni. According to her biographer Rebecca Copeland, Uno applied powder to her face every day and wore flashy, purple *hakama* while living in her hometown.[29] Makeup and clothes played a

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[23] Hélène Cixous, *Coming to Writing and Other Essays* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1991).

[24] Abigail Bray and Julian Wolfreys, *Hélène Cixous: Writing and Sexual Difference* (London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2003), 57.

[25] Helene Cixous, *Coming to Writing and Other Essays* (London: Harvard University Press, 1991)
Unlike men's speech or narratives which are disconnected from body and passions and discriminative against the other, *écriture féminine* (feminine writing) circumvents binary structures (man/woman, subject/object, rationality/desire, civilisation/nature and so on) and creates new modes of relation between self and the other.

[26] Although Uno's *Aru hitori no onna no hanashi* was published in 1971, it recounts her experiences during the 1920s and 1930s. As Uno identified as a Modern Girl, her fictional autobiography provides significant insights into the real-life experiences of Modern Girls.

[27] It should also be noted that there are few or no English translations of these authors' works. Translations in this paper belong to me. Only two of Uno's major works have been translated into English (*Aru hitori no onna no hanashi* was translated into English by Rebecca Copeland and *Iro Zange* by Phyllis Birnbaum), whereas Nomizo is known to English speakers through Tomoko Aoyama's articles. See Tomoko Aoyama, "Nomizo Naoko: The 'Eternal Girl' Crosses Boundaries," *Asian Studies Review* 30, no. 2 (June 2006): 109-122; Tomoko Aoyama, "Nomizo Naoko and Women's Art Against Violence," *Japan Forum* 25, no. 3 (September 2013): 331-345. Most Turkish authors of the twentieth century, including Derviş and Sabri, have not been translated into English. Therefore, one of this study's objectives is to introduce the untranslated works of these women to a wider audience.

[28] Selçuk Esenbel, "Japan's Global Claim to Asia and the World of Islam: Transnational Nationalism and World Power, 1900-1945," *The American Historical Review* 109, no. 4 (2004): 1141.

[29] Rebecca L. Copeland, *The Sound of the Wind: The Life and Works of Uno Chiyo* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1992).

significant role in her life. Uno wanted to move to Tokyo or Kyoto to study, but due to economic difficulties, she stayed in Iwakuni and worked as an elementary school teacher. She eventually moved to Tokyo after marrying her cousin. During her time there, Uno worked several part-time jobs. She married three times and had several lovers throughout her life, which contributed to her reputation for causing scandals in 1920s and 1930s Japan. While living with her second husband Ozaki Shirō, she cut her hair, making her one of Japan's first "flappers"[30].

Uno's experiences in Tokyo and her relationships inspired many of her novels, which are often considered personal, seldom addressing broader social issues. Among such works is her *Aru hitori no onna no hanashi*, which is a retelling of Uno's life story, following Kazue from birth to her encounter with one of her lovers, painter Tanabe. In the book, there are detailed accounts of Kazue's various relationships, the hardships she faces as a working woman, and her evolving career as a writer.[31]

Typically, male-authored Modern Girl stories often reflect the authors' own desires, as seen with the popular subject of *jokyū* (café waitresses). According to Barbara Satō eroticization of Modern Girls were caused by the society's panic over the "decline" in morality linked to young people "exploring their sexuality."[32] *Jokyū* characters in the works of male authors such as Hirotsu Kazuo[33], Takeda Rintarō and Nagai Kafū are "sometimes exaggerated", and "trivialized for pure entertainment," lacking in-depth descriptions of their emotions. [34] For example, Tanizaki Jun'ichirō's character Naomi in *Chijin no Ai* (A Fool's Love, 1925) is depicted as a materialistic and flirtatious party girl with Western looks. The protagonist Jōji is attracted to Naomi due her looks, which reminds him of Mary Pickford. However, while Naomi's relationships with other men seem to defy convention, they primarily serve to intensify Jōji's obsession with her. Similarly, Hori Tatsuo's "Bukiyo na tenshi" (The Clumsy Angel, 1929) revolves around the narrator's infatuation with a café waitress, with little attention to her feelings.

In contrast, Uno's *Aru hitori no onna no hanashi* portrays Kazue as a hardworking woman. She maintains her economic independence, working multiple jobs, even financially supporting her husband at times. Working as a waitress in hotels and Western-style restaurants, she barely has time to take care of herself, leading others to see her as a ragged doll—an object of both pity and desire:

> …because Kazue always wore tattered clothes, these establishments often hesitated to hire her. When they did, she became an object of both pity and desire in the eyes of the owners and customers. Once, someone told her, 'Good job. Come over tonight after you finish here,' and handed her an address. Kazue, looking like a ragged doll, fled…[35]

As a young woman trying to survive in Tokyo, Kazue offers a first-hand perspective that diverges from the often superficial portrayals of waitresses by male authors. Uno's account provides a detailed description of the stress faced by a working woman, particularly caused by objectification.

Kazue also finds herself in romantic relationships that typecast her as an object, reflecting societal bias against Modern Girls: "Throughout her life, there had been many instances where she could be considered the victim. In such times, Kazue never once held a grudge against a man."[36] However, she does not give up following her desires

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[30] Chieko Irie Mulhern, *Japanese Women Writers: A Bio-Critical Sourcebook* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1994), 441.

[31] Although the main focus of the story is Kazue's relationships, Uno provides important details about Kazue's passion for writing. She becomes so engrossed in her writing that she neglects her household chores and rarely leaves her desk until her story is completed. She even leaves her husband to go to a magazine company in Tokyo. There she meets her new love interest, the writer Nozaki Shichirō, through whom she gets involved with intellectual cycles, motivating her to write more. Uno Chiyo, *Aru hitori no onna no hanashi* (Tokyo: Kodansha, 1989), Kindle edition.

[32] Satō, 66.

[33] Hirotsu wrote two stories about *jokyū*: "Jokyū: Sayoko no maki" (Tokyo: Chūōkōronsha, 1931) and "Jokyū Kimiyo" (Tokyo: Chūōkōronsha, 1932).

[34] Madoka Kusakabe, "Sata Ineko and Hirabayashi Taiko: The Café and *Jokyū* as a Stage for Social Criticism" (PhD diss., University of Oregon, 2011), 2. The term *jokyū* refers to the female servers in cafés, who interacted with the intellectual class. They also represented a profession that many urban middle-class women turned to for quick income due to the economic downturn and displacement caused by the Great Kantō earthquake (1923). Modern girls working as *jokyū* were popular subjects among authors of the 1930s. Some of these women had to provide erotic services due to financial difficulties caused by economic crises and low wages.

[35] Uno Chiyo, *Aru hitori no onna no hanashi* (Tokyo: Kodansha, 1989), Kindle edition, 1143.

[36] Chiyo, *Aru hitori no onna no hanashi*, 1743. In another instance, Kazue is sexually harassed but refuses to see herself as a victim. She blames herself after the incident. "I must be crazy," she says. "I slept with a man with no intention of marrying him." (653) Her appearance and her liberal lifestyle, especially her involvement in romantic relationships without the commitment of marriage, lead to her being stigmatized as a "loose

even when she is disappointed or exposed to harsh criticism. Shortly after her first marriage, Kazue starts to pursue another kind of love: love of writing. Although she never stops yearning to love and to be loved by others, her desire to write shapes her life choices. When she was a young woman working several jobs in Tokyo, Uno aspired to become a celebrity. Uno's desires extended beyond the confines of domestic life, initially aiming for an acting career, but not having succeeded in that pursuit, she turned to writing. According to Copeland, who translated some of Uno's works and wrote about her life, writers were celebrities and fiction "carried with it the taint of scandal" [37]. Uno admired one of these 'scandalous' writers, named Tamura Toshiko (1884-1945) and her lifestyle. Her interest in writing was piqued during her employment at a high-class, Western style restaurant the Enrakuken, where she had the opportunity to interact with authors and editors, including Takita Choin, the editor of *Chūō Kōron* who played an important role in launching Uno's career.[38]

While Uno does not provide an extensive account of her writing process, she depicts pursuing a writing career as a significant turning point in Kazue's life. At first, Kazue sees writing only as a means of making money; she does not think of herself as a talented writer. However, her perspective changes when she discovers that her short story has been published in a newspaper. This news fills her with joy, and she becomes consumed by her new job, dedicating day and night to it. Kazue becomes so engrossed in her writing that she neglects her household chores and rarely leaves her desk until her story is completed. After Kazue sends it to a magazine and does not hear from them, she leaves her husband Jōji behind to go to Tokyo. "As soon as Kazue arrived in Tokyo, she went to the magazine company. It was in front of the Western-style restaurant where she had worked. She climbed the stairs without hesitation."[39] For her, writing becomes a source of income and a form of self-expression, like Uno who managed to "turn her failed romances into literary successes."[40]

Copeland explains that in Uno's time "it was almost a given that a woman writer would be either scandalously oversexed or else a bookish prude."[41] Women authors were expected to write in certain styles. In 1908, an article titled "Joryū sakka ron" (An Essay on Women) was published in *Shinchō*, which aimed to define women's roles (as an editor, author or critic) in literature, but they were expected to "write like women" 「女らしく」 (onna-rashiku) and address "the domestic detail of feminine spheres"[42]. Uno challenged this notion by taking an active part in public space and adopting the confession form to tell her stories about what happened outside the boundaries of the domestic space, as exemplified by *Aru hitori no onna no hanashi*.

Suat Derviş and *Kadın Aşksız Yaşamaz*

Unlike Uno, Suat Derviş came from a wealthy family of intellectuals. Born in Istanbul, she was home-schooled and later traveled to Berlin to receive higher education. After her father died in 1932, Derviş returned to Istanbul. She worked as a reporter and translator both in Turkey and Europe. Derviş remained a forgotten name among readers until the Turkish publisher Ithaki started republishing her works in 2015. Although Derviş's early works focus on middle or upper-class women and their love affairs - including gothic elements - her later novels tell the stories of working women, such as factory workers and sex workers.[43] This change was influenced by her career as a reporter, and she started to write more realistic novels after conducting numerous interviews with workers in the 1930s.

Many studies on Suat Derviş evaluate her works through the lens of her political identity. For instance, according to Nazan Aksoy, although Derviş was a politically engaged woman, her writing does not adequately reflect her

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woman" by some men. The novel is full of examples in which she tries to rationalize the mistreatment she experiences.

[37] Rebecca Copeland, *The Sound of the Wind: The Life and Works of Uno Chiyo* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1992), 17. Tamura left her husband to fly to Canada with a married man in 1916. According to Copeland, this shocked the public, but her young women readers admired her.

[38] Copeland, *The Sound of the Wind: The Life and Works of Uno Chiyo*, 18-20.

[39] Uno, *Aru hitori no onna no hanashi*, 1286.

[40] Copeland, *The Sound of the Wind*, 48.

[41] Rebecca L. Copeland, "The Made-Up Author: Writer as Woman in the Works of Uno Chiyo," *The Journal of the Association of Teachers of Japanese* 29, no. 1 (April 1995): 8.

[42] Copeland, "The Made-Up Author: Writer as Woman in the Works of Uno Chiyo," 7.

[43] *Bu Roman Olan Şeylerin Romanıdır* (1937) and *Fosforlu Cevriye* (1948) are among such works.

political activism as she often wrote in popular genre.[44] Generally, the romance genre is not regarded as highly as other genres in most scholarly work.[45] However, despite being love stories, Derviş's earlier works provide an important perspective on young urban women. These works are progressive in their depictions of sexuality, and the themes of love and loneliness. One such novel, *Kadın Aşksız Yaşamaz* was described as "ahead of its time for its bold depiction of a working woman's desires and sexuality."[46]

Kadın Aşksız Yaşamaz is one of Derviş's earlier works, inspired by her real-life experiences in 1930s Istanbul. The story follows Cavide, an independent woman working as a translator, as she explores various romantic options in search of love. Early in the book, Cavide visits a café with her co-worker Fahri, who persistently tries to win her over and watches her every move, much to her annoyance. However, her gaze wanders to other men in the café, including a foreigner. On another occasion, she goes to a Western-style bar with her boss.

While Cavide leads a liberal lifestyle, male characters repeatedly comment on Cavide's life as a single woman, reflecting societal expectations. Upon learning she is not engaged, her boss, a married man looks at her eyes, lips, neck, and waist before commenting: "It is inconceivable. You are a beautiful young woman; you should get married, so that you won't feel lonely. There is no greater happiness in life than marrying someone you love."[47] This statement not only objectifies Cavide by reducing her worth to her physical appearance but also underscores the societal belief that a woman's happiness and fulfillment are inherently tied to marriage.

Working women became more visible in Turkey after 1914. Until the Second Constitutional Era, women were mostly employed as teachers or servants, but starting in the 1920s, they began to find broader opportunities in various sectors.[48] However, prejudice remained pervasive. The Turkish press in the 1920s often focused on issues such as marriage, education, work, fashion, and etiquette. While women's participation in the workforce was economically necessary, it was still considered unnatural, with societal expectations that they prioritize household duties; "a woman's involvement in the workforce was endorsed by society and in turn, was expected to preserve her chastity above all else."[49]

Throughout the novella, Derviş highlights the hardships a young, single woman faces in the workplace, where she is perceived as sexually transgressive for seemingly failing to preserve chastity—largely because she spends time with male colleagues and her boss outside of work hours.

The rumors Fahri spreads out of jealousy about her relationship with their boss force Cavide to leave her job. She is wrongly perceived as their boss's mistress. Naciye, a typist and Cavide's co-worker, accuses her: "You've been in the boss's car, and you've had a private dinner with him at Boğaziçi. Someone saw it and told me."[50] Later, she gossips with another colleague about Cavide:

> "The boss goes to her house every day."

> "That sinner of a woman acts as if she is a nun. I can't stand two-faced people like her…"[51]

Cavide struggles to maintain her professional integrity in a work environment that reduces her to mere gossip and sexualized assumptions. She thinks to herself: "It is indeed difficult for a man to make a living, but women experience horrible things. Do men ever have to deal with things like this?"[52]

Despite initially challenging norms surrounding love through her involvement with various men, Cavide starts

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[44] Nazan Aksoy, "Suat Derviş Muhalif bir Yazar mıdır?" *Birikim*, no. 298 (February 2014): 83-90.

[45] Uno's writing was also often regarded as "the smaller world of personal heartbreak." Birnbaum explains that while other women writers of her generation focused on social issues such as the excesses of militarism, Uno centered her work on struggles of the heart. Phyllis Birnbaum, *Modern Girls, Shining Stars, the Skies of Tokyo* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999), 166.

[46] Serdar Soydan, "Suat Derviş ve Eserleri Hakkında," in *Suat Derviş, Emine* (Istanbul: Ithaki, 2019), 388.

[47] Suat Derviş, "Kadın Aşksız Yaşamaz," in *Emine* (Istanbul: Ithaki, 2019), 326. The novella was serialized in a magazine titled *Perşembe* between 22 August-19 December 1935).

[48] Coşkun, "Türk Modernleşmesini Kadın Romanları Üzerinden Okumak: Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyet'e," 930-964.

[49] Türe, *Facts and Fantasies: Images of Istanbul Women in the 1920s* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2015), 224.

[50] Derviş, "Kadın Aşksız Yaşamaz," 339.

[51] Derviş, 346–47.

[52] Derviş, 344.

to romanticize the concept of marriage. After confessing her love to her childhood friend, she reflects on the nature of love:

What is love? Love is the meaning of life. Love is life. If not for love, nothing would exist in this world. Love is the desire to create. To create is to imitate the Divine. To imitate the Divine is to desire to be immortal. A lover is someone who had a taste of this immortality.[53]

Although she mentions "the desire to create", this desire does not encompass creative endeavors, such as writing, but loving someone. Her prospective husband symbolizes a sanctuary for her, for which she is willing to forego her career. The desire for freedom is replaced by the need to feel safe. After losing her job, Cavide marries her childhood friend. One characteristic that sets Cavide apart from other women characters in early modern Turkish literature is her ability to choose her partner on her own terms, that could still be interpreted as a form of free love. It is also representative of the new approaches to marriage in the Republican Turkey, which allowed people from middle and upper-class to marry the person of their choice.[54] On the other hand, Derviş's novel exemplifies a pattern frequently found in early twentieth-century Turkish literature, where women are presented with two options: either becoming the mistress or the loyal wife.[55] Initially labeled as a "mistress" by gosipping colleagues, Cavide gives up work to become the dutiful wife, echoing the pervasive narrative of women being expected to relinquish personal or professional aspirations in favor of traditional roles dictated by society.

Nomizo Naoko and *Jojū shinri* (女獣心理)

Nomizo, born in Himeji, was a distinguished Japanese author and scholar. She graduated from Dōshisha University in 1921 with a degree in English, then moved to Tokyo to further her studies in Western philosophy at Tōyō University. She became a lecturer at Tōyō University in 1951 and spent the last thirty years of her life in a hotel room. Her works reflect her deep knowledge of Western culture and literature, evidenced by her early readings of texts such as The Old Testament, Greek mythology, and Goethe's *Faust*. She epitomized several aspects of the Modern Girl figure, breaking away from the norms of her time through both her literary creations and her lifestyle.[56] Many of Nomizo's characters resonate with her experiences, especially her deep interest in Western art and literature.

Soya (nicknamed Leda), the orphan heroine of *Jojū shinri*, is a strong, independent artist.[57] At the beginning of the novel, the narrator Shinna Toride (or Rui/Louis) meets his fiancée and cousin Sunako (Shako) and her friend Soya in Ginza. To him, Soya appears unremarkable and androgynous at first, contrasting with the more traditionally feminine character Sunako:

She was the kind of person you might overlook even if you met her for a second time. There was nothing particularly remarkable about her appearance, as she wore a plain, monochromatic Western-style outfit and had short hair. Perhaps standing next to my cousin in her brightly colored kimono made her presence seem even less noticeable. She had a faint and somewhat pale complexion, which was almost too pale, making her appear sickly. She had more of a boyish charm than feminine grace.[58]

The narrator's depiction of Soya points to a departure from the traditional image of femininity. Her androgyny marks her independence and non-conformity. Soya's short hair and modern clothes, typical of a Modern Girl, symbolize a blend of necessity and defiance against gender roles. For Soya, short hair is a practical choice that helps her blend in with other working men than a fashion statement. Cutting her hair is a way of adapting to her challenging circumstances. Because of her appearance and behavior, which often transcend gender lines, Soya is frequently mislabeled as a 'fallen woman' by characters like Sunako's mother. As Aoyama points out, Soya's refusal to adhere to conventional gender norms is labelled as sexual transgression.[59]

[53] Derviş, 375.

[54] Türe, *Facts and Fantasies*, 224.

[55] See Günseli Sönmez İşçi, *Yıldızları Seyreden Kadın: Suat Derviş Edebiyatı* (Istanbul: Ithaki, 2015), 61.

[56] Mori Mayumi, *Danpatsu no modan gāru: 42-nin no Taishō kaijoden* (Tokyo: Bunshun Bunko, 2010).

[57] Edition used: Nomizo Naoko, *Jojū shinri* (Tokyo: Kōdansha, Bungei Bunko, 2001). Also note that in *Jojū shinri*, most characters have more than one name. Soya's nickname is derived from the Greek myth of "Leda and the Swan."

[58] Naoko, *Jojū shinri*, 10.

[59] Tomoko Aoyama, "Nomizo Naoko: The 'Eternal Girl' Crosses Boundaries," *Asian Studies Review* 30, no. 2 (June 2006), 111.

Takemura notes that women working in factories or stores for economic reasons were often considered sexually depraved in the early twentieth century. [60] Regardless of their jobs, women working outside the home were frequently viewed as sexual beings at risk of falling into prostitution, a situation reflected in Soya's experiences. She and her fellow art school graduates work decorating café interiors in Ginza, a popular spot for Modern Girls and Boys. In the 1920s and 1930s, young men dressed in modern clothes would hire girls (known as *sutikku gâru*「スティックガール」(Stick Girls) for companionship, though sometimes these relationships involved more than mere company. Despite not being an official red-light district, Ginza became associated with prostitution due to these practices. One day, Soya is wrongfully arrested while walking home from work, mistaken for a prostitute. In another instance, a group of proletarians accuse Soya of being a bourgeois woman:

> One time, after finishing a job at the cafe, Soya and another coworker, both heading in the same direction, decided to walk home together since the trains hadn't started running yet. They walked along the tracks, and after about four kilometers, a group of self-proclaimed "proletarians" suddenly jumped out from a nearby garage and surrounded them. First, they greeted Soya with a burning punch to her side.

> They accused her of being a bourgeois woman. "Last night, you spent the night driving, dancing, at the hotel, wasting thousands of yen on pleasure. And now, this morning, you're strolling around at dawn with two young men? Let's put an end to that!" they sneered.[61]

"What is he talking about?" Soya thinks to herself during those moments. "I only make 1.80 yen a week. What on earth do bourgeois and proletarians have to do with me? I don't understand." Her liberal lifestyle, as a woman working in late hours among other men cause negative reactions. She is perceived as a morally degraded Modern Girl, having fun in Ginza while the truth is far from it.

As Terada notes, Nomizo's way of describing Tokyo, shatters the illusion of the city's glamorous nightlife and highlights the judgements faced my people who are regarded "marginal."[62] Modern Girls were often portrayed as party girls in media and put into the same category as Taxi Girls. A newspaper article from 1929 reads: "Taxi Girls are becoming a social issue….[They] pick up men and disappear into the darkness, assisted by *moga*."[63]

Soya's experiences as a working woman highlight the broader societal prejudices that emerged as women began to liberate themselves from "correct sexuality" in modern Japan.[64] As Aoyama explains, Soya as an artist is regarded as "a dangerous threat to the majority of people, across classes and genders, in the novel. In their attempt to deal with the threatening power of her creativity, they replace it – quite unconsciously – with another kind of threat….immoral and excessively sexual being, an accusation that has no foundation."[65] Soya is objectified by most male characters, and mislabeled by men and women alike. The narrator later discovers that some people refer to Soya as "Mademoiselle Leda," that became synonymous with "lady of the night." Shako's mother shares her recollection of first seeing Soya three years prior, expressing her conflicted impressions:

> Much later, I heard the full story from someone else. At that time, she was being called "Mademoiselle Leda," and it was nothing but humiliating, pitiful rumors. It was so bad that I was skeptical at first, thinking it couldn't possibly be true. But when I saw Soya for the first time, after Shako brought her to our house, I gradually began to believe those rumors. That girl I first saw beside the rose bushes—could that really be her? (…) The life she must have led during that time seemed to validate all the disgraceful rumors I had heard.

Mochizuki, a forensic scientist and writer, explains the reasons concerning the gossips surrounding her and her former patron Suwa, which led to this label. Suwa's name, akin to "swan," references the Greek myth where Leda

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[60] Takemura Kazuko, "Heterosekushizumu no keifu," in *Ai ni tsuite: Aidentiti to yokubō no seijigaku* (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 2002), 55.

[61] Nomizo, *Jojū shinri*, 30.

[62] Takemura Kazuko, "Heterosekushizumu no keifu," in *Ai ni tsuite: Aidentiti to yokubō no seijigaku* (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 2002), 201.

[63] *Yomiuri Shinbun*, May 6, 1929, in Yūki Kobari, *Yūkaku, hanayagi-kai: dansu hōru, kafe no kindaishi* (Tokyo: Kawade Shobō Shinsha, 2022).

[64] Takemura, "Heterosekushizumu no keifu," 45. In Takemura's terms, "correct sexuality" is a domesticity that reproduces a class that is hegemonic in society, based on the premise of lifelong, monogamous marriage. Takemura notes that prior to the emergence of capitalism, gender divisions and their associated spheres created a clear separation between men's and women's sexual desires. However, these boundaries began to blur further in the early twentieth century as women started to liberate themselves from the imposed notions of 'correct' sexuality and gender roles.

[65] Aoyama, "Nomizo Naoko: The 'Eternal Girl' Crosses Boundaries," 112.

was raped by Zeus in the form of a swan. In the novel, Suwa makes an advance towards Soya, but it is her who is blamed for seducing him. The scene retold by Mochizuki, depicting the reaction of Suwa's wife: "The dress had been violently ripped—Leda must have resisted with all her strength. But the Countess saw the evidence: Leda's ingratitude, her betrayal, and her husband's unfaithfulness."[66] Despite her innocence, public perception turns against Soya, painting her as a fallen woman who sold her body. Some even compare her to Alexandre Dumas' *La Dame aux Camélias* (*The Lady of the Camellias*). These examples illustrate how Soya, as a Modern Girl, is unjustly transformed into a symbol of moral transgression because her independence, creativity, and defiance of traditional norms.

Despite these judgments, Soya finds refuge and autonomy in her art. Her passion for art becomes a form of self-love and expression, something unreachable by others. Mizuhara notes that while creating art, Soya rises to a higher place unreachable by others by loving herself.[67] Shako's dialogue with Shinna regarding Soya using herself as the model for her art project illustrates this: "It seems that she loves herself too much, like Narcissus by the spring. Perhaps that's why she doesn't get close to anyone." To which Shinna answers: "Artists exhibit such peculiar tendencies. That's why we can't understand them."[68]

Soya's graduation project depicting "Leda and the Swan" embodies the deep connection between self and creation. She uses herself as the model for Leda, earning her the nickname "Leda". Soya/Leda (both the creator and the victim; caught between agency and submission) is inseparable from her art: "I came to believe that the two Ledas were never separate. Just like in *The Picture of Dorian Gray*, the painted Leda was becoming the real Leda—it was gradually becoming clearer to me."[69] Shako's reflection on Soya's creative process further emphasizes her dedication to her art. Soya's desire to create demonstrates that the desires of Modern Girls extend beyond the sexual (as seen when she is branded a "fallen woman" by other characters) or consumerist (as when the proletarians attack her) and encompass a deep engagement with creative expression.[70]

Güzide Sabri and *Hicran Gecesi*

Güzide Sabri, born in Istanbul in 1886, penned her first novel *Münevver* at the age of sixteen. Despite her popularity in the 1920s and 1930s, she slipped into obscurity until Dorlion started to republish her works in 2022. Sabri is known for tragic love stories, many of which were adapted into films. Her characters are intellectual women with a love for the Western arts but often confined to domestic life. Güzide Sabri wrote under the names "Güzide" and "Güzide Osman", not using her husband's (Ahmet Sabri) surname as requested by him.[71] Among the magazines her works were published are *Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete*, *Kadın* and *Kadınlar Dünyası*.

The pattern of the "good" girl versus "bad" girl is a recurring theme in Sabri's works. The "bad" girls, such as Mualla in the novel *Nedret* (1922), are often described as "fancy puppets" or "dangerous women." This contrasts with the presence of a "good" girl character, serving to highlight a moral dichotomy. These "bad" girls either face punishment or undergo a transformation influenced by the "good" girl characters. For instance, Mualla, initially portrayed as frivolous and feisty, eventually adopts a more docile demeanor under Nedret's influence. The first passage that describes Mualla as a "superficial" Westernized girl is as follows:

Mualla was the daughter of a good family. She was raised by foreign nannies; thus she was deprived of national sentiments. She was one of those who spent most of their time in shops at Beyoğlu, chasing fashion. Mualla took pride in this, believing that all

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[66] Nomizo, *Jojū shinri*, 70.

[67] Mizuhara Shion, "Junsui na ren'ai higeki," in *Jojū shinri*, by Nomizo Naoko (Tokyo: Kōdansha, Bungei Bunko, 2001), 236–248.

[68] Nomizo, *Jojū shinri*, 18.

[69] Nomizo, 24-25.

[70] Soya kills Suwa and herself in the end, a scene that calls for a more extensive interpretation than this paper allows. In sum, this act symbolizes Soya's final break from society and its prejudices, where art and destruction become intertwined. In their final dialogue, Suwa expresses that he will divorce his wife and marry her. Soya kills him, rejecting the prospect of any conventional relationship. After killing Suwa, she compares him to an Apollo statue. The roles of the desirer and the object of desire are swapped.

[71] Şahika Karaca, *"Güzide Sabri Aygün: Hayatı, Sanatı ve Türk Edebiyatındaki Yeri Üzerine Bir İnceleme ve Araştırma"* (PhD diss., Erciyes Üniversitesi, 2004). Ahmet Sabri was opposed to Güzide Sabri's writing. After they got married, she stopped writing for a long time, which explains the gap between the publication dates of her two connected novels, *Ölmüş Bir Kadının Evrak-ı Metrukesi (1905)* and *Nedret*.

the virtues of humanity consisted solely of dressing well and looking good.[72]

Nedret, described as "an old sould in a young body" unsettles Mualla, who complains: "She wants me to be like her."[73] Nevertheless, she changes after falling in love with a man. The text reads: "It was as if she had changed and started becoming a good girl. Becoming more like Nedret was a sweet consolation for her. Mualla wished to be appreciated by others like Nedret."[74]

In *Hicran Gecesi*, the "bad" girl does not undergo a transformation, but meets a tragic end. The protagonist Serap and her friend Ilhan, who is also the niece of Serap's adoptive father, are opposites of one another like Mualla and Nedret. Throughout the novel, Serap is described as a "mysterious beauty": She is "so beautiful and charming as to captivate a man" and has "bewitching eyes."[75] Even the husband exoticizes her: "What a marvelous creature you are….What a fierce and mysterious beauty has been bestowed upon you."[76] Celal, her lover, refers to her as a "mysterious creature."

Serap is also an orphan with Western tastes, travels to Europe, hosts Western-style parties, and wears Western clothes.[77] In the novel, Serap is branded a "fallen woman" from the very start. Rumors about her being an orphan follow her everywhere, leading to the collapse of two engagements and tarnishing her reputation, ultimately turning her into "a resentful woman whose heart was stomped on." Even her decision to marry an older man is framed as an act of "revenge." On her wedding night, a young man offers his explanation for why Serap is marrying Fazıl Şükrü:

All of these are sacrifices made to deceive herself, to distract, to appear happy to others, and to take revenge on the fiancé who left her. The desire to become the real hero of the events in films and novels has become the most fundamental longing in the hearts of young girls. Serap is one of these heroes... Poor Fazıl Şükrü, unaware that he is the most pitiable man in the world.[78]

Serap is perceived by others, especially men, as a Madame-Bovary-like figure, marrying an older man but falling in love with a younger one, Celal. The following remarks exemplify their prejudices against Serap: "She had ruined a man as rational as Fazıl Şükrü" and "Fazıl Şükrü, who had fallen victim to the misfortune of being enslaved by a young woman at his age..."[79] All the blame is put upon Serap; from the male characters' point of view, Serap is either a young temptress or a beautiful mirage.[80]

While Serap is portrayed as dangerous and reckless, Ilhan represents selflessness and moral integrity. İlhan, also an orphan is described as: "Modest", "selfless", and "a girl with a heart of gold." According to Celal, she is "a self-sacrificing machine, constantly working for the comfort of others."[81] Ilhan gets a happy ending, whereas Serap dies in a car accident.

Fazıl Bey's daughter, Emel, also serves as a foil to Serap. Educated in Europe, Emel represents the "ideal" New Woman, with her Western education, loyalty to family, and traditional values. Unlike Serap, Emel is not snobbish: "This girl, who had spent a long time in Europe was nothing like a snob."[82] Emel mocks her stepmother, refers to her as "kibar bir kokoş" (a refined, overdressed woman) and "süslü bir kukla" (an ornate puppet).[83] According to Betül Coşkun, the second term is used often in Güzide's works to criticize *alafranga* girls. Similar terms were used by other women authors to distinguish between the "ideal" modern woman and the "frivolous" *alafranga* girl. As Coşkun notes, "Female novelists create snobbish women who 'should not exist' in society to promote the ideal modern

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[72] Güzide Sabri, *Nedret* (Istanbul: İthaki Yayınları, 2021), 33.

[73] Sabri, *Nedret*, 59.

[74] Sabri, 145.

[75] Sabri, 25-27.

[76] Sabri, 33.

[77] Güzide Sabri, *Hicran Gecesi* (Istanbul: Dorlion, 2022).

[78] Sabri, *Hicran Gecesi*, 6.

[79] Sabri, 35.

[80] "Serap" in Turkish means mirage/illusion. In the text, there are several references to this, such as: "Believe me, there is no love today, only passion, pleasure, entertainment—these are what have taken the place of love.... Remember, happiness is a mirage." (63)

[81] Sabri, *Hicran Gecesi*, 129.

[82] Sabri, 75.

[83] Sabri, 76-78.

woman type…. In Fatma Âliye's novels, they are the 'frivolous woman'; in Halide Edip's, the 'decorative doll' in Güzide Sabri's, the 'modern puppet.' They often feature in novels as stock characters, sometimes with a critical tone, sometimes humorously."[84] In this sense, Mualla and Serap function as "bad examples" of modern women. As seen in previous examples, they are criticized for not conforming to the ideal of the republican woman like Nedret, Ihsan or Emel. What differs Mualla and Nedret, however, is that Mualla is single whereas Serap is a married woman, which makes her desires more "dangerous."

Throughout the narrative, Serap's desire is depicted as both alluring and destructive. Scenes of passion and risk-taking reflect her willingness to defy conventions for the sake of love:

Maybe I'm mad, maybe I'm ill; I don't know, for I'm in love with a heartless stone. How strange life is—amidst so many young and handsome men surrounding me, in all this vast existence, how wretched I am... I fall into the calamity of loving this hard, coarse-souled, arrogant man. And what kind of love is it, do you know, İlhan? A love that becomes as wild and brave as a hyena in the face of chasms and fires—a love that reaches unto death.…"[85]

Serap is an active pursuer of love, braver than Celal. In her last meeting with Celal, before he gets married to İlhan, Serap says: "Despite everything, I never even thought of being apart from you for a minute, Celal. I am brave, love gives me great strength. Let's run away from here, let's go live together in a far corner of the West. I'm not poor; I have enough wealth to take care of both of us."[86] On the other hand, Celal remains unsympathetic to her pleas and goes as far to call their affair a murder. The married woman in love is condemned even by the lover.

In another scene, Serap faints, unable to bear the weight of her impossible love. The excess of desire is portrayed as an illness of the mind, with Serap's actions and choices ultimately leading to her downfall. The tragic ending, marked by Serap's death serves as a cautionary tale about the consequences of unrestrained desire, resembling the 1920s stories with national discourse. As Türe explains:

According to the idealized, nationalistic discourse, the girls' claim over their own bodies and their premarital or extramarital sexual relationships are signs of degeneration. To save them from this situation, or to prevent them from being influenced by these thoughts, social control is essential.[87]

In such stories it is the mother, neighbors or other characters that impose social control, which is observed in characters' reactions to contrasting images of modern women found in Sabri's works. For instance, after marrying İlhan, Celal writes to his friend Kenan: "Instead of a girl who plays the piano exceptionally, paints like a painter, and rides horses more than the most famous cavalryman, seek a wife who can be the lady of the salon and the woman of the house."[88] This emphasizes the role of the republican wife as defined by nationalist discourse. As Türe notes, this prototype is challenged by women in literature who "do not repress their sexuality", but "prioritize sexuality over everything else."[89] Through her uncontrollable sexuality, Serap disrupts this ideal.

It should be noted that Sabri's *Hicran Gecesi* also serves as a criticism of loveless marriages. An old man loving a young woman is described as "comical" in the novel; initially Fazıl hesitates to propose to Serap as he assumes she will make fun of him. Serap's mother tells her "not to accept the proposal if its for his money."[90] Türe interprets commonly explored theme of young women marrying older rich men in early twentieth century Turkish literature as "passion for luxury": in such stories, the desire for wealth and luxury competes with the idea of love.[91] Women aim to marry rich men for a comfortable life but are drawn to younger men during marriage. Sabri, however, departs from this trope; Serap Serap marries Fazıl not for money, but because of the rumors surrounding her origin (orphan) and reputation. Nevertheless, desire for love outweighs rational marriage in Serap's case. The contrast between the republican New Woman and the *alafranga* girl becomes evident in the women characters' choices regarding love in

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[84] Coşkun, "Türk Modernleşmesini Kadın Romanları Üzerinden Okumak: Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyet'e," 935.

[85] Sabri, *Hicran Gecesi*, 47.

[86] Sabri, 137.

[87] Türe, *Facts and Fantasies*, 201.

[88] Sabri, *Hicran Gecesi*, 162.

[89] Türe, *Facts and Fantasies*, 207.

[90] Sabri, *Hicran Gecesi*, 32.

[91] Türe, *Facts and Fantasies*, 173.

Sabri's works.

Evaluation of Key Themes and Findings

The selected works reveal common themes of autonomy, creativity, and the struggle against social norms, while also highlighting cultural differences in the portrayal of Modern Girls. These themes emerge within the broader context of both countries' efforts to modernize and Westernize, particularly concerning the transformation of gender relations and the role of women in society.

According to Binnaz Toprak, one of the differences between Japanese and Turkish modernity was that "Japan's transition to modernity via the economic route met with much less resistance than Turkey's model of cultural change."[92] In the Tanzimat era (1839-76), Ottoman Turkey "resented" Westernization. Unlike the Japanese modernization, in Turkey religion was the source of resistance. Despite their differences, the emancipation of women was one of the most important objectifications of modernization in both countries. Toprak adds: "Gender relations were the basis of the Republican project of modernity", whereas in Japan "patriarchy had less to do with religion but rested on the traditional family, or *ie*, system"[93].

Moreover, Japan's modernism in the Taishō era (1912-26) was less state-led compared to the Meiji era (1868-1912)[94] whereas Turkey's modernization in the 1920s resembled the Meiji era with significant state influence. This situation affected the position of women: According to Yaprak Zihnioğlu " the Kemalist government, although it regarded the issue of women's rights as a 'symbol of the modernization/Westernization program,' wanted to implement its women's rights project within the boundaries it set."[95] Within these boundaries women's roles and desires were still confined to the domestic: prior to Republican era, in the traditional/religious patriarchal order, women were seen above all as "sexual objects," and there was fear that they might damage the "honor of the family and community (congregation)", whereas during the Republican period, although women were now permitted to enter the public sphere, the old fears concerning women still persisted.[96]

As Toprak explains, in Turkey, the Republican leadership viewed the Ottoman Empire's failure to modernize as largely due to the influence of Islam and the *ulema* (Muslim scholars trained in Islamic law), believing that embracing Western civilization was the key to Turkey's inclusion among "civilized" nations. A key aspect of this Westernization was the transformation of gender relations, with women becoming publicly visible and participating alongside men in the public sphere, a stark contrast to the traditionally segregated roles of men and women in Muslim societies. [97] The term "modern femininity" encompassed women who are "educated professional", "involved in the activities of clubs and societies", "a good wife, a good mother, and a smart follower of fashion."[98]

Suat Derviş's and Güzide Sabri's works exemplify the struggles caused by the nation's focus on the "good wife" role within this framework of modern femininity. In Derviş's narratives, characters like Cavide embody the independent, working woman—a translator enjoying the freedoms granted to women during modernization. However, Cavide is ultimately "pushed into" marriage due to hardships she faces in the workplace, highlighting the limited options available to women and the expectation that marriage is the ultimate goal. Derviş's portrayal exposes the contradictions in the Republican vision of modernity, where women's public participation is encouraged but their autonomy is curtailed by traditional expectations. Similarly, Sabri's female characters, though often educated and with Western tastes, typically do not work and are expected to fulfill domestic roles as good wives and mothers. The *alafranga* girls in her works, with their unrestrained sexuality, are portrayed as threats to social norms. Characters like Serap in *Hicran Gecesi* face tragic ends for deviating from the ideal of the republican woman. These narratives

[92] Binnaz Toprak, "Economic Development versus Cultural Transformation: Projects of Modernity in Japan and Turkey," *New Perspectives on Turkey* 35 (2006).

[93] Toprak, "Economic Development versus Cultural Transformation: Projects of Modernity in Japan and Turkey, 109.

[94] Elise K. Tipton and John Clark, eds., *Being Modern in Japan: Culture and Society from the 1910s to the 1930s* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2000), 7.

[95] Yaprak Zihnioğlu, *Kadınsız İnkılap: Nezihe Muhiddin, Kadınlar Halk Fırkası, Kadın Birliği* (İstanbul: Metis, 2022), 149.

[96] Fatmagül Berktay, "Cumhuriyet'in 75 Yıllık Serüvenine Kadınlar Açısından Bakmak," in *75. Yılda Kadınlar ve Erkekler* (İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Yayınları, 1998), 1–11.

[97] Toprak, "Economic Development versus Cultural Transformation: Projects of Modernity in Japan and Turkey."

[98] Betül Karagöz, "Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'ndan Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'ne Kalan Bir Mesele: Kadınların Konumu," *Karadeniz*, no. 29 (2016), 40.

reinforce the idea that while modernization allows for certain advancements for women, those who deviate from prescribed roles face social condemnation.

In Japan, between 1890 and 1911, state policies reinforced a limited view of women's roles, emphasizing their contributions through domestic duties and household management. In the 1920s, there was a shift in the discourse on girls' education, which now included the idea that "it is desirable for women to have jobs." This was the time when the number of *shokugyō fujin*「職業婦人」(career women) increased rapidly The Meiji ideology of "good wife, wise mother" still influenced education at girls' schools by imposing specific conditions on women who aspired to become *shokugyō fujin*. Pursuing a career was acceptable as long as it did not interfere with household chores or child-rearing and did not compromise their femininity.[99]

Barbara Satō defines the 1920s as a turning point regarding the construction of female identity that emerged with the consumer society. She references painter Kimura Shōhachi (1893-1958), who noted, "The foundation was laid in Taishō. There followed development and growth beyond description." He observed that compared to the Meiji period, "the things that underwent a dramatic restructuring were the physical appearance of the city (Tokyo), and women's manners and customs."[100] According to Kimura, the Great Kantō earthquake—occurring midway through the Taishō period—brought changes "no one could have imagined," accelerating the transformation of both the cityscape and social norms, especially those relating to women.[101] The Taishō era, with its democratic currents, opened the door for greater social and economic participation for women. Compared to the Meiji era, women had "a greater chance for economic (and thus, potentially, sexual) independence," but most of the new jobs available to women were so undercompensated that even paying rent on a single woman's wages was a major obstacle."[102]

Uno Chiyo's character Kazue in *Aru hitori no onna no hanashi* exemplifies the struggles faced by Modern Girls during this transformative period. Kazue achieves economic and sexual independence by working multiple jobs and pursuing a writing career. However, she also encounters significant challenges. Her determination to live independently and follow her desires places her outside traditional norms, inviting judgment and misunderstanding. Kazue's experiences highlight the pressures faced by women who stepped beyond conventional roles, and the complexities of pursuing autonomy in a rapidly modernizing society. Similarly, Nomizo Naoko's character Soya in *Jojū shinri* represents the struggle to make ends meet while confronting prejudices. Soya works late hours in Ginza, a district associated with modernity and nightlife, which leads to her being mislabeled as a "fallen woman." Her androgynous appearance and dedication to her art challenge gender norms, causing others to objectify and misjudge her. Being outside the home and conventional expectations becomes an invitation to social criticism. Soya's experiences reflect the difficulties faced by women who sought economic independence and personal fulfillment amid constraints.

Set in the 1920s and 1930s, a period of these significant social and cultural changes regarding Japanese and Turkish women, the selected works illustrate the experiences of young women contending with the challenges of modern urban life. In the 1920s and 1930s, both Japan and Turkey saw the emergence of entertainment venues as integral parts of urban life.[103] These modern spaces, such as cafes, bars, and music halls, became centers for social interaction and cultural exchange, highlighting the cosmopolitan atmosphere of the era. Cavide hangs out at a Western-style café and bar. Serap attends balls, which were regarded as key events where men and women mingled in a social setting, symbolizing the new social order of the Republic.[104] Kazue works as a waitress (among other jobs) in Tokyo.

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[99] Saitō Minako, *Modan gāru ron* (Tokyo: Bungei Shunjū, Bunshun Bunko, 2003).

[100] Kimura Shōhachi, *Zuihitsu josei sandai* (Tokyo: Kawade shobō, 1956), 86, quoted in Barbara Satō, *The New Japanese Woman* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2003), 33.

[101] Shōhachi, *Zuihitsu josei sandai, 33*.

[102] William O. Gardner, *Advertising Tower: Japanese Modernism and Modernity in the 1920s* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center Publications Program, 2006), 148.

[103] For more on Istanbul cosmopolitanism see Zafer Toprak, *Türkiye'de Yeni Hayat: İnkılap ve Travma, 1908-1928* (Istanbul: Doğan Egmont, 2017). With the arrival of White Russian émigrés to Istanbul, escaping the Bolshevik Revolution, the city became a melting pot of cultures, with Russian customs and fashions influencing the local population. This included the establishment of cabarets and nightclubs where Russian women often performed, as well as the adoption of Western-style beach culture, which was a novelty in Istanbul at the time.

[104] Filiz Yıldız, *1930'lu Yılların Gazetelerinde Modern Türk Kadını İmgesi* (Konya: Nüve Kültür Merkezi Yayınları, 2020).

Nomizo's Soya is a young woman taking on taxing jobs in Ginza. Each character's experiences underscore their adaptability to city life that came with struggles. Depictions of Tokyo in Nomizo's and Istanbul in Derviş's texts reflect the loneliness of urban women. While Derviş's *Kadın Aşksız Yaşamaz* describes Istanbul as "uncanny" and "full of possibilities." On top of her treatment by co-workers, Cavide feels even more lonely because of the atmosphere of the city. On the other hand, Nomizo's portrayal of modern Tokyo, as Kobari suggests, shatters the illusion of its glamorous nightlife, emphasizing the judgments faced by marginalized individuals.[105]

One of the common patterns in the selected texts is the portrayal of Modern Girls as orphans (with the exception of Cavide, who still has her mother), which I interpret as a deliberate choice by the authors. Kandiyoti suggests that in early twentieth century Turkish literature, orphanhood symbolizes the characters' detachment from traditional values and their struggle to integrate into society. She further explains that unlike Western novels, where characters often rise from poverty to wealth, Turkish novels of this period present orphans as disconnected from their roots, vulnerable, and alienated.[106] By focusing on characters without traditional family ties, the selected works highlight the independence and freedom of Modern Girls to challenge social norms. The orphan motif suggests that the absence of familial constraints allows these characters to develop their unconventional ways.

It is not only the absence of familial constraints that enables these characters to defy societal expectations; their actions and choices, including practicing free love, reflect and contribute to the social transformations of their time. In both cultures, Modern Girls were known for their involvement in unconventional relationships. The adoption of new lifestyles encouraged women to actively engage in public spaces, leading to increased interactions with others. This newfound freedom enabled women to experience love more openly, as exemplified by Kazue and Cavide. As Fatma Türe explains Turkish modernization meant women becoming publicly visible and participating alongside men in the public sphere: "…especially in the fields of education and civil law after the revolution of 1908, again though limited, can nevertheless be claimed to have provided the urban women with a freer, more visible life compared to that of their mothers."[107]

However, in the Turkish context, love sometimes came with limitations. Numerous examples of "moral stories"[108] that discourage Westernized lifestyles and women engaging in unconventional relationships can be found in early twentieth Turkish literature. Love is often constrained by traditional norms, and female characters who pursue forbidden passions invariably meet tragic fates.[109] With its tragic ending, Sabri's *Hicran Gecesi* follows the same pattern found in these moral stories. By contrast, the Japanese selected works are devoid of moral messages. This difference suggests that the nationalist discourse in Turkey had an impact on literature, particularly how women's autonomy was framed by women authors like Sabri, who fit the definition of the New/Republican Woman, rather than the Modern Girl. The dichotomy between the "good" girl and the "bad" girl is evident in works by Sabri and Nomizo, where idealized representations of the modern woman (Ilhan, Sunako) contrast with those who deviate from societal norms (Serap, Soya). However, although Nomizo's work concludes with Soya's death, it is devoid of the moral messages commonly found in Sabri's novel. Many characters assume the stereotypical "bad" girl in Soya because she does not conform to gender roles. Serap is considered one because she prioritizes her desires over marriage. Both Soya and Serap represent figures who defy gendered expectations, but the ways they are labeled and

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[105] Kobari Yūki, *Yūkaku, hanayagi-kai: dansu hōru, kafe no kindaishi* (Kawade shobō shinsha, 2022).

[106] Deniz Kandiyoti, *Cariyeler, Bacılar, Yurttaşlar: Kimlikler ve Toplumsal Dönüşümler*, trans. Aksu Bora, Feyziye Sayılan, Şirin Tekeli, Hüseyin Tapınç, and Ferhunde Özbay (Istanbul: Metis Yayınları, 2019).

[107] Türe, *Facts and Fantasies*, 53.

[108] Examples of young women being torn between East and West are prevalent in Turkish literature, an example being Peyami Safa's *Fatih-Harbiye* (1931). In the novel Neriman, a young woman is caught between two worlds. Living in the conservative neighborhood of Fatih, she is in a relationship with her childhood friend Şinasi, who embodies Eastern traditions and values. Neriman, however, is drawn to Macit, a modern man who embraces Western music and lifestyle. Influenced by Macit, she becomes fascinated with Western culture and expresses a desire to attend a ball. Her indecision is resolved when she hears a tragic story from a woman whose daughter fell in love with a Russian man. The daughter lived in poor conditions with him, left him for a wealthy man, but ultimately could not find happiness and committed suicide. This encounter prompts Neriman to choose Şinasi.

[109] See 1901 novel Aşk-ı Memnu (Forbidden Love) by the male author Halit Ziya Uşaklıgil: Like Serap, having married an older man, Bihter falls in love with her husband's nephew and after their affair ends, commits suicide. Although Bihter conforms to gender roles in many aspects, transgressing the boundaries of marriage is not rewarded in the novel. Aside from her tragic death, she is depicted as a lonely woman throughout the story, with other female characters showing disdain for her and even her mother treating her coldly.

judged reveal cultural distinctions. Soya's nonconformity is met with misunderstanding and rejection, yet it is not explicitly framed as immoral within the narrative, while Serap's desires are portrayed as dangerous transgressions, resulting in severe moral repercussions. This difference illustrates how patriarchal control over women's bodies and desires manifests differently in Japanese and Turkish contexts, with nationalist discourse in Turkey intensifying the moral judgment surrounding women's autonomy.

In the selected texts, Modern Girl characters grapple with judgments and challenges that are caused by not conforming to gender norms. As a result, they are mislabeled and misunderstood by other characters. Despite the challenges they face, both Turkish and Japanese Modern Girl characters, as depicted by women authors, pursue their desires. Love (often in the form of creativity) becomes a conduit for self-exploration, allowing allows these characters to redefine their identities and assert their autonomy within a restrictive cultural framework.

Conclusion

This analysis has revealed that Japanese and Turkish women authors present complex, multifaceted portrayals of Modern Girls, challenging the superficial and often morally reductive depictions by male authors and media of the time. In Japanese literature, while Modern Girls were frequently reduced to consumerist or sexualized figures by male authors like Tanizaki Jun'ichirō, Uno Chiyo's *Aru hitori no onna no hanashi* depicts Kazue as a working woman whose desire for autonomy and creativity defies these limited portrayals. Kazue's experiences as a café waitress and aspiring writer reflect the gendered challenges of modern urban life, where women were expected to balance newfound independence with negative reactions from the society. This is also observed in Nomizo Naoko's *Jojū shinri*, which portrays Soya's artistic passion and her rejection of gender roles, culminating in her isolation and mislabeling.

In the Turkish context, Suat Derviş's *Kadın Aşksız Yaşamaz* and Güzide Sabri's *Hicran Gecesi* illustrate the tensions between the Kemalist reforms that encouraged women's public visibility and the continuing pressure for women to conform to domestic ideals. Cavide, in Derviş's novel, grapples with the paradox of being an independent working woman in 1930s Istanbul while facing judgements over her romantic life. Her struggle reflects the broader societal expectation that women remain modest and prioritize marriage, even as they enter the workforce. Sabri's *Hicran Gecesi* contrasts characters like Serap, who defies the conventions of marriage and sexual modesty, with Ilhan, who conforms to the nationalist ideal of the loyal, self-sacrificing wife. The tragic fate of Serap exemplifies the moral consequences often imposed on women who sought to live outside societal norms in the context of early Republican Turkey.

These findings highlight how women authors in both Japan and Turkey portrayed the Modern Girl figure, emphasizing their desires for autonomy, creativity, and love while exposing the limitations imposed by patriarchal structures. These narratives challenge the one-dimensional depictions often found in male-authored works and provide insight into the ways Modern Girls navigated the contradictions of modernization. Through their literary works, Uno, Nomizo, Derviş, and Sabri foreground the complexities of being a Modern Girl in two culturally distinct societies undergoing rapid change, where women's desires for self-expression often collided with traditional expectations. This research thus underscores the significance of women's writing as a means of articulating female desires and experiences, challenging patriarchal constraints, and contributing to the discourse on modernity and gender.

Extended Abstract

In the 1920s, Modern Girls emerged as a global phenomenon, capturing public attention in countries like Turkey and Japan due to their Westernized appearance and liberal lifestyles. These women, often depicted with bobbed hair, fashionable clothing, and a carefree attitude, became symbols of modernity and were featured in literature and media. However, the portrayals of Modern Girls, especially by male authors and in the media, were predominantly characterized by stereotypes, reducing them to fashion icons, femme fatales, or materialistic party girls. These limited representations failed to capture the complexities of their identities and experiences.

In Japan, studies on Modern Girls, or *modan gaaru* 「モダンガール」 (abbreviated as *moga*「モガ」), have primarily

focused on media portrayals, which emphasized superficial aspects, or perceived moral decay, without delving into the deeper personal and social struggles these women faced. Conversely, the representation of Turkish Modern Girls, often referred to as "alafranga" and "flappers," has been a neglected topic in literary studies. Most scholarly works on Turkish Modern Girls rely on newspaper articles or advertisements as primary sources, rarely mentioning literary portrayals.

This paper challenges these limited representations by exploring themes of desire and self-representation in the works of Japanese and Turkish women authors. Through a comparative literary analysis, I examine the portrayals of Modern Girl characters in the early 20th century. By focusing on themes of desire, agency, and resistance to societal norms, this analysis explores how these authors depict the complexities of Modern Girl figures within their respective socio-cultural contexts. Rather than focusing on narrative or stylistic techniques, the analysis highlights the socio-political tensions in Japan and Turkey during their modernization periods, using the characters and their experiences as lenses to understand broader societal concerns about women's roles. The selected texts reveal how Modern Girls challenge patriarchal expectations through their pursuit of independence, creative expression, and romantic desire, while simultaneously being constrained by the dominant cultural narratives of their time.

By analyzing the literary portrayals of Modern Girl characters, I demonstrate that their identities extend far beyond the stereotypical depictions offered by male authors and mainstream media. The works of Japanese authors Uno Chiyo (1897–1996) and Nomizo Naoko (1897–1987), along with Turkish authors Suat Derviş (1905–1972) and Güzide Sabri (1886–1946), present more complex portrayals of Modern Girls, highlighting their desires, struggles, and resistance to gender norms. For instance, Uno, through her Modern Girl character Kazue, reveals the struggles of a working woman subjected to objectification while pursuing her desire to write, whereas Derviş explores similar issues faced by her character Cavide in the workplace. Nomizo's portrayal of Soya as an independent, androgynous artist exposes the prejudices faced by Modern Girls who refuse to conform to gender roles. Similarly, Serap in Sabri's novel, by defying the marriage system, poses a threat to societal values and, as a result, faces tragedy. These characters assert their agency through the pursuit of their desires, albeit within certain limitations.

Uno Chiyo's *Aru hitori no onna no hanashi* (The Story of a Lonely Woman, 1971) offers an autobiographical account of Uno's youth. The protagonist Kazue represents a departure from the portrayal of café waitresses by male authors, who often depicted such women as objects of desire. Instead, Uno presents Kazue as a hardworking woman facing the harsh realities of urban life. Uno's work challenges how the café waitress figure was frequently trivialized by male authors as mere objects of desire.

Similarly, Suat Derviş's *Kadın Aşksız Yaşamaz* (A Woman Doesn't Live Without Love, 1935) Cavide's independence as a working woman in 1930s Istanbul aligns with the Kemalist reforms that promoted women's participation in public life, yet her romantic desires, coupled with societal expectations for marriage, reveal the inherent contradictions of the era's gender ideology. Cavide's experiences expose the double bind of modern women, who were encouraged to enter the workforce yet still pressured to conform to traditional roles within marriage, reflecting the limitations of modernization in Turkey.

Nomizo Naoko's *Jojū shinri* (The Psychology of a Female Beast, 1930) Soya's androgyny and creative passion challenge the Meiji-era ideals of women as "good wives, wise mothers" and reflect the Taishō-period exploration of women's independence. Nomizo's Tokyo shatters the idealized portrayal of the modern urban woman as liberated, revealing the underlying class and gender-based judgments. Soya's arrest for being mistaken as a prostitute underscore how Modern Girls, despite their public visibility, were often perceived as morally transgressive within Japan's patriarchal system.

Güzide Sabri's *Hicran Gecesi* (The Night of Parting, serialized 1936; book 1937) the contrast between Serap's tragic end and Ilhan's virtuous role reflects the nationalist discourse of the Republican Turkey, where women's sexuality was controlled. Sabri critiques the social expectation that women conform to the ideal Republican wife—loyal, self-sacrificing, and desexualized. Serap's "dangerous" desires and eventual downfall highlight the tension between the pursuit of love and the moral constraints placed upon women, which were often used to regulate and police women's behavior as part of nation-building efforts.

The paper thus situates the desires of Modern Girls within the broader socio-political landscapes of Japan and Turkey, both of which were undergoing significant transformations in the early 20th century. In Japan, the shift from the Meiji to the Taishō period involved rapid modernization efforts. These changes impacted gender roles, as traditional values around women's domesticity (the "good wife, wise mother" ideal) were juxtaposed against the new opportunities for women in the workforce and public life. Despite the visibility and autonomy gained by figures like the Modern Girl, their public presence was often perceived as morally transgressive, as seen in Soya's arrest in *Jojū shinri*. This reflects the tension between women's growing independence and lingering patriarchal norms, with Modern Girls embodying both the promise of liberation and the threat to established social order. Uno's Kazue, similarly, navigates the same societal judgments as she works multiple jobs in a rapidly modernizing Tokyo, facing objectification and systemic bias against working women.

Similarly, in Turkey, the Kemalist reforms following the establishment of the Republic emphasized the role of women in shaping the nation. Women were encouraged to participate in public life, yet this new role came with expectations of conforming to the ideals of the "ideal Republican woman"—loyal, self-sacrificing, and desexualized. Characters like Cavide in *Kadın Aşksız Yaşamaz* and Serap in *Hicran Gecesi* illustrate the contradiction inherent in these reforms. While they seek autonomy and personal fulfillment, their desires are often curbed by societal pressures to marry or maintain traditional gender roles. Sabri's work especially critiques this dynamic, showing how women who deviate from societal norms, like Serap, are punished or reined back into conformity.

By comparing these literary portrayals, the paper connects the concept of "desire" to larger historical currents. In both contexts, women's desires—whether for independence, love, or self-expression—are shaped by modernization but remain constrained by deeply entrenched social structures. The paper highlights how literature provides a space to explore these tensions and reveal the complexities of women's experiences in Japan and Turkey during this period of change.

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Kare International Journal of Comparative Literature

Research Article / Araştırma Makalesi

Osmanlı Devleti ve Kore Joseon Hanedanlığı Saray Mutfağı [1]

Ottoman's Cuisine and Joseon Dynasty's Royal Cuisine

Elif Durmuş[2]

S. Göksel Türközü[3]

Öz: Devletlerin idari merkezi konumundaki saray aynı zamanda yönetici ve ailesinin, saray birimlerinde görev alanların yaşadığı ve sosyal yaşantının var olduğu bir yerdi. Saraylar yaşamın devamını sağlayan, temelde halk ile aynı ancak hizmet noktasında farklılıklar taşıyan bir teşkilatlanmaya sahipti. Farklı birimlerden oluşan teşkilatlanmalar saray yaşamında düzeni sağlarken teşkilat içerisindeki çalışanlar yönetici ve ailesinin ihtiyaç duyduğu hizmetleri eksiksiz yerine getirirdi. Bu teşkilatlar içerisinde uzun tarihsel bir süreçten geçerek farklı kültürler ile harmanlanan devlete has bir saray mutfağı dikkat çeker. Saray mutfağı devletin bulunduğu coğrafyanın ve etkileşimde olduğu devletlerin aktardığı kültür izlerini taşırdı.

Bu makalede aynı yüzyılda tarih sahnesinde yer almış Osmanlı Devleti ve Kore Joseon Hanedanlığı döneminde sarayda oluşmuş yemek kültürü ve mutfak teşkilatlanması konuları ele alınacaktır. Kendi has bölümlerden oluşan Osmanlı Devleti'nde Matbah-ı Amire, Joseon Hanedanlığı'nda Socu Dairesi olarak adlandırılan mutfaklarda görev alan çalışanlar hakkında bilgiler verilecektir. Hükümdara sunulan yemek öğünleri, yemek türleri, padişah ve krala yemek sunulurken uyulan teşrifatlardan bahsedilecektir.

Abstract: The palace, which was the administrative center of the states, was also a place where the ruler and his family and those working in the palace units lived and where social life existed. The palaces had an organization that ensured the continuation of life, basically the same as the public, but with differences in terms of service. While organizations consisting of different units ensured order in palace life, the employees within the organization fully provided the services needed by the ruler and his family. Among these organizations, a palace cuisine unique to the state, blended with different cultures through a long historical process, attracts attention. The palace cuisine bore the cultural traces of the geography in which the state was located and the states it interacted with.

In this article, the issues of food culture and culinary organization that were formed in the palace during the Ottoman Empire and the Korean Joseon Dynasty, which took place on the stage of history in the same century, will be discussed. Information will be given about the employees working in the kitchens called Matbah-ı Amire in the Ottoman Empire and Socu Department in the Joseon Dynasty, which consist of their own sections. The meals served to the ruler, the types of food, and the ceremonies followed when serving meals to the sultan and the king will be mentioned.

Giriş [4]

Osmanlı Devleti 1299 – 1922 yılları arasında, Kore Joseon Hanedanlığı ise 1392 – 1897 yılları arasında hüküm sürmüştür. İki devlet de monarşi ile yönetilmiştir. Ayrıca Osmanlı Devleti'nde İslam dini hakimken Joseon Hanedanlığı'nda özellikle saray ve çevresinde Konfüçyüsçü düşünce sistemi hâkim olmuştur. Uzun tarihler boyunca ayakta kalmış Osmanlı Devleti ve Joseon Hanedanlığı hem süregelen kültürlerini devam ettirmiş hem de farklı kültürel unsurlar ile yoğrularak kendi kültürlerini ortaya çıkarmışlardır. Yeni toprakların fethedilmesi, ticaret sayesinde uzak ülkelerin kültürleri ile tanışma fırsatları iki devletin de kültürlerini şekillendirmiştir. Farklı kültürlerle etkileşim sonucunda ortaya çıkan kültürlerden biri de mutfak kültürüdür. Bu çalışmada Osmanlı Devleti ve Joseon Hanedanlığı saray mutfakları kültürleri incelenmiştir.

Orta Asya saray mutfağı ve Anadolu mutfağına sahip olan Osmanlı Devleti saray mutfağı fethettikleri topraklardaki mutfak kültürleri ile harmanlanarak ortaya çıkmıştır. Yaklaşık dokuz yüzyıl boyunca hüküm süren Osmanlı Devleti'nin sahip olduğu saray mutfağını tek bir çatı altında toplamak mümkün değildir. Bu çalışmada Fatih Sultan Mehmed'in İstanbul'u fethettikten sonra inşa ettirdiği Topkapı Sarayı'ndaki saray mutfağı incelenecektir.

Joseon Hanedanlığı kendinden önce aynı topraklarda hüküm süren Baekje (MÖ 18-MS 660), Shilla (MÖ 57- MS 935), Goguryeo (MÖ 37- MS 668) ve Goryeo (918-1392) gibi hanedanlıkların mutfağı ile komşu ülkesi Çin mutfağı ve Japon mutfağını harmanlayarak kendi mutfak kültürünü ortaya çıkarmıştır. Bu çalışmada Joseon Hanedanlığı'nın ilk kralı Kral Taejo tarafından inşa edilen Gyıonğbok Sarayı (Gyeonbokgung,경복궁)'ndaki saray mutfağı incelenecektir.

Osmanlı Saray Mutfağı

Matbah-ı Amire Osmanlı saray mutfağına verilen isimdir. Fatih Sultan Mehmed tarafından yaptırılan Topkapı Sarayı'nda Matbah-ı Amire bölümü ikinci avlunun sağ tarafında kurulmuştur. Saray mutfağı yalnızca yemek pişirilen bir yer hem okul hem de kurumdur. Her gün yüzlerce kap yemek pişiren Matbah-ı Amire veya saray matbahının geniş bir teşkilatı vardır: bütün saray erkânının yani enderun ve birun kısımlarının, divan-ı hümayun erkânının ve divan günlerinde oraya gelen kapıkulu efradının, din ve mezhep farkı gözetilmeyerek divana gelen davacı ve şahitlerin hulasa dört beş bin kişinin yemekleri her gün saray matbahlarında pişirilmektedir.[5]

Has Mutfak, Ağalar Mutfağı, Divan Mutfağı vb. mutfaklarda saray halkının yemekleri pişirilir. Helvahane çeşitli tatlı, turşu, macun, şerbet, ilaç ve hatta kokulu sabunların yapıldığı mekandır.[6] Saray mutfağında kullanılacak malzemeler kilerde depolanır Matbah-ı Amire içerisindeki iki fırında ekmek pişirilir ve et, sebze ve süt ürünlerinin temini için ayrı işletmeler bulunur. Mutfakta kullanılan bakır eşyaların kalaylandığı kalayhane de mutfak bölümünde bulunmaktadır.

Matbah-ı Amire'de görev alacak aşçılar öncelikle çıraklık ve kalfalık aşamalarından geçmektedirler, bu iki aşamadan geçen kişi ustalığa yükselir. Saray mutfağının en üst rütbe sahibi zevvakindir. Zevvakin diğer adıyla Çaşnigirbaşı padişah için hazırlanan yemekleri denetler ve yemekler tadımcı çaşnigir tarafından tadılmaktadır. Ayrıca padişaha yemek servisini Çaşnigirler yapmaktadır.

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[4] This work was supported by the Core University Program for Korean Studies through the Ministry of Education of the Republic of Korean Studies Promotion Service of the Academy of Korean Studies (AKS-2019-OLU-2250002).

[5] İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Devleti'nin Saray Teşkilatı,* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1984), 379.

[6] Arif Bilgin, "Bolulu Aşçıların Osmanlı Saray Mutfağına Girişleri", *Bolu'da Halk Kültürü ve Köroğlu Uluslararası Sempozyumu* içinde, Abant İzzet Baysal Üniversitesi Yayınları, no.90, (1998): 43.

Görsel 1. Matbah-ı Amire, Fatih[7]

Matbah-ı amire'deki en önemli mutfak Kuşhane diğer adıyla Matbah-ı Has'dır. Kuşhane'de padişah için yemek pişirilmektedir. En iyi aşçıbaşları burada çalışır ve Matbah-ı Amire için depolanan erzak arasında en kaliteli malzemeler Kuşhane'de kullanılır. Devletin farklı bölgelerinden bölgeyle özdeşleşmiş ürünler saraya getirilir. Bunun yanında Osmanlı saraylarına ait bahçelerden sebze ve meyve, mandıralarından tereyağı, süt ve yoğurt saray mutfaklarına verilen gıdalar arasındadır.[8]

Osmanlı Devleti'nde çeşitli ülke ve ulusların bir arada yaşadığı düşünülürse yemek kültürünün bu çok uluslu kimlikten etkilenmesi kaçınılmazdır. Osmanlı Saray Mutfağı Orta Asya'dan göç eden Türklerin, Anadolu ve Trakya'nın, Ortadoğu'nun, Balkanların, Kafkasların yemek kültürünün harmanlandığı yerdir. Bereketli topraklar, geniş bitki örtüsü, deniz ürünleri, besicilik gibi etkenler saray mutfağında kullanılan malzemelerin çeşitli olmasını sağlamıştır. Günümüz Türk mutfağında fazlaca tüketilen patlıcan, domates, patates Osmanlı Sarayı'na sonradan girmiştir.

Saray'da padişah ve saray halkı sabah ve akşam yemeği olarak iki öğün yemek yemektedir. İslam dini dengeli beslenmeyi tavsiye etmiş ve bu düstur Osmanlı saray halkının ve tebaanın yeme alışkanlıklarını belirlemiştir. Fatih Sultan Mehmed'in Eyüb Sultan vakfiyesinde yemeklerin sabah ve akşam olmak üzere günde iki defa pişirileceği ve iki öğün yemek verileceği, dini ve müstesna günlerde yemeklerin latif ve lezzetli olması gerektiği belirtilirdi.[9] Gün içinde veya yatsı ve sonrası çerez, taze ya da kuru meyve gibi atıştırmalıklar yenilir, yemek vakti dışında gelen konuklara şerbet ikram edilmektedir. Padişah ve saray halkının sofraları sade ve gösterişsizdir. Bir ziyafet ya da şölen olduğunda ise devletin kudretini gözler önüne sermek amacıyla gösterişli sofralar kurulur, mutfaklardan çeşit çeşit yemekler çıkarılmaktadır.

Saray mutfağı hakkında çok fazla kaynak bulunmamasından dolayı padişahın sofralarına dair bilgiler kısıtlıdır. Arif Bilgin'in "Saray Mutfağı", Tuğrul Şavkay'ın "Osmanlı Mutfağı", Süheyl Ünver'in "Fatih Devri Yemekleri" kitapları gibi kaynaklara göre padişahın sabah ve akşam yemeklerinde yedikleri aşağıdaki gibidir:

19. yüzyıl Osmanlı Devleti'ne kadar sabah yemekleri günümüz kahvaltılarından farklıdır. Sabah yenilen yemek

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[7] Flickr.com, "Travel Wings, Fatih, İstanbul," 2010, erişim tarihi 6 Ekim 2023, https://www.flickr.com.

[8] Özge Samancı, "İmparatorluğun Son Döneminde İstanbul ve Osmanlı Saray Mutfak Kültürü" *Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı*, (2008): 199-219.

[9] Süheyl Ünver, *Fatih Devri Yemekleri* (İstanbul: Kemal Matbaası, 1952), 79.

çok daha doyurucu, besin değeri yüksek ve güç verici yemeklerden oluşmaktadır. Sabah yemeği sabah namazı ile öğlen on iki arasında yenilir. Ramazan ayında sabah yemeği sahur vaktinde verilmektedir. Kuşhane'de hazırlanan kahvaltı Çaşnigirbaşı ve maiyetindeki çaşnigirler tarafından tabla ile alınır ve Has Oda'ya götürülür. Padişah yemeğini Has Oda'da alçak bulgari adı verilen sofrada yere oturarak yer. Padişahlar yakın çevresi, genellikle ulema kesimi ile yemeklerini yerdi ancak Fatih devrinin sonlarına doğru protokolden kaynaklı sorunlar sebebiyle yakın çevre ile yemek yemeye son verildiğinden padişah yemeklerini artık tek başına yemeğe başlamıştır.

Has Oda'da padişahın yemek yiyeceği bulgari adı verilen yer masasının altına örtü serilir. Bu örtünün kumaşı genellikle en kaliteli ipektendir ve altın sırmalı işlemelidir. Yer sofrası üzerine de benzer şekilde altın sırmalı ipek kumaş serilir ve üzerine gümüş sini konulur.[10] Yemekten önce padişah ibrikdarbaşının döktüğü su ile ellerini yıkar ve emriyle yemeklerin kapakları açılır. Ayrıca yemek öncesi ve sonrası dua edilir. Sabah ve akşam yemeklerinde düzen bu şekildedir.

Sarayda altın ve gümüş yemek kapları bulunurken padişah genellikle porselen kapları tercih eder.[11] Bu porselen kaplar Çin'den gelen özel seladon kap koleksiyonun parçalarından oluşur. Çin'den ihraç edilen porselenler Osmanlı Sarayı'nda altın yıldızlı süslemeler, mücevherlerle süslenir.[12]
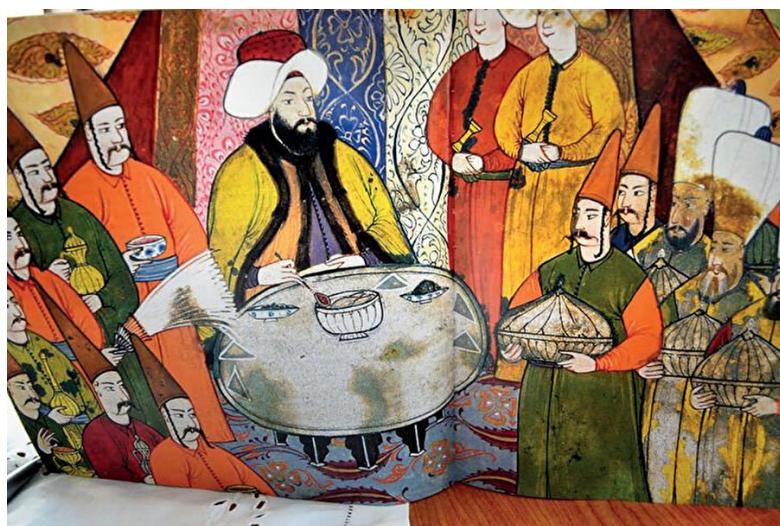
Görsel 2. Osmanlı padişahı akşam yemeği[13]

Saray'da şölen ve ziyafetler dışındaki günlük yemek vakitlerinde lüks ve gösterişten kaçınılır. Yemek süresi uzun değildir. Yemek yanında ekmek muhakkak bulunur. Fırından üç çeşit ekmek çıkar. Padişahın yediği ekmek Bursa buğdayından elde edilen has un ile yapılan ekmektir. [14]

Sabahları genellikle et, nohut, kimyon ve bazen yoğurt eklenmesiyle hazırlanan pirinç çorbası ile güne başlanır. Sabahları genellikle çorba yenilmekle birlikte yahni, etli yemek, pilav gibi yemekler de sofrada bulunur. Ayrıca hamur işi, börek tarzı yemeklerde sabah vakitlerinde padişah sofrasında olur. Haftada bir Yumurtalı lapa ve Bide Lapası verilir.

19. yüzyıl sonlarına doğru modernleşmenin etkisiyle sabah öğünü biraz çeşitlenmiştir. Leyla Saz'ın hatırlarından öğrenildiği kadarıyla sabahleyin bal, kaymak, peynir, reçel, soğuk kavurma, yumurta ile kahvaltı edilmeye başlanmıştır. Yumurta, sebze ve her türlü et ile pişirilmektedir; pastırmalı, kıymalı, sucuklu, domatesli, ıspanaklı, soğanlı gibi.

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[10] Leyla Saz, *Haremde Yaşam* (İstanbul: DBY Yayınları, 2010), 108.

[11] Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Devleti'nde Saray Teşkilatlanması*, 69.

[12] Serkan Gedük, "Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Çin Porselenleri Koleksiyonu Üzerinde Yapılmış Osmanlı Onarımları," *International Association of University Museums Platform Cultural Heritage* 5 no.2, (2022).

[13] Kısıkateş, erişim tarihi 6 Ekim 2023, https://www.kisikates.com.tr/.

[14] Arif Bilgin, "Osmanlı Mutfağı", içinde *Saray Mutfağı*, ed., Arif Bilgin ve Sibel Önçel. (Eskişehir: Anadolu Üniversitesi Basımevi, 2016), 40.

Günde iki öğün yemek yiyen Padişah'ın akşam yemeği ikindi namazını müteakip verilir. Güneş batmadan evvel yemeğini yemiş olur. Ramazan ayında akşam yemeği iftar saatinde yenir. Akşam yemeği genellikle çorbayla başlar. Padişah sofrasının temel yemekleri; çorba, pilav ve et yemekleridir.

Çorba olarak mercimek ve erişte ile hazırlanan çorbaların Orta Asya'ya kadar dayandığı söylenebilir. Akşam yemeklerinde sunulan çorbalar çeşitli malzemelerden yapılırdı. Tavuk etli, kırmızı etli, deniz ürünlü çorbalar, bakliyat, hamur işi çorbaları, terbiyeli çorbalar, sebze çorbaları gibi. Çorbalarda salça kullanımı yaygındır ayrıca çorbalar et ya da tavuk suyu ile hazırlanmaktadı. Çorba malzemesi olarak sirke, kuru nane, pul biber, maydanoz, bal, kestane, oğul otu, havuç, limon, tarçın, sumak, nane, yumurta, badem, şalgam, nar ekşisi gibi malzemeler kullanılırdı. Yağ olarak genellikle tereyağı kullanılırdı.[15]

Sabah sofralarında yer verilen ancak akşam yemeklerinde ana yemek olarak karşımıza çıkan yahni Osmanlı saray mutfağında birçok çeşidi ile yer bulmuştur. Genellikle kullanılan malzemeler; nohut, kuzu eti, kılıçbalığı, uskumru, tavuk, tavşan, dana işkembe, tarçın, nane gibi.

Et yemeklerinden kebap saray mutfağında önemli bir yere sahiptir. Kullanılan etlere yenibahar, pul biber, karabiber, tarçın, kimyon, kakule gibi baharatlarla tat verilmektedir. Kebapların içerisinde soğan, içyağı, sirke, tereyağı, et suyu, maydanoz, nane gibi malzemeler eklenmektedir. Kebaplar genellikle şişte, güveçte, ızgarada pişirilmektedir. Kuzu eti ile yapılan Kuşbaşı kebabı, Ciğer kebabı, Hacı Osman kebabı, Yoğurtlu şiş kebabı, Hurma kebabı gibi.[16]

Matbah-ı Amire defterlerinde dâne olarak geçen pirinç pilavı sade pilav, etli pilav, sebzeli pilav olarak ayrılır. Genellikle pilavlar et suyu ya da tavuk suyu ile pişirilir. Pilavın çeşidine göre üzüm, karanfilli salça veya bal da kullanılır. Kestane, kuşüzümü, et suyu, bulgur, kıyma, fıstık, tarçın, kakule, lüfer, kuzu ciğeri, kuzu eti, koyun eti, kuskus gibi malzemeler kullanılır.[17]

Orta Asya göçebe yaşam kültürünün etkisiyle etin büyük önem kazandığı Türk mutfağında Türklerin yerleşik hayata geçmesiyle sebzeler yemeklerin içerisinde kullanılmaya başlanmıştır. Osmanlı'da sebzeler değişik pişirme teknikleriyle saray mutfağında yerini almıştır. Ancak pilav pişirme tekniğinde olduğu gibi sebze yemeklerinde de et/kıyma ve et suyu kullanımı yaygındır. Sebze yemeği olarak; Peynirli kabak, Yanardağ boranisi, Ispanak Yemeği, Soğan Dolması, gibi yemekler dikkat çeker.[18]

Saray mutfağında Tatlıcılar ve Helvacıbaşı tarafından helva, reçel, marmelat, hoşaf, macun ve baklava gibi lezzetler yapılmaktadır. Özellikle baklava Osmanlı saray mutfağında ayrıcalıklı konuma sahip bir tatlıydı ve iftar ve bayram sofralarında yerini alır. Zerde tatlısı, çeşitli lokmalar, kadayıf, güllaç, ayva tatlısı gibi tatlılar tüketilir. Aşure günü Saray aşuresi yapılır. Helvahanede yapılan helvalarda genellikle badem kullanılmaktadır. Hakani Helva, Güllabiye, Kestaneli helva, Tahinli helva gibi. Helvahane'nin bir birimi olarak reçelhanede elma, armut, kiraz, gül, turunç, muşmula, hünnap, limon gibi çeşit çeşit meyvenin reçeli yapılır.[19] Marmelat yapımında elma ve hünnap daha çok kullanılır. Helvahanede macun da üretilir ve büyük çoğunluğu ilaç olarak kullanılır. Macunlar Helvahanede yapılır. Lahana, havuç, şalgam, pancar, üzüm, balık, kabak, sarımsak ve ıspanak kökü ile turşular kurulur. Osmanlı saray mutfağında içecek olarak hoşaf, limon suyu, şerbet, boza ve kahve bulunur.[20] Kahve ise Osmanlı Sarayı'na 16. Yüzyıl'da girmiştir.[21]

Osmanlı saray mutfağında şenlikler, şölenler ya da törenler söz konusu olduğunda sofralar daha gösterişli hazırlanmaktadır. Bu şenlikler Osmanlı Devleti'nin güç, iktidar ve zenginliğini sergiler. Sofralar At Meydanı'nda kurulur ve herkese yemeği dağıtılır. Devlet erkanının da yer aldığı şenliklerde herkes rütbesi ve idari konumuna göre belirli bir masada oturur. Genelde şenliklerde yirmi ila yüz çeşit arası yemek olur. Tavuk, piliç, koyun eti, yahni, paça, kebaplar, dolmalar masada yer alırken çeşitli börekler, çorbalar, tavuklu pilav, aşure, baklava, çeşit çeşit

[15] Tuğrul Şavkay, *Osmanlı Mutfağı* (İstanbul: Şekerbank, 2000) 52-62.

[16] Şavkay, *Osmanlı Mutfağı*, 69-80.

[17] Şavkay, 205-214.

[18] Şavkay, 164-172.

[19] Şavkay, 39.

[20] Şavkay, 49-203.

[21] Leyla Saz, *Haremde Yaşam*, (İstanbul: DBY Yayınları, 2010), 112.

şerbetler de bulunur.

Joseon Hanedanlığı Saray Mutfağı

Günümüz Kore topraklarında kurulan Joseon Hanedanlığı (1392-1897) monarşi ile yönetilen ve hiyerarşik bir toplum sistemine sahip bir devlettir. En üst konumdaki saray halkı yemek konusunda da toplumun geri kalan kısmından ayrılmaktadır. Yemek kültüründe ortaya çıkan bu farklılık yalnızca yemek çeşitleri ile sınırlı değildir. Sarayda kullanılan mutfak eşyaları da farklıydı ve yemeklerin yenme şekline kadar halkın geri kalanı arasında büyük bir fark vardır. Joseon Hanedanlığı döneminde gelenekleri ve kanunları içeren Gyeongguk daejeon (경국대전) kitabında saray mutfağının çeşitli görevlerinden sorumlu birim Saog Birimi (사옹원)[22], Neşibu (내시부) ve görevli kadınları ifade eden Nemyıonğbu (내명부) gibi çalışanlar hakkında bilgiler, hazırlanan yemekler ve servis edilirken dikkat edilen noktalar kayıtlıdır.[23] Bu kitap vasıtasıyla Kore saray mutfağının işleyişi, kral ve ailesinin beslenmesi hakkında bilgiler edinilir.

Devletin yönetim merkezi olan sarayda en becerikli aşçılar çalışır ve yemeklerde devlet coğrafyasındaki en iyi malzemeler kullanılır. Kralın sabah kahvaltısında, öğlen yemeğinde, sarayda düzenlenen ziyafetlerde, törenlerde verilen yemekler ile saray mutfağı ortaya çıkmaktadır. Sarayda yemek tek bir mutfakta hazırlanmaz. Kraliçe'nin dairesinde, Kral'ın annesinin dairesinde ayrı ayrı kadın aşçılar bulunur, yemekler her özel dairede kendi mutfaklarında pişirilmektedir. Her dairenin kendi kadın mutfak başı bulunmaktadır.

Saraydaki yemeklerden sorumlu daireler; Senğgva Dairesi (Senğgvabanğ-생과방), hanja ateş (so), mutfak(cu) ve oda(banğ) imlerinden meydana gelen Socu Dairesi (Socubanğ-소주방)'dir. Senğgva Dairesi, Kral ve Kraliçe'nin yaşadığı Cıongak (전각) 'ta yani haremde bulunur ve kral ve kraliçenin yemeği burada hazırlanır. Kral ve kraliçenin içeceği içeceğe kadar her şey burada hazırlanır. Ayrıca Senğgva Dairesi'nde sarayda düzenlenen ziyafetler için içecekler, çaylar, atıştırmalıklar, tatlı ve kurabiyeler hazırlanır. Socu Dairesi ise iç oda ve dış oda olmak üzere ikiye ayrılır. İç Socu Dairesi Kral'a sunulan sabah ve akşam yemeklerinden ve ana yemeğe uygun olarak çeşitli mezeler hazırlamaktan sorumludur. Dış Socu Dairesi ise sarayda düzenlenen ziyafet yemeklerini hazırlamaktan sorumludur. Ayrıca kraliyet ailesinin düzenlediği çay seremonisi ve büyük küçük ziyafetlerden, önemli kişilerin doğum gününde şölen masalarını hazırlamaktan sorumludur. Bunun dışında ulusal bayramlarda geçici olarak saray mutfak çadırını Sugsolso (숙설소)'yu saray dışına kurmak Dış Socu Dairesi'nin görevidir.[24]

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[22] Standart Korece Sözlük, erişim tarihi 10 Ekim 2023, https://stdict.korean.go.kr/search/searchView.do?word_no=168943&searchKeywordTo=3#top.

[23] Joo Young Ha, "Introduction to Old Documents Related to Palace Cuisine of the Joseon Dynasty," *Academy of Korean Studies* 30 (2013).

[24] Sillokwiki, erişim tarihi 12 Eylül 2023, http://dh.aks.ac.kr/sillokwiki/index.php/%EC%86%8C%EC%A3%BC%EB%B0%A9(%E7%87%92%E5%BB%9A%E6%88%BF).

Görsel 3. Gyıonğbok Saray mutfağı[25]

Sarayda Kral ve Kraliçe'ye beş kez yemek servis edilmektedir. Sabahın erken saatlerindeki kahvaltı Cari Coban (자리조반) ya da diğer bir adıyla Ço Coban (초조반) , sabah yemeği Coban (조반) , akşam yemeği Sıokban ya da sabah ile akşam yemeklerine kısaca Surasanğ (수라상) da denir. Öğlen Nadgıodsanğ (낮것상) ve gece vakti servis edilen Yaçam (야참).[26]

Eğer kralın sabah içmesi gereken bitkisel bir ilacı varsa seher vaktinde kral ilacını içer. Cari Coban'da yemek olarak lapa ve lapanın yanına uygun mezeler sunulur. Lapanın içindekiler mevsime göre değişiklik gösterir. Lapalardan bazıları şunlardır: Beyaz pirinç lapası Höncug (흰죽), deniz kulağı ve pirincin beraber kaynatılmasıyla yapılan lapa Cıonbogcug (전복죽), öğütülmüş pirinçten yapılan lapaya şeker, geleneksel kore içkisi soju ve buzun eklenmesiyle soğuk servis edilen lapa Vonmicug (원미죽), inek eti ve pirinç ile yapılan lapa Cangugcug (장국죽), mantar lapası Bosodcug (버섯죽), çam fıstığı ve pirinç ile yapılan lapa Cadcug (잣죽), suda bekletilmiş pirincin değirmende öğütülüp sütle karıştırılmasıyla hazırlanan Tarakcug (타락죽), soyulmuş susam ve yapışkan pirinç ile yapılan lapa Ggecug (깨죽) gibi.[27] Lapalar yalnız hastaların yediği bir yemek olarak düşünülmez. Lapa, insan sağlığına faydalı olduğundan kralın güçlenmesi için öncelikli olarak yemesi gerekmektedir.

Kore Kültür Ansiklopedisi'nin çevrimiçi kaynağına göre lapalara uygun mezelere örnek olarak: tuzla fermente edilmiş deniz ürünlerinden codgal (젓갈)'den yapılan çorba Cıod Çorbası (젓국), soya sosu veya codgal çorbası kullanılarak veya kırmızı biber salçası ve soya fasulyesi ezmesi kullanılarak yapılan güveç Coçi (조치), turptan yapılmış kimchi (동치미), Çin lahanası ve turp ile yapılan kimchi çorbası Nabag kimchi(나박김치), bal (꿀), soya sosu gancanğ (간장) gibi.

Joseon Hanedanlığı dönemine ışık tutan Joseon Hanedanlığı Yıllık Kayıtları (조선왕조실록)'nda Kral Taejo (태조왕)'dan Kral Cheoljong (철종)'a kadar 25 nesli kapsayan 472 yıllık tarihi kayıtlar yer almaktadır. Joseon

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[25] Korea Cultural Heritage Foundation 문화재청 제공. Erişim Tarihi 06.10.2023. https://www.cha.go.kr/cha/idx/Index.do?mn=NS_01.

[26] *Kore Kültür Ansiklopedisi*, erişim tarihi 28.08.2023. https://encykorea.aks.ac.kr/Article/E0031301.

[27] Han Bok Ryeo, *Jewels of the Palace Royal Recipes from Old Korea* (Korea: Hollym International Corp., 2017), 15.

Hanedanlığı Yıllık Kayıtları'nda seher kahvaltısının önemine ithafen şöyle bir kayıt geçer:

Kral Seonjo (선조왕) dönemi, 7. Cilt, saltanatının 6. Yılı.

Yoo Hee Chun (유희춘), devlet idari kurumunda en yüksek rütbeye sahip kişi.

Yoo Hee Chun Kral'a,

"'Sabah bir şey yemediğinizi, hatta öğlene kadar yemediğinizi duyunca şaşırdım ve bu durum ıstırap duymama sebep oldu. Ekseriyetle insanoğlu akşam yemeğini yemese de olur. Fakat sabah ve öğlen yemeğini yemeden olmaz. Seher vaktinde bir kase beyaz pirinç lapası Höncug yenirse mideyi yumuşatır, hastalıklara karşı koruma hususunda da pek işe yarar. Kıymetli Kral'ımızın da her zaman lapa yemesini dilerim.'" der.[28]

Surasanğ (수라상), Kral ve Kraliçe'ye sunulan sabah ve akşam yemeklerinin genel adıdır. Sabah sura(수라)'sı saat 10 gibi, akşam surası ise saat 6-7 gibi sunulur. Bu yemekler sarayın Socu Dairesi'ndeki kadın aşçıbaşı tarafından yapılır. Kral ve Kraliçe'ye sunulan yemeklerde sofra düzeni ana yemek ve mezeler şeklinde ayrılır. 12 çeşit kadar meze sofrada bulunur.[29] Mezelerin çeşitleri mevsimlere göre değişiklik gösterir. Genellikle pilav, çorba, kimchi, soya fasulyesinin fermente edilmesiyle elde edilen sos Canğ (장), güveç ya da balık, kabuklu deniz ürünleri, et, sebze gibi malzemelerin ıtri baharatlarla buharda pişirilmesi ile yapılan Ccim (찜) yemeği hazırlanır.[30]

Kore mutfağında pilav ayrı bir yer tutmaktadır. Her yemeğin yanında yedikleri gibi her öğünde de sofrada pilav görmek mümkündür. Bu gelenek yüzyıllar öncesinden süregeldiği gibi Joseon Hanedanlığı döneminde de Kore'de pilav kral ve kraliçenin sofrasında vazgeçilmez bir yemektir. Kral ve Kraliçe'ye sunulan sura öğünlerinde iki çeşit pilav olur: beyaz pirinçten yapılan pilav ve kırmızı (adzuki) fasulyeli pilav. Kırmızı fasulyeli pilav yaparken kırmızı fasulye haşlanır ve haşlanan fasulye beyaz pirinç ile karıştırılıp pişirilir.[31] Kırmızı fasulyenin Kore mutfağına giriş tarihi net bilinmiyor olsa da kırmız fasulyenin Koreliler için önemli dokuz tahıldan biri olduğu bilinmektedir.

Joseon Hanedanlığı'nın dokuzuncu kralı Kral Seonjonğ saltanatının 22. Yılında halkı tarıma teşvik etmek adına bizzat kendisi tohum ekerek bir tören düzenlemiş ve bu törende kırmızı fasulye de ekmiştir. Ataları anma töreninde de kırmızı fasulye kullanılmaktadır.

Kral ve kraliçe için hazırlanan pilav pagodit ya da sabuntaşı olarak adlandırılan yumuşak taştan yapılma tencerede kömür ateşi hvaro (화로)'da pişirilir. Beyaz pirinç pilavı yosun çorbası ile, kırmızı fasulyeli pilav ise inek kemiği, koyun eti, işkembe, inek döşü ile yapılan Gomtanğ (곰탕) çorbası ile servis edilir.

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[28] "Joseon Hanedanlığı Yıllık Kayıtları" erişim tarihi 04.10.2023. https://sillok.history.go.kr/id/kna_10601021_001.

[29] Han, *Jewels of the Palace Royal Recipes from Old Korea*, 54-55.

[30] Jin-ah Yun, *K-Food: Combining Flavor, Health and Nature* (Korea: Gil Job-le Media, 2016), 92.

[31] Michael J. Pettid, *Korean Cuisine: An Illustrated History* (China: Reaktion Books, 2008), 29.

Görsel 4. Korea Cultural Heritage Foundation[32]

Kral ve Kraliçe'ye yemekler üst kısmı yuvarlak siniye benzer, alt kısmı ayaklı vonban (원반) adı verilen yer sofrasında servis edilir. Vonbanın hemen soluna servis için vonbana göre daha küçük bir gyıodban (곁반) denilen masa konulur. Gyıodbanın hemen önüne suffe Osmanlı rahlesini andıran çegsanğban (책상반) adı verilen yer sofrası olur ve yanında congol yemeğini pişirmek için mangal yer alır.

Kore güveci Cige (찌개) topraktan yapılmış küçük güveç kabı dugbegi (뚝배기)'de porsiyonluk kaynatılır ve güveç kabında sunulur. Ayrıca coçibo (조치보) adı verilen kapaklı kaselerde de servis edildiği olur. Coçi (조치) yemeği de Kore güveci cige gibidir, aralarındaki tek fark cigenin coçiden daha büyük kaplarda yapılıyor olmasıdır. Coçi içerisindeki malzemeler mevsime göre değişkenlik gösterirken yemeğin adı içerisindeki ana malzemeye göre değişir. Malgıncoçi (맑은조치) fermente edilmiş karidesle yapılıp biraz tuzsuzdur ve içerisinde soya sosu bulunur. Tocanğçoçi (토장조치) biraz tuzlu olup içerisinde soya fasulye ezmesi Döncanğ (된장) ve biber salçası Goçucanğ (고추장) bulunur.

Geniş güveç kabında çeşitli malzemelerin kavrulup et suyu ile pişirilmesiyle yapılan Congol (전골) da kral ve kraliçeye sunulan yemekler arasındadır. Congol ateş üstünde hemen pişirilip servis edilen bir yemektir. Yemeği pişirmek için mangal (화로) ya da mangal çeşitlerinden olan kilden yapılma Pungno (풍로) kullanılır.[33] Günümüz Kore'sinde ocak başı restoranları oldukça meşhurdur. Masaların ortasında bulunan mangalda et ya da güveç, çeşitli yemekler pişirilip hemen servis edilir. Tıpkı bunun gibi Joseon Hanedanlığı döneminde congol kral ve kraliçe önünde hazırlanmaktadır. Kor halindeki ateş iyice yakılır ve congol için özel yapılmış geniş güveç kabında ya da geniş bir tencerede pişirilmektedir.

Tüm malzemeler baharatlanır ve tunç-bakır-kalay alaşımlı küçük saklama kaplarına konur. Susamyağı Çamgirım (참기름) conğci adı verilen küçük kasede, et suyu çorbası Canğ Çorbası (장국) kapaklı bir kasede sofrada yerini alır. Yemek esnasında congolu, kadın aşçıbaşı pişirmeye başlar. Aşçıbaşı önce eti kavurur ardından et suyu çorbası canğ'ı ilave eder. Son olarak da sebze ve yumurtayı ekler ve biraz pişirdikten sonra kral ve kraliçeye sunar.

Günümüzde ünü Kore sınırlarını aşan kimchi (김치) saray mutfağında da vazgeçilmez bir lezzettir. Üç tür kimchi kullanılır: Yuvarlak kesimli turp kimchisi Dıonğçimi (동치미), çin lahanası kimchisi Beçukimchi (배추김치), küçük kare parçalar halinde kesilen ve kırmızı biber tozu ile kurulan turp kimchisi Ggagdugi (깍두기). Mevsime göre kimchi türü değişir. Soslar ise hazırlanıp saklanır. Soslar: Soya sosu gancanğ, soya sosu gancanğa sirke eklenip susam tozu ya da çam fıstığı tozu serpilerek hazırlanan Çocanğ (초장), sirkeli acı biber salçası Çogoçucanğ (초고추장), fermente edilmiş karides ile yapılan çorba Seucod Çorbası (새우젓국), hardal, pirinç, sirke, şeker ve tuzun karıştırılmasıyla elde edilen Gyıocacıb sosu (겨자즙) gibi. [34] Seucod çorbası soslar gibi bekletilebilir.

Bançan (반찬) adı verilen mezeler çeşitli hazırlama yöntemiyle on iki çeşit hazırlanır. Şişte pişirilmiş baharatlı et ya da balık Sancıog (산적), sebzeler ile birlikte şişte pişirilen et Nurımcıog (누름적), kağıt gibi ince kurutulmuş yosun Gim (김), kaput çan çiçeği (더덕), kurutulmuş mezgit (북어), yumurta ve una bulanarak kızartılan ince kıyılmış et, balık, sebze Cıonyuıo (전유어)[35], ince ve yuvarlak dilim halinde kesilen suda pişirilmiş et Pyıonyug (편육), dağdan ve tarladan toplanan yenilebilen ve pişirilmiş sebzeler Namul (나물), taze sebzeler ise Senğçe (생채), kabuklu deniz

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[32] Korea Cultural Heritage Foundation, 문화재청 제공, erişim tarihi 06 Ekim 2023, https://www.cha.go.kr/cha/idx/Index.do?mn=NS_01.

[33] Bokryeo Han, *Jewels of the Palace Cuisine Royal Recipes from Od Korea*, 66.

[34] Jin-ah Yun, *K-Food: Combninig Flavor, Health and Nature*, 91.

[35] Sundoek Oh, "A Literature Review on the Pyeonyuk in the Royal Palace of Joseon Dynasty," *the Journal of the Convergence on Culture Technology* 1 no.1, (2015): 1-14.

ürünleri, et ve sebzeler ile haşlama tarzı yapılan Corim (조림)[36], tuzla fermente edilmiş deniz ürünlerinden codgal, tuz ya da soya sosu gancanğ ile fermente edilmiş sebzeler kullanılarak hazırlanan konserve tarzı yemek Canğacci (장아찌) gibi. Gündelik hazırlanan bançanlar dışında özel olarak ya kralın isteği ile ya da özel günlerde hazırlanan bançanlar da vardır. Örneğin; poşe yumurta Suran (수란), sirkeli acı biber salçası ile soslanan çiğ ya da biraz haşlanıp dilimlenen et ya da balık Hö (회), maydanoz ya da soğan ile hafif haşlanan ciğer türleri Ganğhö (강회) gibi.[37]

Surasanğ, kral ve kraliçeye ondol sistemi bulunan yerden ısıtmalı odada sunulmaktadır. Odanın Doğu tarafında Kral, Batı tarafında ise Kraliçe oturur. Aynı masada değil farklı masalarda yemeklerini yerler. Kral ve Kraliçe'ye üçer Suracı Başı (수라상궁) isimli görevli hizmet eder. Yemekler kırmızı renkli üst kısmı yuvarlak siniye benzer, alt kısmı ayaklı vonban masasında sunulur ve yemekler yere oturularak yenir. Büyük olan vonban kral ve kraliçe önüne konur, sağ tarafına küçük vonban ve onun arkasında suffe Osmanlı rahlesini andıran çegsanğban olur. Kral ve Kraliçe'ye özel gümüş kaşık ve çubuklar büyük vonbanın sağ tarafına yerleştirilir. Vonbanın sol tarafına togu (토구) adı verilen kapaklı boş bir kase konur. Kral ya da Kraliçe balık kılçığı ya da yenilemeyen, yutulamayan şeyleri bu kaseye koyar.

Küçük vonbanda gümüş kaşık ve çubuk, ahşap çubuk, üç adet kase ve tabak bulunur. Bunları yemekte zehir olup olmadığını kontrol eden tadımcı Gimi Görevlisi (기미상궁) ile yemek hizmetinden sorumlu Suracı Başı kullanır. Çegsanğban üzerinde birer adet uzunca gümüş kaşık ve ahşap çubuk bulunur. Kaynar suya zencefil, toz tarçın, şeker ya da bal ekleyip üzerine kurutulmuş hurma çam fıstığı serpilerek hazırlanan Suconğgva (수정과), tatlı pirinç içeceği Şikhye (식혜) tarzı geleneksel içecekleri karıştırmak için begca (백자) porseleninden yapılmış çay kaşığı bulunur.[38]

Kral ve Kraliçe'ye yemek sunulurken özel sofra kullanıldığı gibi sofra düzeninin belli kural ve kaideleri, düzeni vardır. Aşağıdaki fotoğraflar örnek bir Akşam Sura'sının masa düzenini göstermektedir.

[36] Sundeok Oh, "Literature Review on the Jeonuhwa in the Royal Cuisine of Joseon Dynasty", *the Journal of the Convergence on Culture Technology* 2 no.4, (2016): 1-21.

[37] Ryeo, *Jewels of the Palace Royal Recipes from Old Korea*, 58.

[38] Deson Chon, "Korean Cuisine and Food Culture," *Kikkoman Special Edition* (2003): 2-6.
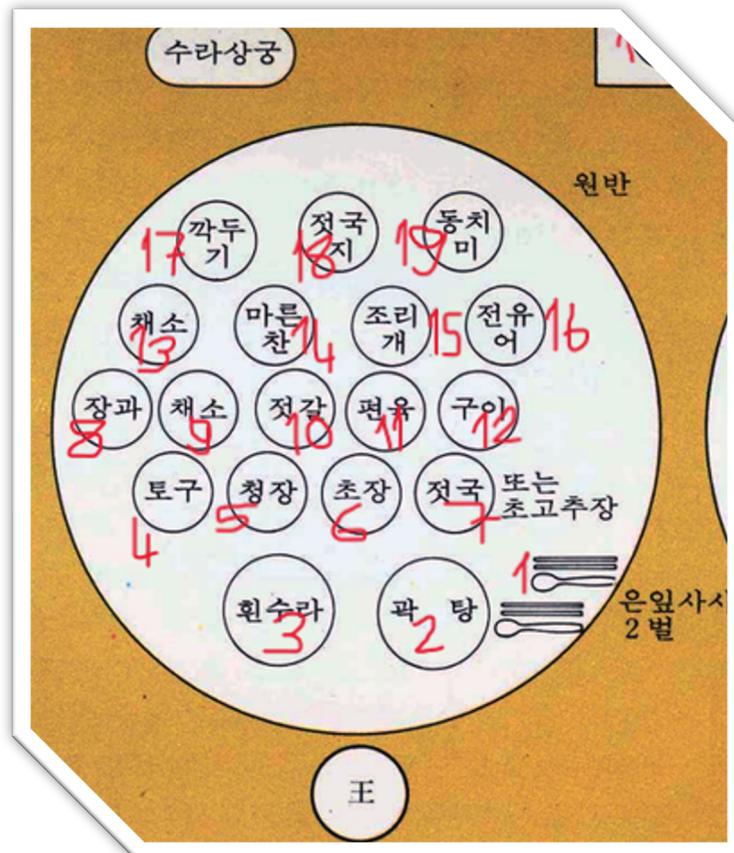
Görsel 5. Akşam Surası, Vonban düzeni[39]

Sırasıyla Vonban üzerinde; (1) iki adet gümüş kaşık ve çubuk takımı, (2) çorba, (3) beyaz pilav, (4) yenilemeyen ya da yutulamayan yemeklerin konulması için togu, (5) taze soya sosu çıoncanğ, (6) soya sosu gancanğa sirke eklenip susam tuzu ya da çam fıstığı tozu serpilerek hazırlanan çocanğ, (7) fermente edilmiş deniz ürünleri ile yapılan çorba Codgug ve ya sirkeli acı biber salçası Çogoçucanğ, (8) tuz ya da soya sosu gancanğ fermente edilmiş sebzeler ile hazırlanan konserve tarzı yemek Canğacci ya da Canğgva (장과), (9) sebze, (10) fermente edilmiş deniz ürünleri Codgal, (11) ince yuvarlak dilim halinde kesilen suda pişirilmiş et Pyıonyug, (12) ızgarada pişmiş baharatlı et ya da balık Gui (구이), (13) sebze, (14) meze, (15) kabuklu deniz ürünleri, et ve sebzeler ile haşlama tarzı yapılan Corim, (16) yumurta ve una bulanarak kızartılan ince kıyılmış et, balık, sebze Cıonyuıo, (17) küçük kare parçalar halinde turp kimchisi Ggagdugi, (18) Codgug ve et suyu ile kurulan kimchi Codgugci (젓국지), (19) yuvarlak kesimli turp kimchisi Dıonğçimi bulunmaktadır.

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[39] Naver Blog, erişim tarihi 9 Ekim 2023, https://blog.naver.com/jawkoh/220709636816.
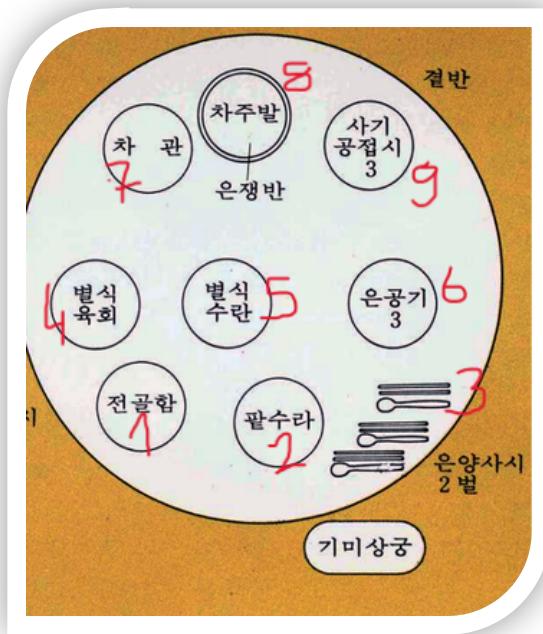
Görsel 6. Akşam Surası, Gyıodban düzeni[40]

Gyıodban üzerinde; (1) geniş güveç kabında kavrulan çeşitli malzemeleri biraz et suyu ile pişirilmesiyle yapılan Congol, (2) kırmızı fasulyeli pilav Patsura, (3) bir adet gümüş kaşık ve çubuk, yemek karıştırmak için ince uzun kaşık ve çubuk, ahşap kaşık ve çubuk, (4) ince dilimlenmiş ve baharatlarla marine edilmiş özel çiğ et Yukhö (육회), (5) özel poşe yumurta Suran, (6) üç adet boş gümüş kase, (7) çay suyunu kaynatmak için kapaklı kase görünümlü Çagvan (차관), (8) çay içmek için özel kase Çadcubal (찻주발), (9) üç adet porselen düz tabak bulunmaktadır.
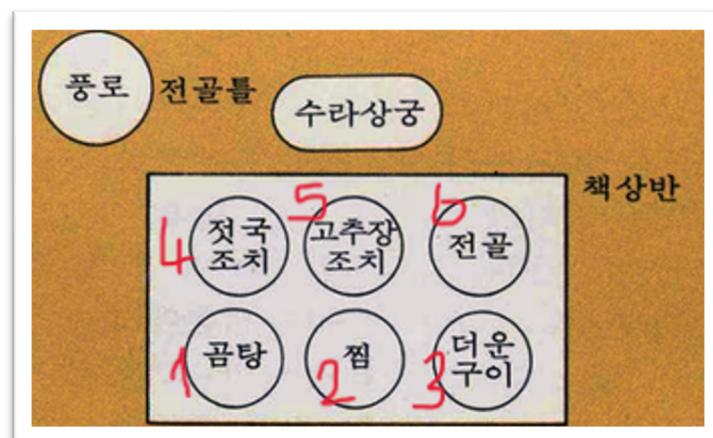
Görsel 7. Akşam Surası, Çegsanğbanğ düzeni[41]

Suffe Osmanlı rahlesine benzeyen Çegsanğbanğ üzerinde; (1) koyun eti, işkembe, inek döşü ve inek kemiği, ile yapılan Gomtanğ çorbası, balık, (2) kabuklu deniz ürünleri, et, sebze gibi malzemelere ıtri baharatlarla buharda pişirilmiş Ccim, (3) ızgarada yeni pişmiş baharatlı et ya da balık Gui, (4) fermente edilmiş deniz ürünleri ile pişirilen

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[40] Naver Blog, erişim tarihi 09 Ekim 2023, https://blog.naver.com/jawkoh/220709636816.

[41] Naver Blog, erişim tarihi 09 Ekim 2023, https://blog.naver.com/jawkoh/220709636816.

Coçi, (5) biber salçası goçucanğ ile hazırlanan Coçi, (6) Geniş güveç kabında çeşitli malzemelerin kavrulup et suyu ile pişirilmesiyle yapılan Congol. Çegsanğbanğın hemen yanında congol yemeğini pişirmek için kilden yapılma Pungno mangalı bulunurdu bulunmaktadır.

Kral ve Kraliçe'nin yemek yiyeceği vonban ve çegsanğbanğ önünde yemek hizmetinden sorumlu Suracı Başı oturur. Vonban önünde oturan Suracı Başı yemeklerin kapaklarını açar ve yemek servisini yapar. Sırasıyla sosların kapaklarından başlayıp mezenin, kimchinin, sıcak yemeklerin kapaklarını açar. Vonbanın solundaki gyıodban'da yemekte zehir olup olmadığını kontrol eden Gimi Görevlisi oturur. Gimi Görevlisi Kral ya da Kraliçe'nin küçüklükten itibaren tanıdığı, güvenilir insanlar arasından seçilmektedir. Rahle tarzı masa Çegsanğbanğ'ın önünde oturan Suracı Başı, pungno mangalının üzerine Congol güveç kabını koyar ve Congol'u pişirir. Mangal üzerinde pişmiş sıcak Congol'u alır Kral ve Kraliçe'nin masası vonbana koyar.

Joseon Hanedanlığı Yıllık Kayıtları'nda Kral'ın sofrasına dair şöyle bir not dikkat çeker:

"Kral Taejong Kayıtları, 22. Cilt, saltanatın 11. Yılı.

Kral Taejong ülkeyi etkileyen kuraklık sebebiyle içki içmeyi yasaklamış (철주), Kral ve Kraliçe'ye sunulan sabah ve akşam Surasanğ'larındaki meze çeşitleri azaltılmasını emretmiş olup (감선) bu sıkıntılı dönemde dükkanların kapılarının kapatılmasını ve temel günlük ihtiyaçların sokakta satılmasını buyurmuştur."[42]

Ülkeyi etkileyen kuraklık ya da diğer afetler sebebiyle yemek hususunda kral tarafından değişiklikler yapıldığı anlaşılmaktadır.

Öğlen yemeği Nadgodsanğ olarak (낮것상) hafif yemekler ve atıştırmalıklar sunulmaktadır. Pirinç lapası Mıım, lapa türleri, meyve, kurabiye, pirinç lokumu Ddıok (떡), ballı ya da şekerli su içerisine dilimlenmiş meyvelerin veya yenilebilir çiçeklerin eklenmesiyle hazırlanan içecek Hvaçe (화채) servis edilir. Bazen de sadece çay ve kurabiyeden oluşan Dagva masası (다과상) kurulur. Soylu bir kimsenin doğum günü ya da bayram gibi özel günlerde misafirler için öğlenleri erişte, Kore mantısı mandu, pirinç lokumu çorbası gibi yemeklerin bulunduğu Canğgug sofrası (장국상) hazırlanır. Ayrıca öğle vaktinde saray dışından akraba veya misafir gelirse erişte çorbası ikram edilir.[43]

Sarayda harem törenleri ve cenaze törenleri gibi önemli etkinlikler olduğunda saray teşrifatına uygun şekilde ziyafet hazırlanmaktadır. Ataları anma töreni gibi kraliyet için önem arz eden ziyafetlerde çeşitli meyveler, balık, et, çorba, pirinç lokumu gibi ana malzemelerin kullanılmasıyla görkemli sofralar kurulmaktadır. Cinçan (진찬) adı verilen tören hanedan mensupları arasında düzenlenen bir ziyafettir ve teşrifat usulleri daha hafiftir. Ülke açısından önemli olaylar yaşandığı vakit sarayda düzenlenen ziyafete ise Cinyıon (진연) adı verilmektedir.

Sarayda bir yıl içerisinde sürekli etkinlik ve törenler yapılır ve özel masalar kurulur. Kimi etkinlik ve törene halk da katılabilir ve onlar için de ziyafet çadırları kurulur, yemek servis edilir. Yıllık ilk dolunayı, kraliyet aile üyelerinin doğum günleri, harem törenleri gibi çeşitli önemli gün ve bayramlar kutlanır.

Gece Atıştırmalığı, Yaçam (야참) vaktinde Kral'ın içmesi gereken bir ilaç varsa ilacı içerdi ya da yemek isterse erişte, süt lapası, şekerli pirinç içeceği Şikhye servis edilir.

Joseon Hanedanlığı saray mutfağı günümüz yemek kitapları gibi kaydedilmediğinden son kralın hizmetindeki ve yakın çevresindeki kişiler tarafından aktarılan kadarıyla[44] bilinmektedir. Bilindiği kadarıyla Joseon Hanedanlığı yüzyıllar süren saltanatı boyunca ihtişamlı bir saray mutfağına sahip olmuştur.

Sonuç

Osmanlı Devleti ve Joseon Hanedanlığı aynı yüzyıllarda tarih sahnesinde bulunmuş birbirinden uzak iki devlet olarak saray mutfağında hem benzerlikler hem de farklılıklara sahiptir. İki devletin saray mutfak kültüründe en dikkat çeken farklılık yemek öğünleridir. Osmanlı'da iki öğün olarak kayıtlara geçerken Joseon'da bu karşımıza beş

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[42] "Joseon Hanedanlığı Yıllık Kayıtları," erişim tarihi 04 Ekim 2023, https://sillok.history.go.kr/main/main.do

[43] Bokryeo Han ve Gilja Jeong, *Joseon Dönemi Saray Mutfağı* (Kore: Saray Mutfağı Araştırma Enstitüsü, 2003).

[44] Bokryeo Han, "The Beauty and Taste of Royal Food," *SCD Elixir* 43 (2008): 15.

öğün olarak çıkar. İki mutfakta da et ve deniz ürünleri kullanıyor olsa da Osmanlı'da et mutfağın mihenk taşıdır. Ayrıca her yemeğin yanında muhakkak ekmek bulunmaktadır. Osmanlı'daki ekmeğin yerine Joseon'da pilav masada yerini alır. Her sofrada muhakkak pilav bulunur. Osmanlı'da yemek pişiren ve servis eden görevliler genellikle erkek olmakla birlikte Joseon'da aşçılar ve servis eden görevliler kadınlardan oluşur. Ayrıca Osmanlı mutfak kayıtlarında içki karşımıza çıkmazken Joseon'da geleneksel içki bulunur.

Osmanlı ve Joseon saray mutfak kültüründe en dikkat çeken benzerlik ise hanedanlığa hazırlanan yemeklerin özel bir mutfakta pişirilmesidir ve bu mutfaklar sarayda hanedanın yaşam alanı olan kısma yakın yerde bulunmaktadır. Kral ve padişahın sabah yemeklerinde lapa bulunması, lapanın iki devlet kültüründe de sağlıklı bir yiyecek olarak bilinmesi dikkatlerden kaçmaz. Ayrıca ana yemek olarak muhakkak et ya da deniz ürünlerinden biri masada yerini alır. İki devlette de yemekte zehir olup olmadığını kontrol eden görevli vardır. Joseon saray mutfağında da karşımıza çıkan Çin porselenleri ve pirinç Osmanlı saray mutfağında da bulunur. Çin porselenlerinin Çin'den geldiği ve pirincin çoğunlukla Osmanlı iaşe defterlerinde yine Çin'den geldiği kayıtlıdır.

İki devlette de görülen benzerlikler aynı yüzyılda tarih sahnesinde bulunmanın neticesinde ortaya çıkmıştır diyebiliriz. Güvenlik hassasiyeti, yöneticinin korunması, hanedanın yaşam alanının en korunaklı yerde olması ve mutfağının dahi yakınında bulunması gibi sebepler monarşi ile yönetilen ülkelerde karşımıza çıkabilecek benzerliklerdir. Monarşinin etkisiyle halk ve saray yaşamı arasındaki farklılıklar, özellikle şenlik, tören gibi özel günlerde sarayın ihtişamının gözler önüne serilmesi saray kültürünün devletler arası ortak paydasıdır.

Benzerlik ve farklılıklarıyla Osmanlı Devleti ve Joseon Hanedanlığı dönemin görkemli saray mutfaklarına sahip iki devlettir. Sürüp giden zaman içerisinde zaman ile değişen ve gelişen, farklı kültürlerle harmanlanan has bir saray kültürü ortaya çıkarmışlardır.

Extended Summary

The palace, which is the administrative center of the states, is also a place where the ruler and his family, those working in the palace units live and where social life exists. Palaces have an organization that ensures the continuation of life, which is basically the same as the public, but differs in terms of service. While organizations consisting of different units ensure order in palace life, the employees within the organization fully fulfill the services needed by the ruler and his family. Among these organizations, the palace cuisine, which has gone through a long historical process and blended with different cultures, attracts attention. Palace cuisine bears the cultural traces of the geography in which the state is located and the states it interacts with.

In this study, the food culture and culinary organization that formed in the palace during the Ottoman Empire and the Korean Joseon Dynasty, which took part in the historical scene in the same century, will be discussed. In the Ottoman Empire, the palace kitchen was called Matbah-ı Amire, while in the Joseon Dynasty, the palace kitchen was called Saenggwa and Soju Daire. This study includes the duties of those working in the palace kitchens of the two states, how many meals the ruler ate during the day, what foods he ate at meals, and the ceremonies followed by the officials while serving the meals.

In this research, master's theses, articles, dictionaries and encyclopedias were examined using the literature review model. When the literature is examined, it is seen that many studies have been done about Ottoman palace cuisine and Joseon palace cuisine. While researching the Ottoman Empire, Dergipark and YÖK Thesis Center database were used, while researching the Joseon Dynasty, Dpbia database and Joseon Dynasty Annual Records online source were used. Although there are Turkish sources about Korean traditional dishes, there are no Turkish sources about Joseon palace cuisine. About the Ottoman culinary organization, İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı (1984) wrote his book "Palace Organization of the Ottoman Empire", Şavkay (2000) "Ottoman Cuisine" and Ünver (1952) "Fatih Era Dishes". His books called " attract attention. About the culinary organization of the Joseon Dynasty, Korean books titled Gilja and Bokryeo (2003) "Palace Cuisine of the Joseon Dynasty", Han (2017) "Palace Recipes from Ancient Korea", Joo (2013) "Introduction to Old Documents Related to Palace Cuisine of the Joseon Dynasty Deson (Korean articles titled "Korean Cuisine and Food" (2003) and "The Beauty and Taste of Palace Cuisine" by Han (2008) attract attention. Turkish sources were used when researching the Ottoman Empire. While researching the Joseon Dynasty, information was obtained by collecting data from Korean and English sources and translating them into Turkish.

In the Ottoman Empire, the palace kitchen is called Matbah-ı Amire, and within the Matbah-ı Amire there is a Has Mutfak, where special meals are cooked for the sultan. While the best cooks of the palace work in the Has Kitchen, the best ingredients specially brought from the country are used. The highest rank in the kitchen is Caşnigirbası and is responsible for the sultan's private catering services. The meals prepared in the Has Kitchen are taken by the Caşnigirbası and his entourage and taken to the Has Oda, the sultan's private rest room. Food is served to the Sultan twice a day, in the morning and in the evening. In the mornings, soup, stew, rice with meat, pastries and porridge are usually prepared. For dinner, soup, kebab, stew, rice, vegetable dishes and dessert are served. In the Joseon Dynasty, the palace kitchen was divided into two: Sengva and Socu Department. The Sengwa Department is responsible for preparing meals for the King and Queen and prepares beverages, tea, snacks and cookies for banquets held in the palace. The Socu Room is divided into two: inner room and outer room. The Inner Socu Department is responsible for the breakfast and dinner served to the King and for preparing various appetizers in accordance with the main course. The Outer Socu is responsible for preparing meals for banquets held in the palace. It is also the duty of the The Outer Socu to set up the palace kitchen tent outside the palace. Here, Saeok Unit, Naeshibu, responsible for various duties of the kitchen, and Naemyeongbu, which refers to the women working in the kitchen, work. In the Joseon Dynasty, meals are served in a room with underfloor heating. The King and Queen are served their meals by Surasang-gung. In the Joseon palace, five meals a day are served to the king. In the Jojoban meal, which is served in the early hours of the morning, porridge and appropriate appetizers to accompany the porridge are prepared and presented to the king. Breakfast and dinner are called Surasang-gung. In the morning and dinner, there is definitely rice made from white rice or rice with red (adzuki) beans. As main courses, dishes such as Korean stew jige, jongol, jangajji, and jodgal are served in the evening. Korean pickled kimchi, whose fame goes beyond Korean borders; Sauces such as soy sauce, ganjang, chocang, and chogochucang are included in the palace cuisine. Appetizers called bançan are also prepared with various preparation methods and take their place on the tables. For lunch, Natgotsang, light meals such as rice porridge, fruit and cookies are served. If the king wishes, snacks such as milk porridge and the traditional drink shikhye are served at Yacham as a night snack.

The Ottoman Empire, where the influence of Central Asian and Anatolian cuisine was seen, and the Joseon Dynasty, where the cuisine of the previous dynasties was seen, as well as the influence of the neighboring Chinese and Japanese cuisine, created their own palace cuisines over time. The Ottoman Empire and the Joseon Dynasty were two states with rich palace cuisine due to their deep-rooted history.

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Kare International Journal of Comparative Literature

Research Article / Araştırma Makalesi

Die gemeinsamen und unterschieldlichen Aspekte der Konzepte von Pragmatik und Diskurs im Sinne der Soziolinguistik

Common and different Aspects of Pragmatics and Discourse Concepts in Sociolinguistics

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Abstrakt: In dieser Arbeit werden die gemeinsamen und unterschiedlichen Aspekte der Begriffe „Pragmatik" und „Diskurs" im Rahmen der Soziolinguistik untersucht. Die zentrale Fragestellung der Studie lautet, wie die Gemeinsamkeiten und Unterschiede zwischen den Konzepten „Pragmatik" und „Diskurs" aus soziolinguistischer Perspektive herausgearbeitet werden können. Zu diesem Zweck wurden in der Studie verschiedene Methoden und Ansätze verwendet. Die Forschung ist in vier verschiedene Schritte gegliedert. Im ersten Schritt werden die Konzepte „Diskurs", „Pragmatik" und „Soziolinguistik" aus verschiedenen Perspektiven vorgestellt. Diese Vorstellungen stammen aus Quellen, die von verschiedenen Linguisten bereitgestellt wurden. Die bereitgestellten Konzepte von Diskurs, Pragmatik und Soziolinguistik wurden im Bereich der Sprachwissenschaft behandelt. Im zweiten Schritt werden Informationen zur „Diskursanalyse" und zur „hermeneutischen" Herangehensweise präsentiert. Während dieser Präsentation wurden die beiden Konzepte im Rahmen der Sprachwissenschaft untersucht. Im dritten Schritt werden die gemeinsamen und unterschiedlichen Aspekte der Begriffe „Pragmatik" und „Diskurs" im soziolinguistischen Kontext hervorgehoben. In der Arbeit wird die Methode der Diskursanalyse verwendet. Anschließend werden die Ähnlichkeiten zwischen qualitativer Analyse und Diskursanalyse identifiziert. Während dieser Identifikation werden die gemeinsamen Aspekte dieser Methoden untersucht. Die Arbeit wird auch mit Hilfe der hermeneutischen Herangehensweise beleuchtet.

Abstract: This study investigates the common and differing aspects of the concepts of Pragmatics and Discourse within the framework of Sociolinguistics. The primary research question explores how the commonalities and differences between Pragmatics and Discourse can be addressed from a sociolinguistic perspective. To this end, various methodologies and approaches were applied throughout the study. The research was structured into four distinct stages. In the first stage, the concepts of Pragmatics, Discourse, and Sociolinguistics were defined from multiple perspectives, drawing on sources from different linguists. These definitions primarily engage with the concepts of Pragmatics, Discourse, and Sociolinguistics as they are considered within the broader field of linguistics. The second stage presents an exploration of Discourse Analysis and the Interpretive Approach, with both concepts analyzed from a linguistic perspective. The third stage emphasizes the common and divergent aspects of Pragmatics and Discourse within the sociolinguistic context. This study employed the Discourse Analysis method. Subsequently, a comparison between the Qualitative Research method and the Discourse Analysis method was conducted, focusing on their shared attributes. Additionally, the study was elucidated through the application of an interpretive approach.

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Einleitung

Der Begriff „Pragmatik" bezeichnet eine Teildisziplin innerhalb der Sprachwissenschaft. Die Pragmatik untersucht nicht nur die Beziehung von Wörtern in gesprochenen und geschriebenen Sprachen, sondern auch deren Gebrauch in der Kommunikation zwischen Sender und Empfänger. Anders als die Semantik, die sich auf die standardisierte Bedeutung von Wörtern konzentriert, berücksichtigt die Pragmatik die sprachliche Handlung und deren Interpretation durch die Zielgruppe.

Ein Beispiel hierfür wäre, wenn ein Sender in einer Bibliothek einen Besucher fragt: „Was möchten Sie lesen?" Das Wort „lesen" hat eine allgemeine Bedeutung, die jedem bekannt ist. Doch die Antwort des Empfängers, wie etwa „Ich möchte einen Roman von Stefan Zweig lesen", wird durch die pragmatische Sprachverwendung des Empfängers oder der Zielgruppe bestimmt. Daraus kann man schließen, dass der Empfänger bei einem Gespräch entscheidend ist.

Pragmatische Sprache ist real und anwendbar. Sie transformiert die allgemeine und normale Sprache in ein konkretes Produkt. Die Pragmatik untersucht auch die Handlungen, die zwischen dem Verfasser und dem Leser in gesprochener und geschriebener Sprache stattfinden. Sie bezieht sich nicht nur auf gesprochene und geschriebene Sprache, sondern auch auf sprachliche Zeichen, die in verschiedenen Kontexten interpretiert werden können.

Im Gegensatz dazu konzentriert sich die Semantik darauf, die Bedeutung eines sprachlichen Zeichens ohne Kontextualisierung durch die Kommunikationssituation in einem objektiven Sinn zu bestimmen. Somit kann man sagen, dass die Semantik die Regeln des Sprachsystems beschreibt, während die Pragmatik sich mit der Anwendung dieser Regeln in konkreten Kommunikationssituationen befasst. Der Wissenschaftler Martin Becker definiert den Begriff „Pragmatik" wie folgt: „Die Pragmatik (pragmatica) ist die Teildisziplin der Linguistik, die sich mit der Verwendung von Sprache in konkreten Kommunikationssituationen befasst"[3].

Martin Becker betont in diesem Text ebenfalls, dass die Pragmatik eine Teildisziplin der Linguistik ist, vergleichbar mit Semantik, Syntax und Morphologie. Weiterhin hebt er hervor, dass die Pragmatik sich mit der realen Kommunikation zwischen Sender und Empfänger beschäftigt. In diesem Kommunikationsprozess ist nicht der Sender, sondern der Empfänger entscheidend für die Interpretation sprachlicher Bedeutungen. Das bedeutet, dass sprachliche Kommunikation in der Gesellschaft, insbesondere unter Berücksichtigung der Zielgruppe, ihre tatsächliche Bedeutung erreichen kann. Der Linguist, Achim Stein definiert den Begriff „Pragmatik" wie folgt:

"Pragmatik beschäftigt sich mit den Aspekten der Bedeutung, die über das Zeichen und seine Referenten hinausgehen: Sie schließt sowohl die Sprachbenutzer als auch kontextuelle Faktoren ein, wie die Situation, die Absicht des Sprechers oder die Strukturen einer Konversation"[4].

Achim Stein betont mit seinem Ausdruck deutlich, dass die Pragmatik sich für verschiedene Perspektiven der Bedeutung eines sprachlichen Zeichens interessiert. Diese verschiedenen Bedeutungsaspekte eines Zeichens hängen von der Verwendung durch den Sprachbenutzer und die Absicht des Sprechers ab. Die Pragmatik berücksichtigt zudem den Kontext, in dem die Sprache verwendet wird. In diesem Sinne kann der Begriff „Pragmatik" mit Begriffen wie „Nutzdenken" oder „Eigennützigkeit" in Verbindung gebracht werden. Jedoch ist es nicht angemessen, den Begriff „Pragmatik" einfach mit dem Begriff „Eigennützigkeit" gleichzusetzen, da dieses Konzept einseitig ist und sich nur für eine Person interessiert. Dagegen kann man das Konzept „Nutzdenken" mit dem Begriff „Pragmatik" identifizieren, weil es nicht voreingenommen ist und die Interessen verschiedener Personen berücksichtigt. Mit anderen Worten, das Konzept „Nutzdenken" ist vielseitig, während Eigennützigkeit oder Egoismus nur die Interessen einer einzigen Person im Blick hat. Aus diesem Grund kann man sagen, dass der Begriff „Pragmatik" in der Sprachwissenschaft zwei unterschiedliche Bedeutungen tragen kann: die eine ist Nutzdenken und die andere ist Eigennützigkeit. Diese beiden Konzepte wurden zum ersten Mal in der dieser Arbeit als Bedeutungen des Begriffs „Pragmatik" verwendet. Diese Verwendung hängt von den Empfängern und der Zielgruppe ab, da das Sprechakt von diesen Adressen bestimmt werden kann. Für diese Behauptung kann folgende Frage gestellt werden. Was ist der Unterschied zwischen den Sprechakten von John Langshaw Austin und John Searle? Die beiden Philosophen

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[3] Martin Becker, *Einführung in die spanische Sprachwissenschaft* (Berlin: Springer Verlag, 2013), 160.

[4] Achim Stein, *Einführung in die französische Sprachwissenschaft* (Stuttgart: J.B. Metzler, 2014), 85.

haben jedoch auf einem signifikanten Unterschied zwischen den beiden Konzepten hingewiesen; während Austin die konventionelle Interpretation von Sprechakten betonte, legte Searle den Schwerpunkt auf eine psychologische Interpretation.[5] Aus diesem Grund kann man sagen, Austin thematisiert den Begriff „Sprechakt" in einer Gesellschaft als konventionell. Im Gegenteil behandelt Searle das Konzept „Sprechakt" in der Gemeinschaft aus psychologischer Perspektive. Die psychologische Perspektive kann „Eigennützigkeit" sein. Aber, dagegen kann konventionelle Sprechhandlung nach einer Zielgruppe als „Nutzdenken" wahrgenommen werden.

In der thematisierten Arbeit wurde der Begriff „Pragmatik" im Kontext des Begriffs „Diskurs" behandelt.

Diskurs

Unter dem Begriff „Diskurs" versteht man im Allgemeinen eine wechselseitige Diskussion zwischen zwei oder mehreren Personen. Also verschiedene Personen diskutieren und unterhalten sich über einem bestimmten Thema.

In dieser Unterhaltung und Debatte geht es um das vorgeworfene Problem, das vom Absender dargestellt wird. Am Ende einigen sich der Absender und der Empfänger auf das dargestellte Problem. Diese Einigung ist kommunikativ und sprachlich. Die Sprachwissenschaftlerin Bettina Rainer erwähnt in ihrer wissenschaftlichen Arbeit die Definition des Begriffs "Diskurs" von Alexander Kluge (1989-191); „Der Begriff „Diskurs" leitet sich von lateinischen „diskursus" (wörtlich Auseinanderlaufen) her, das soviel wie Erörterung oder Mitteilung bedeutet, und wird mit Abhandlung, Unterhaltung, Erklärung wiedergegeben"[6].

Man kann die Herkunft des Begriffs „Diskurs" klarer verstehen, wenn man die Definition des deutschen Philosophen Alexander Kluge betrachtet. Kluge sagt, dass der Diskurs von dem lateinischen Wort „diskursus" abstammt. Man kann „Diskurs" auf Deutsch auch als „Nachricht" oder „Information" bezeichnen. Mit Hilfe dieser Begriffe kann man über ein bestimmtes Thema untersuchen, sich auseinandersetzen und besprechen. Der Diskurs ist ein Teilgebiet der Sprachwissenschaft und bezeichnet die Kommunikation zwischen dem Autor und dem Leser.

Der Autor sendet zunächst einen gezielten Text an den Leser, der diesen empfängt und gemäß seinen eigenen Prinzipien interpretiert, die in der Gesellschaft, in der er lebt, verwurzelt sind. Die Bedeutung des Textes muss für alle, die in derselben Gesellschaft leben, konventionell und objektiv sein. Erst dann erreicht der Text, der vom Autor stammt, seine richtige und reale Bedeutung für die Zielgruppe. Mit dem übermittelten Text drückt der Autor seine eigenen Ziele aus, aber die Bedeutung des diskursiven Textes wird letztendlich vom Leser bestimmt.

Der Diskurs stellt somit die ursprüngliche Kommunikation des Individuums dar, die von der Zielgruppe interpretiert und in ein sprachliches Produkt umgewandelt wird. Eigentlich ist der Diskurs die rohe Kommunikation des Menschen. Diese rohe Kommunikation wird von der Zielgruppe verarbeitet und in ein sprachliches Produkt umgewandelt. Der französische Philosoph Michel Foucault definiert laut dem Linguisten Sebastian Sohn den Begriff „Diskurs" wie folgt: „Unter Diskurs versteht Foucault die Gesamtheit von Aussagen zu einem Sachverhalt, unabhängig von Autor, Erscheinungszeitpunkt und Ort des Erscheinens. Diese Aussagen können z.B. semantische Äußerungen, Publikationen, Tabellen oder auch Formeln sein, die auf den Diskursgegenstand zutreffen oder die aus anderen Disziplinen auf ihn angewendet oder übertragen werden."

„Unter Diskurs versteht Foucault die Gesamtheit von Aussagen zu einem Sachverhalt, unabhängig von Autor, Erscheinungszeitpunkt und Ort des Erscheinens. Diese Aussagen können z.B. semantische Äußerungen, Publikationen, Tabellen oder auch Formeln sein, die auf den Diskurs Gegenstand zu treffen, oder die ausanderen Disziplinen auf ihn angewendet oder übertragen werden"[7].

Michel Foucault stellt in dem obigen Text dar, dass der Begriff „Diskurs" die Gesamtheit der Äußerungen zu einem Thema darstellt, unabhängig von dem Autor, dem Erscheinungszeitpunkt und dem Ort des Erscheinens. Diese Äußerungen können aus verschiedenen Quellen stammen und umfassen Aussagen, Sendungen, Diagramme, Statistiken oder Gestaltungen, die alle auf das diskutierte Thema bezogen sind. Bei einem Diskurs wählt man ein spezifisches Thema, zu dem dann unterschiedliche Aussagen von verschiedenen Quellen zusammengeführt werden. Der Sprecher spricht über dieses Thema, und sein Diskurs besteht aus allen sprachlichen Ausdrücken, die er

[5] John R. Searle, *Bewusstsein und Sprache (Conciousness and Language)* (Cambridge: Cambridge Core, 2002), 142–155.

[6] Bettina Rainer, *Der Diskurs der Überbevölkerung, unter dem Titel „Der Begriff des Diskurses"* (Digitale Dissertation, FU-Berlin, 2003), 50.

[7] Sebastian Sohn, *Michel Foucault: Der Diskursbegriff* (München: GRIN Verlag, 2012), 1–22.

verwendet und die eine reale Bedeutung für ihn haben.

Der Sprachforscher Thomas Niehr definiert den Begriff „Diskurs" wie folgt: „Diskurs ist demnach ein Geflecht von thematisch zusammengehörigen Aussagen, die über Textkorpora zu erschließen sind"[8]. Niehr betont mit seiner Definition, dass thematisch miteinander verbundene und aus unterschiedlichen Quellen stammende Aussagen zu einem Gesamttext zusammengefasst werden. Wie Niehr sagt, kann „Diskurs" die Aussagen, die aus verschiedenen Quellenfragmenten zum gleichen Thema gesammelt, dabei auch als universelle Texterstellungsform betrachtet werden.

Die Soziologen Nina Baur und Jörg Blasius definieren den Begriff "Diskurs" in seiner allgemeinsten Bedeutung. Die Definition von Baur und Blasius lautet wie folgt: Diskurs bezeichnet in seiner allgemeinsten Bedeutung die Produktion sozialen Sinns, verstanden als die Darstellung, Vermittlung und Konstitution von bedeutungtragenden Objektivationen in kommunikativen Prozess[9]. Nach Baur und Blasius kann ein Diskurs von der Gesellschaft produziert werden. Diese Kommunikationsprodukte, die von der Gesellschaft hergestellt werden, müssen im Kommunikationsprozess klar, konkret und im Rahmen der gesellschaftlichen Regeln sein. Diese Regeln entspringen den sozialen und kulturellen Werten einer Gesellschaft.

Nach David Röder bezieht sich der Begriff „Diskurs" auf eine institutionalisierte Form des Sprechens. Er thematisiert in seinem Referat die Definition des Begriffs „Diskurs" von Jürgen Link (1982) wie folgt: „Der Begriff Diskurs ist eine institutionell verfestigte Redeweise, insofern eine solche Redeweise schon Handeln bestimmt und verfestigt und also schon Macht ausübt"[10].

Die institutionalisierte Form des Sprechens also der Diskurs wird von der sozialen Einrichtung verstärkt. Diese verstärkte Form des Sprechens wird als Handeln bestimmt und gefestigt. Das von der sozialen Gesellschaft festgelegte und gestärkte Sprechen wird als Handlung betrachtet und verstärkt, wobei die sprachliche Handlung von der sozialen Gesellschaft als Machtausübung betrachtet wird. Mit anderen Worten, die Gesellschaft spielt eine entscheidende Rolle bei der Festlegung und Verstärkung bestimmter Arten des Sprechens. Die Praxis und Verwendung von Sprache hängt daher von der Machtstruktur der sozialen Gesellschaft ab.

Soziolinguistik

Zunächst sollte geklärt werden, was unter dem Begriff „Gesellschaft" zu verstehen ist. Unter dem Begriff „Gesellschaft" verstehen wir die Menschen, die an einem bestimmten Ort zusammenleben und eine gemeinsame Kultur und Sprache teilen. Wenn Menschen sich um diese Werte (Ort, Kultur, Sprache) vereinen, sprechen wir von einer Gesellschaft. Das deutsche Wörterbuch „Duden" definiert den Begriff „Gesellschaft" wie folgt: „Gesamtheit der Menschen, die zusammen unter bestimmten politischen, wirtschaftlichen und sozialen Verhältnissen leben[11].

Diese Definition betont, dass unter dem Begriff „Gesellschaft" Menschen in einem bestimmten Ort zusammenleben und bestimmte politische, wirtschaftliche und soziale Beziehungen haben. Mit anderen Worten, die Gesellschaft ist das gemeinsame Leben der Menschen an einem bestimmten Ort und besteht aus sozialen und kulturellen Grundlagen. Die sozialen und kulturellen Werte einer Gesellschaft können durch Sprache in Vergangenheit, Gegenwart und Zukunft vermittelt werden. Daher kann eine Gesellschaft ohne Sprache nicht existieren, und eine Sprache kann ohne Gesellschaft nicht existieren. Diese beiden Konzepte ergänzen sich gegenseitig.

Die Soziolinguistik entwickelte sich zwischen den 1960er und 1970er Jahren als neues Fachgebiet an der Schnittstelle von Sprachwissenschaft und Sozialwissenschaften. Der Begriff „Soziolinguistik" setzt sich aus zwei Konzepten zusammen: „Sozio", das die Gesellschaft bezeichnet, und „Linguistik", das den Aufbau der Sprache thematisiert. Dieses Teilgebiet der Sprachwissenschaft untersucht, wie Sprache innerhalb einer bestimmten Gesellschaft existiert und genutzt wird. Dabei wird die Sprache im sozialen und kulturellen Kontext analysiert, wobei sowohl gesprochene als auch geschriebene Formen sowie sprachliche Zeichen berücksichtigt werden. Martin

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[8]   Thomas Niehr, *International Vergleichende Diskurs- und Argumentationsanalyse*, Essener linguistische Skripte-elektronisch (ELIS-e), Universität Essen, 2002, 1–15.

[9]   Nina Baur and Jörg Blasius, *Handbuch Methoden der empirischen Sozialforschung* (Wiesbaden: Springer VS, 2022), 1–32.

[10] David Röder, *Foucault Diskursbegriff* (Seminararbeit, Friedrich-Alexander-Universität Erlangen-Nürnberg, Semester: 2019), 19.

[11] *Duden: Der Begriff „Gesellschaft" als die Bedeutung* (Mannheim: Dudenverlag, Juli 2009), Band 4.

Gross versucht, den Begriff „Soziolinguistik" folgendermaßen zu definieren: „Die Soziolinguistik untersucht die Beziehungen zwischen Sprache und der gesellschaftlichen Gruppenzugehörigkeit von Sprechern/Hörern, man sagt auch: zwischen Sprachstruktur und Sozialstruktur"[12].

Groß behauptet in dem Text, dass der Begriff „Soziolinguistik" ein Interesse an der Beziehung zwischen Sprache und sozialen Gruppen hat. Diese kommunikative Beziehung besteht zwischen dem Sprecher und dem Hörer und zeigt sich in der Interaktion zwischen Sprachstruktur und Sozialstruktur. Die Soziolinguistik thematisiert jedoch die Sprache einer Gesellschaft und behandelt nicht den Aufbau einer Gesellschaft.

In dem unten angegebenen Text des Linguisten Amel Mebarki werden Definitionen zur Soziolinguistik aus verschiedenen Quellen gegeben, und es werden eigene Informationen zum Begriff „Soziolinguistik" erklärt:

„Laut Oxford Living Dictionaries ist die Soziolinguistik die Untersuchung der Sprache im Zusammenhang mit sozialen Faktoren wie regionalen, klassen- und berufsspezifischen Dialekten, Geschlechtsunterschieden und Zweisprachigkeit. Nordquist (2017) beschreibt die Soziolinguistik als das Studium der Sprache im Zusammenhang mit der Gesellschaft, ein Bereich, der sowohl die Linguistik als auch die Soziologie erforscht. Darüber hinaus definiert Baker (2010-2) die Soziolinguistik als 'eine Reihe miteinander verbundener Bereiche, die die Untersuchung von Sprache in sozialen Kontexten betonen'... Die Soziolinguistik erforscht also die Beziehungen zwischen sozialen Gruppen und ihrem Sprachgebrauch. Sie befasst sich mit der Beziehung zwischen Sprache und dem Kontext, in dem sie verwendet wird. Mit anderen Worten, sie untersucht die Beziehung zwischen Sprache und Gesellschaft. Sie erklärt, dass Menschen in verschiedenen sozialen Kontexten unterschiedlich sprechen. Sie erörtert die sozialen Funktionen der Sprache und die Art und Weise, wie sie verwendet wird, um soziale Bedeutung zu vermitteln"[13].

In dem gegebenen Text wird der Begriff „Soziolinguistik" von Oxford Living Dictionaries wie folgt definiert: Die Soziolinguistik untersucht die Sprache in Bezug auf soziale Faktoren wie regionale, soziale und berufliche Dialekte, Geschlechterunterschiede und Zweisprachigkeit. Nordquist (2017) beschreibt die Soziolinguistik als eine Disziplin, die sich mit der Sprache in der Gesellschaft befasst, wobei die Bereiche Linguistik und Soziologie in einem Feld der Gesellschaft untersucht werden. Baker (2012-2) bezeichnet die Soziolinguistik als einen Bereich, in dem mehrere Disziplinen miteinander verbunden sind und der Forschung die Sprache in sozialen Kontexten betont.

Amel Mebarki behauptet, dass die Soziolinguistik sich für die Beziehung zwischen den sozialen Kollektiven und ihrem Sprachgebrauch interessiert. Sie untersucht die Verbindung zwischen Sprache und dem Kontext, in dem sie verwendet wird. Mit anderen Worten, die Soziolinguistik erforscht die Beziehung zwischen Sprache und Gemeinschaft. In einer Gesellschaft haben Menschen unterschiedliche soziale Kontexte, weshalb sie trotz der Verwendung derselben Sprache unterschiedlich sprechen können, während sie dennoch in derselben Gemeinschaft leben. Die Soziolinguistik diskutiert die sozialen Faktoren der Sprache und untersucht die Verwendung einer Sprache in der Gesellschaft. Sie ermöglicht es, eine Sprache in der Gesellschaft zu interpretieren, in der sie gesprochen wird.

Der deutsche Linguist Norbert Dittmar teilt den einleitenden Satz der " Soziolinguistik", der zu dem amerikanischen Linguist Joshua Fishman gehört, in sieben unterschiedliche Titel. Die Titel lauten so; „Erster: Wer?, vierter: Mit wem? , zweiter: Welche Sprache?, dritter: Wie? , sechster: Wann, in Welcher sozialen Situation? , fünfter: In welcher Sprache? , siebter: Mit welcher Absicht und auswelchem Grund? sprechen und schreiben"[14].

Der deutsche Linguist Norbert Dittmar hatte den einleitenden Satz der "Soziolinguistik" von amerikanischem Linguist Joshua Fishman in dem obigen Text wieder geordnet. Nach der Ordnung des Dittmars kann man sich selbst fragen. Welche Dimensionen hat der Sprachgebrauch in der Gesellschaft?

Die Diskursanalytische Methode und die hermeneutische Annäherung

Die diskursanalytische Methode

Unter dem Konzept der "Diskursanalyse" versteht man ein spezielles Teilgebiet der Sprachwissenschaft, das sich mit der Untersuchung von Sprache aus diskursiven Perspektiven befasst. Diese Untersuchung beruht auf der Analyse der Sprache innerhalb gesellschaftlicher Kontexte und erforscht, wie Sprache in sozialen Interaktionen funktioniert. Die diskursanalytische Herangehensweise ist in der wissenschaftlichen Methodologie verankert und

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[12] Daumantas Katinas, *Soziolinguistik. Einführung* (Herbstsemester, Lehrstuhl für deutsche Philologie, Universität Vilnius, 2013/2014), 25.

[13] Amel Mebarki, *Anfängerhandbuch Soziolinguistik. Deutsche Ausgabe* (India: Unser Wissen Verlag, 2023), 9–10.

[14] Fatma Öztürk Dağabakan, *Toplumdilbilim* (Ankara, Konya, İstanbul: Çizgi Kitapevi, 2019), 26.

stellt eine Methode dar, die vergleichbar ist mit quantitativen oder qualitativen Verfahren, die für die Erstellung wissenschaftlicher Arbeiten verwendet werden können.

In dieser Studie wird die von dem Wissenschaftssoziologen Rainer Keller entwickelte diskursanalytische Methode berücksichtigt. Keller gliedert diesen Ansatz in fünf wesentlichen Schritten:

1. Problemdefinition: Zunächst wird der Titel der wissenschaftlichen Arbeit formuliert oder eine zentrale Fragestellung präsentiert, die die Grundlage der Untersuchung bildet.

2. Literaturrecherche: Anschließend erfolgt eine umfassende Literaturrecherche, um bestehende Forschungsarbeiten und relevante Theorien zum Thema zu identifizieren.

3. Informationssammlung: In der dritten Phase werden alle relevanten Informationen und Daten, die für die wissenschaftliche Arbeit von Bedeutung sind, systematisch gesammelt.

4. Kodierung: Die gesammelten Informationen werden dann kodiert, wobei besonders diejenigen Aspekte hervorgehoben werden, die für die Fragestellung der Arbeit entscheidend sind.

5. Interpretation und Bewertung: Im letzten Schritt erfolgt die Interpretation der gewonnenen Daten, gefolgt von einer kritischen Diskussion und Bewertung, um die Relevanz und Anwendbarkeit der Informationen für die behandelte Fragestellung zu überprüfen"[15].

Zusätzlich ist es sinnvoll, einen kurzen Überblick über den aktuellen Forschungsstand zu geben. Die Literaturrecherche zu dem Thema ergab, dass verschiedene Linguisten sich mit relevanten Aspekten der Soziolinguistik und Diskursanalyse auseinandergesetzt haben. So thematisiert die türkische Linguistin Fatma Öztürk Dağabakan in ihrem Werk „Soziolinguistik" (Öztürk Dağabakan, 2019) die Funktionsweise der Sprache innerhalb unterschiedlicher gesellschaftlicher Gruppen. Der deutsche Linguist Jürgen Spitzmüller hat in seinem Buch „Soziolinguistik: Eine Einführung" (Spitzmüller, 2022) die Geschichte der Soziolinguistik ausführlich behandelt. Zudem untersucht Jochen Rehbein in seinem Werk „Das Konzept der Diskursanalyse" (Rehbein, 2001) den Begriff „Diskursanalyse" umfassend. Schließlich beleuchtet Ivana Kruijff-Korbayova in ihrer wissenschaftlichen Arbeit „Einführung in Pragmatik und Diskurs" (Korbayova, 2012) die Ursprünge der Konzepte „Pragmatik" und „Diskurs".

Diese Überprüfung zeigt, dass die genannten Themen teilweise den Titel der vorliegenden Arbeit prägen. Daher lässt sich konstatieren, dass der Titel der behandelten Arbeit in der Tat neu und relevant ist.

Die hermeneutische Annäherung

Unter dem Konzept der „Hermeneutik" versteht man einen Prozess, der es ermöglicht, einen Verständigungs- und Kompromissakt über einen Text zwischen Sender und Empfänger zu etablieren. Dieser Prozess erfordert eine Botschaft, die sowohl dem Interpretierenden als auch dem Rezipienten dient, um einen gemeinsamen Sinn aus dem Text zu erarbeiten. Der resultierende Kompromiss entsteht im Spannungsfeld zwischen diesen beiden Akteuren.

Sandra Müller erklärt die Herkunft des Begriffs „Hermeneutik" und wie er seine Bedeutung gewinnt:

„Der Begriff Hermeneutik stammt von dem griechischen Wort hermeneuein ab. Das Verb bedeutet „erklären, auslegen" –Hermeneutik beschreibt somit im weitesten Sinne ein Vermitteln. Inwieweit der Begriff etymologisch mit den Göttern boten Hermes in Zusammenhang steht, ist umstritten"[16].

Wie Müller anmerkt, leitet sich der Begriff „Hermeneutik" vom griechischen Verb „hermeneuein" ab, was auf Deutsch „ausbreiten und erklären" bedeutet. Die etymologische Verbindung zur altgriechischen Gottheit Hermes ist insofern relevant, als Hermes die Aufgabe hatte, Kommunikation zwischen den Göttern zu vermitteln und somit eine Versöhnung herbeizuführen, die von der Klarheit seiner Botschaften abhing. Daraus lässt sich ableiten, dass das Verb „hermeneuein" metaphorisch mit der Rolle des Hermes verknüpft ist. Diese These von Sandra Müller kann jedoch diskutiert und interpretiert werden, wobei sie auch darauf hinweist, dass eine Botschaft interpretierbar sein

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[15] Reiner Keller, *Wissenssoziologische Diskursanalyse: Grundlegung eines Forschungsprogramms*, 3. Auflage (Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, 2011), 435–441.

[16] Sandra Müller, "Die Kunst, Das Verstehen zu Verstehen," *Focus Online Magazin*, 29. März 2017.

muss, um einen Kompromiss zu ermöglichen.

Die Linguisten Hilal Çelik und Halil Ekşi beziehen sich in ihrer Arbeit auf die Auffassung von Sözen, die die Hermeneutik als ein Produkt einer tradierten Praxis betrachtet. Sie formulieren:

„Die Hermeneutik wurde von einer Tradition geschaffen. Sie ist die deutliche Aussage des Diskurses. Für den Kommentar braucht man die Diskurse. Ein Text, der von allen Menschen als der Begriff 'Diskurs' akzeptiert wurde oder was die Menschen mit ihren beabsichtigten Ausdrücken meinen. Diese beabsichtigten Aussagen der Menschen werden mithilfe der Hermeneutik deutlich. In diesem Prozess wird eine Verbindung zwischen dem Interpretierenden und dem Interpretierten hergestellt. Mit dieser hergestellten Verbindung wird die Uneinigkeit zwischen dem Sender und dem Empfänger behoben"[17].

Sözen betont, dass diskursive Texte grundsätzlich interpretierbar sind, während formative Texte oft eine universelle Bedeutung tragen, die nicht immer offen für Interpretationen ist. Diskursive Texte hingegen bieten Raum für unterschiedliche Wahrnehmungen und Interpretationen, da sie von der empfangenden Gesellschaft in vielfältiger Weise aufgefasst werden können. Dadurch wird deutlich, dass die Hermeneutik nicht nur einen Prozess der Bedeutungszuweisung, sondern auch der Verständigung und Versöhnung zwischen unterschiedlichen Auffassungen darstellt.

Was sind die gemeinsamen und unterschiedlichen Perspektiven der Konzepte der Pragmatik und des Diskurses im Sinne der Soziolinguistik?

Der Begriff „Soziolinguistik" ist ein Teilgebiet der Sprachwissenschaft. In seiner allgemeinen Bedeutung befasst sich die Soziolinguistik mit der Sprache in einer Gesellschaft in all ihren Teilaspekten. Das bedeutet, sie untersucht die Beziehung zwischen Sprache und sozialen Gruppen in der Gesellschaft, basierend auf den sozialen und kulturellen Kontexten der Gemeinschaft. Neben der gesprochenen und geschriebenen Sprache beschäftigt sich die Soziolinguistik auch mit der semiotischen Sprache, die auch als Zeichentheorie bezeichnet wird und das Konzept eines „Zeichensystems" umfasst. Mit Hilfe der Soziolinguistik kann man über die sozialen Faktoren der Sprache in einer Gesellschaft diskutieren und sie interpretieren.

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Sowohl Pragmatik als auch Diskurs befassen sich mit der Sprache im sozialen Kontext. Die Pragmatik analysiert, wie Bedeutungen in der Kommunikation konstruiert werden, und legt einen besonderen Fokus auf die Beziehung zwischen Sender und Empfänger. Sie bezieht sich nicht nur auf den Wortlaut, sondern auch auf den Kontext, in dem eine Äußerung erfolgt, und die Absichten des Sprechers. Diskurs hingegen umfasst ein breiteres Spektrum, indem er sich mit der Gesamtheit der sprachlichen Äußerungen zu einem bestimmten Thema auseinandersetzt. Diskurse entstehen durch die Interaktion von Sprecher und Zuhörer, wobei kulturelle und gesellschaftliche Rahmenbedingungen berücksichtigt werden.

Ein weiterer gemeinsamer Punkt ist die Verwendung von Zeichen. Die semiotischen Überlegungen, die von Ferdinand de Saussure geprägt wurden, sind sowohl für die Pragmatik als auch für den Diskurs von Bedeutung. Saussures Modell unterscheidet zwischen dem „Bezeichneten" (dem Konzept) und dem „Bezeichnenden" (dem Lautbild). Beide Konzepte nutzen diese Differenzierung, um die Bedeutung von sprachlichen Äußerungen in ihren jeweiligen Kontexten zu analysieren.

Die Hauptunterschiede zwischen Pragmatik und Diskurs liegen in der Art und Weise, wie Bedeutung erzeugt und interpretiert wird. Die Pragmatik konzentriert sich stark auf die subjektiven Aspekte der Bedeutung, die vom

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[17] Hilal Çelik und Halil Ekşi, *Söylem Analizi* (Istanbul: Marmara Üniversitesi, 2008), 104.

Sprecher im jeweiligen Kommunikationsakt festgelegt werden. Hierbei kann es zu einer einseitigen Interpretation der Äußerung kommen, die stark von den individuellen Absichten und dem Kontext des Sprechers geprägt ist. Diese individuelle Perspektive ermöglicht es, die Nuancen der Kommunikation zu erfassen, birgt jedoch die Gefahr, dass die objektiven gesellschaftlichen Rahmenbedingungen vernachlässigt werden.

Im Gegensatz dazu betrachtet der Diskurs die Bedeutungen als sozial konstruiert. Diskursive Analysen gehen davon aus, dass die Bedeutung sprachlicher Äußerungen durch gesellschaftliche Normen, Werte und Konventionen geprägt ist. Dies bedeutet, dass diskursive Äußerungen eine Vielzahl von Perspektiven und Interpretationen zulassen, die über die individuelle Intention hinausgehen. Der Diskurs ermöglicht somit eine umfassendere Diskussion über soziale Themen und die unterschiedlichen Positionen innerhalb der Gesellschaft.

Insgesamt bieten die Konzepte der Pragmatik und des Diskurses wertvolle Werkzeuge für die Analyse von Sprache in sozialen Kontexten. Während die Pragmatik sich auf die individuelle Bedeutung von Äußerungen und deren situative Verwendung konzentriert, untersucht der Diskurs die kollektiven Bedeutungen und sozialen Konstrukte, die aus sprachlicher Interaktion hervorgehen. Beide Ansätze sind für das Verständnis der komplexen Beziehungen zwischen Sprache, Gesellschaft und Kultur von entscheidender Bedeutung und tragen zur vertieften Analyse sprachlicher Phänomene in der Soziolinguistik bei.

Schlussfolgerung

In dieser Arbeit wurden die gemeinsamen und unterschiedlichen Aspekte der Begriffe „Diskurs" und „Pragmatik" im Kontext der Soziolinguistik untersucht. Die Analyse hat gezeigt, dass beide Konzepte nicht auf eine Standardsprache beschränkt sind, sondern den Gebrauch sprachlicher Handlungen in sozialen und kulturellen Kontexten reflektieren. Die Soziolinguistik beschäftigt sich somit nicht mit der Standardsprache einer Gemeinschaft, sondern mit der tatsächlichen Sprache, die in den jeweiligen gesellschaftlichen Rahmenbedingungen verwendet wird.

Zusammenfassend lässt sich festhalten, dass „Pragmatik" und „Diskurs" eine zentrale Rolle in der Soziolinguistik spielen, wenn es darum geht, sprachliche Handlungen und ihre Bedeutungen im sozialen und kulturellen Kontext zu verstehen. Beide Konzepte bieten wertvolle Perspektiven zur Erfassung der Komplexität menschlicher Kommunikation, wobei sie unterschiedliche Aspekte beleuchten.

Die sprachlichen Produkte einer Gemeinschaft können sowohl aus pragmatischer als auch aus diskursiver Sicht diskutiert und interpretiert werden. In der Pragmatik wird die Bedeutung sprachlicher Zeichen vom Sprecher bestimmt, was zu einseitigen Interpretationen führen kann. Im Gegensatz dazu werden die Bedeutungen im Diskurs in der Gesellschaft ausgehandelt, was objektivere und vielseitigere Interpretationen ermöglicht. Während pragmatische Äußerungen oft individuell und subjektiv sind, sind diskursive Äußerungen vielfältiger und gesellschaftlich verankert. Die Soziolinguistik betrachtet die Äußerungen innerhalb ihres sozialen und kulturellen Kontexts als neutral und objektiv.

Die Pragmatik ermöglicht es, die individuellen Intentionen und die kontextuellen Faktoren zu analysieren, die die Bedeutung sprachlicher Äußerungen beeinflussen. Dies ist besonders relevant in Situationen, in denen persönliche Motive, Emotionen oder spezifische Umstände eine Rolle spielen. Die Untersuchung pragmatischer Äußerungen bietet Einblick in das subjektive Verständnis von Sprache und verdeutlicht, wie Bedeutungen von Individuen konstruiert werden.

Im Gegensatz dazu fokussiert der Diskurs auf die kollektiven Bedeutungen, die in sozialen Interaktionen und gesellschaftlichen Rahmenbedingungen ausgehandelt werden. Diskursive Analysen ermöglichen es, die unterschiedlichen Perspektiven und die Dynamik der Bedeutungsproduktion innerhalb einer Gemeinschaft zu erfassen. Es wird deutlich, dass sprachliche Zeichen nicht isoliert betrachtet werden können, sondern immer in einem größeren sozialen Kontext stehen, der durch Machtverhältnisse, kulturelle Normen und historische Entwicklungen geprägt ist.

Die Soziolinguistik profitiert als interdisziplinäres Feld von der Integration beider Konzepte. Durch die Verbindung pragmatischer und diskursiver Ansätze können Wissenschaftler*innen ein umfassenderes Bild von der Sprachverwendung in verschiedenen Gemeinschaften entwickeln. Diese ganzheitliche Sichtweise eröffnet neue

Perspektiven für die Analyse von Identität, sozialem Wandel und kulturellen Praktiken.

Zudem ist die Unterscheidung zwischen Pragmatik und Diskurs nicht nur theoretisch relevant, sondern hat auch praktische Implikationen. In Bereichen wie der Sprachförderung, interkulturellen Kommunikation oder Medienanalyse kann ein Verständnis dieser Konzepte dazu beitragen, Missverständnisse zu vermeiden und die Kommunikation zu verbessern. Indem wir die vielschichtige Natur von Sprache und Bedeutung anerkennen, können wir auch die sozialen Zusammenhänge, in denen diese Bedeutungen entstehen, besser verstehen und respektieren.

Insgesamt zeigt sich, dass die Auseinandersetzung mit Pragmatik und Diskurs in der Soziolinguistik nicht nur eine analytische Übung ist, sondern auch ein wichtiges Werkzeug zur Reflexion über Sprache als sozialen Prozess darstellt.

Extended Abstract

This study aims to identify the common and distinct aspects of the concepts of Discourse and Pragmatics within the framework of Sociolinguistics. This objective was pursued by examining the social and cultural contexts inherent within society. These social and cultural contexts were analyzed through the language specific to the society in question. Language serves as a medium that transmits a society's cultural values from past to present and from present to future. Within this study, language is examined through the Social Language Indicator model. Following this examination, an understanding was gained regarding how social language structures itself in relation to the society it is embedded within. This structuring takes place within a framework of mutual consensus. This consensus operates between the sender and the receiver. Meaning is conveyed objectively and impartially to the target audiences. However, pragmatic language, when used in a personal context, may not always be neutral or objective, as this language can carry a dual perspective.

A central question guided this study: What are the common and divergent aspects of Pragmatics and Discourse within the scope of Sociolinguistics? Through addressing this question, the study was able to determine the common and different aspects of Discourse and Pragmatics in relation to Sociolinguistics. Through this exploration, it was found that the concepts of Pragmatics and Discourse share an interconnected relationship with Sociolinguistics in the linguistic field. However, a particular challenge emerged from the concept of Pragmatics. This issue stemmed from Pragmatics' tendency to attribute dual meanings to a single concept: one associated with personal benefit and the other with social benefit.

After conducting a comprehensive literature review covering Pragmatics, Discourse, and Sociolinguistics, the relevant information on these concepts was defined. However, until now, no study directly addressing this particular intersection has been encountered in the scientific literature. During this review, studies covering related topics were identified. The titles of these studies align closely with the title of the topic under consideration. For instance, Turkish linguist Fatma Öztürk Dağabakan authored a book titled Sociolinguistics (Öztürk Dağabakan, 2019). In this book, the linguist addressed how language functions within society. Furthermore, she conducted detailed research on the concept of Sociolinguistics within her own work.

In this study, German sociologist Reiner Keller's Discourse Analysis Method was employed. This method incorporates various characteristics of the Qualitative Research Method. The Discourse Analysis Method was implemented across five distinct stages in this study. In the first stage, the subject of the study was identified. In the second stage, a literature review relevant to the study was conducted. In the third stage, information pertaining to the study was collected. The fourth stage involved selecting specific information regarding the concepts central to the study's focus. In the fifth and final stage, a discussion was conducted on the selected information.

The study adopts an interpretative approach, which plays a significant role in the research process. With the support of this approach, it was observed that the Discourse Analysis method and the Qualitative Research Method are interrelated. Both methods are generally utilized within the Social and Human Sciences. Additionally, this approach facilitates linguistic consensus between the sender and the receiver.

In conclusion, the study confirmed that Pragmatics and Discourse hold both shared and distinct aspects within a social context. This confirmation suggests that the shared and distinct aspects of Discourse and Pragmatics can be mutually identified. Following this determination, the concepts of Discourse and Pragmatics were evaluated within

the context of Sociolinguistics. This evaluation yielded the following conclusions: Pragmatics and Discourse concepts are concerned not only with the standard language of a society but also with the language actively used by society. This language, produced by society, is neutral and authentic. The language generated by society also rests upon the social and cultural contexts of the society to which it belongs. However, in the case of individual usage, pragmatic language may produce a one-sided linguistic product. For instance, a personal linguistic sign may carry two distinct meanings, one associated with personal interest and the other with benefit. This linguistic phenomenon occurs solely in the realm of pragmatic language use. Nevertheless, discursive language is only interpreted within the society to which it belongs. This interpretation is objective, as discourse language does not grant the sender the authority to determine its meaning. French philosopher and linguist Michel Foucault attempted to define the concept of "discourse" along these lines. In short, the interpretation of a linguistic sign is actively shaped by the reader rather than the author. However, the enactment of pragmatic language within a society can occur on both an individual and a societal level.

Based on the findings of this study, it can be asserted that Sociolinguistics also analyzes language as it pertains to society. This analysis is objective and grounded in reality. Within this study, it was discovered that the concept of Sociolinguistics holds both shared and distinct aspects with the concepts of Pragmatics and Discourse.

Following these findings, it can be concluded that pragmatic language can convey dual meanings on a semantic level. These dual interpretations of pragmatic language are, on one hand, individually oriented and, on the other, socially oriented. By contrast, discursive and socially constructed language can only be interpreted by the society to which they belong.

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Kare International Journal of Comparative Literature

Research Article / Araştırma Makalesi

From Plato to Arnold: A Comparative Study of Wordsworth's Preface to *Lyrical Ballads*

Platon'dan Arnold'a: Wordsworth'un Preface to *Lyrical Ballads* Üzerine Karşılaştırmalı Bir İnceleme

Sümeyye Öztürk[1]

Abstract: William Wordsworth, in his Preface to *Lyrical Ballads* (1798), redefined poetry by advocating for the representation of ordinary experiences in extraordinary ways, evoking sublime emotions in readers. While his ideas draw from predecessors such as Plato, Aristotle, Longinus, and Horace, as well as his contemporary Coleridge, Wordsworth's emphasis on imagination often overlooks critical engagement with earlier literary traditions. Matthew Arnold is included in this analysis as a comparative figure to highlight Wordsworth's shortcomings in balancing creative and critical faculties. Arnold's focus on synthesizing these elements offers a valuable contrast to Wordsworth's prioritization of imaginative powers. It is thus essential to examine the distinctions in Wordsworth's style compared to the thinkers above. The analysis provides valuable insights into diverse perspectives on the poet's role and the nature of poetry. Indeed, it becomes essential to unfold and unravel Wordsworth's understanding of poetry to draw parallels and to compare and contrast his ideas to gain knowledge on how poetry ought to be perceived. Present study examines Wordsworth's contributions through Arnold's critical lens, offering insights into the evolving role of the poet and the nature of poetry while addressing where Wordsworth may be critiqued for his limited critical scope.

Öz: William Wordsworth, Preface to *Lyrical Ballads* (1798) adlı eserinde, sıradan insanın günlük deneyimlerinin yüce duygular uyandıracak şekilde sunulmasını savunarak şiir anlayışına yeni bir boyut kazandırmıştır. Wordsworth'ün fikirleri, Platon, Aristoteles, Longinus ve Horace gibi düşünürlerin yanı sıra çağdaşı Coleridge'in görüşleriyle de benzerlik taşımaktadır. Ancak, Wordsworth hayal gücüne öncelik verirken, Matthew Arnold eleştirel bakış açısı ve edebi geleneklerle ilişki eksikliğini eleştirmiştir. Arnold'un yaratıcı ve eleştirel yetilerin dengelenmesi gerektiğine dair vurgusu, Wordsworth'un yaklaşımını değerlendirmek için bir çerçeve sunmaktadır. Wordsworth'ün yaklaşımının, adı geçen sanatçılardan hangi yönlerde ayrıştığını incelemek ve şiirin rolüne dair çeşitli görüşleri ortaya koymak bu çalışma açısından büyük önem taşımaktadır. Bu bağlamda, Wordsworth'ün şiir anlayışını derinlemesine ele almak ve diğer yazarlarla karşılaştırmak hedeflenmiştir. Bu makale Wordsworth'ün fikirlerini Arnold'un görüşleriyle, edebi geleneklerle ve daha geniş bağlamdaki düşünce akımlarıyla karşılaştırarak şairin rolü ve şiirin doğasına dair yeni perspektifler sunmayı amaçlamaktadır.

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Introduction

The beginning of English Romanticism during the 18th century (from 1750 to 1850) was revolutionary in presenting new ideas to what had been hitherto unfamiliar and to some extent foreign to the readers. The era was considered to be a counterreaction to the Age of Enlightenment, whose main purpose was to bring forward rationalism based on science and scientific evidence to emphasize the reasonable and intellectual mind. Romanticism, on the other hand, shifted the focus to the emotions in mankind rather than merely focusing on rationality, arguing that it is through passions, feelings, and experiences that man is able to reach "emotional and intellectual depths."[2]

This paper examines how William Wordsworth's distinctive poetic vision—particularly his handling of what we might call "alienation" from nature, authenticity, and feeling—marks a departure from earlier literary traditions. In doing so, it will also highlight the research question: how does Wordsworth's approach to poetry, as reflected in his Preface to *Lyrical Ballads*, provide a unique framework for understanding the Romantic notion of alienation in contrast to preceding aesthetic norms? Addressing this question will clarify how Wordsworth negotiates the relationship between rationality and feeling, and how he re-engages readers estranged from the emotional core of life. Additionally, the paper will explain why thinkers like Matthew Arnold are included, as Arnold's critical principles and emphasis on broad literary awareness help us evaluate the originality and comprehensiveness of Wordsworth's poetic theory.

While introducing Wordsworth's main ideas in writing his work, this paper will also comment on the key Romantic ideas predominant during the 18th century. It is also crucial to mention how Wordsworth and Samuel T. Coleridge are different in their respective approach. Although both have written *Lyrical Ballads* together and, to some extent express the same purpose for how poetry should be viewed, their means of conveying and expressing poetry are nonetheless different. Lastly, the report at hand will draw parallels to the ideas of Plato, Aristotle, Horace, Longinus as well as Matthew Arnold to see where Wordsworth's contribution to poetry is similar and where he differs from his predecessors/contemporaries. These comparisons further illuminate how Wordsworth's approach counters the intellectual and emotional alienation characteristic of previous eras and how Arnold's perspective informs our understanding of Wordsworth's critical limitations.

William Wordsworth's Key Ideas in Preface to *Lyrical Ballads*

The English Romantic poet William Wordsworth (1770-1850) was one of the pioneering figures who, together with his companion Coleridge, marked the beginning of Romanticism with his contribution to *Lyrical Ballads* (1798). Different from the Age of Enlightenment, the Romantic era worked to render the sublime using poetry.

To state, however, that there is a distinct line when it comes to the prevalent ideas during the Age of Enlightenment and Romanticism would be erroneous as the former "did not totally abandon emotion", likewise, the latter did not wholly "reject rationalism".[3] In that respect, one could argue that even though Romanticism offered new perspectives on how to perceive literature, it was at the same time influenced and its basis reshuffled by previous thought patterns. Nevertheless, this process was done in a way that brought the theme of the sublime to the foreground and with ideas that sought to reshape earlier understandings of poetry.[4] Wordsworth "brings reason and wonder together, calling the imagination 'the highest reason in a soul sublime'".[5] Hence, Wordsworth sought to redefine poetry on his own terms and thus states in his Preface what the reader can expect in *Lyrical Ballads*. At the beginning of the Preface, Wordsworth also mentions that his

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[2] Morse Peckham, "Toward a Theory of Romanticism," *PMLA* 66, no. 2, (1951): 20.

[3] Joanne Schneider, *The Age of Romanticism* (Santa Barbara: Greenwood Press, 2007), 1.

[4] Kari Elise Lokke, "The Role of Sublimity in the Development of Modernist Aesthetics," *The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism* 40, no. 4, (1982): 421-422.

[5] Joel Faflak, and Julia M. Wright, eds *A Handbook of Romanticism Studies* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2012), 64.

work was in its essence an "experiment" to test "the real language of men in a state of vivid sensation".[6] Not thinking that his writings would be regarded as poetry by some as his writing style and content differed from earlier traditions, he was surprised to find out that his new type of poetry was received well above his expectations.[7] In his Preface, Wordsworth clarifies the very aim of this new poetry, which according to him should address the "low and rustic life" because through it, "the essential passions the heart find a better soil ... and speak a plainer and more emphatic language".[8] It was his objective to convey the otherwise inexpressible ideas of poetry by way of the common and the ordinary while appealing to the universality of human emotions. In emphasizing low and rustic life, Wordsworth also counters the alienation wrought by industrialization and elite literary traditions, re-centering poetry on experiences accessible to ordinary people.

When Wordsworth writes that he wants to simplify the language of poetry, it is also crucial to note that he at the same time thinks of poetry to be written by chosen poets whose vocation is

> [...] endued with more lively sensibility, more enthusiasm and tenderness, who has greater knowledge of human nature, and a more comprehensive soul, than are supposed to be common among mankind; a man pleased with his own passions and volitions, and who rejoices more than other men in the spirit of life that is in him.[9]

Hence, a differentiation between the common man and the poet is made in Wordsworth's Preface, where he deliberately distinguishes the powerful qualities and duties of the poet in contrast to "other men".[10]

As such, it is "through the mouths of his characters" that the poet speaks while instructing mankind on the truth in a language they can understand.[11] Not only is the form of the poem simple in its arrangement of rhyme and meter - and therefore also grammatically plain – the poems should also serve to be semantically pure and "universally intelligible".[12] This ability is reserved for the designated poet, as he can "conjure up in himself passions [...] other men are accustomed to feel in themselves".[13] The relatable and straightforward language is then transmitted to every man "in a manner which [they] associate ideas in a state of excitement".[14]

Experience is another vital point in Wordsworth's understanding of "good poetry". For Wordsworth, the mind has been dulled by writings on sensational and national events such as the Industrial Revolution, which has led to people incessantly having "a craving for extraordinary incident".[15] Rather than focusing on "violent stimulants", as Wordsworth puts it, the poet should turn ordinary experiences into extraordinary ones by making the reader discover new, strange, and unfamiliar perspectives from common life. Poetry, Wordsworth argues, is a way for the common man to reform or defamiliarize the familiar experience and to see it with fresh eyes where "the poet will lend his divine spirit to aid the transfiguration".[16] Poetry, however, should be presented in such a way that it does not afflict pain on the reader. Not appearing too overwhelming nor staggering for the reader, poetry should thus be simple in its form while functioning to soften the emotional experience with trivial and common life situations.[17] At the same time, Wordsworth aims to transform the mundane "in an unusual way", seeking to excite and inspire to such an extent that the reader is filled with

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[6] William Wordsworth, "Preface to Lyrical Ballads, with Pastoral and Other Poems (1802)," in *The Norton Anthology of Theory and Criticism*, gen. ed. Vincent B. Leitch, (New York: W. W. Norton & Company Inc, 2001), 648.

[7] Wordsworth, "Preface to Lyrical Ballads, with Pastoral and Other Poems (1802)," 648.

[8] Wordsworth, 650.

[9] Wordsworth, 655.

[10] Wordsworth, 656.

[11] Wordsworth, 658.

[12] Wordsworth, 650.

[13] Wordsworth, 656.

[14] Wordsworth, 650.

[15] Wordsworth, 652.

[16] Wordsworth, 658.

[17] Wordsworth, 656.

passion and, therefore, reawakened, thus seeing the world anew.[18] This attempt to defamiliarize the familiar directly confronts the sense of alienation that comes from viewing the world through a purely rational or utilitarian lens.

To convey "the sublime notion of Poetry", the poet's essential duty is also to be emotionally recollected.[19] After having gathered his ideas over a period of time in tranquility and in a much-composed mindset, the poet can then be able to pour down his poetic experience.[20] When the right time comes for the poet to render what is in his mind, it is then regarded to be *good poetry*, because as Wordsworth asserts, the recollection of experience(s) has now turned into a "spontaneous overflow of powerful feelings".[21] The process of tranquility to collect thoughts and experiences is therefore not based on immediate events, but rather on powerful poetic creativity over a certain time period, which is finally triggered by inspiration. A prime example of this is to be found in the first lines of Wordsworth's "Tintern Abbey" (1798) "Five years have past; five summers, with the length / Of five long winters! and again I hear / These waters, rolling from their mountain-springs / With a soft inland murmur".[22] It can be inferred from the above excerpt that the poet has spent five years pondering and gathering poetic experiences for then to transfer them to the reader. For Wordsworth, this is not a quality that everyone can practice; it takes great patience where the poet has to enter into a somewhat semi-divine and metaphysical sphere to "lend his divine spirit to aid the transfiguration".[23] Hence, as with, for instance, "Tintern Abbey" as well as "Daffodils" (1807), Wordsworth expresses the role of the divine poet in stating that he has to transform and transfigure elementary feelings and experiences which can merely take place with a poet's special consciousness and awareness. In doing so, the poet therefore animates, vivifies, and to a great extent inspires life into experiences that otherwise may seem tedious due to people perceiving experiences without reacting to them in an energetic/responsive way.[24]

It is also worth mentioning the difference between Coleridge's and Wordsworth's viewpoints on poetry. Although they have agreed on writing the Preface together, they nonetheless differ in their ways of interpreting the purpose of poetry. Their shared fundamental basis, however, is to generate ideas on the strange/familiar experiences, though both writers have decided to approach this project in their own particular ways. Where Wordsworth endeavors to defamiliarize the otherwise common situations, Coleridge has made it his mission to turn the strange into what is common and familiar to his reader.[25] Just as Wordsworth values feelings to be elemental, Coleridge puts imagination first while having a more philosophical outlook on the aim of poetry. For him then, the supernatural was born out of the divine and the energetic imagination, and "the excellence aimed at was to consist in the interesting of the affections by the dramatic truth of such emotions, as would naturally accompany such situations, supposing them real".[26] The gist of truth is therefore for Coleridge to draw out the inward, alien, and supernatural experiences of man for the sake of creating poetry and transfigure them into what is common and familiar. Wordsworth's objective, however, is, as Coleridge puts it, "to give charm of novelty to things of every day, and to excite a feeling analogous to the supernatural". [27] Coleridge, with his works such as *The Rime of the Ancient Mariner* (1834) as well as *Kubla Khan* (1816) also presents to the reader his purpose with poetry; he displays uncanny creatures in sublime, mystic and natural environments together with the powerful forces of imagination and creativity. The unrealistic and supernatural are transformed into reality and actuality in Coleridge's version of poetry while for Wordsworth it is indeed the reverse. Even though this is the basic distinction

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[18] Wordsworth, 650.

[19] Wordsworth, 661.

[20] Wordsworth, 661.

[21] Wordsworth, 651.

[22] William Wordsworth, "The Poetical Works of William Wordsworth," *Project Gutenberg*. Vol. 2, https://www.gutenberg.org/files/12145/12145-h/12145-h.htm. 2018, Lines 1-4.

[23] Wordsworth, "Preface to Lyrical Ballads, with Pastoral and Other Poems (1802)," 658.

[24] Wordsworth, 650.

[25] Samuel T. Coleridge, "*From* The Stateman's Manual", in *The Norton Anthology of Theory and Criticism*, gen. ed. Vincent B. Leitch, (New York W. W. Norton & Company Inc, 2001), 677.

[26] Coleridge, "*From* The Stateman's Manual," 677.

[27] Coleridge, 677.

between Wordsworth and Coleridge, both use the dual spheres of strange/familiar to achieve their versions of what they perceive to be "good poetry".

This distinction with Coleridge further emphasizes Wordsworth's unique angle. While Coleridge focuses on integrating the uncanny into the known, Wordsworth works more directly with the sense of alienation from everyday life, striving to highlight the extraordinary in the ordinary and thus reconnecting the reader with dimensions of experience that might otherwise remain unknown.

The Relation(s) Between Wordsworth's Understanding of Poetry and Classical Ideas

Wordsworth seems to have similar ideas as Plato when he states that he seeks to achieve the "supreme good" in poetry. Both Plato and Wordsworth regard emotions and inspiration to be the origin of poetry while also viewing the immanent to be the very source of nature and God.[28] As such, both perceive poetry to be inspired and communicated through God, and therefore the poet is also deemed holy. Yet, whereas Plato labels poetry as "a form of divine madness"[29] in which stirring emotions deceive mankind, Wordsworth considers feelings to be superior and above the faculty of reason. Although Plato and Wordsworth have the same ideas regarding the source of poetry and the poet's sanctified role in this position, they differ in their understanding of how to reach a higher state of being, that is, an elevation of the mind.[30] Plato's argument on the heart being both physically and therefore metaphysically inferior to reason and intellect is also crucial when comparing it to Wordsworth's ideas which are drenched with the romantic form and discourse at the time.

Unlike Plato, Wordsworth regards poetry to stem from transforming and 'moving' passions, so to speak, with which the individual is able to connect to wisdom in this way to achieve the ultimate aim of awareness/enlightenment. For Wordsworth, man without pleasure "has no knowledge".[31] Just as Wordsworth contributed to criticizing earlier traditions of how poetry was perceived, such as during the Age of Enlightenment, he also challenged the Classical world. During the Age of Enlightenment, "The Man of Science" was under scrutiny because of his inability to view scientific wisdom about the exceptional role of emotions without the former refuting the latter.[32] Similarly, Wordsworth also negates Plato, though at first, their ideas seem similar concerning where poetry stems from. However, Wordsworth argues for the praising and the supremacy of emotions because Plato downsizes the emotional faculty of man for the very reason that it is "primitive and disruptive to the normal and optimal function of mind".[33]

Wordsworth's ideas on poetry are also similar to Aristotle's in some ways while also different in others. It is worth mentioning that both are similar in their ways of wanting to portray the universality of actions in men. 'Mimesis' is an essential term here, because the representation of common actions where the individual can recognize him/herself in the story or the poem is a point both Aristotle and Wordsworth highlight.[34] Nevertheless, whereas Aristotle strives to depict the experiences of noblemen in his plots, Wordsworth appeals to men from all classes with his poetry so that his writing can be relatable and universal for all. Yet again, one could argue that Aristotle and Wordsworth are similar in this regard when considering that Aristotle's tragedies illustrate universal feelings in mankind, though the plot concentrates on aristocratic heroes.

However, Wordsworth departs from Aristotle by refusing to rely on the perfection-seeking hero's journey. Instead, he underscores the alienation and subsequent reconnection accessible through common life situations. This difference

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[28] Plato, "'Ion' and 'From Republic'," in *The Norton Anthology of Theory and Criticism*, gen. ed. Vincent B. Leitch, (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2001), 35.

[29] Plato, "'Ion' and 'From Republic'," 35.

[30] Plato, 36.

[31] William Wordsworth, "Preface to Lyrical Ballads, with Pastoral and Other Poems (1802),"657.

[32] Wordsworth, 657.

[33] Jing Zhu, and Paul Thagard, "Emotion and Action," *Philosophical Psychology* 15(1), no.19, (2006): 20.

[34] Aristotle, "Poetics," in *The Norton Anthology of Theory and Criticism*, gen. ed. Vincent B. Leitch, (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2001), 88.

emphasizes Wordsworth's refusal to accept hierarchical norms, choosing rather to highlight how simple, ordinary experiences can reinvigorate emotional depth.

There is another crucial point, however, when it comes to the 'mimesis' of reality; Aristotle emphasizes that life should be presented to its audience as it should be by regenerating "that internal movement of things toward their perfection".[35] Aristotle stressed the Platonic ideals of how objects as well as human beings "tend to perfection" while accentuating their constant "enactment of [their] potential".[36] In his *Poetics*, Aristotle highlights how the poet should "make them [the heroes] be decent people who are of those sorts, as Homer made Achilles good and also a model of hardness".[37] Hence for Aristotle, people are always striving for perfection in the stories as it is the duty of the Aristotelian poet, whereas Wordsworth aims to represent life *as it is*:

> The principal object, then, which I proposed to myself in these Poems was to [choose incidents and situations from common life, and to relate or describe them, throughout, as far as was possible, in a selection of language really used by men; and, the same time, to throw over them a certain colouring of imagination, whereby ordinary things should be presented to the mind in an unusual way.[38]

As shown above, Wordsworth wishes to twist the ordinary experiences of men *as they are* into defamiliarized and strange forms to make people (re)live events spiritually and excitingly. Another significant distinction between Aristotle and Wordsworth is that the former cannot think of poetry without its plot, whereas the latter deems the faculty of emotions and the individual over the storyline/event. Aristotle perceives poetry as incomplete if the poet is unable to fixate on the plot from which everything else unfolds: "a poet must be a composer of plots...(he) represents actions... that have happened from being the sort of things that may happen according to probability".[39] In this way, Aristotle regards a plot to be the "soul" without which a story cannot possibly evolve.[40]

Moreover, Aristotle's clearly defined rules on how tragedy or a story should be is also overturned by Wordsworth's introduction of a new type of poetry in his Preface. Aristotle's well-known and indispensable key concepts e.g., hamartia, peripeteia, anagnorisis, catastrophe, and catharsis add to the abovementioned "soul of tragedy", while for Wordsworth, it is imperative to break previously established tendencies and rules on how poetry was perceived and received. A similarity that can be found in both Wordsworth and Aristotle is their way of constructing art in such a manner that it can have a didactic and moralistic purpose for its audience. Aristotle does this implicitly with, for instance, catharsis where, at the end of the play, one feels purged of negative feelings such as pity and fear.[41] Through tragedy, the moral aspect of what is deemed right and wrong in society is laid out for the spectator so that s/he can ponder on the consequences of the hero's actions. In that respect, how one ought to behave in terms of social and moral codes of conduct is emphasized in Aristotle's idea of tragedy. The didactic element in Wordsworth's poetry is also present, though implicitly just like in Aristotle's representation of his stories. Both then wish to invoke intellectual growth for the reader by way of instructing and delighting simultaneously.

Turning to Horace's understanding of the poem's didactic purpose, it is worth considering his ideas compared to Wordsworth's. Horace's instructive aim is presented more explicitly, and Ciplak also argues that all three, Aristotle, Horace, and Wordsworth, have met to discuss the issue of "affective theory that deals with the readers' psychological responses, emotions, literary tastes and moral understanding".[42] The message that poetry should both "delight and instruct" is quite forthright in Horace's writing style. He repeatedly states that "the man who combines pleasure with

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[35] Augusto Boal, *The Theatre of the Oppressed*, (London: Pluto Press, 2008), 10.

[36] Boal, *The Theatre of the Oppressed*, 10.

[37] Aristotle, *Poetics*, trans. Joe Sachs, (Bemidji: Focus Publishing, 2006), 42-43.

[38] William Wordsworth, "Preface to Lyrical Ballads, with Pastoral and Other Poems (1802)," 650.

[39] Selin Ciplak, "The Idea of "Delight and Instruct" in Aristotle's Poetics, Horace's Ars Poetica and William Wordsworth's Preface to Lyrical Ballads," ZKÜ *Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi* 2, no. 4, (2006): 214.

[40] Aristotle, *Poetics*, 28.

[41] Ciplak, "The Idea of "Delight and Instruct" in Aristotle's Poetics, Horace's Ars Poetica and William Wordsworth's Preface to Lyrical Ballads," 215.

[42] Ciplak, 212.

usefulness wins every suffrage, delighting the reader and also giving him advice".[43] While Horace's idea of "delight and instruct" is visible in his definition of poetry, Wordsworth's indirect way of teaching is more convoluted just as with Longinus' rendering of the sublime.

Wordsworth is in line with Longinus when it comes to both poets' perceptions of the didactic and emotional aspects of poetry. Longinus argues for the "greatness of thought" and the sublime through "[...] deep feelings, profound thoughts, and natural genius: "Sublimity is the echo of a noble mind." Often the experience of reading a great author or listening to a great speech leads us to a feeling of ecstasy or transport (ekstasis)".[44]

One can understand through this passage how much Longinus values the importance of elevating and uplifting the spirit to such an extent that one is utterly transformed as if struck by a thunderbolt.[45] Like Longinus, Wordsworth also gives priority to inspiration and sublimity through feelings rather than the intellectual mind. The reader can through the sublime power of feelings both experience the pleasing side of poetry as well as learn from the poet. Instead of focusing on the structure of rhetoric form, discursive strategies, and literary style, Longinus emphasizes the "profound feelings" that poetry evokes which Plato and Wordsworth also shed light on. Horace is therefore different from Plato, Longinus, and Wordsworth, tending to be more of Aristotelian tradition when he prioritizes the "rhetorical strategies rather than the erratic genius of authors".[46] Different from Wordsworth, instruction through "formal techniques" rather than inspiration is at the center of Horace's definition of poetry.[47]

In sum, by examining Wordsworth's connections to Classical theories, we see how he appropriates and sometimes resists their frameworks. His subtle emphasis on alienation—redirecting attention from the extraordinary to the ordinary—highlights his unique Romantic strategy of reawakening feeling within a world increasingly distanced from authentic emotional experience.

Matthew Arnold and William Wordsworth

Another prominent English poet and literary critic is Matthew Arnold from the Victorian era. He laid the foundations of literary criticism with his contributions, particularly in his well-known book *Function of Criticism at the Present Time* (1865). In his book, Arnold makes it clear to the reader that one ought to understand knowledge without imposing certain subjective ideas such as political, religious, philosophical, or ideological views.[48] Indeed, Arnold is regarded to be the cornerstone of modern contemporary criticism as his ideas seek to establish an objective view of written works. It is firstly crucial to elaborate on his basic ideas both when it comes to literature and criticism, in Arnold's words "the free creative activity" and the "critical power", for then to put his ideas to Wordsworth.[49]

Arnold is introduced here because his critical principles provide a lens through which we can assess whether Wordsworth's approach—particularly his limited engagement with prior traditions and his focus on alienation and sublime feeling—is sufficiently comprehensive. By examining Arnold's emphasis on the interplay between critical and creative faculties, we see more clearly what Wordsworth's Preface achieves and what it might lack.

Arnold argues that the creative faculty stands above the critical one. However, after stating this, he goes further and emphasizes that, in essence, the former cannot exist without the latter.[50] The inventive mind is significant and much more

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[43] Horace, "Ars Poetica," in *The Norton Anthology of Theory and Criticism*, gen. ed. Vincent B. Leitch, (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2001), 132.

[44] Horace, "Ars Poetica," 135.

[45] Longinus, "*From* on Sublimity," in *The Norton Anthology of Theory and Criticism*, gen. ed. Vincent B. Leitch, (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2001), 152.

[46] Horace, "Ars Poetica," 136.

[47] Horace, 136.

[48] Matthew Arnold, "The Function of Criticism at the Present Time," in *The Norton Anthology of Theory and Criticism*, gen. ed. Vincent B. Leitch, (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2001), 806.

[49] Arnold, "The Function of Criticism at the Present Time," 808.

[50] Arnold, 808.

harmless in circumstances where it can be misleading or erroneous: "false or malicious criticism may do much injury to the minds of others: a stupid invention, either in prose or verse, is quite harmless".[51] In this way, Arnold distinguishes between the creative and the critical powers, yet not in the way that one should understand them in separate terms. Quite the contrary, both faculties should be interpreted in a synthesized approach. Arnold argues that writers such as Shakespeare, Wordsworth, Shelley, and Coleridge had great creative powers, and the epochs in which they created their works, namely the Renaissance and the Napoleonic era, were greatly convenient for them to present what they had for the public. As such, not only should the writer possess excellent qualities to render in his writing, but the epoch should also be available for them to nourish their ideas. Moreover, society should be able to supply proper intellectual ideas as well as materials with which writers can mold their imaginative ideas into their creations.[52] A harmony between "the power of the man and the power of the moment" should be able to coexist for writers to create "the best that is known and thought in the world".[53] Whereas literary writers use ideas from their imagination to create something new, critics utilize already existing ideas, and therefore, it becomes even more important for their circumstances to make these available for them.

Nevertheless, as mentioned above, the literary mind, though it ranks higher than the critical one, should be seen in the light of literary work and vice versa. Despite the fullness of English literature dominating the highlighted eras, the English world lacked and desired the power of criticism that countries like Germany and France possessed.[54] Hence, it is crucial to intermingle the traditions of both literary and critical faculties to create superior works, Arnold asserts. Wordsworth is a prime example of the English tendency as he prioritizes the inventive/imaginary powers over the critical tradition. Although Arnold and Wordsworth seem to agree on this particular point, it is nonetheless salient to consider where they differ. Despite Wordsworth's critical contribution and position in his Preface, he could not succeed in creating sufficient critical works to synthesize with the inventive powers of the mind.[55]

The purpose of great work is thus to find a deliberate balance with both faculties coinciding while also providing equal attention to both. Unlike Wordsworth, Arnold writes, that Goethe was able to deliver an abundance of critical works after having gained knowledge from different cultures and times.[56] Indeed, a great critical work, according to Arnold, consists of intertwined and interwoven ideas dating back from ancient Greek writings and up to contemporary society. The role of the critic then is to be well-read and well-aware of not only the works within the borders of one's own country but also acquire knowledge from across borders, cultures, and languages. Thus, even though Arnold praises Wordsworth's inventive creativity, he at the same time criticizes him for not being sufficiently well-read. That is, Wordsworth does not produce works with satisfactory awareness of earlier traditions, at least not fully and in an exhaustive manner it deserves:

> But surely the one thing wanting to make Wordsworth an even greater poet than he is, - his thought richer, and his influence of wider application, - was that he should have read more books, among them, no doubt, those of that Goethe whom he disparaged without reading him.[57]

The above passage stresses Arnold's earlier point of making "the best ideas prevail".[58] The duty of the critic seems to be more complicated than first assumed as criticism embraces "flexibility, openness to new experiences, and curiosity".[59] Moreover, the critic should also act as a mediator between the work he is presenting and the general public. S/he therefore has a specific role to present and prevail the best of ideas after having created works out of previous ideas. Though Arnold implicitly criticizes Wordsworth for not possessing these qualities, it could be argued that both writers resemble each

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[51] Arnold, 807.
[52] Arnold, 810.
[53] Arnold, 808-815.
[54] Arnold, 806
[55] Arnold, 808.
[56] Arnold, 809.
[57] Arnold, 809.
[58] Arnold, 809.
[59] Arnold, 805.

other in their statement of the artist's "chosen" position to render new ideas to society; not everybody can meet the criteria of accomplishing what is expected of him/her, which leads this paper to the following section about the artist's role as a critic.

Arnold subsequently moves on to explain the objectives that the critical mind should fulfill. "Disinterestedness" is a concept that is quite essential in his depiction of the ideal critic. One striving to render "the best that is known and thought in the world" while seeking "the object as in itself it really is" should be able to distance him/herself from any ideological preconceptions or ideas.[60] It is of utmost importance that the critic renders his views without certain etiquettes of thought patterns nor with any biases involved in his writing. The critic, then, knowing both past and present cultures of the world, should act with a "free play of the mind" continually aiming to make the best of ideas dominate in world literature [61]

> The grand work of literary genius is a work of synthesis and exposition, not of analysis and discovery; its gift lies in the faculty of being happily inspired by a certain intellectual and spiritual atmosphere, by a certain order of ideas, when it finds itself in them; of dealing divinely with these ideas, presenting them in the most effective and attractive combinations, – making beautiful works with them, in short.[62]

The purpose of creative activity is then, as mentioned in the extract, to achieve ultimate happiness to feel alive.[63] It can be achieved both through literary and critical creations, however, without a synthesis of both faculties it becomes impossible to achieve either of them.

Arnold's suggested principles on the critic's role in the world of both literature and criticism resemble Aristotle's analytic ideas on art and how art should be unfolded. Their similarity originates in both of them wanting to deliver poems in their best shape and form; Aristotle puts forward a set of principles that the poet should follow and Arnold introduces a guideline for the selection of best ideas (in poems etc.) which then should prosper for the sake of one's duty to society.

Arnold is also similar to Plato in his ideas of acquiring knowledge from different fields, which requires a deep sense of awareness of "all crafts, all human affairs".[64] However, unlike Plato, Arnold puts the creative faculty above the rational mind. Where Plato, and Horace for that matter, state that the origin of literature is learning and therefore its position has to be considered more important than inspiration, Arnold thinks that creativity and imagination should be the poet's starting point from which the critical faculty can develop. Hence, Arnold seems to have similar ideas when viewed to Plato and Aristotle, yet at the same time, he is distinct in his arguments surrounding the rational and creative faculties of man.

Having explicated Arnold's perception of the critic to the literary writers, it is now crucial to sum up his ideas within a framework of a three-fold representation; firstly, the critic must gain knowledge that stretches beyond one's own contemporary society, secondly, s/he should act as a mediator, informing and "propagating" the general public about the best of ideas (after scrutinizing and choosing from among ideas), and ultimately, the critic creates a social atmosphere in which future artists can be intellectually stimulated.[65] As such, the critic not only ponders about generating new knowledge produced out of existing patterns at present/past time but also gives thought to future generations so that future artists can carry on manifesting the best of ideas.

At times, Arnold seems to be contradictory in his theories for even when he states that great works were created out of the Napoleonic period with the French Revolution, he also criticizes it for being of "political, practical character".[66] If an epoch should create an intellectual atmosphere where artists can produce their great works, then it should be devoid

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[60] Arnold, 810.
[61] Arnold, 814.
[62] Arnold, 808.
[63] Arnold, 810.
[64] Plato, "'Ion' and 'From Republic'," 36.
[65] Arnold, "The Function of Criticism at the Present Time," 808-810.
[66] Arnold, 819.

of all practical and ideological matters. Rather than having a political agenda, the critic should place his/her work within an intellectual context. The French Revolution, Arnold asserts, influenced far too many works to be written on political and practical concerns.[67] However, Arnold stresses that this leads to a distorted view of a great work and even prevents the artists from creating new ideas out of an intellectual mindset.

Another point that seems conflicting and ironic is Arnold's statement about the creative faculty being more valuable than the critical one. While putting forward his argument about these two fields and their positions about one another, Arnold then concludes that both are equally significant in the creation of "best ideas". Hence, he seems to break down his own created order of these concepts when he highlights the importance both carry. One might also wonder how exactly "the best that is known and thought in the world"[68] can be defined and whether deciding this would also lead to subjective viewpoints in the general picture of his theory. Furthermore, this critique of Arnold gives rise to another question; even though the most well-read of artists are to generate new ideas on literary works, can there be a possible clash among what artists believe to be "the best of ideas"? If so, then how is this "conflict" to be solved? The answers to these and other critical questions of Arnold remain unclear, however, one can undoubtedly state that he contributed to the modern contemporary criticism of the present day with his crucial ideas on how to approach world literature with a critical eye.

Conclusion

To conclude, Wordsworth introduces in his Preface to *Lyrical Ballads* a new type of poetry while negating earlier traditions of how poetry was defined. With his companion Coleridge, they aim, in their respective ways, to present a form of poetry whose basis is to render the strange/peculiar in a familiar/recognizable way, and vice versa, by perceiving feelings (Wordsworth) and imagination (Coleridge) at the very heart of poetry. Not only is Wordsworth inspired by ideas from the Classical world (albeit inadequately, according to Arnold), but he is also there to challenge them; indeed, he may resemble his predecessors Plato, Aristotle, Horace, and Longinus in his theories, yet he demonstrates his distinctive version of poetry by promoting a new "type", which marks the beginning of Romanticism and thus paves the way for other works to develop in his "tradition". However, Arnold criticizes Wordsworth for not being sufficiently well-read when it comes to utilizing earlier ideas from various subject matters. Though Arnold, like Wordsworth, regards the inventive powers above the rational mind, he nonetheless accentuates Wordsworth's lack of critical insight in the form of extensive awareness of literary ideas.

In short, Wordsworth's vision is unique not simply for its turn to emotion and common life but for its attempt to counter the alienation that developed from Enlightenment rationalism and industrial modernity. He seeks to restore a direct, authentic connection between human beings and their experiences. By comparing Wordsworth's perspective to those of his predecessors and contemporaries, as well as examining Arnold's critical response, it becomes clear that Wordsworth's "experiment" contributed significantly to reshaping the contours of poetic theory. The implications of this analysis suggest that Wordsworth's approach—the mingling of emotional depth, alienation from rational conventions, and the elevation of common life—opened new pathways for understanding the role of poetry. Future research might further explore how his distinct emphasis on re-engaging an alienated reader resonates with contemporary approaches in literary criticism, reaffirming Wordsworth's lasting impact on how we read, interpret, and value poetry. Thus, this paper has examined Wordsworth's ideas within both classical and contemporary critical frameworks while demonstrating his understanding of poetry in light of Plato, Aristotle, Horace, Longinus, Coleridge, and Arnold.

Extended Abstract

The emergence of English Romanticism during the late 18th century marked a transformative shift in literary paradigms, challenging the dominant Enlightenment ideals of rationalism and scientific empiricism. Rooted in the belief that emotions and subjective experience were central to human understanding, Romanticism prioritized the exploration of passions and feelings as essential for accessing "emotional and intellectual depths." William Wordsworth's Preface to *Lyrical Ballads* (1798) exemplifies this Romantic approach, offering a revolutionary vision for poetry that focused on

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[67] Arnold, 810.
[68] Arnold, 815.

authenticity, the sublime, and ordinary life experiences. This paper investigates how Wordsworth's poetic principles address themes of alienation, authenticity, and emotional connection, establishing a framework for Romantic literature's redefinition of poetic purpose. It further contextualizes Wordsworth's contributions within classical literary traditions and evaluates his critical reception, particularly through the lens of Matthew Arnold.

Wordsworth's Preface to *Lyrical Ballads* serves as a platform for Romantic poetry, challenging earlier aesthetic norms by emphasizing simplicity in language. Central to Wordsworth's poetic vision was the idea that "good poetry" arises from the "spontaneous overflow of powerful feelings" recollected in tranquility. This notion underscored the Romantic emphasis on emotional authenticity, proposing that poetic inspiration stemmed from deep introspection and imaginative engagement with the natural world. Wordsworth's reflective process is exemplified in poems such as "Tintern Abbey," where the passage of time enhances the poet's capacity to render profound emotional experiences. By transforming ordinary events into extraordinary insights, Wordsworth's poetry sought to inspire a renewed sense of wonder and emotional vitality in his readers.

This paper also highlights the distinctions between Wordsworth and his contemporary Samuel Taylor Coleridge, despite their shared objective of redefining poetic norms. While Wordsworth aimed to defamiliarize the ordinary, Coleridge sought to naturalize the supernatural. For instance, Coleridge's works like *The Rime of the Ancient Mariner* and *Kubla Khan* exemplify his imaginative focus on mystical and uncanny experiences, in contrast with Wordsworth's emphasis on the emotional resonance of everyday life. This difference underscores the multifaceted nature of Romanticism, where individual poets pursued unique methods.

Wordsworth's ideas were influenced by classical thinkers such as Plato, Aristotle, Horace, and Longinus. This paper examines how Wordsworth's Romantic ideals align with and diverge from his predecessors. For instance, Wordsworth's emphasis on emotions echoes Longinus's notion of the sublime, where profound feelings elevate the human spirit. Similarly, his focus on mimesis—the representation of universal truths through art—parallels Aristotle's ideas, though Wordsworth democratizes this concept by depicting the lives of common people rather than aristocratic heroes. Unlike Horace, who prioritized formal techniques and explicit didacticism, Wordsworth utilized a subtler approach to teaching through emotional engagement and imaginative transformation.

The paper further explores the critical reception of Wordsworth's poetic theory, particularly through Matthew Arnold's Victorian-era perspectives. Arnold's emphasis on the balance between creative and critical faculties provides a valuable framework for evaluating Wordsworth's contributions. While Arnold admired Wordsworth's imaginative depth, he critiqued his lack of engagement with broader literary traditions, arguing that a more extensive critical awareness could have enriched Wordsworth's work. This interplay reflects broader debates within literary criticism regarding the balance between innovation and tradition.

Despite these critiques, Wordsworth's influence on poetic theory is undeniable. By emphasizing the transformative potential of ordinary experiences, he redefined the scope of poetry and challenged readers to reconnect with their emotional and imaginative capacities. His contributions not only established the foundations of Romanticism but also paved the way for later critical movements, shaping contemporary approaches to literature and aesthetics.

This paper concludes by placing Wordsworth's poetic vision within a broader intellectual and historical context. His response to Enlightenment rationalism and industrial modernity reveals an immense concern with the alienation of human beings from their emotional and spiritual selves. By engaging with classical ideas and reinterpreting them through a Romantic lens, Wordsworth offered a new model for poetry.

In sum, Wordsworth's Preface to *Lyrical Ballads* is a groundbreaking work that not only defines the Romantic movement but also provides a timeless framework for understanding the role of poetry in human life. By examining his ideas alongside those of his contemporaries and predecessors, this paper demonstrates how Wordsworth's unique blend of emotional depth, imaginative insight, and social critique continues to inspire and challenge readers and scholars alike.

Çıkar Çatışması Beyanı - Conflict of Interest Statement:

Yazar, bu makalenin araştırılması, yazarlığı ve yayımlanmasına ilişkin herhangi bir potansiyel çıkar çatışması beyan etmemiştir. - The authors declared no potential conflict of interest regarding the research, authorship, and publication of this article.

Destek/Finansman Bilgileri - Support Financing Information:

Yazar, bu makalenin araştırılması, yazarlığı ve yayımlanması için destek almamıştır. - The authors have received no financial support for the research, authorship, and publication of this article.

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Kare International Journal of Comparative Literature

Research Article / Araştırma Makalesi

Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Ermeni Milliyetçiliği: Toplumsal Dönüşüm

Armenian Nationalism in The Ottoman Empire: Social Transformation

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https://doi.org/10.38060/kare.1570956

Öz: Bu araştırmada, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'ndaki Ermeni milliyetçiliğinin toplumsal dönüşüm süreci kapsamlı bir şekilde ele alınmıştır. Literatür taraması yöntemiyle gerçekleştirilen araştırma, literatürdeki milliyetçilik kavramları ve Ermeni milliyetçiliğine dair mevcut çalışmaları derinlemesine inceleyerek, bu alandaki bilgi boşluklarına ışık tutmayı amaçlamaktadır. Milliyetçilik olgusunun tanımı ve tarihsel gelişimi üzerinde durularak, Osmanlı dönemindeki Ermeni toplumunun sosyal ve siyasi yapısı detaylı bir şekilde analiz edilmiştir. Araştırma, 20. yüzyılın ortalarından itibaren Clifford Geertz ve Anthony Smith gibi akademisyenlerin katkılarıyla gelişen etnosembolik yaklaşım çerçevesinde, kültürel sembollerin ve pratiklerin toplumsal dönüşüme olan katkılarına özel bir önem atfetmektedir. Bu bağlamda, Ermeni milliyetçiliğinin şekillenmesi, toplumsal dinamikleri ve bu süreçlerin sonuçları derinlemesine incelenmiştir. Elde edilen bulgular, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun çöküş dönemindeki milliyetçilik akımlarının ve etnik kimlik oluşumlarının anlaşılmasına önemli katkılar sağlamaktadır. Bu çalışma, kendi alanında orijinal bir bakış açısı sunarak, Ermeni milliyetçiliğinin Osmanlı toplumu üzerindeki etkilerini ortaya koymaktadır. Çalışma, literatüre sağladığı katkılarla birlikte, sosyal dönüşüm süreçlerinin karmaşıklığını vurgulamakta ve bu alandaki tartışmalara yeni bir perspektif kazandırmaktadır. Son olarak, bu araştırma, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun çok kültürlü yapısı içerisinde Ermeni milliyetçiliğinin rolünü anlamak isteyen araştırmacılara değerli bir kaynak sunmaktadır.

Abstract: This study comprehensively examines the process of social transformation of Armenian nationalism within the Ottoman Empire. Conducted through a literature review, the research delves into the concepts of nationalism and existing studies on Armenian nationalism, aiming to illuminate knowledge gaps in this field. By focusing on the definition and historical development of nationalism, the study analyzes the social and political structure of the Armenian community during the Ottoman period in detail. It places particular emphasis on the contributions of cultural symbols and practices to social transformation, framed by the ethnosymbolic approach developed by scholars like Clifford Geertz and Anthony Smith since the mid-20th century. The study investigates the shaping of Armenian nationalism, its social dynamics, and the implications of these processes. The findings provide significant insights into the nationalist movements and ethnic identity formations during the decline of the Ottoman Empire. By offering an original perspective, this research highlights the impact of Armenian nationalism on Ottoman society and contributes to ongoing discussions about the complexity of social transformation processes. Ultimately, it serves as a valuable resource for researchers interested in understanding the role of Armenian nationalism within the Ottoman Empire's multicultural framework.

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Giriş

Milliyetçilik çalışmaları, sosyal bilimler alanında geniş kapsamlı bir araştırma konusudur ve genellikle tarih, siyaset bilimi, antropoloji ve sosyoloji gibi disiplinlerde incelenmektedir. Bu çalışmalar, milliyetçilik olgusunun kökenlerini, evrimini ve etkilerini anlamak için önemlidir. Modern milliyetçilik, 19. yüzyılda Avrupa'da ortaya çıkmış ve daha sonra dünya geneline yayılmış bir ideolojidir. Modern milliyetçilik, bireylerin etnik, kültürel veya dilsel kimliklerini vurgulayarak ulusal birlik ve bağımsızlık taleplerine dayanmaktadır. Bu bağlamda, milliyetçilik çalışmaları, toplumların yapısal dönüşümlerini, ulusal kimliklerin oluşumunu ve devletlerin sınırlarının çizilmesindeki etkileri incelemektedir. Bu çalışmaların önemi, ulusal kimliklerin karmaşıklığını anlamak ve küresel düzeyde milliyetçilikle ilişkili sorunları çözmeye yardımcı olmaktır. Bu nedenle, milliyetçilik çalışmaları, çağdaş dünya siyasetinin ve toplumsal yapılarının anlaşılmasında kritik bir rol oynamaktadır.

Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun tarihsel gelişim sürecinde, milliyetçilik kavramları ve etnik kimliklerin oluşumu ve değişimi önemli bir araştırma alanı teşkil etmiştir. Bu dönemde, özellikle Ermeni milliyetçiliği, İmparatorluğun çöküş döneminde belirginleşmiş ve toplumsal dönüşümleri tetiklemiştir. Bu bağlamda, Osmanlı döneminde Ermeni toplumu, kendine özgü bir kimlik arayışı içerisinde olmuştur. Ermeni milliyetçiliği, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun son dönemlerinde gelişen ve şekillenen bir olgu olarak önem kazanmıştır. Bu milliyetçilik akımı, etnik kimlik bilincinin güçlenmesi ve milli kimlikle ilgili taleplerin yükselmesiyle dikkat çekmiştir.

Bu çalışmada milliyetçilik kavramları ele alınmış olup ardından Ermeni milliyetçiliğinin Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda nasıl şekillendiği incelenmiştir. Bu bağlamda, etnik kimlik oluşumunun ve milliyetçilik ideolojisinin Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun son dönemlerindeki politik ve toplumsal dinamikler üzerindeki etkileri analiz edilmiştir. Ayrıca, etnosembolik yaklaşımın, milliyetçilik ve etnik kimlik oluşumu süreçlerindeki rolü de incelenmiştir. Bu yaklaşım, sembollerin ve kültürel pratiklerin toplumsal dönüşümlere nasıl katkı sağladığını anlamak için önemli bir çerçeve sunmaktadır.

Milliyetçilik ve Uluslaşma Süreci

Bernard Lewis'in tespitine göre, millet kelimesi Aramice kökenlidir ve "milla" kökünden gelmektedir ve bu kökeniyle "bir söz" anlamına gelmektedir. Bu etimolojik kökenin yansıması olarak, millet terimi genellikle bir kutsal kitabı kabul eden bir insan topluluğunu ifade etmektedir. Dini bağlamda kullanıldığında, millet terimi genellikle aynı dini paylaşan toplulukları belirtmek amacıyla kullanılmaktadır. Moğolca kökenli "ulus" (nation) kavramı ise daha çok farklı etnik toplulukları belirtmek için tercih edilmektedir [2]. Roskin'e göre, ulus kelimesinin Latince kökeni, bugünkü anlamından farklı olarak soy bağı anlamına gelmektedir.

Dünya toplumlarının evrimi, ulus öncesi toplumsal yapıların ulus olma sürecinde önemli bir rol oynamıştır. Bu sürecin sonucu ve aynı zamanda ideolojik bir araç olarak kabul edilebilecek olan "milliyetçilik", Johann G. Herder tarafından ilk kez 1774 yılında tanıtılmıştır [3]. Milliyetçilik, ulusal topluluk duygusu etrafında devlet ve toplum arasında bir köprü işlevi görmüştür. Bu bağlamda, milliyetçilik kendi kökenini oluşturan bir süreç olarak da görülmektedir. Milliyetçi entelektüel sınıf, inşa ettikleri unsurları doğrulama eğilimindedir ve bu unsurların başarılı bir şekilde üretilmesi, ulus devletin inşasının ilk aşamasına denk gelmektedir [4]. Anthony Giddens, milliyetçiliği, siyasal bir düzen içinde yer alan bireylerin ortak bir geçmişe ve kültüre sahip olduklarını vurgulayan simgeler ve inançlar sepetine duydukları psikolojik bir bağlılık duygusu olarak tanımlamaktadır [5]. Bazı bilim insanlarına göre, milliyetçilik modernleşme sürecinin bir sonucu olarak ortaya çıkmıştır. Gellner'e göre, modernizasyon, geleneksel toplumların yerini endüstriyel toplumların almasıyla birlikte, insanların ortak bir ulusal kimlik oluşturmak için ihtiyaç duydukları ortamı sağlamıştır. Bu, eğitim, medya ve ekonomik gelişme gibi faktörlerle desteklenmiştir [6].

Milliyetçilik, toplumun farklılıklarını ve çeşitliliğini göz ardı ederek, aynı siyasi otoriteye duyulan bağlılık duygusuyla homojenleşmeyi ve siyasi ile ulusal sınırların uyumlu hale getirilmesini hedefleyen bir araç olarak işlev

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[2] Selim Karyelioğlu, "Ulus Devlet ve Milliyetçiliğin Tarihsel Dayanakları ve Küreselleşmenin Ulus Devlet ve Milliyetçilik Üzerindeki Etkileri," *Ethos* 5 (2012): 137-169.

[3] Turgay Uzun, "Ulus, Milliyetçilik ve Kimlik Üzerine Bir Değerlendirme. Kimlikler," *Doğu Batı Düşünce Dergisi* 23 (2003): 131-154.

[4] Jean Leca, *Uluslar ve Milliyetçilikler* (İstanbul: Metis Yayınları, 1998), 14.

[5] Anthony Giddens, *Ulus Devlet ve Şiddet,* çev. Cumhur Atay (İstanbul: Kalkelon Yayınları, 2008), 200-288.

[6] Ernest Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism (*New York: Cornell University Press, 1983).

görmektedir. Bu ideoloji, modern toplumların özellikleriyle sıkı bir bağ kurmuş durumdadır ve devlet ile toplum arasındaki var olan farkı ortadan kaldırmayı amaçlamaktadır. Slavoj Zizek'e göre, milliyetçilik, toplumun içinde bulunduğu farklılıkları yok sayarak, demokrasinin temelini oluşturan yurttaşın üretimini ideal bir homojenlik haline getirmeyi amaçlamaktadır. Bu ideoloji, toplumsal mutluluğun somut bir göstergesi olarak sunulurken, aslında "diğer" olarak nitelendirilen grupları dışlayarak ve bireyi sadece kendi milliyetçi kimliği üzerinden tanımlayarak, benzersizliğini kaybetmesine yol açmaktadır [7].

Ulus ve milliyetçilik kavramlarının etimolojik ve tarihsel evrimi, 19. yüzyılda milliyetçi akımların yükselişiyle siyaset biliminin odak noktalarından biri haline gelmiştir. Bu süreç, "ulus devlet" kavramının ana omurgasını oluşturmaya başlamıştır. Ulus devletler, günümüzde milletlerarası hukukun temelini oluşturan yapılar olarak kabul edilmektedirler. Ancak bu kavramın kökenleri, Westfalya Anlaşması'ndan (1648) sonraki üç yüzyıl boyunca gerçekleşen siyasi ve sosyal değişimlerin bir ürünüdür. Modernleşme süreci, devletin artık milli birliğin ve bütünlüğün tek temsilcisi ve sosyal sözleşmeden kaynaklanan iktidarın tek sahibi olarak algılanmaya başladığı bir dönemi işaret etmektedir. Bu süreçte, milli egemenliğin önemi artarken, bireyin devletle özdeşleşmesi ve siyasi iktidara katılımı da giderek önem kazanmıştır. Ulus devletin normatif yapısı, hukuk ve siyaset alanlarında tartışılmış ve incelenmiştir. Ancak bu tartışmalarda sadece nesnel boyut değil, aynı zamanda subjektif yön de göz önünde bulundurulmuştur. Milliyetçilik, siyasi birim olan devlet ile toplumsal birim olan millet arasındaki uyumsuzluğu gidermeyi hedeflemiş ve milli egemenliği savunarak bu dengeyi sağlamaya çalışmıştır. Bu ideoloji, ulus devletin kurulması ve sürdürülmesinde önemli bir rol oynamıştır [8]. Ulus devlet, milliyetçiliği temel alarak devlet-millet birlikteliğini odak noktasına yerleştiren siyasi bir yapıdır. Bu kurum, milliyetçilik aracılığıyla sosyal entegrasyonu sağlamış ve kavmiyetçiliğin yerini almıştır. Üst kültürler, milliyetçilik bağlamında standartlaşan dilleri benimseyerek bu ideolojinin taşıyıcıları haline gelmiştir.

Milliyetçilik ve Uluslaşma Kavramlarının Osmanlı Toplumunda Ortaya Çıkışı ve Gelişimi

Osmanlı İmparatorluğu, farklı din, mezhep ve etnik grupların karmaşık bir şekilde iç içe geçtiği çok çeşitli bir yapıya sahip olmaktaydı ve imparatorluğun güçsüzlüğüyle birlikte, Osmanlı millet sistemi yıkılmaya başlamıştır. Ekonomik olarak güçlü olan azınlıklar, 19. yüzyılın başlarından itibaren siyasi bağımsızlık talepleriyle ortaya çıkmışlardır. Türkler ise uluslaşma sürecine daha geç katılan bir grup olmuştur. Ancak Tanzimat ve Meşrutiyet dönemlerinin etkisiyle ve milli mücadele sırasında ulusal kimlik bilincinin oluşmasıyla birlikte, ulus olma ve ulus devlet kurma düşüncesi güçlenmiştir [9]. Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun 1844 yılında gerçekleştirdiği nüfus sayımına göre, İmparatorluk genelinde 35.000.000 kişi yaşamaktaydı. Bu nüfusun 15.000.000'u Avrupa topraklarında, 16.050.000'u Anadolu ve Arap yarımadasında, 3.800.000'u ise Afrika kıtasındaki topraklarda ikamet etmekteydi. Etnik kimliklere göre dağılımı incelendiğinde, toplam nüfusun 12.890.000'i Türk, 7.200.000'i Slav ve Slavlaşmış topluluklar, 1.500.000'i Arnavut, 2.000.000'i Rum, 2.400.000'i Ermeni, 170.000'i Yahudi, 230.000'i Tatar, 4.700.000'i Arap, 235.000'i Suriyeli ve 25.000'i Dürzi olarak belirlenmiştir. Dini açıdan bakıldığında, nüfusun 20.550.000'i Müslümanlar, 13.730.000'u Ortodoks Hristiyanlar, 900.000'u Katolikler ve 170.000'i Yahudilerden oluşmaktadır [10].

Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda bireylerin toplumdaki konumunu belirleyen en önemli unsur din olmuştur. Toplum, inanç temelinde Müslüman, Yahudi, Rum, Ermeni gibi çeşitli "milletlere" ayrılmıştır. Ancak o dönemde millet kavramı, günümüzdeki anlamından farklı bir nitelik taşımakta olup, daha çok bir din ya da mezhebe bağlı toplulukları ifade etmektedir. Arapça'da da millet terimi, dini topluluğu ifade eden bir terimdir. Osmanlı İmparatorluğu, bu toplulukları din ya da mezhep temelinde örgütleyerek yönetme biçimine "millet sistemi" adını vermiş ve bu sistem İslam hukukunun bir parçası olarak işlev görmüştür. Müslümanlar genellikle "Milleti-Hakim" olarak kabul edilmiş ve millet terimi genellikle gayrimüslim toplulukları ifade etmek için kullanılmıştır [11]. Bu bağlamda, Osmanlı millet sistemi, imparatorluğun dini ve toplumsal yapısında merkezi bir rol oynamıştır. Osmanlıcılık düşüncesi, temel hak ve özgürlüklerin temeli olan yurttaşlık tanımıyla ön plana çıkarılmıştır. Kanunlar, dini ve etnik ayrım yapmaksızın, Osmanlı tebaasının Osmanlı olarak kabul edileceğini belirtmiştir. Bu, geleneksel yurttaşlık anlayışının ve eski millet sisteminin değiştiğini açıkça göstermektedir. Yurttaşlara din ve mezhep ayrımı yapılmaksızın verilen haklardan yola

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[7] Slavoj Zizek, *Yamuk Bakmak.* çev. Tuncay Birkan (İstanbul: Metis Yayınları, 2012), 220.

[8] Celal Işıklar, "Günümüz Türkiye'sinde Ordunun Asker alma Sisteminin Korunması Meselesi ve Milli Devlet Anlayışı ile İlgisi," *Gazi Üniversitesi Hukuk Fakültesi Dergisi* 12 (2008): 797-821.

[9] Cansu Koç Başar, "Osmanlı Millet Sisteminden Ulusa Geçiş," *Marmara Üniversitesi Hukuk Fakültesi Hukuk Araştırmaları Dergisi* 23 (2016): 195-231.

[10] Ziya Enver Karal, *Osmanlı Tarihi VI. Cilt Islahat Fermanı Devri 1856-1861* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 2011), 268.

[11] Bilal Eryılmaz, *Osmanlı Devletinde Millet Sistemi* (İstanbul: Ağaç Yayıncılık, 1992), 10-13.

çıkarak devletin laik bir tutum benimsemesinin doğru olmadığı düşünülebilmektedir. Ancak, Kanun-i Esasi'nin 11. maddesinde, "Devleti Osmaniye'nin dini İslam'dır," [12] hükmü bulunmaktadır. Kanun-i Esasi'nin uluslaşma sürecindeki rolü, dil konusundaki hükümleriyle de yakından ilişkilidir. Anayasa'nın 18. maddesinde, "Tebaa-i Osmaniye'nin hidematı devlette istihdam olunmak için devletin lisanı resmisi olan Türkçeyi bilmeleri şarttır," şeklinde ifade edilmiştir. Bu maddeyle, devletin resmi dilinin Türkçe olduğu vurgulanmış ve kamu hizmetinde çalışacak olanların Türkçe bilmesinin gerekliliği belirtilmiştir. Bu hüküm, uluslaşma sürecinde dilin önemini ve ulusal kimliğin oluşturulmasındaki rolünü vurgulamaktadır. Dil, ulusal birliğin sağlanmasında temel bir etken olarak belirmiştir. Tarih boyunca uluslaşma süreçlerinde dilin rolü oldukça önemlidir. 1789 Fransız Devrimi'nin ardından, Fransızca'nın tüm Fransızlar tarafından benimsenmesi için çaba sarfedilmiştir. Jakobenler için Fransızca, özgürlüğün, bilimin ve ilerlemenin simgesi olarak görülmüş, eşitliği destekleyen devrimci bir araç olarak değerlendirilmiştir. Diğer yandan, Almanlar ve İtalyanlar kendi milli dillerini, Fransızlardan ayrı olarak, kendilerini Alman veya İtalyan yapan özgün bir unsur olarak görmüşlerdir [13].

Ermeni Milliyetçiliğinin Uluslaşma Sürecindeki Temel Kavramları ve İdeolojik Yapıları

M.Ö. 6. yüzyılda Pers Kralı Darius'un kitabelerinde Ermeni adına ilk defa rastlanmıştır lakin, Ermenilerin kendilerini "Ermeni" olarak değil, "Haikhlar" adlandırdıklarını vurgulamak gereklidir. Bu ad, geleneksel olarak Ermenilerin efsanevi atası kabul edilen ve Horenli Movses'e göre MÖ 2492 yılında Babil Kralı Bel'i mağlup edip ülkesini Ararat bölgesinde kuran Nuh'un büyük torunu Hayk'a dayandırılmıştır [14]. "Hayk" ve "Hay" kelimelerinin, bazı bilim insanlarına göre, aslen Urartu Krallığı'nın üç ana tanrısından biri olan Haldi'ye atıfta bulunduğu ve Hayk'ın esasen bir Urartu tanrısı olduğu iddia edilmiştir.

Ermeni isminin Pers Kralı tarafından bölgeye atfedilmiş bir isim olduğu bilinmektedir. Çivi yazılı belgelerden anlaşıldığı kadarıyla, M.Ö. 3. binyıldan itibaren Ermenilerin yerleştiği Doğu Anadolu Bölgesi'ne "Armanu" veya "Armenia" denilmekteydi. Başka bir deyişle, Ermenilerin varlığından yaklaşık 1600 yıl önce Doğu Anadolu Bölgesi "Armenia" adıyla anılmaktaydı [15].

Pers Kralı'nın, Doğu Anadolu Bölgesi'nde yaşayan ve muhtemelen batıdan göç eden yabancılara "Armenia Bölgesinde oturanlar" anlamına gelen "Ermeniler" ismini verdiği öne sürülmektedir. Ancak, Ermeniler kendilerinden önce bu topraklarda yaşamış olan Urartuları ataları olarak iddia etmektedirler. Bu iddiayı desteklemek için filolojik olarak Ermeni dilinin Hint-Avrupa kökenli olduğu ve Urartuların diliyle ilişkisinin olmadığı belirtilmektedir. Urartuların dilinin ise, Proto-Türkler olarak bilinen Huri kavminin diliyle ilişkili olduğu öne sürülmektedir. Dolayısıyla, Ermenilerin Urartuları ataları olarak gösterme iddiasının filolojik olarak geçersiz olduğu savunulmaktadır [16]. Bu bağlamda, eğer Urartulara atalar olarak bakılacaksa, filolojik açıdan Türklerin daha uygun olduğu belirtilmektedir. Bu yoruma göre, Ermenilerin Urartuları ataları olarak göstermesi akademik olarak yanlış olarak değerlendirilmektedir.

Ermeni halkı, Pers İmparatorluğu'nun çöküşünden sonra bir dizi farklı egemenlik altında yaşamıştır. Bu dönemde, İskender'in, ardından sırasıyla Selevkos İmparatorluğu'nun, Roma İmparatorluğu'nun, Sasanilerin, Bizans İmparatorluğu'nun, Selçuklu Türklerinin ve son olarak Osmanlı Türklerinin hakimiyeti altına girmişlerdir. Bu süreç, Ermeni toplumunun tarih boyunca çeşitli siyasi otoritelerle etkileşim içinde olduğunu ve farklı kültürel dinamiklere maruz kaldığını göstermektedir.

Rahip Mığhitar ve öğrencileri, XVIII. yüzyılda Hıristiyan hümanizmi ve dini-teolojik boyutlarda ileriye dönük bir ekümenizm idealini benimseyerek Ermeni kültüründe önemli bir yeniliği temsil etmişlerdir. Bu yeni oluşum bazen şüpheyle karşılanmış olsa da, Ermeni ve Ermeni olmayan bilim insanları tarafından olumlu bir şekilde karşılanmıştır. Bazıları tarafından eleştirilmiş olmasına rağmen, bu birliğin faaliyetleri genellikle Ermeni toplumu içinde hayranlık uyandırmıştır [17].Bugün dahi Venedik, XVIII. yüzyılın başlarında kurulan Mığhitarist Manastırı ve Okulu'nun etkisiyle

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[12] Alper Işık, *Türkiye'de Ulus Devlet ve Gayrimüslim Azınlık* (İstanbul: Levha Yayınevi, 2016), 51.

[13] Eric Hobsbawn, J. *1780'den Günümüze Milletler ve Milliyetçilik, "Program, Mit, Gerçeklik".* çev. Osman Akınhay (İstanbul: Ayrıntı Yayıncılık, 1993), 125.

[14] Panos Levon Dabağyan, *Türkiye Ermenileri Tarihi* (İstanbul: IQ Kültür-Sanat Yayıncılık, 2003), 21.

[15] Ekrem Memiş, "Ermenilerin Kökeni ve Geçmişten Günümüze Türk-Ermeni İlişkileri," *Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi* 7 (2005): 1-11.

[16] Ekrem Memiş, "M.Ö. 3. Binyılda Anadolu'da Türkler," *Türk Dünyası Araştırmaları* 53 (1988): 46.

[17] Levon Boğos Zekiyan, *Ermeniler ve Modernite.* çev. Altuğ Yılmaz (İstanbul: Aras Yayıncılık, 2002), 69.

önemli bir Ermeni kültür merkezi konumunu sürdürmektedir [18].

Gregoryan Ermeni Kilisesi, Ermeni toplumunun tarihi ve kimlik oluşumu açısından kritik bir rol oynamıştır. Kilise, Ermeni cemaatinin bir araya gelmesini sağlayarak ortak bir inanç etrafında birleşmelerini teşvik etmiştir. Bu da toplumun ortak bir kimlik ve dayanışma duygusu geliştirmesine katkı sağlamıştır. Kilisenin etkisiyle oluşan bu yapı, Ermeni toplumunun siyasi ve toplumsal tarihinde belirleyici olmuştur. Cemaat kavramı, toplumun ortak çıkarlarını koruduğu, dayanışma içinde hareket ettiği ve kültürel miraslarını sürdürdüğü bir yapıyı ifade etmektedir. Gregoryan Ermeni Kilisesi'nin tarihi, bu sürecin temel bir referans noktasıdır ve Ermeni toplumunun varlığını sürdürmesine katkıda bulunmuştur. Kilisenin rolü, toplumun tarih boyunca şekillenmesinde ve önemli dönemlerde belirleyici olmuştur.

Ermeniler, 301 yılında toplu olarak Hristiyanlığı benimseyerek resmi olarak bu dine geçmişler [19]. Ancak, bundan yaklaşık 150 yıl sonra, Kadıköy'de düzenlenen konsile katılmadılar ve İsa'nın tek ve biricik oğlu olduğu, iki doğaya sahip olduğu dogmatik formülü kabul etmemişlerdir. 451 yılında toplanan konsile katılmamaları ve konsil kararlarını reddetmeleri, 506 yılındaki piskoposlar kurulu kararlarına da karşı çıkmaları sonucunda, Ermeni Kilisesi diğer Hristiyan kiliselerinden resmen ayrıldı. Bu şekilde, Ermeniler Hristiyanlığı kabul etmelerine rağmen İranlılardan ve Roma Kilisesi'nden ayrıldılar. Bundan sonra, Roma tarafından sürekli dini ve mezhebi baskı altında olan Ermeniler, kendi milli ve dini geleneklerini korudular ve çeşitli merkezlerde kurdukları kiliselerle varlıklarını sürdürdümüşlerdir [20].

Rahip Mığhitar'ın "Haygazyan Parkirk" adlı eseri, Ermeni hümanizmini yansıtan bir yapıt olarak kabul edilbilmektedir. Haygazyan, Ermenice bir sözlüktür ve ilk cildi 1749 yılında basılmıştır. Birliğin yayınladığı eserlerin, Ermeni diline ve milliyetçiliğine doğrudan katkı sağlaması, ancak Ermeni toplumunda milli bilinci uyandırmayı amaçlamasıyla açıklanabilmektedir.

Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Ermeni Milliyetçiliği: Toplumsal Dinamikler ve Değişim Süreci

Fransa'daki devrimle birlikte Avrupa, insan haklarının ve özgürlüklerinin korunması gerekliliğini, aristokratik düzenin evrensel hukuka aykırı olduğunu ve devlet ile halkın bütünleşmesinin önemini anlamıştır. Meclislerin oluşturulması ve derebeylik sisteminin çöküşüyle birlikte ortaya çıkan bu görüşlerin Avrupalı liderler için şaşırtıcı olmaması gerekmektedir.

Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun hudutları içinde yaşayan Müslüman ve gayrimüslim tebaanın, Fransız Devrimi'nin tesirine maruz kaldığını iddia edebilmekteyiz. Devrimin ideolojisi, belli alanlarda devletin sosyal yapısını kısmen etkilemiş olabilir, ancak sunduğumuz gerekçelerle bu etki pek belirgin değildir. İmparatorluğun Yahudi, Slav, Rum, Arap, Arnavut ve Ermeni gibi farklı etnik kökene sahip tebaası arasında milliyetçilik düşüncesinin uyanacağı, devrimin kaçınılmaz ve nihai sonucu olarak kabul edilse de, bu etkilerin büyük çoğunluğunun devrimden önce veya sonra gerçekleştiği veya gerçekleşeceği düşünülmelidir.

Ermeni toplumu, Anadolu'da uzun bir süre boyunca bağımsızlık elde edememiş ve sürekli olarak farklı devletlerin himayesi altında yaşamıştır. Bu süre zarfında, çeşitli siyasi otoriteler tarafından korunmuşlardır ve karşılığında vergi ödemişlerdir. Özellikle Osmanlı İmparatorluğu döneminde, Ermenilere devletin üst kademelerinde çeşitli görevler verilmiştir. Bu durum, Ermeni toplumunun Osmanlı yönetiminde çeşitli sosyal ve ekonomik roller üstlendiğini göstermektedir [21].

Etnosembolik Perspektiften Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'ndaki Ermeni Milliyetçiliği

Etnosembolizm, kültürel sembollerin ve sembolizmin etnik grupların kimlik ve kültürlerini nasıl oluşturduğunu ve şekillendirdiğini inceleyen bir disiplindir. Etnosembolizm, genellikle ilkçi ve modernist teoriler arasında bir orta yol olarak öne çıkarılmasına rağmen, temel görüşleri modernist yaklaşımlara bir tepki ve modernist kurama eleştiri şeklinde konumlanmıştır [22]. Bu yaklaşım, bir topluluğun sembollerini, ritüellerini, mitlerini ve diğer kültürel ifadelerini

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[18] Simeon, *Tarihte Ermeniler*. çev. Hrand Andreasyan (İstanbul: Çivi Yazıları, 1999), 61-77.

[19] Abdurrahman Küçük, *Ermeni Kilisesi ve Türkler* (Ankara: Andaç Yayınları, 2003), 45.

[20] Hagop, A Chakmakjian, *Armenian Christology And Evangelization of Islam* (Leiden, 1965), 35.

[21] Memiş, "Ermenilerin Kökeni ve Geçmişten Günümüze Türk-Ermeni İlişkileri," 5.

[22] Abdulvahap Akıncı, "Milliyetçilik kuramları," *Cumhuriyet Üniversitesi İktisadi ve İdari Bilimler Dergisi* 15 (2014): 143.

incelerken, bu sembollerin grup üyeleri arasında ortak bir kimlik duygusu ve dayanışma oluşturduğunu ve dış dünyayla olan ilişkilerinde önemli bir rol oynadığını vurgulamaktadır [23].

Anthony Smith'in etnosembolik yaklaşımı, etnik kimlik oluşumunu inceleyen önemli bir teorik çerçevedir. Smith'e göre, etnik kimlikler, tarihsel süreçlerde belirli bir topluluğun kültürel sembollerini ve mirasını vurgulayan mitler, efsaneler ve semboller etrafında şekillenmektedir. Bu semboller, topluluğun birbirine bağlılık duygusunu güçlendirmekte ve grup üyelerinin kendilerini diğerlerinden farklı ve birbirleriyle bağlantılı hissetmelerini sağlamaktadır[24]. Bu bağlamda, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Ermeni milliyetçiliğini analiz ederken, Smith'in etnosembolik yaklaşımını kullanmak önemlidir. Ermeni milliyetçiliği, tarih boyunca çeşitli kültürel semboller, mitler ve tarihi olaylar etrafında şekillenmiştir. Bu semboller ve mitler, Ermeni topluluğunun kimliğini ve birlik duygusunu güçlendirmiş ve Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda yaşadıkları dönemde Ermeni topluluğunun kendisini ifade etme ve hak talep etme şekillerini etkilemiştir. Örneğin, Ermeni milliyetçiliği, tarihi Ermeni krallıklarının hatıraları, Ermeni dili ve kültürü gibi semboller etrafında şekillenmiştir. Osmanlı İmparatorluğu döneminde yaşanan trajediler, özellikle 1915 olayları, Ermeni milliyetçiliğinin güçlenmesinde etkili olmuş ve bu olaylar Ermeni kimliğinin sembolik bir parçası haline gelmiştir. Bu yaklaşımı kullanarak, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Ermeni milliyetçiliğini, kültürel sembollerin ve tarihi olayların etrafında nasıl şekillendiğini ve bu sembollerin toplum içinde nasıl birliği güçlendirdiğini ve dış dünyaya karşı nasıl bir kimlik oluşturduğunu daha derinlemesine analiz edebilmekteyiz.

Osmanlıda Ermeni Milliyetçiliğinin Toplumsal Değişimi

Tarihsel arka planı incelediğimizde diyebiliriz ki, Ermeni milliyetçiliğinin oluşumu, 19. yüzyılın sonlarında Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda ve Rus İmparatorluğu'nda yaşanan siyasi, sosyal ve ekonomik değişimlerin bir sonucu gibi de değerlendirilebilmektedir. Osmanlı yönetiminin merkeziyetçi politikaları ve etnik gruplar arasında yaşanan gerginlikler de bu süreci etkilemiştir. 19. yüzyıl boyunca, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Ermeni aydınları arasında Batı etkisinde bir aydınlanma hareketi yaşanmıştır. Bu dönemde, eğitim, basın ve kültürel faaliyetlerle birlikte milliyetçilik fikirleri yayılmış ve güçlenmiştir. Ermeniler, Ermenice gazeteler ve dergiler yayınlanmış ve bu, Ermeni toplumunun eğitilmesinde ve bir araya gelmesinde önemli bir rol oynamıştır. Kilise, eğitim kurumları ve kültürel etkinlikler aracılığıyla milli kimliğin korunması ve güçlenmesi için çaba göstermiştir. Ermeni toplumunun öncüleri, modern eğitim kurumlarının kurulması için çaba sarf etmişlerdir. Bu kurumlar, Batı tarzında eğitim veren okullar ve kolejler olarak ortaya çıkmıştır. Özellikle Avrupa'da eğitim almış olan Ermeni aydınları, Batı'daki demokratik değerler ve milliyetçilik fikirlerini Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'na getirmişlerdir. Bütün bunların sonucunda Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda yaşayan Ermeniler arasında, ortak bir dil, kültür ve tarih bilinci oluşturulmaya başlanmıştır [25].

Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Ermeni toplumu, eşit haklar ve özerklik talepleriyle siyasi reform istemiştir. Ancak bu taleplerin karşılanmaması, Ermeni milliyetçiliğinin radikalleşmesine ve ayrılıkçı hareketlerin ortaya çıkmasına yol açmıştır. Sultan Abdülmecid, 1850'de, demokratik bir düzenlemeyle var olan Protestan cemaatini bir millet olarak resmen tanımıştır. Protestan cemaatinin tanınmasıyla Osmanlı millet sistemi zorluklar yaşamıştır [26]. Ardından, 1863'te, Ermeni toplumu da Protestan modeline dayalı ve Tanzimat ilkelerine uygun bir anayasa ve Protestanlardaki gibi seçimlere dayalı bir meclis ile donatılmıştır. 19. yüzyılın sonlarından itibaren Ermeni devrimci örgütler ortaya çıkmıştır. Bu örgütler, özellikle II. Abdülhamid döneminde, Osmanlı yönetimine karşı silahlı saldırılarda bulunarak Ermeni milliyetçiliğinin radikalleşmesine katkı sağlamıştır. Bu durum, milliyetçi duyguları güçlendirerek milliyetçilik akımlarını daha da körüklemekteydi [27].

Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'ndan göç eden Ermeni diasporası, Ermeni milliyetçiliğinin yayılmasında ve güçlenmesinde önemli bir rol oynamıştır. Diaspora, uluslararası alanda Ermeni hakları için mücadele eden örgütlerin oluşturulmasına ve desteklenmesine katkı sağlamıştır. Bu faktörlerin bir araya gelmesiyle, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Ermeni milliyetçiliği giderek güçlenmiş ve 20. yüzyılın başlarında önemli siyasi ve sosyal bir güç haline gelmiştir. Bu süreç, daha sonra Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Ermeni nüfusa yönelik yaşanan bazı olayların da tetikleyicisi olmuştur.

[23] David Anthony Smith, *Küreselleşme Çağında Milliyetçilik, çev.* Derya Kömürcü (İstanbul: Everest Yayınları, 2002), 36-37.

[24] David Anthony Smith, *The Ethnic Origins of Nations* (New Jersey: Blackwell, 1986).

[25] Cahit Külekçi, "Fransız İhtilali ve Ermeni Milliyetçiliğinin Doğuşu," *İnönü Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi 5* (2014): 164-165.

[26] Bilal Eryılmaz, *Osmanlı Devletinde Gayrimüslim Tebaanın Yönetimi* (İstanbul: Risale Yayınları, 1996), 127-129.

[27] Feroz Ahmad, *Bir Kimlik Peşinde Türkiye.* çev. Sedat Cem Karadereli (İstanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2007), 44.

Amerikan Protestan misyonerlerinin desteği, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Ermeni milliyetçiliğinin yeşermesine yol açmıştır. Bu süreç, Türk ve Ermeni milliyetçiliklerinin çatıştığı 1. Dünya Savaşı'yla doruk noktasına ulaştı ve sonrasında Ermeni tehciri gibi trajik olaylar yaşanmıştır. Bu talihsiz olaylar, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun çöküşüne ve Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nin erken dönem politikalarına etki etmiştir. Ermeni milliyetçiliğinin yayılmasının bir sonucu olarak, II. Mahmut dönemindeki modernleşme çabalarıyla birlikte Osmanlı bürokrasisi, kendisini devletin egemeni olarak görmüş ve tüm azınlıkları devletin emperyalist baskılarına maruz kalan birer unsur olarak değerlendirmeye başlamıştır [28]. Bu anlayışa sahip olan aynı bürokratik yapı, erken Cumhuriyet döneminde toplumu tek tip hale getirme amacıyla uygulanan siyasi ve toplumsal baskıya da ivme kazandırmıştır.

Ermeni toplumu, ekonomik ve sosyal açıdan homojen bir yapıya sahip değildi. Yükselen entelektüellerle birlikte, Anadolu'nun zanaatkarları, tüccarları ve tarım işiyle uğraşan kesimleri arasında Taşnaklar-Ermeni Devrimci Federasyonu gibi çıkar grupları oluşmuştu. Diğer yandan, İstanbul ve İzmir gibi ticaret merkezlerindeki Patrikhane, zengin ticaret erbabını temsil etmekteydi. İkinci grup, topluluk içindeki meşruti reformlar sonucunda siyasi gücünü kısmen yitirse de, 19. yüzyılın ikinci yarısında önemli ölçüde refaha kavuşmuştur [29]. Onlar, bağımsızlık değil, imparatorluğun parçası olmak istemekteydiler [30]. Birinci grup, tam bağımsızlık ve kendi devletini değil, özerklik talep etmekte, entelektüeller ise bağımsızlık istemekteydi [31]. Ermeniler, uluslararası çapta yoğun desteği ile devlet kurma planını Anadolu topraklarında değil, Kafkasya'da gerçekleştirmişlerdir. Bu olay Ermeni milliyetçiliği tarihinde yaşanan en önemli gelişmelerden biridir. Bu tarihten itibaren Ermeniler bununla yetinmeyerek "milli mücadelelerini" devlet üzerinden, şiddete ve işgale başvurarak yürütmeye çalışmışlardır [32]. Bu şiddet 20. yüzyılın değişik kesitlerinde Kafkasya'da ve Anadolu'da defalarca kanlı saldırılara, savaşa, işkence, işgallere ve soykırıma [33] yol açmıştır.

Sonuç

Bu çalışmada Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Ermeni milliyetçiliğinin toplumsal dönüşümünü incelenmiştir. Milliyetçilik ve uluslaşma süreci, Osmanlı toplumunda önemli bir dönüşümü temsil ederken, Ermeni milliyetçiliği bu süreçte öne çıkan önemli aktörlerden biri olmaktadır. Makalemiz, bu önemli tarihsel sürecin anlaşılması için temel kavramlar ve ideolojik yapılar üzerinde durmuştur.

Öncelikle, milliyetçilik ve uluslaşma kavramlarının Osmanlı toplumunda ortaya çıkışı ve gelişimi incelenmiştir. Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun çeşitli etnik ve dini grupları arasındaki ilişkiler, milliyetçilik ve uluslaşma sürecini etkileyen önemli dinamiklerdir. Ermeni milliyetçiliğinin uluslaşma sürecindeki temel kavramlarını ve ideolojik yapılarını incelemek, Ermeni toplumunun milli kimlik oluşturma sürecini anlamak için kritik bir adımdır. Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'ndaki Ermeni milliyetçiliğinin toplumsal dinamikleri ve değişim süreci ele alınarken etnosembolik perspektiften yaklaşarak, Ermeni milliyetçiliğinin semboller, ritüeller ve mitler aracılığıyla nasıl ifade edildiği incelenmiştir. Ayrıca, Osmanlı'da Ermeni milliyetçiliğinin toplumsal değişimini anlamak için çeşitli faktörler ve süreçler üzerinde durulmuştur.

Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun son dönemlerindeki etnik ve dini kimliklerin karmaşıklığını ve bu kimliklerin nasıl şekillendiğini anlamak önemli arzetmektedir. Ermeni milliyetçiliğinin Osmanlı toplumunda nasıl bir evrim geçirdiğini ve bu evrimin hangi faktörler tarafından etkilendiğini anlamak, tarihî bir süreci daha derinlemesine kavramak açısından önemlidir. Sonuç olarak, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Ermeni milliyetçiliği, milliyetçilik ve uluslaşma sürecinin karmaşıklığını ve çeşitliliğini yansıtan önemli bir olgudur. Bu çalışma, konuya ilişkin derinlemesine bir anlayış sağlamak ve gelecekteki araştırmalar için bir temel oluşturmak amacıyla yapılmıştır.

20. yüzyılın başlarından itibaren, Ermeni milliyetçiliği büyük ölçüde tarihsel olaylar ve siyasi değişimlerle şekillenmiştir. 1915 yılında Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda yaşanan göçler ve karşıdurmalar, Ermeni milliyetçiliğinin derinlemesine etkilendiği ve bu olguyu güçlendirdiği bir dönemdir. Göç ve Ermenilerin iddia ettiği soykırım travması

[28] Metin Heper, *Türkiye Siyaset Sözlüğü: Siyaset, Toplum ve Kültür* (Ankara: Doğu Batı Yayınları, 2006), 154.

[29] Louise Nalbandian, *The Armenian Revolutionary Movement* (California: University of California Press, 1963), 114-135.

[30] Ahmad Feroz, *Bir Kimlik Peşinde Türkiye, 55.*

[31] Erik Zürcher, *A Modern History*. (London: I.B, 2005), 83.

[32] Asker Ali, *Ermeni Meselesi ve Kafkasya Gerçekleri, Yüzüncü Yılında Ermeni Meselesi: İddialar-Yalanlar-Gerçekler*, 446-509.

[33] İbrahim Fevzi Güven, Ali Asker, "Unraveling the Rationality of Genocide: A Comparative Analysis of Khojaly and Srebrenica," Bilig 111 (2024): 79-102.

³⁴, Ermeni diasporasının oluşumunu hızlandırmış ve Ermeni milliyetçiliğini uluslararası bir boyuta taşımıştır. Bu dönemde, Ermeni milliyetçiliği genellikle soykırımın tanınması ve tazminat talepleriyle ilişkilendirilmekteydi ³⁵.

Sovyetler Birliği'nin çöküşüyle birlikte, Ermenistan'ın bağımsızlığını kazanması Ermeni milliyetçiliğinin yeni bir evresini başlatmıştır. Birinci Karabağ Savaşı (1988-1994) ve İkinci Karabağ savaşı (2020) sonrası yaşanan tartışmalar ve Ermenistanın milliyetçi politikalarının kamuoyunda yorumlanması ve bu bağlamda yaşanan gelişmeler Ermeni milliyetçiliğini güçlendirmeye devam etmiştir. Karabağ'ın Ermenistan'a bağlanma girişimleri ve buna karşı Azerbaycan'ın direnişi, milliyetçi duyguları güçlendirmiş ve Ermenistan'da milliyetçiği pekiştirirken, siyasi düzlemde de tartışmalara yol açmıştır. Günümüzde, Ermeni milliyetçiliği hala siyasi, toplumsal ve kültürel bir etkendir. Soykırımın tanınması ve tazminat talepleri, Ermeni milliyetçiliğinin temel unsurlarından biri olarak devam etmektedir. Ayrıca, Ermenistan'ın bölgesel politikaları ve etnik çatışmalar, milliyetçi duygularını canlı tutmaya devam etmektedir. Ancak, Ermeni milliyetçiliği aynı zamanda uluslararası alanda da dönüşmektedir. Diaspora toplulukları, Ermeni milliyetçiliğini dünya çapında desteklemekte ve soykırımın tanınması için uluslararası çabaları koordine etmektedir. Sonuç olarak, 20. yüzyılın sonlarından günümüze kadar Ermeni milliyetçiliği, tarihsel ve siyasi olaylarla birlikte değişmiş ve gelişmiştir. Bu olgu, hem Ermenistan'da hem de diaspora topluluklarında hala önemli bir rol oynamaktadır ve ulusal kimlik ve siyasi hedefler üzerinde etkili olmaya devam etmektedir.

Extended Abstract

This study examines the process of social transformation of Armenian nationalism within the Ottoman Empire in depth. Nationalism plays a decisive role in the identity construction of individuals and communities. In this context, our work highlights various dimensions of the phenomenon of nationalism and its reflections within Armenian society.

The Ottoman Empire, with its multicultural and multi-religious structure, provided a geography where different ethnic groups coexisted. This situation laid the groundwork for the emergence of nationalist movements. Particularly in the 19th century, it was a period in which ethnic identities were redefined, national consciousness developed, and various nationalist movements took shape within the Ottoman Empire. During this time, the social and political structure of Armenian society underwent transformation parallel to modernization processes. Reforms such as the Tanzimat Edict granted certain rights to Armenians, which in turn encouraged their quest for national identity. With the effects of these reforms, the Armenian community became more visible in education and public life, beginning to question and define its own identity.

Studies on nationalism are addressed within a broad framework in the social sciences. Armenian nationalism, along with its historical background, cultural elements, and social dynamics, represents an important topic in this field. Our study focuses on the roots and evolution of Armenian nationalism, examining the internal and external factors that influenced this process. It has been identified that Armenian intellectuals were influenced by nationalist movements in the West, which accelerated the process of national consciousness. In this context, the travels of Armenian intellectuals to the West hold critical importance for the adoption of European political and social ideas. This circumstance contributed to the dissemination of nationalist thoughts within the Ottoman Empire.

The impact of symbols and cultural practices on social transformations has been discussed within the framework of the ethnosymbolic approach. Nationalist movements take shape through cultural and social symbols, which play a significant role in the construction of social identity. Armenian nationalism transcends being merely a political movement; it represents a process of identity construction. This process is also linked to the reinterpretation and appropriation of cultural heritage. Particularly, folk music, literature, and art have served as important tools in this identity construction. Armenian culture, due to its rich historical background, provides symbolic elements that nurture nationalist sentiments. In this context, the historical experiences and traditions of the Armenian people emerge as fundamental elements that constitute the roots of nationalist thought.

In our study, we also address how various ideological currents and political parties emerged within the Armenian community of the Ottoman Empire and the impact of these formations on the social structure. By the late 19th century, the establishment of various political groups and associations within Armenian society indicated a growing national consciousness. These groups raised awareness in the community through education, cultural activities, and social

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³⁴ Panos Levon Dabağyan, *Emperyalistler kıskacında: Ermeni tehciri* (İstanbul: IQ Kültür Sanat Yayıncılık, 2007).

³⁵ Matiossian Vartan, *The Politics of Naming the Armenian Genocide: Language, History and 'Medz Yeghern' (*Londra: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2021).

services, articulating their demands for independence. Notably, movements such as the Hunchak and Dashnak committees emerged as prominent examples of Armenian nationalism. The efforts of these committees to increase social participation and inform the public were decisive in the development of national consciousness. Additionally, the relationships these groups maintained with the Armenian diaspora abroad highlight the international dimension of nationalist movements.

The policies implemented by the Ottoman administration had profound effects on the Armenian community, leading to increased social tensions. The development of nationalist movements often resulted in conflicts with the Ottoman authorities, complicating social dynamics even further. The political and social upheavals experienced during the decline of the Ottoman Empire rendered the national demands of the Armenian community more visible. The uprisings and demands for independence by the Armenian people during this period can be viewed as a consequence of these complex dynamics. During this time, the Armenian community struggled to preserve its identity and existence while also seeking to establish itself within a broader social and political context.

The aim of this study is to examine Armenian nationalism in the context of social transformation within the Ottoman Empire. The research was conducted using a literature review method, supported by historical and sociological analyses. This approach allows for a multifaceted examination of the phenomenon of nationalism. The study also investigates various ethnic, cultural, and social factors affecting the Armenian community during the Ottoman period, highlighting their impacts on nationalism. Furthermore, the bibliography section lists significant research and publications on Armenian nationalism to assist readers in gaining more insight into the subject.

This study contributes significantly to the existing literature on Armenian nationalism. In this context, a thorough examination of the dynamics within the Ottoman Empire's multicultural structure aids in understanding the social and cultural dimensions of nationalist movements. Additionally, the use of an ethnosymbolic approach provides an original perspective on the cultural foundations of Armenian nationalism and their impact on social transformation, enriching the knowledge base in the field. The findings of this study serve as an important resource for understanding the complexities of nationalism in both historical and contemporary contexts.

In conclusion, this study details the social transformation process of Armenian nationalism within the Ottoman Empire, contributing to an understanding of the historical and cultural context of this process. Armenian nationalism illustrates how ethnic identities and national consciousness were shaped within the complex social structure of the Ottoman Empire. Moreover, this research lays a foundation for understanding the effects of nationalism in the contemporary world and the complexities of national identities. The results of this study also provide an important reference point for future research in this area.

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