



An Orientalist Analysis of Orhan Pamuk's *Snow* and *Cevdet Bey and His Sons*
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Abstract

The present study analyses the traces of Orientalism in Orhan Pamuk's two novels *Snow* and *Cevdet Bey and His Sons*. As a theoretical framework, Orientalism focuses on the distinction between "the self" and "the other" attributing to the literary studies applied by Western scholars to the Eastern countries for the purpose of establishing dominance. "The self" constantly stigmatizes and marginalizes "the other" as innately different. This process strictly draws on West and East boundaries and becomes the starting point of a problematic relationship between the two sides. Since ancient times, it has preserved its existence as a mode of thinking of the West on Eastern civilizations. In this context, the Orientalist details that Orhan Pamuk reflects on his both novels are the main subjects of this work. The study examines traces of Orientalist discourse in Pamuk's selected novels and tries to bring an approach to the author's portrayal of his own society. In the light of the pioneering theorists, like Said, Bhabha, and Fanon, the arguments on selected texts are grounded on the themes such as the East-West binaries, cultural identity, and conflicts. Based on the East-West contrasts identified, the study reveals what kind of an Orientalization process Türkiye went through both within itself and against the Western civilization.

Keywords: Orientalism, Islam, Orhan Pamuk, East/West, mimicry

Orhan Pamuk'un *Kar* ve *Cevdet Bey ve Oğulları* Romanlarının Oryantalist Bir Analizi

Özet

Bu çalışma Orhan Pamuk'un *Kar* ile *Cevdet Bey ve Oğulları* adlı iki romanında Oryantalizm'in izlerini incelemektedir. Teorik çerçeve olarak, Oryantalizm, Batılı bilim insanlarının Doğu ülkelerine hakimiyet kurmak amacıyla uyguladıkları edebi çalışmalara atıf yaparak "ben" ve "öteki" ayrımına odaklanmaktadır. "Benlik" sürekli olarak "ötekini" doğuştan farklı olarak damgalıyor ve ötekileştiriyor. Bu süreç, Batı ve Doğu sınırlarını sıkı bir şekilde çizerek, iki taraf arasında sorunlu bir ilişkinin başlangıç noktası oluyor. Antik çağlardan bu yana Batının Doğu medeniyetleri üzerine düşünme biçimi olarak varlığını korumuştur. Bu bağlamda Orhan Pamuk'un her iki romanında yansıttığı Oryantalist detaylar bu çalışmanın ana konusunu oluşturmaktadır. Çalışmanın amacı Pamuk'un seçilmiş romanlarında Oryantalist söylemin izlerini incelemek ve yazarın kendi toplumunu tasvirine bir yaklaşım getirmektir. Said, Bhabha, Fanon gibi öncü teorisyenlerin ışığında, seçili metinler üzerindeki tartışmalar Doğu-Batı ikililikleri, kültürel kimlik ve çatışmalar gibi temalara

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dayandırılmaktadır. Tespit edilen Doğu-Batı karşıtlıklarından hareketle çalışma, Türkiye'nin hem kendi içinde hem de Batı medeniyetine karşı nasıl bir Oryantalleşme süreci yaşadığını ortaya koymaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Oryantalizm, İslam, Orhan Pamuk, Doğu/Batı, taklit

Introduction

Orientalism covers the research studies of the West on the East in the fields of literature, language, and history. Studies about the Orient were carried out not only for the sake of making scientific progress but to establish dominance over the third world. Over time, the West put the Orient in the “other” position to define itself. The sharp distinction between the West and the East becomes, as Edward Said (2003) puts it, “the starting point for elaborate theories, epics, novels, social description, and political accounts concerning the Orient, its people, customs, mind, destiny, and so on” (p. 2-3). The Eastern civilization became an object of study, gaze, desire, and awe. This discursive process paved the way for further imperialist and colonizing practices as the knowledge gained through colonialism was used effectively to military, political, economic, and cultural dominate non-Western cultures. Thanks to technological, scientific, and economic advances, the Western civilization not only assumed superiority over the East but also tried to impose its superiority. The Orient was regarded as corrupt, primitive, backward, and resistant to change and advancement.

The Orientalist attitude observed in various letters, travel writings, and literary works also fed other Orientalist texts. Even researchers and writers who did not know much about the East and have never been there reinforced the discourse. The attitude of researchers and writers turned into a vicious cyclical chain feeding on each other and shaping the collective memory. This led to the formation of a discursive representation and the West consolidated its identity as the ultimate and superior self. This claim of superiority led to a full-scale exploitation of the Orient. While the West got richer at the expense of the East, the role of scientific/technological developments and cultural transformations in Europe played a crucial role in the exploitation of the third world. The Orient was characterized by derogatory and pejorative attributes such as fixed, resistant to change, and lazy. Such characterization manifested itself in fine arts, science, and cultural life. Since they are submissive, dominance must be established over them by white Europeans. This power relation is consistent with the presumption that they think the natives cannot speak up for themselves, therefore “they must be represented” and they take over this duty to lead them as they call it “White Men’s burden” (Said, 2003, p. 335).

Influenced by the Western ideologies of civilizing “the others”, the secular modernizing elite class in Türkiye began to have a role of dominating the rural population by undertaking the burden of white supremacist elites to bring civilization to the backward masses. The homogenization and essentialization of

the Westernized elite class caused a duality resulting in serious debates and identity issues which has found its portrayal in several literary works. The echoes of the Turkish attempts to mimic the West were reflected in the novels, and the modernization process found its expression and portrayal in the early fictional works. While emphasizing the phenomenon of Westernization, there were also writers who expressed their contempt for the fact that traditional values are no longer valid. The historical mimicry in the name of modernity and civilization has been portrayed in Orhan Pamuk's works which portrayed characters with an identity dilemma. Erdağ Gökner (2006b) elucidates that this duality first started in public life, then divided the society into two in terms of mentality, and finally, by deepening and changing its operation, it settled in as individuals (p. 326). Language, dress, laws, and education are regulated according to the West. From this perspective, modernization, trying to catch up with a society that is more advanced than itself, and identifying with it, has the same meaning as Westernization (Gökner, 2006a, pp. 118-119). These characters are stuck between both civilizations and try to negotiate their displacement, ambivalence, and alienation. Considering the modification of Orientalist narratives within the context of Turkish Orientalism, Pamuk portrays characters who are displaced, ambivalent, and alienated. Presenting these characters in an allegorical expression by reconciling them with the identity of the society, Pamuk brings to the fore people who are alienated from their own culture and tradition, and as a result, are caught in the middle of a lacuna.

Cevdet Bey and His Sons is Orhan Pamuk's first novel, which gives a picture of family members who are struggling to be Westernized in the uneasy atmosphere of Türkiye at the beginning of the twentieth century. They try to cleanse the traces of their Ottoman Oriental past and enrich their lives through Westernization. The first part begins with the story of Cevdet Bey and the oppressive atmosphere of Istanbul during the despotism period. Cevdet bey dreams of starting a family that works like a clockwork and buys a mansion in Nişantaşı. In the second part, between the years of 1936-1939, the lack of rational thought in the East is pointed out by focusing on the revolutions of the Republican period are described. Cevdet Bey's three children are the focus. Then, a leap forward in the narration takes place and grandson Ahmet's one day in 1970 is described. In this part, the Eastern understanding of art is criticized in the context of the modernization problem. Each chapter is devoted to a generation of the family and told in thirty-one-year leaps. The common feature of all sections is to reflect the socio-cultural and political conditions and developments in Türkiye for the mentioned years. The West and the East are treated in two metaphorical planes: lightness and darkness, the self-orientalist figures defend the necessity of modernity.

The most important element that Pamuk uses as a leitmotiv in the novel is the clock. After marriage, the clock inside the house becomes a metaphor for the family.

It appears frequently in the novel and continues to work until the house falls apart. The pendulum, ticking clock on the middle floor, like a heart beating without a hitch, permeates the regularity of the minutes, days, and holidays of the masonry house in Nişantaşı. The clock (family), which was disrupted by the death of Cevdet Bey, stopped completely and is cast aside with the death of Nigan Hanım. Grandson Ahmet is the one who notices that the pendulum clock at home is not working anymore. The family life that Cevdet Bey so diligently established disintegrates under the influence of time. According to Gökner (2012), the novel shows a historiographic focus "informed by an empire-to-republic periodization that traces a bildungsroman. The empire-to-republic bildungsroman is a genre of the Turkish novel that narrates the transition from the Ottoman Empire to the Republic of Türkiye as an articulation of the secularization thesis" (p. 312). When the novel is examined in the context of Orientalism, Westernization is superficial and does not go beyond mere imitation.

Snow narrates the story of journalist Ka, Kerim Alakuşoğlu, who lived in exile in Germany for twelve years and returns to Türkiye. He is assigned by the newspaper to investigate the suicide events of young girls in Kars. The head-scarfed girls commit suicide as a rejection of the oppressive male voices of fathers, imams, and the state. Kars which is located at the north-eastern tip of Türkiye, represents a microcosm of the whole county. Ayan (2019) illustrates this point by evaluating Ka's condition:

The dialectic between East and West is between political Islamists and Westernizing secularists. In the narrative where Sunay Zaim, who is constructed as a representative figure, and Ka, who is a self-orientalist figure, are confronted, the Eastern religious perception in the context of the modernization problem is criticized through a bigoted representation of the East. In the novel, where the knowledge-power mechanism functions, based on the failure of Sunay Zaim, who defends the West's understanding of modernity shaped by positivist thought, on the path to enlightenment, and the orientalist act of Ka, who reacts to the Eastern value system shaped by a fanatic mentality, the East itself is seen with an occidentalist perspective. The superiority of the West over the East is exhibited through the inferiority complex it has absorbed by producing. (p. 53)

Although one of the purposes of Ka's coming to Kars is to reach the romantic dreams of his childhood, this romantic provincial theme turns into a rural image in time where narrow-mindedness and violence prevail. Events proceed on the basis of the Islamist-secular conflict. The upcoming elections and veiled women who commit suicide intensify this conflict. The atheist identity of the Western intellectual Ka and the regional commitment to Islam resurface throughout the novel. A sign of metafiction in the novel is that the name of the author, whom we learn to be Ka's close friend at the end of the book, is Orhan. Both novels are

observed to carry the traces of the Orientalist discourse and this study investigates how Pamuk portrays the existence of “the other” within one’s own culture and how it influences the development of national identity and culture.

Orientalism and Its Evolution in Türkiye

Rather than examining the East and understanding it as it is, the West tried to reproduce the Orient according to itself and to establish superiority over this new object. West needed an “other” to define itself, and this other became the East. Said (2003) defines the term as: “a style of thought based upon an ontological and epistemological distinction made between ‘the Orient’ and (most of the time) ‘the Occident’” (p. 2). The East, which is constructed as the other, “the Orient”, is loaded with the opposite features of the subject the West, “the Occident”. There is a mutual correlation between the perceptions of both cultures towards each other. In its most basic sense, Orientalism was separated from the function of collecting information about Eastern societies and expanded further. It turned into a discourse that allowed the Westerners to interpret everything Eastern as the opposite of their own image and to create fixed differences. Similarly, Occidentalism involves constructed images representing Europeans. The East is ultimately different from the West, and vice versa. While making the Oriental distinction, sociological features such as individuality and civil society that the West has been brought to the fore and the main emphasis is that the East does not have these qualities. Occidental vision creates fantastic desires and dreams about Europe as it is observed to be the great sample of modernization. The West takes the pretext of modernizing the East while the East follows the West to upgrade the level of social status. While the West wants to spread its modernity and enlightenment to the East, there is a huge admiration and idealization of the Western values in the East.

Throughout history, Orientalism has progressed simultaneously with colonialism for the same purposes: establishing settlements and sovereignty in the newly discovered lands, using these lands for profit, and Christianization of the indigenous population. Said especially emphasizes that Europe’s imperialism and Orientalism progressed in parallel. In *Culture and Imperialism*, Said (1994) explains European imperialism expanding all over the world: “By 1914, the annual rate had risen an astonishing 240,000 square miles, and Europe held a grand total of roughly 85 percent of the earth as colonies, protectorates, dependencies, dominions, and commonwealths” (p. 18). The Western attitudes towards the East marginalizing them as “the other” is in fact a constructed discourse, similarly the Eastern desires to resemble Europeans do not go beyond following a fake illusion to be more modern. Said examines how the use of scholarly texts, works of literature, tracts, journals, travel books, and studies create an imaginary and discursively presented Orient. By establishing the hegemonic power structure, Orientalist narratives legitimize Western superiority as accepting them to be the universal civilization while trying to convince the East for approval. Indeed, it goes

far beyond the approval and triggers the East to construct their own ideal Western images influenced by their own Oriental one.

The literature of Orientalism written by the Orientalists provided scientific material to the missionary and colonial powers traveling to the East. Travelers, researchers, and officials who traveled to the East returned with texts that could be counted as reports. These texts are so numerous that in the seventeenth century alone, it has been claimed that there are more than two hundred publications on the Orient (Hentsch, 2008, p. 130). Even writers who did not go to the East personally and did not know the people they were interested in wrote about the East and took the studies written by previous Orientalists as a source for their writings. The Orientalist texts' quoting from each other reinforced the Orientalist discourse even further. Said states that Orientalism in its official form in the Christian West is considered to have started when the Council of the Church convened in Vienna in 1312 and as a term originated in Europe around the last decades of the eighteenth century. The term was used for the first time in England (1779) and then in France (1799). Silvestre de Sacy (1758-1838) is considered the first Orientalist: "his students dominated Europe. Many of these Orientalists demonstrated political utility-as some showed for Napoleon in Egypt" (Said, 2003, p. 93). Said puts Napoleon's Egypt Campaign as the starting axis of modern Orientalism: "With Napoleon's invasion of Egypt began processes between East and West that still dominate our contemporary cultural and political outlook" (Said, 2003, p. 52).

Napoleon, with his knowledge transferred from literary texts and Orientalists, took great interest in Egypt, and developed a desire to conquer. While making plans for conquest, his greatest literary support was *Volney's Voyage en Égypte et en Syrie* (Journey to Egypt and Syria) (1787). He learned the difficulties he will encounter in the East from this book (Said, 2003, p. 91). He took a group of scholars, writers, anthropologists, historians, and biologists with him when he set out on the expedition. His invasion of Egypt was the first step for Orientalism to become a functional colonial tool, while "new categories, new experiences, including imperialist ones, would emerge, and over time, Orientalism would adapt itself to these, albeit with some difficulty" (Said, 2003, p. 102).

The Ottoman Empire, which put an end to the Byzantine and advanced into Europe with military successes, inevitably struck fear into Europe. By the end of the seventeenth century, Turks even started to threaten Vienna by taking the island of Crete. Since it followed a policy of Muslim expansionism based on the notion of jihad, it also created a religious threat to Europe: "From the end of the seventh century until the battle of Lepanto in 1571, Islam in its Arab and Ottoman form had dominated or actually threatened European Christianity" (Said, 2003, p. 84). The most important breaking moment to thwart the Ottoman threat was the defeat of Vienna. This defeat is very important for the rise of the West because the Ottoman Empire was humiliated in the eyes of the West: "The Ottoman Empire's withdrawal

from the European continent and its decline from a great state to a ‘sick man’ were only due to apparent military defeats; the source of the defeats itself was the chronic failure to participate in the process of the scientific revolution” (Ferguson, 2012, p. 329). Geographical explorations started by the end of the 15th century and the discovery of the Cape of Good Hope and America made great contributions to the economic progress of Europe (Ferguson, 2012, p. 120). The Silk Road, which was controlled by the Ottomans, gradual loss of its significance caused the eventual collapse of its economy. During the Renaissance and the Reformation acts, interest in science, art, and humanism increased and with the publication of scientific works with the advent of printing, the East fell behind (Ferguson, 2012, p. 86). Europe’s greatest leap took place with the Industrial Revolution in the eighteenth century. The need for raw materials increased with the establishment of new factories. Looking for its raw materials abroad, Europe accelerated its colonial expansion. Strauss states that the 19th-century European also declared himself superior to the rest of the world because he had the steam engine and few other technical feats to boast about (Levi-Strauss, 2010, p. 70). While these developments were taking place in Europe, the Ottoman Empire remained indifferent to them and fell behind in civilization.

In Türkiye, with the establishment of the Republic, the elite assumed the Orientalist and paternalistic view towards Anatolian masses. As the founding fathers, the ruling elite took up the mission to educate rural Others who are categorized outside the frame of the Western modernity as Islamic and ethnic entities. This civilizing mission tried to create a homogenous nation that should get rid of its “Orientalness” and therefore reject the Ottoman past, and its rural and tribal structures. Westernizing reforms followed the declaration of the republic. Radical reforms in institutions, norms, clothing, music, arts, and education were implemented with a nationalist discourse that reinforced the authority of the state. Religious foundations, caliphate, courts, dervish orders, sects, and veils were all abolished to strengthen the secular Republic. They were critical reforms for the foundation of a new Turkish national state through a radical shift from the Ottoman past, which created the gap between the two distinct cultures: the rural Anatolian population and the modern urban elite. Göknaar (2012) states: “The secular masterplot encouraged Sunni Muslims to actively begin thinking of themselves as modern Turks. This redefined and regenerated national identity challenged anti-Muslim, racist, and orientalized notions of Turkish backwardness then current in Europe and Russia” (p. 307). Similarly, Mattar (2014) states that:

It thus figures the wider early Republican culture by which it was produced, a culture defined by [...] a fundamentally phantasmagoric relation to its European ‘other’, aspiring to a fantastic image of that other as mediated by imported fashions, films, literatures, commodities, laws, educational and

political systems, and all the other Western technologies and innovations brought in by the Kemalists. (p. 60)

Mattar (2014) refers to the illusion and dreams created through this "phantasmagorical relation" with the Europeans. Accordingly, any material object belonging to Europe symbolizes the idealized image of Europe. Mattar provides the sample of fashion to explain this fantastic relation. Selling the European style fabric and clothes goes beyond the trade of material substance, and it turns into selling dreams of becoming a European. The mutual judgments and constructs of both the Western and the Eastern civilizations cause societies to lead problematic lifestyles by following an illusion.

Orientalism in *Snow* and *Cevdet Bey and His Sons*

Orhan Pamuk addresses contemporary cultural problems in his novels like the tension between conservatism and modernity, identity problems, and the East/West dichotomy or the Islamic standpoint versus the Western perspective in the case of Türkiye. Pamuk (2011) expresses his own in-betweenness reflected in his works: "Coming from a Republican family, I live like a very Cartesian, influenced by Western rationalism while sitting at my desk. This rationality is at the center of my existence. But on the other hand, I open my soul to other books, other texts as much as I can" (p. 163). Since soul and mind are torn between the East and the West, Pamuk states that he benefits from this duality and the privilege of observing both cultures. This duality produces a type that is a product of the Western bourgeoisie for the Western audience/gaze by using Eastern sources, and simultaneously an Eastern product to vision the West as something exceptional: "Everyone is sometimes a Westerner and sometimes an Easterner - in fact a constant combination of the two" (Pamuk, 2011, p. 165). Therefore, Pamuk is an author who can freely take advantage of belonging nowhere and benefiting from both Eastern and Western cultures, as he states: "All of my books are made from the mixing of methods, procedures, habits and history of the East and the West. This is where my own comfort and double happiness come from, and I wander between two worlds as if I were at home, without feeling guilty" (Pamuk, 2011, p. 166). Even though these dual constructs are innately reciprocal, the East-West contrasts that Pamuk portrays in his works are mostly composed by the Orientalist tendencies rather than the Occidental evaluations. The characters, who try to modernize assuming Western attitudes are mostly ambivalent, displaced, and alienated. The desire to become someone that you are not is tantamount to self-denial, and the resulting anxiety becomes a general characteristic of the Orient in Pamuk's novels.

In addition to the East-West opposition in the novels, the provincial-central duality is noteworthy as well. Those living in the city center are with aspirations and have dreams of Westernized elites. According to this intelligentsia, the center is the ideal. The characters who placed themselves as the elite are now alienated

from their own country and culture. Pamuk establishes a master-slave relationship between this Westernized-elite-intellectual and the laggard stratum. As a result of this master-slave relationship, in which the intellectual looks down on the Orient, the Oriental's contempt for the East, which can be called Orientalism within itself, becomes evident. The central-provincial distinction is not only between the districts of Istanbul but also between Istanbul and the Eastern cities. Cities/spaces in the east still have not been modernized and have not been able to get rid of their traditional features compared to modern Istanbul.

The novel in which provincial-central duality is used most effectively is *Snow*. The city of Kars is juxtaposed with "the other" of Istanbul. The fact that the poet Ka grew up in Nişantaşı, went to Germany from there and returned to Kars twelve years later creates a convenient environment for the place to come to the fore in the novel. When describing Kars, the most noteworthy thing is the poverty of the city. The poverty of the people, of the shops, of the whole city in general, is constantly repeated as Kars is much more melancholic and poorer than Ka remembered years ago (Pamuk, 2013b, p. 13). Ka condescendingly observes his society as it is immediately clear that he is a bourgeois from Istanbul. In his interviews, he asks people why Kars remains so backward and poor. A man he encounters tells him that he barely gets along but does not complain (Pamuk, 2013b, p. 12). One of the frequent criticisms of the Orientalist West for the East is that the East's submissiveness manifests itself in this observation. Even if people barely make a living, they submit to their condition without a protest. An orientalist principle that reinforces a particular stereotyping is the Eastern dependence on fatalism. This principle manifests itself here as an Orient or Muslim cannot doubt their destiny otherwise such doubts could complicate the uniformity of the stereotype. Lacivert summarizes Ka's view of the East by drawing attention to the concept of alienness: "You are the stranger among us... You judged us with your smug Western gaze, maybe you laughed at us" (Pamuk, 2013b, p. 247). The Western gaze is judging, scornful, and mocking. According to Lacivert, Ka, the Westerner in the East, fulfils this Orientalist gaze. Ka's elitist attitude is widespread among the Turkish elite. Sunay, who draws attention to the difference between East and West here, summarizes the people of not only Kars but all Anatolian towns to Ka:

They sit in teahouses for days and days without doing anything. Hundreds in every town, hundreds of thousands in all of Turkey, millions of unemployed, unsuccessful, hopeless, inactive, poor men. My brothers do not have the will to tidy themselves up, the will to button their greasy and stained jackets, the energy to move their arms, the attention to listen to a story to the end" (Pamuk, 2013b, p. 203).

According to Emine Ayan (2019) the dialectic between the East and the West is between political Islamists and Westernizing secularists. In the narrative where Sunay Zaim, who is constructed as a representative figure, and Ka, who is a self-

orientalist figure, are confronted, the Eastern religious perception in the context of the modernization problem is criticized through a bigoted representation of the East (p. 53). Sunay Zaim defends the West's understanding of modernity shaped by positivist thought, on the path to enlightenment, and the self-orientalist Ka reacts to the value system of the East shaped by a fanatic mentality, where the knowledge-power mechanism comes into operation. The East itself is seen from an occidental perspective: "In fact, from the nineteenth century on, Türkiye has been grappling with the idea of what I would call a "perceived colonization" that severely affected the country's political and cultural sovereignty first, and later its modes of self-representation" (Furlanetto, 2014, p. 20). The general profile of rural people, drawn from the poor city of Kars, fits the image of the Easterner in the eyes of the West. As the Orientalist discourse often repeats, men are depicted to be lazy and lethargic, and they do not have a desire to change. It is possible to see this general stereotyping of the Eastern people in the Orientalist discourse: "the oriental is given as fixed, stable, need of investigation, in need even of knowledge about himself. No dialectic is either desired or allowed. There is a source information (the Oriental) and a source of knowledge (the Orientalist), in short, a writer and a subject matter otherwise inert" (Said, 2003, p. 308). Similarly, Muhtar expresses Kars's backwardness: "civilization was so far away that I could not even mimic it" (Pamuk, 2013b, p. 58). This situation brings Bhabha's (1990) term into the mind: the colonial mimicry, which refers to "the desire for a reformed, recognizable Other, as a subject of a difference that is almost the same, but not quite" (p. 122). Civilization is not in the East; in fact, it is far from the East according to their vision, and at such a distance it is not even possible to mimic it. The distance of Kars from the rest of the world is also reinforced by Fazil:

We are poor and insignificant, that's the whole point. [...] Our miserable lives have no place in human history. In the end, all of us living in the poor city of Kars will die one day. No one will remember us. We will remain insignificant persons suffocating in their own petty and ridiculous fights, strangling each other for what women put on their heads (Pamuk, 2013b, p. 300).

Unfortunately, those living in the Eastern district were despised as being the representatives of a more religious past with some symbols, like hijab or veiling, compared to the modernized and Westernized present. One of the journalists proclaims that religion "for too long had excluded them from modern life and prevented woman from enjoying equality with men" (Pamuk, 2013b, p. 373). The Islamic way of life is seen as bringing the society back to the primitive times. This kind of religious, Islamic-centred Orientalist discourse doubled the female oppression in the modernizing Islamic society. The Islamic instruments such as headscarves as religious ways of dress are depicted as negative signs staying in front of modernity and development. Said (1997) states:

The term Islam as it is used today seems to mean one simple thing but in fact is part fiction, part ideological label, part minimal designation of a religion called Islam. In no really significant way is there a direct correspondence between the Islam in common Western usage and the enormously varied life that goes on within the world of Islam which has different societies, states, histories geographies, cultures (p. 1).

There is a fabricated Islam in the novel, and it is represented with a sense of fear and oppression which prevents a proper understanding of the true nature of religion.

Kars' distance, isolation, indifference, and marginalization are constantly repeated in the course of the novel. The news from Anatolia is not published in Istanbul, the newspapers do not care about what happens here. The contempt towards Western attitude towards the Oriental East is first declared by Lacivert who states: "You are the unacknowledged slave of the Europeans, and, like all real slaves, you do not even know that you are a slave. You see yourself as the master of this nation because you became a little European in Nişantaşı and learned to sincerely despise the religion and tradition of the people" (Pamuk, 2013b, 338). Though addressed to Ka, in fact, Lacivert's statements are addressed to all the intellectuals who lead to a bourgeois life in Istanbul and consider themselves Westernized. The criteria for being a good person are different in these two segments because the criterion of duality for the European segment is defined by the values of the West. The center, who takes these criteria as a model for himself, belittles the religious people living in the East, as they find it far from ideal.

In *Cevdet Bey and His Sons*, Mr. Cevdet is a prototype of Westernization as he takes it to the very core of his being. The family he will establish should not be in the backward vicinity of Haseki, where he grew up, but in a mansion in Nişantaşı. According to Elana Furlanetto (2018):

In Pamuk's novel, the Westernized city on the surface appears as a space of meaninglessness and dispossession where cultural identity has been compromised by policies that encouraged the individual to adopt different aesthetics and sets of values, thus creating a sense of rupture between Istanbul's rapid urbanization and the city's history, between monumental buildings and their lost relevance, between citizens and the spaces they inhabit. (pp. 60-61)

Thanks to his success in business, Mr. Cevdet wants to get away from his old neighborhood, which is poor and far from modernization. He dreams of living among the elites who are more Westernized in Nişantaşı. When he goes to Haseki to pick up his nephew Ziya, he thinks: "They are sitting here as they were sitting two centuries ago... No money-making! There is nothing new! There is nothing in their life, yes, no ambition, ambition!" (Pamuk, 2013a, p. 37). In this inner monologue of Cevdet Bey, there is a contempt for the slum society in his own

country and contempt for the people he was once a member of. Ömer, who was educated in Europe and returned to Istanbul with dreams of carrying civilization to the untrodden, cannot adapt to Istanbul despite all his efforts. He starts longing for his life in Kemah, where he worked as an engineer a long time ago. Just as the French romantics find the Orient interesting, pure, and unspoiled, Ömer sees life in the East as clean and free from flaws: "everything is pure and real in nature here (...) Here I feel like a medieval knight, a squire, a landlord, a real person" (Pamuk, 2013a, p. 496). Realizing that he cannot find an answer to his personal problems in Nişantaşı, Refik decides to go to Kemah with Ömer. The first thing Ömer notices is that Refik appears very foreign to the conditions of the East. Refik assumes an Orientalist attitude and is very judgmental towards the locals. While he is working on projects to modernize the village, he does not try to reach out to the people. He tries to solve the problems of the people by sitting in the mansion, reading books, and preparing projects. In the drafts he wrote, he neither found a solution to the village people/life nor approached the attitude of the state. "I think that in order to save the villages from the darkness of the Middle Ages and to connect them with the cities and the revolutions, it is necessary to do something other than what has been done until now" (Pamuk, 2013a, p. 301). Muhittin disagrees by saying: "You told me about the barbarism and the light of reason in us, but I didn't expect this much... He's correspondence with a Christian (...) I always made you look like a Christian anyway! I told you: you're Frankish!" (Pamuk, 2013a, p. 521). To Muhittin, Refik is a European since he looks at the East/Orient with disdain as he says: "...for me, this is the East, the land of darkness and slavery. (...) I want to say that people are not free, to put it somewhat metaphysically, that souls are imprisoned here" (Pamuk, 2013a, p. 346).

One of the important scenes in which Orientalism is handled in the context of location duality is the chapter titled "Sunnah". Called to entertain children after Cemil's circumcision ceremony, the juggler is despised by the children's families due to his social status. For a little show, he takes a glass to one of the patron's children's mouth and his mother immediately protests that he should not drink from that glass. "Hokkabaz" the juggler is intimidated because he belongs to a lower class in the eyes of rich families from Nişantaşı. The glass he is holding is dirty and can make the rich family's child sick. Similarly, the youngest child of Cevdet Bey, Ayşe takes piano lessons, similar to the piano metaphor seen as a symbol of Westernization since the Ottoman times. She was sent to Europe to improve her French. After going to Europe, she despises everything in Türkiye. Although she has established a good friendship with Cezmi, whom she knows from music lessons, his family, especially Nigan Hanım and his older brother Osman, are extremely uncomfortable with this because Cezmi is not a member of an upper-class family. The distinction and disdain between social classes are obvious. Cezmi, on the other hand, criticizes Ayşe's Westernized family for this feeling of apathy and emphasizes that their life has nothing to do with the general life in Türkiye

(Pamuk, 2013a, p. 306). This attitude of Cezmi is typical of the countryman who tries to benefit the center yet still harbors a sense of contempt against it.

Early Orientalists such as Ernest Renan and Lord Cromer identified the main reason for the backward nature of Eastern societies in science, philosophy, and technology with Islam and claimed that it is against science and progress. This religious opposition, which is the most important step of the starting points of Orientalism, has developed in the form of antagonism against Islam. From the perspective of the Orientalist West, the Muslim East is lethargic and resistant to progress. This attitude is also reflected in the intelligentsia of Westernizing Türkiye, and the view that the biggest obstacle to progress is religion. In the selected novels, the Westernized elite distances itself from religious phenomena. The religiously contemptuous view of the Orientalist discourse fleshes out with Refik in *Cevdet Bey and His Sons*. To him, one of the most important reasons why the society is lazy and resistant to change is that they are Muslims. He constantly describes the teachings of Islam as superstition. In his journal, there are also places where he makes religious comparisons as he thinks that the circumcision ritual is “a stupid, wild, primitive, ugly ceremony for us” (Pamuk, 2013a, p. 504). The striking point in these attitudes is that circumcision ceremonies are attributed to the public and that the phenomenon is peculiar to the lower class of Anatolia.

Snow, where religious opposition keeps an important place in the novel, brings the secular republican section and the Islamist masses against each other. While Republican people are associated with the West, the Islamist section reflects the East. The main character Ka is “raised in a republican secular family in Istanbul” (Pamuk, 2013a, p. 25). The debates on Islam and the suicide of veiled girls are at the heart of the novel and bring along the debates on modernization. Soon after Ka’s arrival, the performance of an early republican play advocating the unveiling of women as a part of modernization erupts into a military coup. Taking off the headscarf has an equivalent meaning to awakening and civilization. In Ka’s childhood memories, the headscarf does not exist in the Westernized bourgeois section, but women who came from the slums to sell grapes to the neighborhood, or the milkman’s wife or someone else from the lower classes (Pamuk, 2013a, p. 28). He mentions the Westernized bourgeois state in Nişantaşı to the Sheikh: “I always wanted the development of my country, the liberation and modernization of its people, with good intentions like a child. But our religion always seemed to me to be against them” (Pamuk, 2013a, pp. 102-103). Ka reflects the thoughts of the enlightened elite: Westernized Turks no longer need God.

On another occasion, a fundamentalist from Tokat kills a school principal who does not admit a veiled student to school. The murderer says: “As the Holy Koran states, it is my duty to kill any tyrant who visits cruelty on believers” (Pamuk, 2013a, p. 48) even though there is no such a Quranic statement. The only way the West can accept the East is if they give up their religion. To Sunay Zaim, this

murder is an attack on secularism and Türkiye's future. Since Sunay does not want the Islamists to come to power, he stages a mini coup. While defending this coup to Ka, he reasons with defiance: "Are you afraid that I would be embarrassed if the Europeans saw what we did here? Do you know how many men they hanged to build their modern world that you admire?" (Pamuk, 2013a, p. 212). According to Sunay, there is a really bloody and murderous fight between Islamic values and Westernization in Türkiye and the fear can only be beaten down by secularist violence: "As a trope evoking *devlet*, the coup consequently came to represent a compulsive and paranoid reenactment of the establishment of the nation-state and a metonym for cultural revolution" (Gökner, 2012, p. 318).

In order to denigrate Muslims, the secular press publishes fake news about Lacivert and portrays him as a bearded, aggressive shari'ah with one hand with a rosary and the other with a gun (Pamuk, 2013a, pp. 73-79). To make a statement to the Western press, Lacivert made Ka take the following notes: "The reason why we are so attached to our God here, as Westerners think, is not because we are so poor, but because we are more curious than anyone else about what we have to do in this world and what will happen in the next" (Pamuk, 2013a, p. 238). In the Orientalist discourse, the reason for the poverty of the East and its inability to progress is its devotion to religion. For Lacivert the story is different, they are deprived of a decent life in this world so it is the hereafter a Muslim can hope for a better life.

As a result of Türkiye's geographical location, it has affected the identities of the members of the society in various ways. In addition to being a member of a society that is Eastern in the eyes of the West, individuals seek to be Western. This dilemma has led to double identities and the emergence of problematic coexistence. As Bhabha (1994) analyses this situation of discontent: "In that displacement, the borders between home and world become confused; and, uncannily, the private and the public become part of each other, forcing upon us a vision that is as divided as it is disorienting" (p. 13). Although the degree of these anxieties varies, the inability to be oneself, displacement, ambivalence, isolation, and the resulting dilemmas dominate most of the characters. They cannot be sure where they belong, and which side defines their identities more.

The alienation, displacement, and ambivalence manifest in Nusret in *Cevdet Bey and His Sons*. He stays in Paris for a while, and when he returns, he becomes a self-hating, self-pitying, and a self-loathing character who sees Europe as an exemplary model in every aspect. Ayan (2019) argues that an inferiority complex is the source of self-orientalism, which draws attention as a part of the modernization problem of the East in the narrative plane of the novel (p. 47). As a self-orientalist, Nusret says he can't see "the soul of the enlightenment" (Pamuk, 2013a, p. 239) in Türkiye which is one of the basic tenets of Europe and the West. The character thinks that he, his acquaintances, and even the Turkish writers and intellectuals have been lacking rational and logical approaches to their society and

tries to find the reason why “everything and everybody in Turkey looks sleepy” (Pamuk, 2013a, p. 239). He wants progress, enlightenment, and a revolution that will bring all European values and ideals. The Ottoman (East) has fallen behind in civilization while its people remained ignorant and lazy. The religious personalities are marginalized for being old-fashioned and against the modern West. The othering towards the Muslims results in many attacks by the hegemonic imperial forces which creates binary oppositions of “us” discriminating “them”.

The Western Orientalism fleshes out in Herr Rudolph with whom Refik and Ömer spend most of their time in Kemah. Herr Rudolph says: “I don’t like the East. I don’t like this weather here, these foreign spirits that don’t match my soul at all!” (Pamuk, 2013a, p. 293). Herr Rudolph draws attention to the irreconcilable difference and backward nature of the East in which no common ground can be found. He states, “The light of the reason doesn’t harmonize with the soul of the East” (Pamuk, 2013a, p. 282). The East is completely different from the West and that distinction mainly stems from an absence of reasonable and free thinking and has nothing to offer to Western taste. Although this view of the German towards the East is far from the exotic and attractive East image, it is important in terms of drawing attention to the difference: “People have to kneel before learning to walk, pray before learning to speak!” says Rudolph (Pamuk, 2013a, p. 294) which is an indication of collective discourse which requests a communal struggle to get over with the problematic comparisons of Muslims and Westerns. As the Orientalist discourse observes the whole community as one complete unity without divergent participants, stereotypical attitudes are expected from both sides. In consistence with stereotyping process, Herr Rudolph explains this contradiction about Refik and Ömer as follows: “You are not one of them either [...] the light of reason has fallen on your soul, you are now a foreigner, whatever you do, you are a foreigner” (Pamuk, 2013a, p. 294). He is displaced and turns out to be the minority, the foreigner. What is interesting about his assessment is that he categorizes by bringing up the idea of enlightenment in line with the perception that the East is still in darkness. Ka’s identity crisis reaches its peak when he returns to Kars after twelve years. This leads to the formation of a double identity. Whether it is Kars, Istanbul, or Frankfurt, Ka is foreign everywhere, so he is alone and exiled everywhere. Although he lived in Frankfurt for years, he could not learn German, he could not establish a meaningful connection with either Germans or immigrant Turks in Germany, he was seen as a snob and socialite Istanbulite in Kars, and in Istanbul he was no different from a foreigner. He does not belong anywhere indeed. These are different manifestations of alienation, displacement, and ambivalence. Fanon (2008) argues that a returnee “assumes a critical attitude towards his fellow islanders” (p. 7), which is the case for Ka. Lacivert also expresses Ka’s isolation as: “Whether here or in your beloved Europe, you will live like a refuge by mimicking them” (Pamuk, 2013a, p. 364). Said (1999) describes this condition as “being not

quite right and out of place" (p. 295). He turns out to be an outsider wherever he goes. They are the foreign bodies in each culture, and they carry the burden of having in-between identities as in Bhabha's (1996) observation.

The identity problems of characters in both novels are a microcosm of a larger issue at hand. Turkish society itself is divided into secular and religious. A certain stratum accepts Western values while turning its back to its ideals while the other half strongly adheres to those values: "Turks imitate Western habits, clothing, and gestures because they conform to new identitarian narratives that erased their Ottoman culture" (Furlanetto, 2018, p. 62). That in-betweenness because of not being completely westernized causes the characters to feel alienated, and not to remember their original identity any longer: "A process of identification in the analytics of desire, the desire for the Other becomes the primary locus of identification for the Self, who empties of its former characteristics, of its person and place to exist exclusively in the articulation of desire" (Bhabha, 2008, p. xxxii). The disposed grows an enmity towards the West as a reaction. This coping mechanism is termed as Occidentalism. I. Buruma & Avishai Margalit (2004), in their work *Occidentalism: The West in the Eyes of Its Enemies*, argue that Occidentalism is the portrayal of the West in the same marginalizing way that they have done to the East. The reversed stereotypes and responses of the Occidentalists are ironically identical to the Orientalist discourse they criticize. This is a kind of precarious attitude as they recognize (Buruma & Margalit, 2004, p. 10). Rather than rooted in Eastern communities, such discriminating thought interestingly emerged out of the Western world as Buruma and Margalit put it: "West was fought with ideas that originated in Europe" (Buruma & Margalit, 2004, p. 82). The protagonists in Pamuk's selected novels have the same approach towards the West.

In *Cevdet Bey and His Sons*, Muhittin presents Occidentalism and nationalism as his transformation differs from Ömer and Refik's. Gökner (2006b) discusses that nationalism, which aimed at modernization on the one hand and defended cultural originality against the orientalist-colonial discourse on the other, was doomed to constantly experience this dilemma. Turkish nationalism, which functions as the official ideology of the state, clearly stages this tension (p. 327). In order to be a good poet, Muhittin changes his environment over time and starts to write poetry in Turkish magazines by joining the nationalist movement. He distances himself from Refik and Ömer. Since he always sees Refik and his family in the upper class, he has an anger that he cannot consume. While waiting for Refik in a tavern in Beşiktaş, he tells the young poets this: "He is from Nişantaşı. he comes from above, you see" (Pamuk, 2013a, p. 242). Mahir Altaylı, a nationalist poet, whom Muhittin encounters in his quest to find himself, effectively explains that Turkism is important, and this is what he lacks in his life. When the political atmosphere of the era of which the novel portrays, with the French occupation in Hatay accelerated the nationalist tendencies, and anti-French campaign and antagonism towards the

West becomes automatic and Muhittin takes a nationalist stance towards developments. Altaylı reminds the understanding that the West is reason, and the East is emotion. According to the Orientalist discourse, the East cannot think, is far from being scientific, and acts on its emotions. Hence, they are distinct from each other, and, in Said's (2003) words, "ontological and epistemological distinction" (p. 2). In that distinction, the sorrowful, melancholic side of the world is always the Eastern people who feel the gripes of being the other, who are disgruntled and anxious and who are mournful and malcontent. Muhittin, too, gradually fell in love with reactionary ideas and began to think that Western culture was poisoning him (Pamuk, 2013a, p. 490). Over time, Muhittin grows contempt for both Ömer and Refik: "Poor conqueror is contemporary, but the country he lives in is not" (Pamuk, 2013a, p. 523).

Characters who take pride in being Eastern by separating themselves from Europe often appear in *Snow* as well. Criticisms and antagonism towards Ka of Istanbul are directed at all Westernized intellectuals and the West itself. This is especially evident in Lacivert's statements. Lacivert criticizes the democracy of the West by associating it with the coup in Kars: "Will the West, which seems to believe more in its great discovery, democracy than the word of God, will oppose this anti-democratic military coup in Kars? [...] Or is it not about democracy, freedom and human rights that is important, but that the rest of the world mimics the West like a monkey?" (Pamuk, 2013b, p. 238). Lacivert unites his own society with the other dispossessed third world: "There is only one West and one view. We represent the other view" (Pamuk, 2013b, p. 238). These utterances further reinforce antagonism towards the West and its exploitation of the third world by using the pretext of carrying civilization and democracy. The resentment and resistance towards the West forces Lacivert to identify himself with his Third World national identity and culture. As he accuses the West of all kinds of problems, the practices of abuse, exploitation, and violence to rule, his former feelings of inferiority switch to a deeper sense of superiority with a shift to an anti-Western attitude. Lacivert keeps his position: "Europe is not my future. [...] As long as I live, I never think of imitating them or humiliating myself for not being like them" (Pamuk, 2013b, p. 283). He is aware that he is despised by Europeans and humiliated for adopting Islam, but he does not intend to put his Eastern Muslim identity behind him.

Refik begins to compare Turkish and Western literature and philosophical studies while he is spending time with books in his father's study. To him, Turkish literature is far behind the West and does not give any pleasure, he questions: "Why are we like this? Why are they like that and we are like that? Why do I like to read Rousseau or Voltaire, but not enjoy Tevfik Fikret or Namık Kemal?" (Pamuk, 2013b, p. 251). While he cherishes the works of Western literature, he cannot stand Turkish authors. The names of those writers show the attitudes of the Westernized elite to the Eastern and Western world views in Türkiye. On one side, there are the

intellectuals in the novel like Hölderlin, Baudelaire, Rousseau, or Voltaire who point out the enlightenment of the West and on the other side there are Turkish writers, sultans, or pashas who represent the darkness of the East. Interestingly, the last name of the members of that large family in the novel is "Işıkcı" which means light seller. So, the clash between darkness and light, which shows the tension between East and the West symbolically, is one of the important themes in the book:

Cevdet Bey, whose original title is *Karanlık ve ışık (Darkness and Light)*, represents the dialectic of enlightened forces of revolutionary progress versus the "dark" forces of Muslim tradition. This Istanbul family novel tells the story of Cevdet Işıkcı (literally, light-seller or proponent of light), a Muslim business pioneer in a sector dominated by Levantines, Greeks, and Armenians. In describing three generations of his family, the novel summarizes twentieth-century Turkish social history according to an empire-to-republic narrative from 1905 to 1970 and concludes just months before the 1971 military coup. The novel features scenes of Anatolia (Erzincan and Ankara) that address the conflict between elite Istanbul cosmopolitanism and Anatolian regional culture (Göknar, 2012, p. 312).

After returning to Istanbul with his family, Refik begins to read Hölderlin and corresponds with Herr Rudolph. He thinks to himself: "There was reason in Athens, and everything was based on it. This does not exist in Turkey" (Pamuk, 2013b, p. 477). After comparing Ancient Greece and Türkiye in such a vague way, Refik thinks that the solution should be sought in the cultural field, not in the economy: "A new cultural movement is really needed in Turkey... I know that everyone will find this idea utopian like my other projects (Pamuk, 2013b, p. 548). The whole family agrees that everything is a disaster in the East, not only education and art, but everything is much better in Europe (Pamuk, 2013b, p. 608-611).

The biggest problem encountered in the process of Türkiye's attempt to modernize by taking the West as an example is the artificial mimicry of the West devoid of any philosophical or cultural depth. This situation, which has been criticized in the works since the Tanzimat Period has developed in the form of imitating fashion, music, entertainment, and some social/cultural characteristics, instead of the main developments of the West. This development took place mostly among the rich classes while cultural values began to disappear. Europe's clothing fashion became widespread, music education changed, Western instruments were given importance, and young people were sent to Europe to receive education. Similar behaviors are quite common among the elite families that Pamuk deals with in both novels. *Cevdet Bey and His Sons* also reflects the artificiality of Westernization through the comparison in the plot. These comparisons are generally in the form of taking Europe as an example and placing the West in a superior position. The family, powered by its financial means, places itself as the Western elite and begins to ignore the Easterners who cannot fit in. For instance, in

Eid meals, the important thing is not to celebrate a religious occasion, but to have a good time together. Examining the reliefs on the ceilings of the hall after the feast, Mr. Cevdet says, “I thought I would start a family in European style, but in the end they all became Turkish!” (Pamuk, 2013a, p.115). Cevdet Bey himself accepts the concept of the Westerner in the East. Nobody is able to get rid of their Turkishness, nor can they become European. On another occasion, deputy Muhtar Bey asks, “Well, how do they see us there?”, in response Ömer answers: “They still see us as a country with fez, harem and hijab” (Pamuk, 2013a, p. 128). Fuat Bey makes a very keen and apt criticism of the issue of the artificial imitation aspect of Westernization: “Dancing, speaking French, wearing a hat is not at all... It means being in favor of freedom and freedom...” (Pamuk, 2013a, p. 46). His observation is consistent with the criticism of dysfunctional and superficial imitation of the Western way of life which is devoid of any philosophical or cultural depth.

One day, during a gathering at Refik’s house, Muhittin is wandering around the house and notices the clock on the wall. The systematic functioning of the clock irritates him. What actually bothers him is the orderly, Western family life that the clock represents. Regarding the clock as an object that represents Europeanness, Pamuk (2011a) declares: “It is as if the clock is a consolation that we think we can achieve by using this object in the Western world, whose precision and mathematics we cannot reach. It is something internalized because it is related to religion and prayer times” (p. 157). While the clock represents the Western order and precision, it also contains fragments of Islamic tradition by showing prayer times for the East. In a sense, it eliminates the westernization-Islamization problem by internalizing it. After several failed attempts to westernize, characters succeed by internalizing a Western tool and the West becomes acceptable to the East through its science and technology.

Nigan Hanım, as a Pasha daughter, married Cevdet Bey and settled in a masonry mansion in Nişantaşı. Nigan Hanım grew up reading novels with her sisters, playing the piano, and speaking French, like the heroine of a typical Tanzimat-era novel. Although she has not been to Europe much, she likes it, loves its customs, and is indifferent to the general situation of Türkiye. As a shallow character, she believes that if something is to be done, it should be done in a European way. Not only does she dislike the customs, fashion, and people in Türkiye, but she also looks down on people from the lower strata of society: “When will these people learn to dress cleanly, to speak properly, to wash and shave every morning?” (Pamuk, 2013a, p. 352). According to her, any behavior, appearance, or habit belonging to the Eastern culture is irritating.

In this study, Orhan Pamuk’s two novels *Snow* and *Cevdet Bey and His Sons* are discussed within the context of Orientalism. In both novels, Pamuk addresses contemporary cultural problems of the tension between conservatism and modernity, identity problems, and the East/West dichotomy or Islamic standpoint

versus Western perspective. The truth that emerges in the deep structure of the novels is the continuation of the dualism that emerged in Turkish culture because of meeting a new world since the Tanzimat. Orhan Pamuk made the self-orientalist approach a part of the orientalist discourse with his narratives that established the dialectic between the West and the East through self-orientalist figures and thus responded to this approach, which could not go beyond a criticism of the Eastern world from the Tanzimat period until the postmodern period which has gained a discursive representation (Ayan, 2019, p. 56). In this sense, the main problem of Turkish society is to be stuck between two civilizations, and for this reason, Turkish society has been in search of an identity, especially since the Tanzimat. They feel displaced as outsiders due to their hybrid identities as Bhabha (1994) points out: "The social articulation of difference, from the minority perspective, is a complex, on-going negotiation that seeks to authorize cultural hybridities that emerge in moments of historical transformation" (p. 3). This problem is a subject that literature focuses on as an ongoing issue from the Ottoman's Westernization pains to today's society. Tanzimat intellectuals accepted the technical superiority of the West. However, they also objected to the West's seeing the East as backward in religious and cultural terms. Göknaar (2006) claims that Türkiye has been deeply influenced by different forms of "semi-colonial" occupation:

As the late Ottoman state fell into the position of being semi-colonized, the legacy of this semi-colonization, or colonial encounter with Europe, informed the breadth, scope, and legacy of severity of the Kemalist cultural revolution that gave shape to the Republic of Turkey. And though it is a commonplace to hear modern Turks boast that Turkey – meaning the Ottoman state and the Republic – was never colonized, history presents us with a quite different account. (p. 37)

Pamuk, on the other hand, presents an acceptance rather than an opposition, and this acceptance has also brought objectivity, considering the emotional divisions of today's Türkiye. Pamuk brings up the West's approach to the East with an Orientalist approach with a postmodern understanding. As the author himself states, this subject is one of the areas that he is fed the most. The approach of the modern elite characters to the East in the center of Istanbul paves the way for the formation of a double-layered Orientalism. He uses Westernization and the situation of being stuck between the two worlds and becoming de-identified in both novels.

Conclusion

The study demonstrates that Orhan Pamuk's two novels *Snow* and *Cevdet Bey and His Sons* reflect the Orientalist vision by the admiration of the West due to the assumed modern and civilized manners while despising the East for being underdeveloped and old-fashioned. Although Türkiye has undergone significant political and cultural transformations since the two novels were published, the ambiguities among the ideas of secularism, modernism, Westernization, and Islam

are the main Orientalist issues that Orhan Pamuk investigates in his works intensively and recurrently. Pamuk's two novels successfully captured the distinctive political dynamics compared to the dynamics observed in today's Türkiye. The most important element to be considered in the context of Orientalism in Pamuk's novels is the attitudes of the characters affected by political and social changes and their approach to the countryside of Istanbul, the villages, and cities in the East. Some of the characters he created in his novels are people who live in a Westernized rich environment. When the behavior of these people, who are mostly from the elitist class, is examined in general, their approach to the East shows an Orientalist attitude which results in contempt and resentment. This lack of belonging causes their identities to be shaken and they are in a constant search and questioning. As a coping mechanism, the Western characters in both novels describe Turkish society as lagging in terms of political, artistic, religious, or cultural aspects. These characters, who glorify the West and belittle their own society, draw attention to the immaturity of the East, their adherence to Islam, and their laziness, like Western Orientalists. Their difference from Western Orientalists is that they are also in that society. The analysis in this study also reveals that religious factors are one of the triggering elements of the Oriental approach to the Eastern communities. The religious elements identified in Pamuk's novels are used as one of the most distinctive features of the Eastern society. Those who feel close to the West seem to have moved away from Islamic traditions. People who adhere to their religion are those who live in the eastern provinces or in the suburbs of Istanbul. This approach exemplifies the religious positioning of the Orientalist view. The phenomenon of mimicry of European style also appears in Pamuk's novels. Certain elements that symbolize the Western civilization reinforced with habits like piano, education in French, and modification in clothing style are ironic symbols of Westernization and modernization. Turkish society is seen as humiliated and criticized by Turkish characters, which is depicted as "the othering" within itself. They are despised for immaturity, bigotry, and adherence to the old traditions. The superiority of the West in the scientific field finds its place in both novels. While emphasizing the development of the West in the field of science, the East is observed to be trying to catch up with the West by imitating it. Some characters have adopted some nationalist tendencies, which can be considered as a kind of coping mechanism against the superiority of the West in various fields. This causes the perception of the Western values and symbols as disturbing images while trying to preserve the Eastern way of life. To recapitulate the aforementioned points, Pamuk's novels *Snow* and *Cevdet Bey and His Sons* involve the opposing Oriental and Occidental views in the same society through his rich characters with their diverse attitudes.

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Külliye

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Çatışma beyanı: Makalenin yazarları, bu çalışma ile ilgili taraf olabilecek herhangi bir kişi ya da finansal ilişkileri bulunmadığını dolayısıyla herhangi bir çıkar çatışmasının olmadığını beyan eder.