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INTRODUCTION

HISTART'15 / III. History of Art Conference has been held on October 9-10, 2015 in Istanbul. The conference has been coordinated by DAKAM (Eastern Mediterranean Academic Research Center), organized by BiLSAS (Science, Art, Sport Productions) and hosted by Cezayir Meeting Halls. The selected papers presented at HISTART'15 have been published in Art-Sanat Journal. The conference is aiming at fostering discussions on art and society in modern history. Society, and its impact on art making has always been one of the major areas of debate in art history. On the other hand, art had a huge impact how the societies has been shaped, too. This conference aims to create an interdisciplinary conversation on the role of the arts in society, their obvious or hidden political agenda, ideological layers and representation of the identities. The event has also addressed a range of critically important issues and themes such as art institutions, the economic status of the artist, the introduction of art to various social classes, financial support for art, sponsorship and censorship. The evaluation of the support or critique of political power by the artist can often be measured by the internal components that make up the artistic work itself. On a larger scale, there is potentially a more direct relationship between the ideological structures of a society within artistic works. From everyday life to fashion, from new technologies to moral value judgments; the structures of the artistic subject and the ideological structures of the society can be observed as layers nestled within artistic expression. The perception of the political/ideological situation, and the positive or negative attitude towards these factors (as often represented in the artistic works themselves) can be intrinsic to the formation of the artist's identity. Uniqueness and creativity can be formed through stylistic expression, choice of subject matter and the artist's specific 'voice'. The History of Art Conference aims to trace the path of the dialectic correlation between art and its influence by and upon the society within which it is formed. This correlation is predicated on the explicit relationship between art practice and society from earliest times to the present.

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SYNTHESIS OF EASTERN AND WESTERN ART: ART NOUVEAU IMAGES ON OTTOMAN PORCELAIN

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ABSTRACT

By the end of 19th century Art Nouveau movement has become influential in Istanbul with the impact of modernization movements. This movement was initially accepted in the Ottoman Empire by the palace and its surroundings.

Art Nouveau came into the Ottoman world for the first time with the decorative objects that were sent as gifts to the palace and the daily-use wares imported from Europe. By the end of 19th century this movement influenced production of art works, such as architecture, furniture, decorative arts, and literature magazines. Consequently, with introduction of this style in Ottoman community it became popular just like seen in Western countries.

In the same period Yıldız Imperial Porcelain Factory (*Yıldız Fabrika-I Hümâyûnu*) which was a very important attempt for Ottoman industry produced art works since the very first date of its foundation in 1894 until its close in 1909. Those high quality works produced in this factory were able to compete with the European art works produced in Western world. Early period works that were shaped under the impact of Porcelains like French Sevres and Limoges was also closely associated with the conventional Ottoman decoration repertoire.

Objects produced in Art Nouveau style in Ottoman Empire differed from the European examples in terms of their decoration programs. In the stage of decoration the objects created by the native and foreign painters used Art Nouveau motives considering Ottoman tastes that can be evaluated as a synthesis of East and Western art.

Although Art Nouveau movement varied from region to region, in general the movement carried common characteristics of European countries. On the other hand, with the impact of Islamic culture this movement gained more stylized interpretation and a characteristic approach different than the Art Nouveau style seen in Europe. Correspondingly, this study tries to evaluate a group of Art Nouveau porcelains produced by the Yıldız Imperial Porcelain Factory which have been hold in several museums in order to draw a framework with the above-mentioned issues.

Keywords: Art Nouveau, Ottoman Modernization, Yıldız Imperial Porcelain Factory, Porcelain, Embellishment, Decoration.

INTRODUCTION

“Synthesis of Eastern and Western Art: Art Nouveau Images on Ottoman Porcelain” titled study aims to review a group of Art Nouveau porcelain works produced by the Yıldız Factory, which were approximately produced between 1894-1908. Yıldız Imperial Porcelain Factory, which was established to fulfil the needs of Ottoman Palace, could be said as a sign of prestige towards European Countries. This study attempts to evaluate how the style of Ottoman Art Nouveau became different from the European Art Nouveau with the impact of embellishment style that has been conventionally practiced in Ottoman Culture.

The Ottoman Art Nouveau movement came out almost in same period with Art Nouveau style in Europe. However development of this movement in Istanbul has been quite different from development in Europe (Barillari, Godoli, 1997, p. 67). Emergence of it in Europe was catalysed by Industrial Revolution, however in Ottoman Empire modernization movements were highly effective in the formation of this movement. In the beginning Art Nouveau movement in the Ottoman Empire was seen on imported daily wares afterwards the western architects in the architectural arena implemented it. This movement was initially accepted in the Ottoman Empire by the palace and its surroundings.

By the end of 19th century Art Nouveau movement has become popular in many fields; from dailywares to decorative objects, and embellishments that were in use for decoration of Ottoman magazines, furniture, and architecture.

In the same period, Yıldız Imperial Porcelain Factory was established upon Sultan Abdülhamid II's order in the Garden of Yıldız Palace. Thus porcelain objects were decorated with a popular trend in Europe for displaying prestige towards Western countries.

When we examine embellishment program of Yıldız Factory products, the painters who took place at the last stage of production used Art Nouveau motifs in the way they learnt from western masters. Those Ottoman painters applied those motifs in a stylized way by fusing them in an Ottoman taste. It is possible to state that those artists were already familiar with Ottoman decorative vocabulary.

In this scope, it can be understood that stylistic difference may appear according to geographical and cultural differences. Also when we examine European products, even if there were some differences, still characteristic features of movement were applied without extreme change. But in Ottoman Empire with the impact of Islamic culture, motifs turned out more stylized and the figures were interpreted in abstracted way. This study is highly important in order to show that, even if same movement at issue, cultural differences may cause stylistic changes in art.

ART NOUVEAU

Art Nouveau movement has come to be seen at the last quarter of 19th century in industrialized European countries. Intellectual background of the movement has associated with the problems of industrialization and economic growth. In addition, emergence of new classes and strata in European countries, and rise of high-income families, had significant impact on formation of Art Nouveau movement (Batur, 2005, p. 141).

The movement firstly began to show itself in England with the effect of industrial revolution. Subsequently, movement started to be developed in France and Belgium. According to Masini Art Nouveau rejected Realism which was fed with Symbolist movement and formed in 19th century and considered moral values and depicted mystical topics (Masini, 1987, p. 34-35).

It is possible to assert that for this movement the source of inspiration was basically the nature. According to Art Nouveau artists, nature was seen as a tool to reveal imagination. Thus, forms in nature were interpreted with their flowing, curved, and wavy features. Forms such as flowers, branches, and leaves were treated with twisted and extended manner just like in a poetic attitude. However, Art Nouveau showed resemblances with many artistic movements. Architecture, ivory, and ceramic works in Minoan Art has been the inspiration for such patterns of this movement. Especially water motifs, which were seen on Crete vases as well as in Japanese art have become very popular in this movement. Also, curvilinear plant folds seen in Baroque and Rococo movement and abstracted plant motifs common in Islamic art also attracted the attention of artists who were highly inspired by those styles. In addition, the British-based Celtic art also influenced Art Nouveau. Dragon Style that shows similarities with the animal style of Central Asian Arts was fused with Art Nouveau adornments (Adıgüzel, 2006, p. 14).

While this movement showed regional varieties it still carried common language in European countries. Especially Italian and French artists formed their compositions using stylized plants and flowers motifs. While lily was the most preferred flower motif, such motifs as iris, thistle, cornflowers, bamboo, narcissus, and hydrangeas, and some plant motifs like vine leaves, artichoke leaves, and algae were also preferred. All those plant forms were usually depicted in a stylized or naturalist manner.

Using animal figures that was one of the characteristic subjects of the movement was similarly applied in a stylized manner or in a naturalist approach. Such figures as swans and peacocks were preferred since their lines of bodies have sharp curves. Among the other animal figures that were frequently used were frogs, lizards, crocodiles, snakes, and snails.

In addition, female figure has a very important place in Art Nouveau movement. Female figures were stylized in a way with waving their hair through the wind and within their 19th century clothing.

ART NOUVEAU AND ISTANBUL

The emergence of the Ottoman Art Nouveau movement corresponded almost same period with Europe. However development of this movement in Istanbul has been quite different from its development in Europe (Barillari, Godoli, 1997, p. 67). While emergence of it in Europe related with the Industrial Revolution, in Ottoman Empire modernization movements were highly influential in the formation of Art Nouveau. In the beginning, Art Nouveau movement in the Ottoman Empire was seen on imported daily wares were followed by Western architects in the architectural arena.

The significant factor for spreading of Art Nouveau movement in the Ottoman Empire was the works of Italian architect Raimondo D'Aronco who was invited to Istanbul during the reign of Sultan Abdülhamid II. D'Aronco was the person who saw the first examples of a new kind of approach when it was newly formed in Italy and proved himself with his successful works in Italy. Invitation of D'Aronco clearly shows Abdülhamid's great interest towards European art and culture (Adıgüzel, 2006, p.67).

The forms seen in Art Nouveau Style in architecture in Istanbul could be specified as restraint usage of new vocabulary which was invented by European architects (Barillari, Godoli, 1997, p.139). Generally symmetrical arrangements were used on facades of the buildings. It is quite common to see that first three- four floor borders with plasters that separate entrance floor with floral ending on the top (Batur, 2005, p. 159). Embellishments usually took place on architectural elements such as windows, doors, and balconies.

Also, 19th century Ottoman Women Magazines became another mediato spread the movement in Ottoman Empire. Art Nouveau patterns influenced the fashion world and let wealthy segments recognize Art Nouveau taste. Also, dailywares, sold in shops in Beyoğlu and its vicinity that had dealership in Paris and London, carried an effective role in transfer of Art Nouveau taste to Ottoman lands.

Usage of Art Nouveau style in the Ottoman Palaces also proves Sultan Abdülhamid II's personal interest of Art Nouveau movement. Curvilinear windows of the Island Kiosk (*Ada Köşkü*) which was built by an unknown architect and located in Yıldız Palace *Hasbahçe*, and stained glass windows having naturalist flower motifs in the entrance hall of the Chalet Pavilion (*Şale Köşkü*, 1898) and Small State Kiosks (*Küçük Mabeyn Köşkü*) which were designed by D'Aronco reflect impact of this movement in architecture. (Batur, 2005, p.160) (Barillari, Godoli, 1997,p.90). In addition to those, local production in the Prayer Room (*Namaz Odası*) and some rooms of *Harem* in Dolmabahçe Palace, imported Art Nouveau furniture, goods, and even some book bindings, produced fabrics of the Hereke Factory, and porcelain products of the Yıldız Imperial Porcelain Factory could be the best examples of Art Nouveauseen in Ottoman Empire (Barillari, Godoli, 1997, p.168).

THE FIRST OTTOMAN PORCELAIN FACTORY: YILDIZ IMPERIAL PORCELAIN FACTORY

Entrance of porcelain to Ottoman Palace was begun with Chinese porcelains. According to Coşansel Karallukçu, today in Topkapı Palace there is a collection consisting of 10.358 pieces of Chinese Porcelain which was dated to 13th to 19th centuries (Coşansel Karakullukçu, 2007, p. 16).

From the 18th century the industrialized countries in Europe underwent significant changes in technology of porcelain production. The palaces, kingdoms and states enthusiastically supported this technology as sign of prestige. Thus, with effective role of the master artists in porcelain production it turned into an international competitive field in terms of technology and arts (Küçükerman, 1987, p.63).

In 19th century most of the porcelains in Ottoman Palace were imported from France, Germany, and Vienna (Coşansel Karakullukçu, 2007,p. 17-18). As a result of close

relationships with France during modernisation process, majority of the porcelains were of Sevrés porcelains in the Ottoman Palace. The most important reason for preference of Sevrés porcelain in the Ottoman palace was its property of being a royal one.

Due to Ottoman Empire's admiration of various things in the western world at the end of 19th century Yıldız Imperial Porcelain Factory was established. This factory made production fairly close quality to the European porcelain examples.

In the early years of 1890s Yıldız Imperial Porcelain Factory was founded in the garden of Yıldız Palace upon the order of Sultan Abdülhamid II. The primary purpose of this factory was to produce porcelains for the needs of the palace. Its secondary service was to manufacture pieces to be sent as a gift to European kings or international fairs for exhibition (Kalyoncu, 2011, p.90).

This factory, important step in the industrialization of Ottoman Empire, had two divisions in terms of labour, administrative and technical staff. While the administrative staff was consisted of director, his assistant, and accountant, the technical staff which was in charge of production included primarily a manufacturing foreman or manager, painters, a moulder, turner, and a baker.

Concerning our topic, painters who took place in technical staff is highly important. The final stage of products before getting ready to use is the decoration part. Team of painters consisted of those who came from France, the school of Enderun, who had military title, and who were the students and professors of School of Fine Arts (*Sanayi-i Nefise Mektebi*) (Serin, 2009, p. 45).

The entire works of Yıldız Imperial Porcelain Factory had an original logo which was a stamp of crescent and star. Under the stamp the year of foundation and the year of the work could be seen. On some of the works artists' names were also placed (Coşansel Karakullukçu, 2007, p. 63).

Yıldız Imperial Porcelain Factory made productions for the palace from 1894 to 1909 until its close when Sultan Abdülhamid II was dethroned. Even if production was restarted in 1911 it had to be ended due to the World War I. Until 1959 there was no production in the factory but after this year the factory started to be operated by Sümerbank and named as '*Sümerbank Yıldız Porselen Sanayi Müessesesi*'. Between 1959- 1963 Sümerbank Factory attempted to set up a new furnace and supplied electrical appliances. Production in this factory went on with this name until 1994. After that the name of the factory was changed into Yıldız Porcelain Factory and attached to the National Palaces Head of Department (*Milli Saraylar Daire Başkanlığı*). The factory has continued its activities up until now (Serin, 2009, p. 100; Acar, 2012, p. 14-15).

SYNTHESIS OF EASTERN AND WESTERN ART: ART NOUVEAU IMAGES ON OTTOMAN PORCELAIN

As we have mentioned before the embellishments which we see on porcelain objects produced by Yıldız Factory were created by painters at the last stage of production. We can classify painters in this section as; western artists, teachers and students of the School of Fine Arts (*Sanayi-i Nefise Mektebi*), artists coming from the School of Enderun, and painters of military origin (Serin, 2009, p.45).

Thanks to some publications we could reach the names of those people which can be listed as follows: Osman Nuri Paşa (1839-1906), Mesrur İzzet, Şeker Ahmet Paşa (1841-1907), İsa Behzat Bey (1875-1913), Halid Naci (1875-1927), Hüseyin Zekai Paşa (1859-1919), Ömer Adil Bey (1868-1928), Mustafa Vasfi Paşa (1857-1905), Hoca Ali Rıza (1864-1935), Tufan Paşazade Faik Bey, Abdurrahman Bey ve Ferid Bey. Western artists involved in factory can be listed as A. Nicot, Pierre Tharet, L'Avergne, Et. Narcice, J. Della Tolla, Mardiros ve Fausto Zonaro (1854-1929) (Küçükerman, 1987, p. 135-142).

Foreign artists working in this factory not only created embellishments on products but also educated local artists. They taught the characteristics peculiar to Art Nouveau movement; such as stiff, curved, geometric shapes, characteristic motifs of figure and landscape depictions which can be evaluated as creation of east- west synthesis on porcelains. After foundation of the factory Halid Naci from Sanayi-i Nefise Mektebi Alisi was sent to Sèvres Porcelain Factory to be trained on porcelain decoration upon the order of Sultan (Cezar, 1971, p. 212-213). Halid Naci and other local artists used the new styles that they had learnt in Europe and synthesized them with the Ottoman motifs by forming a different Art Nouveau style seen in Europe. Thus, an Ottoman–Europe fusion was occurred and this new approach was called “Ottoman Art Nouveau”.

Art Nouveau style on porcelain objects in Ottoman Empire was blended with Ottoman aesthetic taste. Formations of this notion relied on motifs used at Ottoman Court (Osmanlı Saray Nakkaşhanesi) which as established at the time of Fatih the Conqueror. The artists came to Anatolia from different locations developed these motifs in court and applied them on many surfaces. The stylized abstract expression of *Rumi* and *Hatai* style (Fig. 1) which was so-called as the essence of Ottoman decorative arts since the early period was accompanied with legendary animals like dragon and stylized plants of *Saz Style* in the Classical Period (Fig. 2). In 16th century, *Flower Style*, which was formed by combination of flowers seen in the nature such as carnations, tulips, hyacinths, roses (Fig. 3) enriched the vocabulary of Ottoman decorative arts motifs.



Figure 1 Hatai and Rumi Motifs, İznik 16th Century, S.H.M.P.C.
(Bağcı ve Kafadar, 1999, 181)



Figure 2 Saz Style, İznik 16th Century, İstanbul Archeology Museum,
Tiled Kioks (Çinili Köşk) (Bağcı ve Kafadar, 1999, 170)

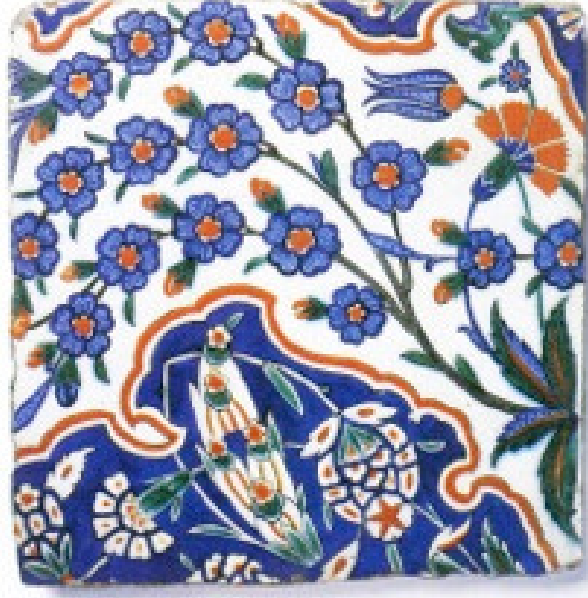


Figure 3 Flower Style (Kara Memi Üslubu), İznik 16th Century, İstanbul Archeology Museum, Tiled Kiosk (Çinili Köşk) (Bağcı ve Kafadar, 1999, 179)

As it is seen in the examples, besides the abstract motifs of *Rumi* and *Hatai* style with usage of flower motifs, blossoms, curvilinear spiky leaves and branches existed in nature, that gives motion to composition a plant style was formed. Flower motifs were depicted both in a stylized way and in the way as it is seen in nature on some compositions.

When we examine decoration of objects produced in the factory we can say that Ottoman Art Nouveau took its inspiration from nature just like the European examples did. Artists stylized abstract plant motifs of Islamic Art with motifs in Classical Ottoman art and abstract geometric shapes. Considering embellishment programs of works most of them have shown eclectic features. Baroque, Rococo and naturalist elements as well as motifs of Classical Ottoman period were striking features.

Also most striking distinction between Ottoman and European Art Nouveau is the figurative embellishments that were applied on European examples. Ottoman artists while using applique forms instead of using human or animal figures they mostly preferred plant forms in order to bring functional purpose to embellishments on objects. Frequently seen examples are the handles in the form of abstract tree branches or plant forms and cap handholds of the vases and pitchers.

It can be clearly seen that flower and plant motifs on the European examples were mostly relief carving or applied with applique technique. In this example, the image in the shape of dense bouquet was depicted in the midst of stylized spiral curves which was applied with applique technique (Fig. 4). In Ottoman Empire, even if relief carving and applique techniques were not use extensively, they were used as supplementary figures in a main decorative program and thus they gained functional qualities with form of branches and leaves (Fig. 5-6). Vase body that we see in the example was totally embellished with

pink roses and white freesia flowers in naturalist style (Fig. 5). Also large and long body was wrapped with golden relief and applique branches in intricate shape from base to rim part. These branches ended with flowers forms at the rim part. In Figure 6, on the body of the work ducks on the lake, lotus leaves, and purple iris flowers just on the corner can be seen in the foreground, in the background a wooded area was pictured. Gilded border which was getting narrowed upwards on both sides by framing panels was the main decor of the vase. We can see two applique handles on the continuation of the border, which starts from the body to rim. Applique plant embellishments placed under handles were presented as a gusset on panels.



Figure 4 Jug, French Jacop Petit, 1834-47
T.P.M.P.C. (Anonymous, 2007, 16)



Figure 5 Vase, Enderuni Abdurrahman, 1900
D.P.M.P.C. (Anonymous, 2007, 157)



Figure 6 Vase, A.Nicot,1908 D.P.M. P.C.
(Anonymous, 2007, 171)

In another example, we see dragon figure, which has a special place in Middle Asian Art was applied within a different approach than European Art (Fig.7). A Dragon figure which has been applied as a figure in applique technique in Ottoman approach it gained a function. Two works we have examined in our study has drawn attention since both have stylized dragon shaped handles (Fig. 8-9). In addition as we see in figure 9, vase's base was embroidered with dragon motif to provide a unity. By that way dragon shape became one of unique practice of Ottoman Art Nouveau.



Figure 7 Austrian Du Paquier, 1725. (Date of Access: 16.12. 2014, <http://images.metmuseum.org/CRDImages/es/original/DP167170.jpg>)



Figure 8 Vase with Dragon Motif, Halid Naci, 1899
D.P.M.P.C.



Figure 9 Vase with Dragon Motif Y.P.M.P.C.

Another major difference between European and Ottoman Art Nouveau was depiction of the most characteristic motif which is a woman figure. According to New York Metropolitan Art Museum and auction house catalogues, the Sevres porcelains had commonly woman figures, yet it was avoided on the Yıldız porcelains.

In both figures of 10 and 11 that were produced by Sevres Factory in 19th century we can see the usage of plant motifs on handles or in decorative arrangements with the usage of women figure (Fig.10-11). In figure 12, woman figured fruitstand that was produced in Berlin Royalty Factory (KPM) was one of the most characteristic examples of Art Nouveau movement ever applied. The woman figure applied almost like a sculpture or applique forms were not seen on the porcelains of Yıldız factory. On the other hand, three other works produced in Yıldız Factory and had the same manner of production with figure 11, we see usage of plant motifs together with geometric patterns (Fig. 13-14). Also in figure 14, in the panel placed on the body of the vase, instead of human figure we see in European examples (Fig. 11), there is a depiction of İstanbul.



Figure 10 Coupe Chenavard, 1837, Sévres Porcelain (Date of Access: 16.12.2014, <http://www.metmuseum.org/collection/the-collection-online/search/211525>)



Figure 11 Sévres Vase, 19th Century, Lot No: 7 (Antika ve Sanat Eserleri Müzayedesı, 2009)



Figure 12 Fruitstand, Berlin Royal Porcelain Factory (KPM), 19th Century, D.P.M.P.C. (Anonymous, 2007, 94)



Figure 13 Vase, Yıldız Imperial Porcelain Factory, L'Avergne 1896. D.P.M.P.C.



Figure 14 Vase, Yıldız Imperial Porcelain Factory,
Halid Naci, 1898 D.P.M.P.C.

As it is seen in the example usage of woman figure in Yıldız production was avoided by the establishment Sanayi-i Nefise Mektebi Alisi figure depictions from the model in western terms has begun to be seen (Bağcı, Çağman, Renda ve Tanındı, 2012, p. 299-303). These “woman figured” works were the unique examples in Yıldız porcelain collection.



Figure 15 Vase, Yıldız Imperial Porcelain Factory, 1909
D.P.M.P.C



Figure 16 Vase, Yıldız Imperial Porcelain Factory, 1909
D.P.M.P.C

CONCLUSION

As well as being an important step for Ottoman modernisation in 19th century Yıldız Imperial Porcelain Factory had a significant role in terms of showing how technology of production in Ottoman Empire has been developed so far. Technical equipment of factory was organized according to European examples and by that way works that were produced in the factory were able to compete with European porcelains. In addition, painters in staff showed artistic approaches according to the period's trend and contributed a lot in enrichment of objects. It is possible to assert that the objects produced in factory acted like a document, which clearly showed 19th century Ottoman trends.

Ottoman Empire as being one of the greatest empires of the Islamic civilization its sense of art was naturally dependent on visual traditions of Islamic World. In that sense abstract decoration concept peculiar to Islamic art formed basis of Ottoman Art. In particular, compositions comprising stylized plant motifs formed essence of Ottoman decorative repertoire.

Cultural exchange with the West that has continued since 18th century let many art movements moved from West to East, which was carried to the lands of Ottoman world. Yet Ottoman artists always created their work according to aesthetic taste of the society.

Painters decorated products which was produced in Yıldız Imperial Porcelain Factory, founded in the last quarter of the 19th century, considered traditional approach and thus, they introduced this new style to the Ottoman community. All those works we have seen reflected both western and eastern cultural influences. In other words, while

Ottoman Artists taking west as a paradigm, they continued to use influences of Islamic culture which let those painters create a fusion with east and west.

The porcelains analysed in this study show that Art Nouveau movement was applied initially on daily wares before being used on architecture. The earliest art work was dated 1896. In other words, movement was seen almost 4 years before D'Aronco's first Art Nouveau architecture work in Istanbul that is the Botter Apartment. Due to the reason we can state that this movement was started with the daily wares before architecture.

Art Nouveau movement was formed without drift apart from Ottoman ornament vocabulary and appealed to aesthetic taste of society. Ottoman painters preferred plant and geometric motifs in a stylized way rather than using figurative depictions. Even if these works show stylistic differences the nature was the source of inspiration for painters.

If we examine the works of art in technical aspect we can state that the Ottoman objects showed similarities with European examples. In these works, over-glazing, hemstitch, applique, and moulding techniques were generally applied.

Today Yıldız Imperial Porcelain Factory production works can be seen in many museums and collections. The underlying reason is that when the Sultan Abdülhamid II was dethroned in 1909 the pieces in Ottoman court were transferred to Istanbul Archaeology Museum upon the law of

"Asar-ı Atika". Thus, those collections were moved from Istanbul Archaeology Museum to several museums in Turkey and abroad. That is why; even the works were kept in set they had to be delivered to different museums.

In conclusion, these decorative valuable porcelain objects, which have been kept in different museums and collections today, make the collections of the museum invaluable. Also, they clearly present cultural and technological accumulations of Ottoman Art by the end of 19th century.

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RETHINKING THE HOUSE IN ROMAN CONTEXT FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF FILM STUDIES

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ABSTRACT

The philosophy of perception and the process of visuality theories have significant role in today's world. It is surely beyond doubt that when it is come to perception, the first thing that comes to mind is strongly related with senses. Every human sense scrutinizes carefully from different fields of disciplines. By means of seeing, hearing, smelling, touching maybe tasting, we can designate the space and insert into space. In addition to this experience, any changes in this place which we specified our personal area, can be realized within the aid of senses. Our personal space becomes distant as an absolute space in the border which is identified through senses. Thus, it empower the sense of belonging.

The sense of touching according to the researchers whose field is tactility is the most powerfull effect to perceive the space. When we touch something, we make close contact within the object and leave a trace on it. Although, just seeing it is not possible to develop a great perception towards to the space and about the essence of objects inside it. 'Ocular-centered' perspective has taken the place of the point of touching in the industrialize world rather than ancient times. Instant gaze simplify modern individual's work for this reason, the perception of modern world aggrandize the eyes of human. But, how is it going on in the ancient world? Just looking is enough for experiencing the space? Or the other pleasures getting by the senses is effective as much as seeing? This study is a case study about rethinking the roman domestic space. Generally, in studies about roman dwelling, literary sources and archeological evidences have been made by the researchers. Different from other works, in this case study the analyses will make by the way of a documentary film which depicts Roman domestic houses and Roman daily life that can't be think without house. Within these analyses, various parts of the domestic space, positions of inhabitants in the houses, proximity between the films and real story getting from scientific evidences will be interrogated. By the way of this aim, the documentary film Pompeii: The last day has chosen. Thus, we will get clues about the ancient domestic space and its rituals through the ways of cinema.

Keywords: Pompeii, Roman architecture, film.

The eyes of the People were sharper than their ears.
Cicero

1. POMPEII-THE LAST DAY

Pompeii is an unique area for searching the ancient domestic life and dwellings. With the eruption of Mount Vesuvius, the time had frozen under the ashes. The researches aimed to restore the frozen time in Pompeii with the help of analyzing wall paintings, walls and dwellings. The most effective way of restoring the daily life is to listen to the voices of straggler walls. In ancient time, daily life routines and social life varies from today's world. The themes such as social hierarch in the domestic space, the habit of eating, the way of dressing, luxury, sexuality are close to the theatrical narration rather than reality. Maybe, the time that suddenly ends and covered with ashes, makes it difficult to comprehend ancient times in Pompeii.

Pompeii- The Last Day which is directed and produced by the BBC, is 2003 documentary film that tells of the eruption of Mount Vesuvius on 24 August 79 AD and the last hours of both Pompeii and Herculaneum. This eruption covered of Pompeii and Herculaneum in ash and pumice, killed all the living creatures between the volcano and the sea. The ashes destroyed public structures, temples, theatres, baths, shops and private dwellings. The documentary portrayed the different phases of the eruption. Their story is told first-hand by those who witnessed the disaster. Based on archaeological evidence and the writings of Pliny the Younger, the film utilises drama reconstruction and state-of-the-art special effects to take viewers back in time. The documentary exemplify the story from the point of view by the inhabitants who lives in Pompeii and Herculaneum. The main characters are; a local politician Julius Polybius and his family, a fuller Stephanus and his wife, his slave girl. The historical figures are Pliny the Elder and his nephew Pliny the Younger. Owing to the way that the story goes on, three main indoor spaces are used to support the visual experience by the director. The house of Julius Polybius, the working area and the house of fuller Stephanus and the villa of Pliny the Older are the spaces that are used with the help of archeological evidences from the site of Pompeii.

1.1 THE HOUSE OF JULIUS POLYBIUS

The House of Julius Polybius has a first style facade with tapered door and a dentil cornice above the architrave and it varies from the typical Pompeian residence within its two atriums which one of them has no columns while the other one is entirely covered and has a *complivium* (Figure 1). The one that has *complivium* differs from its pavements slopes where goes on towards outside direction rather than middle (Pappalardo, 2009, p.26). This hall had a central water-catchment pool (*impluvium*). The base was in *cocciopesto* decorated with polychrome pieces of marble. At the south end stood a marble puteal over one of the cistern mouths. A slab of limestone acted as a cover for a cistern mouth in the northwest corner of this court. In the northeast corner was a large rectangular niche, inside which was a smaller semicircular niche. Numerous iron nails and bronze fittings were found in or near this niche, presumably from wooden doors. Above this niche was another small semicircular

niche. Fragments of amphorae and other ceramic vessels were found in this area. A small orchard takes place in the peristyle atrium. The reason why Polybius house is chosen may be not because of the fact that it has special features rather than other houses but it has catchy story which comes from the excavation of this house unearthed thirteen skeletons most probably from same family.

The documentary does not only give information about disaster but also gives some clues which is absolutely related within the social life and special context in domestic space. Master and slave relationships, luxury, religious facts and rituals, wallpaintings and atrium designs, elites and non-elites could easily be seen as ostensible themes which rediscovered and reshaped by the documentary. The way that the documentary use is overlapping the real dwellings in Pompeii with the fictional spaces, for this reason freezing and superposing the frames will help to catch and understand main themes.

First frame captured in the *complivium* of Julius Polybius house gives some details about designing of atrium. Having no columns varies *complivium* from *atrium* (Figure 2-3). The so-called 'atrium houses' in Pompeii and Herculaneum generally comprise a core group of rooms around the nucleus of a front hall, often with an opening in the center of the roof through which rainwater collected in a catchment pool beneath. According to Vitruvius, front halls in Roman town houses defined as *cava aedium* and *atria*. In addition to Vitruvius' definition Varro exemplifies how the inner courtyard of a house came to be called a *cavum aedium* and how the word *atrium* had been taken from the Etruscans. Today, modern scholars have generally adopted the latter term for the extant front halls of Roman town houses (Allison, 2009, p.269). Whatever the term attributed to *atrium*, it has been inevitable fact that *atrium* is the focus point and nucleus of Roman house. To reach other part of the houses, the axis goes under this schema; *fauces- atrium-tablinum*. Clarke defines that;

Whereas the fauces-atrium-tablinum axis and the walk around the peristyle adressed the walking spectator, the triclinia, oeci, and exedrae were places where one rested and looked out from his or her place on a couch. Dynamic, or walking, spaces announced the goal of the walk from the point of entrance, employing arranged views of terminus to prompt the visitor a she or she progressed through the spaces." (Clarke, 1991, p.16)

As understood from Clarke's definition about 'prompting the visitor', atrium is an intersectional area which we are passing through, as a consequence it has no privacy. If you reach a space into another space, the space has no privacy, thus you have to pass through. Hadrill says that a sign of the lack of privacy in Pompeian house is visual privacy. For instance given by Hadrill is that If visitors are standing in the *fauces* of the standart Vesuvian house is immediately presented with a vista that leads through the hearth of the residence. The elaborate symmetrical framing with the help of the planning ways which means of doorways and columns round the sides, and focal objects along the central axis- the *impluvium* basin, a marble table, and a statue or shrine at the end supports the visitors instant gaze. The symmetrical framing does not only mean it has to be geometrically

symmetrical, it may be optically symmetrical, so that way of design may enhance the impression of the visitor (Hadrill, 1994, p.44).

As depicting in the first frame, getting clues about the design method of *atrium* (*complivium*), privacy issues, visual vista, the intersectional function of *atrium* can be identified easily. We are seeing that materfamilias and the slaves are in the same place and some of them are passing through the peristyle garden which can be seen from the frame of the window. It has shown that atrium is a place which more transparent rather than the other parts of the house. To think about public and private issues getting together in the same place depicts that atrium is a public place for the inhabitants of the house whether he is a slave or master.

As can be seen in the scene, slaves vary with their appearances from the master. The slave's role in the Roman World also in Pompeii gets over within the written and visual sources. By looking at the place they lived and worked, we can reach some understanding of the slave experience. George explains slaves' positions in domestic space. Slaves were integral elements in Pompeian houses, and moved throughout as their work demanded. Slaves spent most of their lives obvious service areas in the house. But, their activity were not related only service; they might got more responsible assignments such as child-minding, and serving as a personal maid or manservant (George, 2009, p.538). George's definition, 'integral elements' that is used to explain slave's role gives another meaning to the position. Hadrill has another meaning for this definition. He mentioned a slave is not only a human being who lives in the domestic environment, but also the living barriers like a decoration elements. *Slaves indeed were as important as architecture in ensuring the proper social flow around the house, presenting living barriers to access to the master, from the ostiarius at the door to the cubiculari and nomenclatores guarding the more intimate areas* (Hadrill, 1994, p.34).

If we come up again the documentary, in the house of Julius Polybius, direct to the common belief that the slaves are socially invisible in the mind of master, emotional connection has occurred between slaves and masters. Nonetheless, recognizing the social hierarchy is quite easy, due to the fact that the slaves have distinct postures and they usually keep their personel distinct to the master.

This frame captured in the *lararia* gives some clues related to the religious ceremony in the common Pompeian house and also shows that the whole family of Julius Polybius are praying for the help of lares before the eruption (Figure 4). *Lararia* is a religious place where the images of the household gods were displayed. Shrines might be seen as an urban element in the streets although the real family cults took place in the houses rather than streets.

Lararia would decorate the images with garlands on the kalends, ides and nones of each month; and would offer simple sacrifices of wine, spelt and honey cakes to them (Figure 5). Especially the days significant for the family, such as the birthday or marriage day of the paterfamilias, or the day when his son put on his toga virilis, a pig would be sacrificed to his genius. According to Small, the cult was male-oriented, though women

might make offerings to their *juno* (Small, 2009, p.191). In the scene from the documentary, the male-oriented belief took place in *lalaria* can easily be seen by the help of the position of the master due to the fact that the whole family gathers around the master and master stands in the center. As can be seen, there are simple sacrifices such as grapes, wines in fact the snake figure in the wall painting is the most remarkable. Small exemplifies importance of snake figure;

In both Pompeii and Herculaneum the genius Augusti is represented in private lararia, wearing the toga praetexta and patrician shoes of the emperor, and pouring sacrificial offerings from a patera onto an altar. He is usually flanked by two lares, shown as young and jovial male figures wearing a short tunic, and pouring a libation of wine from a ritual vessel (rhyton). Two snakes representing the genius of the place (or perhaps the genius and juno of the family) are often depicted in a lower register, feeding at an altar. (Small, 2009, p.191).

Lalarium in the house of Vetti suits well to the information given by Small about lares and snakes. Like the snake figure in *lalaria* of Vetti, the way is used to draw snake figure in house of Plybius' *lalaria* has the same pictorial method such as the meandering shape (figure 6). As in a limited documentary film, depicting a *lalaria* scene points that religious cults take place in the house and these cults are the essential facts of the daily life in Pompeii.

Through the documentary, fictional wallpaintings has decorated owing to the fact that wallpainting is another characteristic element in dwellings of Pompeii. The information that is the most accessible for study, at Pompeii, is the physical fabric of the ancient city: the architecture and wall painting. The wall paintings of Herculaneum, Pompeii and Stabiae were admired for nearly a century and a half without accounting for stylistic differences. The German archaeologist August Mau demonstrated that it was possible to distinguish between four stylistic periods, based on numerous observations of relative chronology and precise typological gradations in the wall paintings of Pompeii in the latter nineteenth century, In 1882 he presented his revolutionary conclusions in an exhaustive study, at least with respect to the first three styles. The dates of the transitions from the First to Second Style and from the Third to Fourth Style are now thought to be approximately two decades earlier than Mau's dates (Strocka, 2009, p.304). Mau's study makes the categorization easier rather than previous research. Generally first style, imitated slabs of colorful marble. Second style, added architectural motifs and landscapes for the sake of giving an illusion of depth. Third style, kept a sort of fantasy architecture which was often used to frame a picture. Fourth style is a continuation of the third style which architectural elements became more wiry in addition to that the pictures got smaller or disappear (Conolly, 1990, p.29).

As seen in the figure 7, the room with third style painting has shown. This was a small and narrow room entered from room (Figure 7). The walls were decorated in the Third Style with a black geometric socle zone and light geometric partitioning in white. The central zone had a central panel with a woman, side fields with vignettes containing landscapes.

The east and west walls were decorated with garden scenes containing birds, sphinxes, palmettes, and garlands. The ceiling was vaulted and decorated in the white Third Style.

When make a deeply survey between documentary and wallpainting, same illusion occurs in the eyes of audience. This documentary film captures and frames the scenes like the frames of wallpaintings which also depicts the daily life rituals or mythological scenes related to the ancient world. Framing may adduct wallpainting and film through the method used by two of them. In conclude, either scenes from a film or a wallpainting has its own frame with boundaries.

1.2 HOUSE OF STEPHANUS THE FULLER

The story does not revolve around only the house of Polybius. Stephanus is another character who has a fullery. Different from Polybius part, Stephanus' story includes economic production in Pompeii. In the story, we get clues about how the work is going on in the fullery. The *fullonicae* of Stephanus was a converted house which the various bedrooms, the *atrium and tablinum* can easily be identified. Nonetheless, the laundry part made this house special rather than other parts. According to the definitions of Laurance; The *fullonicae* were fullers' establishments where the finishing of woolen clothes took place, but which also took on the functions of a laundry service (Pirson, 2009, p.463). Depictions of textile press in the dwelling gives detailed information about the process of laundry. In this scene that is taken from the *fullonicae* of Stephanus, three slaves are doing their work (Figure 8).

Stephanus Fullery was a dwelling with accommodation for the slaves working at the Fullery. Throughout the transformation of the dwelling into a Fullery the existence of the house was not lost. The Fullery of Stephanus was positioned on one of the main streets of Pompeii; this was important because it was surrounded by other small businesses especially in the cloth trade (Figure 9). Unlike the working slaves, a story is going around the emotional relationship between Stephanus and a slave girl. In Pompeii, domestic slaves usually came from east. Small houses usually had two or three slaves while the bigger ones had many more. A slave might bought his freedom and he became a freedmen (Conolly, 1990, p.22). In the story, after the exavations a ring was found with the slave girl and 'from master to his slave girl' was written on the ring thus in the documentary depicted as a gift from Stephanus to slave girl. It has been seen as a sharp instance of slavery becuse the fact that a slave had to be his master's belonging since he freed by master. In this ring the word 'his slave girl' emphasis the belonging.

1.3 THE VILLA OF PLINY THE ELDER

We have a vivid account of the disaster because of the death of the famous Roman scholar Pliny the Elder during the eruption. Pliny the Elder is the Admiral of the Roman fleet stationed across The Bay of Naples at Misenum where he was accompanied by his sister and her seventeen-year-old son, Pliny the Younger. After Pliny's death during the eruption, Pliny the Younger and his mother escaped. At the request of the historian Cornelius Tacitus, Pliny the Younger recorded the circumstances of his uncle's death (Sigurdsson, 2009, p.52). His

account of AD79 remains the best explanation of the events surrounding the catastrophic eruption of Vesuvius.

In the documentary, we saw the important character Pliny the Elder in his villa with Pliny the younger. The villa as we have seen varies other houses in the documentary within its luxurious decoration (Figure 10). According to Hadrill, luxury is a part of material world and spreads socially through imitation. If it is related with material world, searching luxury in the decoration of villas may help us to understand the term as luxury in Roman world. Hadrill also says that;

Decoration could so enhance the value of a house that it might actually be bought for its adjuncts, marbles, statues, and painted pictures, and such was the value of a pictura that it could be an exception to the rule that everything attached to somebody's property belonged to that property. (Hadrill, 1994, p.149)

In the captured scene from documentary, vivid colors which is used floor to wall show the audience that this domestic space differs from the house of Polybius and Stephanus. In addition to the colorful space, the size of the space is bigger than the others.

According to Aldrete; Pompeii's location on the Bay of Naples may have made Pompeii a chosen place where too much wealthy Romans had been accommodated. Due to the fact that Pompeii has very large number of lavish villas, it varies from the most typical Roman cities. In addition to the differences from other cities, it has ordinary domestic experience within the size and richness of decor illustrate that these were the mansions of the elites (Aldrete, 2004, p.226).

CONCLUSION

In the end of the documentary, the scenes depict the main characters' body shapes while they died because of the eruption of Mount Vesuvius (Figure 11). The excavations of Pompeian houses within the ruins of daily life make it clear that the time has frozen because of the disaster. This documentary is superimposing the fictional scenes and the real places under the excavation in Pompeii. The evidences from the literature sources support the structure of the narration within its real characters such as; Pliny the Elder, Julius Polybius. Captured scenes that are taken from the places help us to rediscover and rethink the themes of Roman daily life and domestic space. The documentary differs evidences from literature within the way that it serves a function for ocular. With the help of the sense of seeing, reshaping the domestic space in minds may be easier.

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Figure 1- The House of Julius Polybius' first style facade.



Figure 2- The fictional complivium of House of Julius Polybius.



Figure 3- The real complivium of House of Julius Polybius.



Figure 4- The frame from fictional lalaria in the House of Julius Polybius.



Figure 5- Simple sacrifices for lares in lalaria.



Figure 6- Snake figure in the house of Vetti



Figure 7- The room with third style painting from the house of Polybius.



Figure 8- Stephanus' fuller from documentary



Figure 9- Stephanus' fuller from real house of Stephanus.



Figure 10- A capture from luxurios villa of Pliny the Elder.



Figure 2- Before/after eruption

THE BOND BETWEEN ARTIST AND ARTWORK: TO READ THE ARTWORK FROM PANOFSKIAN PERSPECTIVE WITH REGARD TO ARTIST BEING THE REFERANCE POINT FOR THE CONTENT OF ARTWORK

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ABSTRACT

In contrast to formalist understanding that a work of art can be studied regardless of culture, socio-historical background, the content and authorship, in this paper I will try to show that the relation between artwork and artist is very important to read into the text in order to do justice to the artwork and to understand underlying principles on which the artwork is produced. The relation of the artist and artwork is essential to this kind of analysis because artist is the reference point for artwork to be evaluated in its contextuality. In order to do this I will mainly focus on a Panofskian perspective that develops three-part process. The first process focuses on factual meaning which Erwin Panofsky calls pre-iconographical, the second namely iconographical directs focus toward the socio-historical context that the author belongs to in the orient of who, what where questions, and lastly iconological process generates an analysis of the underlying philosophy and how and why this background affects the artwork. Even though Panofsky focuses mostly on visual arts, his methodology provides a system to interpret an artwork justly. Therefore, in order to accomplish this project, Fyodor Dostoevsky's work *Notes from Underground* will be examined under the light of Panofskian methodology to affirm the argument that an artwork can only be interpreted in its contextuality with its relations to its author, its historicity and ideological totality, but not in its autonomous existence. To accomplish this I will divide my paper into three sections. The first part will cover Panofsky's methodology; the second will replace the author's importance in this analysis. However, author's importance will not be discussed as if artwork is only centered on the artist and its creative genius as in Romanticist interpretation, but rather author as a construction of self in a society as in sociologist George Herbert Mead's analysis. The third part Dostoevsky's work will be used to exemplify the correctness of this methodology.

Keywords: Erwin Panofsky, Fyodor Dostoevsky, artwork.

SURROUNDING FORMALISM AND PENETRATING THE MEANING BY PANOFSKY'S METHODOLOGY

In order to provide a general framework for the inadequacy of the formalist account I will mainly use the work of Wimsatt and Beardsley's essay 'The Intentional Fallacy' (1954).¹ Formalism gives art a freedom where its intrinsic value can be evaluated in its self-contained existence regardless of the artist or epoch or any other qualities external to it. With regard to this they argue that,

The design or intention of the author is neither available nor desirable as a standard for judging the success of a work of literary art, and it seems to us that this is a principle which goes deep into some differences in the history of critical attitudes. (Wimsatt & Beardsley, 1954, p. 3)

According to this view, artwork detaches itself from its authors' intentions and anything external to it at its birth. Such autonomy for the artwork itself includes conscious objectification of feelings which is attainable by the public who measures the artwork in its intrinsic meaning through 'the semantics and syntax of a poem, though our habitual knowledge of the language through grammars, dictionaries, and all the literature which is the source of dictionaries, in general through all that makes a language and culture. (Wimsatt & Beardsley, 1954, pp. 9-10). While they argue against Lowes about there is certain clusters of associations between what artist have experienced, and read and the artwork, they accuse Lowes drifting away from the poem to 'the streamy nature of association, more and more sources (Wimsatt & Beardsley, 1954, pp. 11-12). For them trying to read into the poem except its form, critical inquiry will not be anything else, but a bet because we can never prove that the relationship between the intention of the author, the influence of his time on him, his cultural surrounding, where he lived and the artwork itself are correlated. At least, 'critical inquiries are not settled by consulting oracles' (Wimsatt & Beardsley, 1954, p. 18).

Beardsley in *The Possibility of Criticism* develops three oppositions to intentionalism.

1. There are some texts, which are understandable, and have a meaning and interpretable capacity regardless of the author or her intentioned meaning.
2. The meaning what author intended can change over time,
3. New meaning can turn into a meaning which author was not even aware of (1970, pp. 18-20).

Beardsley holds the same opinion with Wimsatt, and again herein he argues similarly that the intention of the author and the meaning are not identical in (1). This may be true if we are evaluating the text only within its self-contained existence. Yet, while doing this our own background and understanding of the world steps forward and this does not do any

¹ 'The Intentional Fallacy' is an essay written in collaboration with Monroe C. Beardsley under the school of thought New Criticism which is new formalist criticism.

justice to the text apart from its pragmatic use. Artworks convey an attitude or a message, without trying to grasp where it is coming from or what is the intended meaning and its background our interest in interpreting art is no more than an idle struggle to make eclectic meanings which fits to our understanding. Beardsley also attacks the idea that an author give unconscious meanings since whatever unconscious is not willed (Beardsley, 1970, p. 21). However, he also overlooks the fact that socio-cultural context affects the artist in the sense that a historical, societal, political development which is still in the process sheds light on unconscious meaning. Consider for example capitalisms first decades. Even though the classes are not formed in its fullest sense, and where the proletariat did not gain self-consciousness, and even though the artist is not fully conscious of the structural change, an artwork can still depict some insight about this process. At one point in the future, this process can be dubbed in its continuity yet in a more bounded framework which is only possible in later epochs.

On the other hand, Panofsky criticizes this approach to art as neglecting the meaning that is informed by cultural traditions and customs for the specific society (that will be depicted by iconography) and social history and culture (that will be depicted by iconology). Even though his works focus on visual arts, they are also relevant for the literary pieces. Any formal analysis of the artwork presupposes some cultural and historical connotations objectified in symbols. Consider Panofsky's collaborated work.

A formal description in the strict sense is simply impossible in practice: any description will— even before it opens—already have had to renegotiate the purely formal elements of depiction into symbols of something depicted. By doing so, a description, whatever path it takes, develops from the purely formal sphere into the realm of meaning. Even in what we usually call a formal model of analysis (for example, in the sense meant by Heinrich Wölfflin), not only the form (that is not my topic here), but also the meaning must be part of the description. (Panofsky, Elsner, & Lorenz, 2012, p. 469)

Panofsky's methodology forces the reader to have a second or even the third look at the artwork for a better understanding of it. The preliminary look refers to formalist elements which relates only with the form –color, lines, words, grammar-. However, it is not enough to interpret the meaning of an artwork and it requires further inquiry as provided with iconographical and iconological analysis. This method is searching for the seeds of the artwork and “deducing the common motivation of the artistic fact's production and fruition, thus re-establishing the unity of the aesthetic act and the continuity between the genetic and the fruitive history of the work of art” (Carlo & West, 1975, p. 299) Panofsky's methodology does not refer to a linear research, but rather a process of a circular, interwoven study where the processes qualify and correct each other. As Panofsky warns us about the totality of this analysis by saying that these methods as they seem unrelated operations are in reciprocal relationship in terms of an organic and indivisible process for an actual work (1955, p. 39).

Iconology is more of a synthesis whereas iconography is more of an analysis. The strength of Panofsky's methodology lies in its applicability to other areas of art, not just

figurative ones like painting, and architecture, but also literary works. Because, it evaluates the artwork in its integrity by research into the epoch that the artist lived in and reconstruction of the meaning through materials that are used, perspective, or things that are signified. In contrast to formalism, a work of art is not placed in a class, but in the series of events like an extension of a continuing process in humanity. Artwork is taken to be able to speak for itself as autonomous as a person; however it cannot escape the background, artist's conscious and unconscious motives and the ethos that it has come into being. In this sense, iconology surpasses formalist understanding taking into consideration that whenever an artwork is created either in visual arts or in literature, there is an intentionality or desire of an artist who is a product of a culture in sociological sense even with her psychological authenticity.

This may raise a criticism that there is no possible objective historical correlation between the artist and the artwork, and iconology tries to indicate a link which does not exist. However, as Carlo and West justly argue, "the fact that the correlation is neither conscious nor direct does not demonstrate that it does not exist at the unconscious level and that it does not function as a profound motivational force."(1975, p. 303)

THE BECOMING OF AN ARTIST AS A SELF

Panofsky's methodology penetrates the meaning hidden in the artwork through factual, expressional meaning to themes and allegories that informs a specific cultural context and lastly to social and historical underpinnings in it, in other words to a general picture where the artworks participates. Since an artwork is not a flower in the nature, or not a landscape which we don't call art unless we refer to it as God's art, every artwork is a creation of an artist. It has a reference point -an artist- who is a social emergent to begin with. Artist is tied to her time, her society, her political atmosphere and preceding philosophical background. The importance of the relation between artist and artwork can be also complemented by a sociological explanation of the constitution of self in addition to Panofskian methodology.

Self does not exist in a vacuum and meanings are not formed on their own in an ideal universe as independent of the selves. The inter-subjective realm of human relationships refers to the reflexivity of the self. This understanding of the self finds its place in the account of *Symbolic Interactionism*. George Herbert Mead argues that self is distinctive from the physiological organism in terms of its continuous development through the social experience and activity including itself and others in this process. Mead says that "the self has the characteristic that it is an object to itself, and that characteristic distinguished it from other objects and from the body" because body for instance cannot experience itself as a whole; however the self experiences itself as a whole (1972, p.136). Self in Mead's analysis is explained as a social emergent. The self is not initially existent at birth, but develops and appears in the process of social interaction (1972, p. 135). In this sense, society as an organic model includes selves as body includes bodily parts. The process of arising human self is reflective as distinct from animal consciousness(1972, p. 137). For, the consciousness of human beings refer to a self-consciousness where one becomes aware of

an 'I' in the social interaction (1972, p. 165). The awareness of the 'I' in social relations refers to the objectification of the self, and an individual experiences this process as an object rather than a subject. Mead argues that there are some subjective contents of our experiences only accessible to an individual; however,

...“subjective” contents of experience does not alter the fact that self-consciousness involves the individual's becoming an object to himself by taking the attitudes of other individuals toward himself within an organized setting of social relationships, and that unless the individual had thus become an object to himself he would not be self-conscious or have a self at all. (1972, p. 225)

Society, where an artist emerges, is an organic unity which melts culture, philosophical background and political traditions and habits in itself in relation to bigger trends and other societies as well. An artist is a leaf of a big tree which is also a reflection of the nature that it exists. For a person to constitute a self, Mead provides three modes of inter-subjective activity as language, play and the game to show the symbolic interaction that occurs through these forms as shared words, rituals or roles. Particularly, the game as a form of inter-subjective relations give an insight of creation of selfhood by constituting an individual as self-conscious member of a community (1972, p. 160). The game-playing helps to constitute a symbolized unity of the “generalized other” with reference to which an individual evaluates her/his actions because generalized other provides an “organized and generalized attitude” (1972, p. 195). For example, keeping in mind that self is a social emergent; a child constitutes her attitude towards death through what she sees in her social environment. The rituals and traditions of the generalized other involving death such as taking care of the death body, burial, mourning, visiting cemetery become symbols of interaction and also reflect the culture and understanding of life of the living beings. In this sense, the attitude towards death is shaped by the generalized other. As an inevitable nature of human beings, we are first thrown to a social context. Sociality of human beings is not exceptional, and it is an inevitable dependency from the early childhood. The care that is first provided by the family is the first step to survival. Society provides sets of values for a worldview; even unconsciously it shapes our understandings, habits and attitudes. However self is not simply defined by bare organization of social attitudes. And as opposed to a structuralism perspective, an individual is not mere representative of her society, although she is molded with its ingredients. Herein, Mead's analysis of “I” and “me” come into play. This part of his analysis is essential because it sheds light on the creative contribution of the artist so that the relationship with the artwork with its artist gains an importance to understand and interpret the artwork.

The constitution of selfhood in its social and symbolic interaction is not passive, but rather dynamic with the awareness of the “I” about the social “me” (1972, p. 173). It is not a concrete distinction, but as he asserts “ the 'I' is the response of the organized set of attitudes of others; the 'me' is the organized set of attitudes of others which one himself assumes.” (1972, p. 175). 'I' and 'me' are not exclusively distinctive elements, but parts of a whole -self-. However, while 'me' is the phase in which we reflect the attitude of the generalized other, 'I' is the phase in which we respond to those attitudes of the generalized

other (1972, p. 178). In this sense, we can say 'I' requires an introspection of oneself about her social existence - 'me'. In the phase of 'me' we internalize the practices of our society that we belong to in a symbolic interaction with language, role and the game. On the other hand, in the process of 'I' we produce creative responses in present to symbolic structures of the social process where we construct idea of the generalized other. Therefore, action of the 'I' has a sense of freedom that exact course of the action cannot be drawn or determined according to the situation or the determined socio-historical or political context (1972, p. 177). Both of these phases are very vital to the self because both social interactions and individual autonomy in these interactions are essential to identity. The process in which the general other is internalized in 'me' appears as a means of social control as "the expression of the 'me' over against the expression of the 'I'" (1972, p. 210). This means that the idea of 'the generalized other' creates a symbolized reality for the members in one society, and the meaning, reactions, the course of interrelations are defined with regard to this unified image (ibid, p.154-155). A social phenomenon is understood as your society understands it in the first place and the respective attitudes in life derive from these motives and rituals in society. However, a creative answer or perspective can be presented in this course in a dialectical relationship with what exists as to negate or affirm. For example, an artist who lives in the age of feudalism display this epoch's culture, yet while referring and implying this culture, she can also provide an outstanding and creative perspective on it. This does not show that artist can detach herself from the roots of her ethos and discover a completely new world, rather she can engage with a new attitude in a dialectical relation to her existing ethos. This will be examined in the next section in Dostoevsky's novel *Notes From Underground*.

NOTES FROM UNDERGROUND AND ITS RELATION TO DOSTOEVSKY

Fyodor Dostoevsky lived at a time when mathematics, mathematical physics, industrialization and scientific materialism won an encompassing prestige over Europe stretching to Russia and attracting a considerable amount of intellectual followers. Since the 17th century the idea of conquering nature is followed by the intellectual enterprise on mathematics and physics (Barrett, 1958, p. 106). The philosophy of the 19th century was following the idea of progress that was inherited from the Enlightenment and the meaning of progress was seen in terms of positivism and scientism and the calculated development in the direction of a socialist, communist, utopian ideal society in Russia. However, traditional values like brotherly love, religion, and family were organically integrated in Russia's socio-historical context. Dostoevsky reflected these elements in his works, criticized the absorption of European values. Let us Consider *Notes from Underground* from this respect.

Dostoevsky wrote *Notes from Underground* in a context where rational egoism was accepted and praised by many thinkers. Rational egoism was advocated by socialist radicals of Dostoevsky's time such as Nicolas Chernyshevsky and Dmitry Pisarev (Frank, 1988, p. 36). Dostoevsky did not only disagree, but he also found ideas of socialist radicals

dangerous.² *Notes from Underground* was written as a response to outstanding representative of socialist radicals, Nicolai G. Chernyshevsky's novel *What Is to Be Done?* in which he defends nihilism and rationalism (Barnhart, 2005, p. 187). Socialist radicals argued that men endowed with reason are innately good and if they discover the best interests for themselves, reason and science would finally bring them into the perfect society (Frank, 1988, p. 36).

Dostoevsky's relevance to the present project lies in his portrayal of man with his moral and spiritual dilemmas that investigates human condition with regard to freedom and Dostoevsky's social context as well as his personal, and creative response to this context. The 'pathologies' that are integrated in so-called modern civilization namely materialism, and utilitarianism were what Dostoevsky attempted to address in his examination of the pathetic spitefulness of the Underground man. In this regard, the Underground man provides a 'satirical parody' of scientific determinism, which disregards free will.³ The Underground man –the anonymous narrator of *Notes from Underground*– is a bitter and isolated man who is a retired civil servant living in St. Petersburg, Russia. In the first part of the novel (Underground), Underground man provides a monologue explaining his antagonistic position between rational western philosophy which consists of laws of nature and the idea of free will (sometimes to the point of irrationality). He accepts the laws of reason as an educated man, yet he holds them in contempt because they deny his free will. In the first part, the anguish of Underground man in between determinism of laws of nature and free will causes him to suffer; however he even enjoys this intentional suffering because free will is something to fight for at all costs. In the second part of the novel (Apropos of the Wet Snow), Underground man recalls events in his life at age 24. These flashbacks make up of the suffering and the consciousness that comes along with it, and it is portrayed in social humility in three segments. In the first segment, he encounters an officer who moves underground man out of his way without even noticing his existence. And Underground man decides to take revenge by bumping into him. Even though it takes a long time for him to gather his courage to do that, finally he bumps into him, but seemingly the officer does not even care and moves away. The second scene is Underground man's meeting with his former schoolmates for a farewell dinner of an 'alfa-male' Zverkov whom Underground man hates. He invites himself to the dinner, and he is not wanted. He disguises them, and he gets into an argument and openly insults them after a short time, but at the same he craves for their friendship. After his friends leave him and go off to a brothel, he follows them in anger in order to confront Zverkov. However, he cannot find them in the brothel and decides to take his revenge out on a prostitute named Liza. After they sleep

² Joseph Frank explains in "Nihilism and *Notes from Underground*" that Socialist radicals in Dostoevsky's time are called nihilists after Turgenev in his *Fathers and Sons* affixed the label to them. Dostoevsky found socialist radicalism dangerous because of its nihilistic tendencies.

³ Joseph Frank(1988) argues that "*Notes from Underground* as a whole-not only certain details and episodes-was conceived and executed as one magnificent satirical parody" and explains "this parody, however, does not consist merely rejecting Nihilism and setting up a competing version of 'human nature' in its place. Rather, since parody is ridicule by *imitation*, Dostoevsky assimilates the major doctrines of Russian Nihilism into the life of his underground man, Dostoevsky intends to undermine these doctrines within" in Nihilism and *Notes from Underground*, in *Modern Critical Views: Fyodor Dostoevsky*, ed. by Harold Bloom, Chelsea House Publishers, p. 37

together, Underground man gives a speech to Liza about how prostitution is not good for her soul until he makes her cry. He acts like a hero at the end giving his address to Liza, but he regrets it shortly after. When Liza shows up in his shoddy apartment one day, he feels ashamed and angry and bursts into tears while he insults Liza. Despite his insults, Liza embraces him with love. At the end of the scene he out of spite tries to humiliate her by giving her money which she throws onto the table.

Underground man exhibits a man who is full of contradictions between his rational side that understands and accepts scientific determinism and the other side of him craving for and believing in freedom of the will; therefore he pictures what might be called an existentialist response to the determinism that is advocated by scientific materialism. Against totalitarian visions of utopia like in scientific determinism which was in rise in his time, Dostoevsky's novel presents the understanding of his time while providing a new perspective. Underground man does not take manifestation of man that is fixed and predicted by scientific determinism, but rather expresses his particular point of view on the world and on himself. This visualization of his self and his world is a function of his self-consciousness (Bakhtin, 1984, p. 188). Yet, underground man does not exist in isolation, he is aware of his socio-cultural context and dialectically he shapes a new perspective. In order to understand this novel, it is important to make the connections between the artwork and the artist.

Notes from Underground is a satirical parody rather than an explicit criticism of nihilism and determinism. Underground man exhibits some characteristics of nihilism, but at the same time he is full of contradictions and dilemmas (Frank, 1988, p. 37). Even though Dostoevsky presents his rebel character in a novel, he makes it clear in the opening page of the novel in a footnote that even though his novel is just a novel, the characters are representations of real people. The opposite cannot be thought, because we are born into a reality that already presents itself before us, and our creative responses are shaped through engaging with this reality.

The affirmation of two mutually exclusive realities namely scientific determinism and free will cause a relentless resentment for Underground man. He finds himself in the torture of relentless resentment since he accepts natural laws on the rational level, yet rejects them on the level of belief (Wyman, 2007, p. 124). Resentment idea can be understood better with Underground man's critique of the Crystal Palace. The Crystal palace is built after new economic relations with ready-made, mathematically calculated precision, so that all possible answers will be provided, and there will be no need for possible questions (Dostoevsky, 1993, p. 15). However, this idea of future perfection will be terribly boring despite being extremely reasonable. Since the Crystal palace that is built on reason and the laws of nature ignore the importance of free will for human beings, the Underground man prefers to stay outside of the Crystal palace and 'stick his tongue out at it' even though it means suffering for him (Wyman, 2007, p. 125). Crystal palace is a symbol that we can only make sense of in Dostoevsky's context. The Crystal Palace was an exhibition hall of glass and iron, in London for displaying the examples of the latest technology developed in the Industrial Revolution in the Great Exhibition of 1851. The Crystal Palace

represented an ideal place for a future utopian society which would live according to reason and natural laws. Underground Man's despise of it reflects Dostoevsky's despise of mere materialism at the expense of individuality and freedom.

Dostoevsky shares Underground man's critique of a scientific determinism that denies free will, and he repeatedly underlines this disagreement in his other works. For example, in his essay "Environment" from *A Writer's Diary*, he opposes the deterministic view of human action that eliminates free will (Dostoevsky, 1993a, pp. 132-145). We can also understand his authorial tone and his relation to his artworks in this piece because it is written after he spent some time in 1860s in Western Europe whose culture was circulating and spreading in Russia, and it is known that he was critical about it.

In the merging values of modern society, like his character Underground man many people were suffering the same problems between modern ideas and traditional values. Dostoevsky as an artist picked this subject-matter as a social phenomenon rather than others, he himself set a framework for its artwork, not because somebody made him do it, yet because he himself was formed by these dynamics. For example, Dostoevsky's family lived next to an orphanage, an insane asylum, and a cemetery for criminals. When we look at his works like *Crime and Punishment*, we can see the connection between where he personally grew up and what he took this subject more worthy of mentioning. These abandoned individuals by the Russian society were objectified in his artworks. Dostoevsky was not allowed to interact with these individuals, yet he still disobeyed his parents and talked with the ill in the hospital gardens (The European Graduate School, 1997-2012). Dostoevsky's strength to express 'the other's opinion and the way he presents his story before our eyes cannot be thought independent of his personal experiment.

CONCLUSION

As against formalist understanding that a work of art can be studied regardless of culture, socio-historical background, the content and authorship is very important to understand the artwork. If understanding the artwork is not a goal for us, than art is nothing than a mere idle activity. Moreover, all human conscious activities take place in an intelligible sphere and it is impossible to talk about anything if they belong to an unintelligible realm. The relation of the artist to artwork relies in the importance of her/him as a reference point for artwork to be evaluated in its contextuality. Panofskian methodology provides a valid system for this. In the first process the factual meaning which Panofsky calls pre-iconographical can be deduced from the novel itself because we can still make sense of the story as we understand it also from our own lives. The second namely iconographical process directs us to the socio-historical context that the spread of enlightenment ideas, the glorification of natural sciences and scientific determinism. Lastly iconological process generates an analysis of the underlying philosophy which finds its roots in the tradition of Russian values like religion, family life, brotherly love and an existential outlook in the midst of crisis between the old and the new. Therefore, Dostoevsky's relation to *Notes from Underground* in his socially emergent existence in his context affirms Panofskian methodology.

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A TRIBUTE TO ART OR IDEOLOGY: THE NEWS COVERAGE OF ATATURK STATUES IN TURKISH PRESS AFTER THE COUP OF 12 SEPTEMBER 1980

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ABSTRACT*

It is observed that there is a radical increase in the publication of news about the busts and statues of Ataturk, after the 12 September 1980 military coup in Turkish press. Having no expected news value under normal conditions, even opening ceremonies for busts of Ataturk in village schools are published in main pages of national newspapers during the coup administration. This study is focused on the news stories covering the busts and statues of Ataturk, which were published in Cumhuriyet, Milliyet and Tercüman newspapers, from 12 September 1980 (the date of the military coup), to the end of 1981 (where many events were held to celebrate the 100th anniversary of Ataturk's birthday-also truckloads of Atatürk monuments were distributed across the country in 1981. This study aims to investigate the relationship between news of Ataturk busts and politic atmosphere of 12 September 1980 coup. The study argues that the frequency and the news narratives of print media related to Ataturk busts, reproduces the ideologies of the coup administration.

Keywords: Ataturk, bust, statue, military coup, Turkey, news, press, ideology.

* This article discusses the preliminary findings of the authors ongoing PhD research titled : "*12 Eylül Dönemi Türk Yazılı Basınında Atatürk ve Atatürkçülük*".

INTRODUCTION: IDEOLOGY

Also defined as an idea concerning a struggle to provide control in the society, ideology reminds us how the structures, which have a say in the society to legitimize concepts, work (Alemdar and Erdoğan, 2002, p.277). Ideology can also be considered as a way of production. Production and reproduction of ideology through tangible institutions are defined as a material practice in which an individual represents and reproduces himself/herself within social formation process (Coward and Ellis, 1985, p.139). For German philosopher Karl Marx, although it is a rather open concept, ideology helps thoughts of ruling class look natural and normal in the society (Fiske, 2003, p.221). Althusser's most important opinion concerning ideology is the idea of "Ideological State Apparatuses". The ideological state apparatuses have significant role in production of ideology or distribution of produced ideology. According to Althusser, (2014, p.50-51) these ideological state apparatuses are formed of institutions such as, churches, schools, families, unions and communication tools like media which produce and reproduce the ideology. For Gramsci, another philosopher of Marxist school who thinks in the same direction with Althusser, the concept ideology manifests itself indirectly with the term "hegemony". Gramsci states that the ruling class uses the method of "gaining consent" which he defines as "making world-view and way of thinking of the ruling class be accepted by the members of the society" to establish a "hegemony", and the ruling class "gains consent through institutions such as churches, schools and media (Yaylagül, 2008, p. 98).

It is known that media has taken its place in the idea system mentioned above. Media institutions have created their own ideological systems of ideas. This situation influences and steers the process in which press conveys information to people. Some press institutions may produce a news story concerning an event, affirming it, while others convey the same event to readers by negatively fictionalizing it. The press institution in question conveys an incident or event to the people by customizing it within its own idea system. E.S.Herman and N. Chomsky (1999, p.21) think that "usually supported by an official censorship in countries where state bureaucracy have the power apparatuses, the monopolistic control over mass communication tools openly shows that the communication tools serve to the goals of the ruling elite," supporting the view that media has failed to be the voice of people.

Almost all media tycoons and holdings which can monopolize in Turkish media or have an influential role in media market are a production tool of dominant discourse (ruling discourse). Being the most important communication tool to deliver information, the press have always been under the domination and control of hegemonic or ruling powers in all periods of history (Güngör, 1997, p. 225).

1980 COUP AND NEWS VALUE OF BUSTS OF ATATURK

For an event to carry a news value, it should "be interesting", "happen very recently" and be published by the "news media" (Arşan, 2005, p.137). Ostgaard claims that an event or a fact should be one of the "problematic unexpected events" which have uncertain results in order to have the highest news value (Hall, 2005, p.253). The qualifications by Galtung

and Ruge for an event to carry a news value are listed by S. Hall (2005, p. 253) as follows: "it's being happened recently, includes intensity, rareness, unpredictability and openness. It also harbours many other symbolic peculiarities such as continuation, convenience, 'elit' persons and 'elit' nations, and customization, etc".

In the process of news production, media re-fictionalises the fact. What is sent to viewer or reader via screen or pages is not the fact, but its interpreted form (Burton, 1995, p. 72). The news production hierarchy, which is formed from bottom to top in traditional media, has left its place to a news production process in the direction of instructions from the top (Aslan, 2004, p. 23). In this case, the power of journalists remains insufficient in resisting to impositions from the information sources, media institutions, and the state.

In the light of definitions given above, ordering busts or statues of the founder of Turkish Republic Mustafa Kemal Ataturk, or opening them with ceremonies, or cleaning them cannot be defined with adjectives such as "interesting, new, unexpected, or problematic". That's why, an opening ceremony of an Ataturk bust is an "ordinary" or even "routine" event and an ordinary event is not expected to carry a high news value. Yet, when news production processes in Turkey are taken into account, as stated by Aslan, the news production hierarchy has left its place to a news production process in the direction of instructions from the top. This is more common after 12 September 1980 military coup. It can be seen that the number of news stories concerning busts and statues of Ataturk which actually do not have that much of a news value shows a significant increase especially after 12 September 1980 military coup, and the newspapers give extensive space to such stories in front pages. The political atmosphere of 12 September military coup has an obvious impact in this situation.

12 September military coup marks the beginning of one of darkest periods of history of print media in Turkey. Categorizing this period as such is undoubtedly a result of censorship and bans imposed by the military regime on the press. After seizing power, National Security Council changed the 3rd article of the Law on Emergency Rule, and vested Emergency Rule Command with the authority to censor communication. The new Constitution which was accepted in 23 September 1982 included articles which limited freedom of communication. Serious pressures and sanctions imposed by National Security Council on all institutions as well as press, were put into words by Zürcher (2003, p. 406) as follows: "*National Security Council was functioning not through the cabinet alone, but by regional and local commanders vested with extensive authorities thanks to the emergency rule law. These people were placed at the top positions of education, press, trade chambers and unions and did not hesitate to use their authorities. This resulted in closing of newspapers on a continuous basis and arresting of journalists and chief editors in Istanbul, the centre of intellectual life and press. Even Cumhuriyet newspaper which was founded by support of Ataturk personally in 1924 was closed for one time*"

In the very first day of the military coup, the newspapers *Demokrat*, *Aydınlık*, *Politika* and *Hergün* were closed for an indefinite period of time. Due to increased pressure by the military regime on the newspapers in following days, practices of journalism had to change

completely. Press was continuously controlled by the Emergency Rule Command, sometimes directly by five generals, and personally by the Chief of the General Staff General Kenan Evren from time to time. Because of articles which failed to get approval, newspapers were warned first and then received punishments, were even closed, and publication bans were imposed on several issues almost every day. (Topuz, 2003, p.256-260)

There were bans not only on print media, but on the state owned *Turkish Radio and Television Corporation* (TRT), which was the most influential broadcasting institution of the period. On 14 September 1980, an order was given to TRT, bringing limits to news items which could be broadcast through the black and white television sets, which were the only instrument of entertainment for the people. The order given to TRT included the following: "Foreign news articles which are not against us can be broadcast. News about anarchy will not be given. News stories which do not interest everyone such as minor fire or traffic accidents will not be broadcast. No news against National Security Council and emergency rule will be given. Unless stated otherwise, National Security Council statements will be broadcast twice a day. Interviews with people about 12 September Intervention will be made. Generally, middle-age people will be interviewed. Approval will be received before the interview is published." (Birand-Bila and Akar, 2010, p. 165)

As it is clearly seen in the instructions given to TRT, the National Security Council did not have least tolerance to any negative news story published in the press. Such practices which completely disregarded the mission of the press as fourth power and the right of people to information, prevented press to fulfil its real function and transformed it into a propaganda tool for the military regime. Mehmet Sucu (2010, p.41) defines this period as follows: "*In this period, the freedom of press to give information and people to get information was limited by the laws which were introduced by the National Security Council. Most of the journalists were in a dilemma on which news story was inconvenient or not. Thus the expression 'inconvenient news article' was introduced to press literature in 1980s.*"

In accordance with information given by Koloğlu (2013, p.151), 237 books were banned in this period, 632 lawsuits were filed against 796 journalists, and 218 prison sentences were given in the end of these trials. In the beginning of 1981, 44 journalists were sentenced to over 4,000 years in prison. 28 of these journalists were already in prison. Among these journalists, three chief editors were sentenced to a total of 1717 years in prison. A total of 133,000 books were seized and burned in this period.

The practices of 12 September regime toward press, censorship, newspaper closures, pressures on journalists and authors led to rooted changes in the content of newspapers too. Because of frequent warnings and punishments for articles on political issues, Turkish press refrained from dealing with politics. Having concerns on survival as a commercial enterprise in the market as well as meeting the need of people to get information, the newspapers had to follow an apolitical line and even resort to tabloid journalism in order to survive in the environment of pressures and censorship detailed above. (Özgen, 2004, p.469) There was a rise in police and judiciary stories and foreign news as well as magazine articles.

Another “way out” for the press after 12 September 1980, was to approve and appreciate the 12 September administration, and support its practices. It is seen that most of the news stories and columns in print media supported the military coup in following days of the 12 September. Since, 12 September regime defined itself as “Kemalist”, praising 12 September regime was considered as similar to praising Ataturk. Turkish press is almost of the same opinion that 12 September military coup is a “Kemalist” step. Chief of Staff General Kenan Evren openly stated that the military intervention was “Kemalist” in the first statement he made after the coup (Milliyet,1980. Evren: Yeni Yönetime Herkes Yardımcı Olmalı, *Milliyet*, 13 Sep. p.7,) and almost every step taken during the military regime was explained by “Kemalism”. In such an atmosphere, press attributed a high news value to stories concerning Ataturk.

Cumhuriyet, *Tercüman* and *Milliyet*, which were assessed by this work, and *Hürriyet* and similar newspapers, which were popular dailies of the period, made very similar publications in the first week following 12 September coup although they differ ideologically and address different groups. The common point in the attitude taken by these newspapers after 12 September coup is to legitimize and justify the coup. In publications which justified and supported the coup, turning it into an ordinary event, following common features can be seen: Almost all newspapers which were reviewed defined the intervention as a Kemalist move and thus reliable, emphasized that the World was pleased with the coup, and all sections of the society supported the military intervention, creating an impression as if life was rapidly turning into normal. Another common attitude by the newspapers was that almost none of them defined the 12 September as a military coup in the news stories which they published. On the contrary, the newspapers published news stories and comments which stated that 12 September was not a military coup, and preferred to use words such as “operation”, “manoeuvre”, “move” and “intervention” instead.

NEWS STORIES ON BUSTS AND STATUES OF ATATURK

As stated above, stories on busts and statues of Ataturk are frequently seen in print media in the period following 12 September 1980 military coup. The political atmosphere of the period undoubtedly had a significant impact on the frequency of such news stories. Since 12 September regime defined military coup as a “Kemalist move” and noted that one of the priorities of the intervention was “returning to Kemalism”, stories and comments on Ataturk and Kemalism saw a radical increase in Turkish press. The year 1981 was declared “Ataturk Year” because it was the centenary anniversary of his birth. With a decision taken by UNESCO, Ataturk was accepted as “a leader who puts his mark in the century” and 1981 was declared as “Ataturk year” all over the World.

As part of the 100th anniversary of Ataturk’s birthday in 1981, many events were planned in memory of Ataturk, and many contests and panels were held. Establishment of some institutions and even construction of dams and opening of streets were planned in the name of Ataturk. Silver and golden coins were minted in the name of Ataturk and Central Bank printed Ataturk medallion coins. A law on celebration of hundredth anniversary of Ataturk’s birthday was adopted concerning how the ceremonies will be held. Also a

celebration commission was established to organize the events related to Atatürk's birthday (Milliyet, 1980. Atatürk Akademisi Kurulacak, *Milliyet*, 29 Oct. p.10). In addition to all these, an audit board was set up concerning Atatürk monuments. This board would decide on whether Atatürk monuments were proper or not, and whether they could be reproduced or not. Under the supervision of this board, Atatürk monuments were sent to provinces and districts which did not have Atatürk monument. Not only official institutions, but private institutions, businessmen and civil society organisations rushed to order Atatürk monuments, so to speak. Aylin Tekiner defines this process with the expression "Atatürk monument madness" (Tekiner, 2014, p.194).

Developments concerning Atatürk year by all means garnered extensive space in the press. The press fulfilled its part concerning 1981 Atatürk year and focused on publications promoting Atatürk. In this process where almost all events of Atatürk year in the country were covered by the press, stories on busts and statues of Atatürk also received coverage. In this sense, "1981 can be accepted as a new cornerstone in the process of reproducing the Atatürk image and turning it into a cult" (Tekiner, 2014, p.194).

Taken into consideration independently from the political atmosphere of the period, this attitude of Turkish press could be assessed as a tribute to sculptures and even to art through sculptures. Yet, when the news stories were scrutinized, it is seen that praising 12 September regime and ideology lies behind the high news value attributed by the Turkish press to Atatürk statues, rather than praising art. When news stories on busts and statues of Atatürk presented below as examples were assessed, it can be seen that the press glorifies the 12 September ideology over stories on statues. The approach of the press, glorifying 12 September over Atatürk busts and statues can be easily understood with the below examples.

A caricature published in the column by Çetin Emeç in *Hürriyet* newspaper just 3 days after the 12 September military coup is extremely meaningful. Emeç considers practices of 12 September regime as legitimate and proper, and even too moderate. On the other hand, a caricature which was published in the same article the same day is rather meaningful (Figure 1). In the days where it was frequently underlined that 12 September was a Kemalist move, this caricature draws attention to the Kemalist accent of the move. Under the expression "Sea ends", the caricature depicts giant waves hitting a bust of Atatürk and turning back (Emeç, Ç., 1980. Kakokrasi'den Demokrasi'ye, *Hürriyet*, 15 Sep. p.5). Here, bust of Atatürk is symbolized as a strong shield on the path to democracy.



ünde önce ilk
i arasına gire-
i pedekte bey-
terkedilmiştir.
: 10 strada yer
i 516. 386 ara-
kaydı yapılan
516. 400 dir.
açılacak ise bu
aktarıcı günaha
etmen araç ve
den. Tâlim ve
mî okulu için
mlarını bir an-
cocuklarımızın
cık kontenjan
lmasında poli-
sözümüz yemi-
ndir.
inci konu da
e öğrenim yap-
bulun müfesa-
alıp, hem de
akutlanacak-
ğu Ankara'da
hanak tam-
i Lisel sınavları
i öğrenci vakti!

Bir ülkede ki, siyasi kavga, ada-
tına kafatasına çivi çakmaları-
la son bulur...
Bir ülkede ki, çocukluğu
zalabaklıkların üzerine gölgesizce atıp
etmek, moda olur...
Bir ülkede ki, sarf elini sürenin kolu,
bacığı kopsun, gözleri kör olsun diye,
oraya, buraya ölüm pankartları asılır...
Orada, üniformasına efendilik sanmış
demokrasi gövüllüsü bir askeri gücün
yönetimine el koyması, saskınlık yaratır...
Bugün dünya, Türkiye'deki son ge-
lişmeleri daha çok ağzı açık bir merak-
la izliyor, hance bundandır...
Su vebet hamurunda, bu zerret...
Hayrett!..

YOKSA: uluslararası aktüalitenin
mostrasında Türkiye'ye saka-
rastılmaya alınmış yabancı gözler, ikti-
dar kolbağında ercep ordusu gösterile-
rini biliyorlardı... İleri geri teşhisleriyle
de, kehanet çerçevesini çooak aşiyorlar-
dı...

Eee!.. Son yirmi yılda, bu faşileden
dört girişim yaşamış bir ülke değil mi-
di Türkiye?.. Bir beşinci, neden olma-
sun? Çıkarılma, vurdumduymazlığın,
gizli hesapların egemen olduğu, beyin-
lerin tepesinde, "Yetti artık," diyeen
sabırsız bir yumruk, niçin patlama-
san?

İktidar, böyle bir darbe gücüyle el
değistirebilirdi... Bir 27 Mayıs gecesi
değistirmişti de...

Ama, bu yeryüzü cennetini neredey-
se benzeri görülmemiş bir cehennemle
çevirenler, kendi dogmatikları Fran-
kenstein'dan örküp, askeri imdadına da
çağırabiliyorlardı... Sakar parmaklarla
horroktıkları, e... Aman Allah! diye

Pazar tesisi

ÇETİN EMEÇ

Kakokrasi'den, demokrasi'ye...



DENİZ BITTİ

ŞİMDİ 12 Eylül, andarınma sine-
masında, ister istemez 27 Mayıs'
tan görüntülere çağırımı yapıyor...
Bir bayram günü, anarşi yuvası ba-
sar gibi ovimize gelişi... Şerefini hep
koruması bir çatay, en mahrem köp-
lerine kadar arıyorları... Alevi günler-
de milletvekili etiketini tasması üretimi

Sanki olabilirsiniz... Bir stadyum
dolusu insan, aleyhinize tanıklık etmek
için, kuşrukun da oluşturun... Sizi
batıya itecek suç dosyaları, tavırlara
kadar da yükselebilir... Fakat, sıfatınız,
yargıcın son kararına kadar, sanıktır...
Çünkü, buakun A, B, C'si sayılan
temel kavramlardan biri, sövle buvü.

Figure 1

Although they do not have a news value, openings of busts of Atatürk garnered frequent and front page newspaper coverage. A news story published by *Milliyet* newspaper (Figure 2) in front page in 31 October 1980 with the headline 'Bust opened' (Milliyet, 1980. Büst Açıldı, *Milliyet*, 31 Oct.p.1), a news story by *Tercüman* newspaper with the headline "Justice minister opens Atatürk monument made by inmates of Ankara semi-open prison" (Tercüman, 1980. Ankara Yarı Açık Cezaevinde Mahkumların Emegi ile Yapılan Atatürk Heykeli Adalet Bakanı Tarafından Açıldı, *Tercüman*, 9 Nov.p.7), and *Milliyet* newspaper's story with the headline "Atatürk bust in Vakıf Gureba hospital to be opened today" (Milliyet,1980. Vakıf Gureba Hastanesinde Yapılan Atatürk Büstü Bugün Açılacak, *Milliyet*,13 Nov.p.10), and *Cumhuriyet* newspaper's story with the headline "Atatürk bust was opened in Kadıköy High School for Girls" (Cumhuriyet,1980. Kadıköy Kız Lisesindeki Atatürk Büstü Açıldı, *Cumhuriyet*, 6 Dec. p.7), can be shown as examples of such news stories.



Figure 2

Frequency of openings of busts and exhibitions was criticised by the print media. A critique published by *Milliyet* daily newspaper (Figure3) urged for specifying where Atatürk name can be used and where Atatürk statues can be erected by a circular. (*Milliyet*,1980. Atatürk ve Kapıkule, *Milliyet*, 5 Dec.p.6)

05.12.1980, Milliyet, Sayfa 6

Atatürk ve Kapıkule

ATATÜRK adının ne gibi yerlerde kullanılabileceği, nerelere Atatürk büstlerinin ya da heykellerinin dikilebileceği bir düzene ve yönetime sokulmalı artık. Sorumlu sorumsuz, yetkili yetkisiz bir takım kuruluşlar, kendi bildiklerine Atatürk adını kullanmak, şu ya da bu gerçeklerle büstler ve heykeller diktirmek için yarışa girdiler. . .

Bu arada Kapıkule giriş kapısına "Atatürk" adının verilmesi bile söz konusu olmuş. . . Bunun kesinleşmiş olduğunu sanmıyoruz ve kesinleşeceğini de ummuyoruz.

Öte yandan Atatürk'ün büstlerinin nereye konulabileceği, heykellerin de ne gibi nitelikler aranacağı da bir yönetmeliğe bağlanmalı. Mandalin üreticileri arasındaki yarışmada, mandalin sandıkları arasında bir Atatürk büstü görmek istemiyoruz. Atatürk heykelleri de önde gelen, tanınmış heykeltıraşların ellerinden çıkmalı. . .

Göre Göre Duya Duya

Bağışlar... Bağışlar...

SON günlerde Türk Silahlı Kuvvetleri'nin kurduğu vakıflara bağışlar arttı. Vatandaşlar, işadamları, bankalar ve başka kuruluşlar, birbiri ardından bağışlarda bulunuyorlar... Bu bağışlar, Türkiye'nin savunma gücünün artmasına katkıda bulunacak...

Son olarak Sabancı şirketleri topluluğu adına Hacı Sabancı, kuvvet vakıflarına toplam 15 milyon lira bağışladı.

Milli Güvenlik Konseyi üyesi ve Hava Kuvvetleri Komutanı Orgeneral Tahsin Şahinkaya, Hacı Sabancı

Figure 3

In fact, production of Atatürk busts increased so much that even companies which produced Atatürk busts and statues had to put advertisements on the newspapers to meet the need. The companies which put the ad stated that they can produce Atatürk statues, busts, and masks in every dimension for schools-enterprises and squares. (Figure 4)

OKULLAR-MÜESSESELER-MEYDANLAR İÇİN

ATATÜRK BÜSTLERİ

Profesör Heykeltıraş KENAN YONTUNÇ'un Atatürk'ün büzürle rında çalıştığı büst boyutları gibi sağlam, Antiseptik maddesinden hazırlanmaktadır. Telefon: 38 06 03. Sabah: 9.00 - 10.00 arası. Akşam: 20.00 - 21.00 arası. Adres: Kabatas Sırtüstü Beyülmalı Sokak No: 12: İstanbul

Milliyet: 169

Her boyutta **ATATÜRK ANITI, ATATÜRK HEYKELİ, ATATÜRK BÜSTÜ, ATATÜRK MASKİ** ve her türlü heykel yapım-döküm işlerinde **HEYDÖK** hizmetinizdedir.

TELEFON: 76 01 26

Adres: Topçular Kışla Cad. Cicoz Yolu No: 19 RAMLİ-İSTANBUL

Figure 4

As 1981 approached, newspapers published stories on openings of busts of Atatürk on the one hand and the events which were or would be held in the Atatürk year on the other hand. Examples shown below came to the fore from these news stories.

Toward the end of 1980, it is observed that contests and events concerning Atatürk were published more frequently in print media. In the same period, it is also seen that just like busts of Atatürk, Atatürk photographs and lapel pins gained value in a way that would almost lead to black market, and that some institutions compiled Atatürk photographs by placing advertisements on newspapers, and some institutions sold Atatürk photographs and lapel pins via advertisements and some distributed them for free. With the examples of news stories and advertisements given below, the place of Atatürk photographs in the given period will be understood better.

Advertisement: Offset-print Atatürk posters and lapel photos for 10 November commemoration ceremonies for schools and institutions. (Cumhuriyet, 1980. 7 Nov.p.3) (Figure 5)

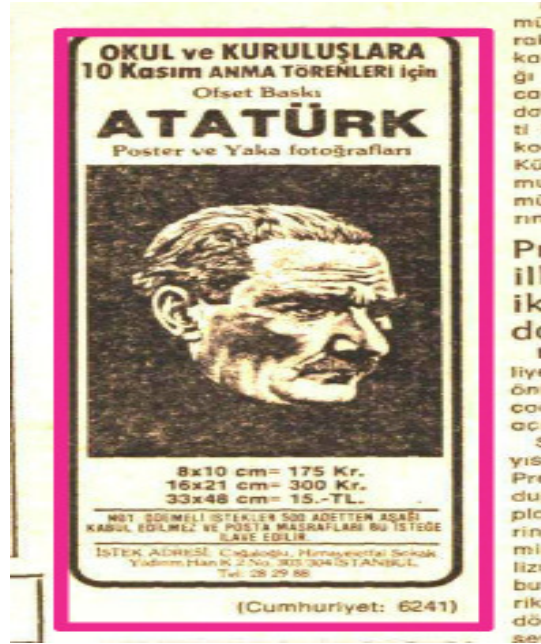


Figure 5

Advertisement: Announcement: İş Bank of Turkey announces: It is seen that Atatürk photos (by Ş.Soner, with furcoat and head open) which we hold copyrights are sold as posters by some companies which are taking advantage of the fact that 1981 was declared as Atatürk year. As well as using our rights to legal prosecution against such companies, we would like to announce that persons and institutions which would like to use the Atatürk photo specified above can obtain it from all İş Bank branches free of charge. Best regards. Directorate General, İş Bank of Turkey. (Milliyet, 1980. 1 Dec. p. 5) (Figure 6)



Figure 6

Advertisement: To the attention of all citizens who have Atatürk photos in their albums: General Directorate of Press and Information compiles Atatürk Photos: General Directorate of Press and Information was given the task to compile photographs on Atatürk's life, his works and revolutions by the committee to coordinate 100th anniversary of the birth of Atatürk, great leader who founded our Republic. . . In the end of the compilation campaign which will be carried out by the General Directorate of Press and Information, a big "Atatürk photo archive" will be formed. The names of the citizens who send these photos will be used in every place where these photographs are used. Ministry of Tourism and Information- General Directorate of Press and Information (Tercüman,1980. 23 Nov, p.6) (Figure 7)



Figure 7

It is observed that there is a parallel relationship between the dimension of the busts and the news value of those busts. There is a tendency to publish bigger statues in bigger spaces. One of those examples can be observed in *Tercüman* newspaper. *Tercüman* newspaper published the following headline on the start of Atatürk year: "Biggest Atatürk monument is erected before the parliament. The foundation of the Atatürk Monument will be laid by General Evren tomorrow." (Tercüman, 1981. 4 Jan p.1). As it is seen in this

example, making biggest Ataturk sculpture is considered worthy of being in the headlines. In this and similar news stories, the dimension of Ataturk statue is presented almost in direct proportion to commitment to Ataturk. On the other hand, the dimension and splendour of the Ataturk monument are presented as a source of pride. The opening of biggest Ataturk sculpture of Turkey was also planned within the Ataturk year. In a news story published in *Milliyet* newspaper, it is noted that the biggest Ataturk sculpture in Turkey will be opened by General Kenan Evren in 19 May. The news story includes the following sentences: "When completed, the statue will be the biggest Ataturk sculpture in Turkey with a total height of 19 metres and Ataturk statue in this sculpture has a height of 4,9 metres. The 10 ton sculpture depicts a young girl and a young boy carrying a Turkish flag which symbolizes freedom as well as Ataturk, and the flag and a torch unites at the top, creating a feast for the eye ..." (Milliyet, 1981. 20 Apr. p.10)

As events continued on the one hand, people who collected money without permission to the benefit of Ataturk year were identified on the other hand. This situation received coverage in print media by written statements of Istanbul governor. Governor Nevzat Ayaz said those who collect donations without permission will be punished, adding that they will not allow exploiters who abuse the name of Ataturk. Ayaz said those who are making trade by abusing Ataturk's name will be sentenced to 2 months in prison (Milliyet,1981. 5 Feb.p2). He also announced that a total of 608 busts of Ataturk will be erected in primary and secondary schools on the occasion of Ataturk year (Tercüman,1981. 5 Feb.p.13). In following days, it is seen that openings of these busts were covered by the newspapers. The news story of *Tercüman* newspaper dated 19 May 1981 covering the ceremony to open a bust of Ataturk in Tevfik Fikret High School, constitutes an example to such news stories. (Figure 8) The story emphasizes that the bust was made by students' own means. (Tercüman,1981. 19 May. p.2) This emphasis implies that students are Kemalists by heart.



Figure 8

In this final example, it is seen that Ataturk monument is almost sanctified. Conveying that a citizen who came from Germany dedicated himself to cleaning of Ataturk statue, the newspaper appreciates this situation and reveals how much importance it attributes to the news story by publishing it in the front page.

CONCLUSION

The symbolization of Ataturk during the 1980s was based on gigantic representations such as statues and Atatürk was the face of the state reaction against the conflict between right and left-wing movements in Turkey. (Turkish Review, 2012) Seeing Kemalist ideology as a means of social coherence to cement the society which was polarized before 1980, 12 September administration interpreted it [Kemalist ideology] from its own point of view and presented it to people. Produced through a busy event programme, the Ataturk image had been a source of legitimacy and reference for the military rule. As part of this policy, it was a target of military rule to reproduce and distribute busts and statues of Ataturk to all over the country. Every step taken in this direction, every opening ceremony for a bust were praised by the newspapers and almost presented as a success of the 12 September rule. With opening of every single bust, the ideology of 12 September was indeed consolidated and reproduced through news stories. Consequently, every single story on busts of Ataturk in the press served the same goal and consolidated 12 September ideology.

For Golomstock, (1990, XIII) state defines art and culture as a whole as an ideological weapon and a tool for the struggle for power. The state has a monopoly over all indicators of art life in a country. The State forms a mechanism to control it and have a say in its management. Distribution of busts of Ataturk by the state, and establishment of a committee to ensure that the busts comply with the standards, and a requirement for artists to get approval from this committee emerge as an echo of Golomstock's thesis.

As it is seen in the examples, the press of the period deploys busts of Ataturk as an ideological indicator. Students who had a bust of Ataturk be sculpted by their own means, or citizens who could not afford to have a bust, but instead clean existing busts were appreciated and glorified in pages of newspaper. Here, what is actually glorified is the 12 September regime which announced that it principally adopted the Kemalist ideology. Since, spreading of Ataturk statues is one of the main targets and practices of the 12 September administration in 1981; the relation developed through busts and statues of Ataturk was presented as a significant factor in measuring the level of Kemalist commitment by related persons or institutions. That's why, the dimensions of the statues were given importance and highlighted in news texts. A direct correlation was drawn between the dimension of the statue and the commitment to and love for Ataturk. A perception "the bigger the statue, the more Kemalist that person/institution is" was created. That's why, giant statues received more interest and space from the press. The person or institutions who ordered the sculpture were registering their ideological position by publishing of the news stories. By every bust erected before headquarters of institutions, a message "we are also Kemalist" was conveyed and a closeness, an identicalness was ensured with the 12 September regime which defined itself as "Kemalist".

According to Copeaux (1998, 98), presenting a person not by his visuals (photos or painting) but by a photograph of his sculpture means ceasing to see that person as a human and transforming him into a legend, and thus a history was presented in that person. From this point of view, it can be said that the news stories about busts and statues of Ataturk published after 12 September 1980 military coup, almost sanctified the Ataturk image and transformed him from being a human into being a legend.

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HOW MYTHS OF CITY AFFECTS ARCHITECTURE VIA SAMPLE OF *ARAP CAMI*

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ABSTRACT

In order to have direct relation with past people try to settle a historical, word-of-mouth, splendid stories with place that they are living in. Having a memorable, symbolic legends makes people a part of city's collective memory. İstanbul was a significant example that not only Byzantion people controlled this capital but also it was important for others in terms of religious care and its key location between east and west. This makes İstanbul always under Islamic-Arabian attacks both because of location and religious importance. Although these attacks could not reach their aim, Arabic pilgrims searched some architectural shares to be a partner of İstanbul. Mosque is the key building to settle a partnership with İstanbul. With an partnership in other words legend was always increased. This intention also affects architecture somehow with some symbolic buildings that *Arap Cami* is important one because of having claim of the first Islamic construction in İstanbul. This study seeks to understand reasons of naming a Latin church which probably was constructed on an old Byzantion church firstly as a mosque of Mesleme by giving some Islamic symbolic meanings. In order to get some clues about what makes İstanbul as legendary Arabs and also Muslims, how they tried to gain ownership of this capital not truly but metaphorically or symbolically. Starting from *Arap Cami* as case study archives, records and travellers scripts will be major research sources for this study. Historians of İstanbul had tendency to mention about this city as God's city with regards to being Constantinopolis or İstanbul. Because settling of İstanbul at the beginning held by emperor who represented as God on earth. For Muslims conquering of this city has significant and symbolic importance in consequence of prophet's words: 'Such a glorious commander who conquered İstanbul, such a glorious soldier who conquer İstanbul'. *Arap Cami* is important because of having an origins speculations tries to settle desiring relation with Constantinopolis. Anonymous mouths who established legends and myths put in to contact with both their roots and anyone who would listen. Purpose of study is investigating effects of origin speculation in terms of architecture.

Keywords: Byzantion, İstanbul, Araps, *Arap Cami*, mosque, church.

INTRODUCTION

Myth has been said since ancient times, the fictional story deals with are extraordinary beings and events. The basis of myth is extraordinary event which is told irrational explanation as they are passed from generation to generation by keeping change people's imagination. From this viewpoint İstanbul is a rich place since beginning from its history in terms of city myths. The magnificent Constantinopolis which played the imperial role as a center, offered commercial opportunities with its location and had unusual relationship with myths and miracles occupied a special place at Near Eastern's imagination. Arabic pilgrims or medieval Muslims who could not be successful to conquer İstanbul searched partnership via legends, even symbolically until and after they settled in İstanbul. This partnership can be shaped with claiming participation of important architectural remains. Myths supported this emotional bond which established with structures in other words makes them partnership of collective memory. This study seeks to understand reasons of naming a Latin church which probably was constructed on an old Byzantion church firstly as a mosque of Mesleme by giving some Islamic symbolic meanings and how city myths affects architecture and surroundings of this mosque.

ARAP CAMİ

Galata can be described as a place where at the northern shore of the Golden Horn, included Beyoglu hill. Its history is as old as Byzantine. Golden age of Galata started with Genoese in 1115. After settling in Galata, they got the permission to construct their own place of worship (Çetinkaya, 2010, p.172). Until crusades fourth, Genoese people continued merchandising in Galata. After occupation of İstanbul by crusaders they replaced with Venetians. In 1261, VIII. Mikhael took back Galata from Venetians. After that Byzantion and Genoese reconfirmed agreement of commerce and peace and Genoese went back to Galata (Frank, 2001, p.42). Today's *Arap Cami* was the one of the splendid churches located in *Arap Cami* quarter and named as San Domenico e San Paolo at that time. The general layout of street consists of storages and alike shops but *Arap Cami* displays totally different view with its sharp cone, higher tower and the color of red tile (Berberoğlu, 2010, p.28). Basically, the style of church was gothic and plan scheme was rectangular (Eyice, 1959, p.936). It can be observed from outside even in today. According to common belief of Islamic world this building was the first mosque in İstanbul, built by *Mesleme* during İstanbul siege in 717. However there was not any masonry mosque in Galata (Eyice, 1993, p.294). Also it was hard to say that permanent masonry building has standed during and after siege. (Sezer and Özyalçınar, 2010, p.129). However it is accepted that there was a mosque which was located in city and close to the hippodrome with respect to agreement between Arabic Muslims and Emperor. In *Ebu Hassan Al Harawi's* travel records, he directly mentioned about a mosque which was located in city center (Eyice, 1959, p.399). The Crusaders established the Latin Empire after İstanbul's invasion. In brief history of that empire, Latin churches in Galata have been constituted. *Arap Cami* is the only extant structure which was a church dedicated to St. Paul (Marmara, 2006, p.25). Before Latin domination over İstanbul, Genoese took place of church to use as a cemetery. However instead of cemetery, St. Paul church was built in the first half of 13th century (Müller-Wiener, 2001, p.80). The church's oldest funeral

record dated November 13, 1260 (Çetinkaya, 2010, p.171). Departing from here this church was used as a place of worship during the Latin rule. In addition to that indication, according to Benedetto Palazzio's research which held in İstanbul, an important reverend Bernard Guillaume de Gaillac has a monestry in Galata (Palazzo, 1956, p.68). Gaillac in 1298 took refuge in Galata after get fired by the Byzantines. On behalf of the establish monastery and church for him, the given land should be the today's *Arap Cami* plot (Eyice, 1959, p.940). Neighborhood mosques in İstanbul often opened after establishing the housing in region. Although mosques have received its name from founders of the neighborhood there were such samples that neighborhood named after mosques (Kuban, 1996, p.240). *Arap Cami* quarter was one them, too. The church has become mosque by *islamizing* after the conquest. Hence it has been the spiritual and operational center of the neighborhood. One of the factors that region called as *Arap Cami* quarter is regulation concerns of Ottoman Empire for neighborhood which was located around this iconic mosque. One the most important function of city myths is providing ownership of culture. In addition to that settling a systematic relationship with oneself, family, society, history and God is also another important function of city myths (Emeksiz, 2007, p.148). In this context, people try to settle tight and direct connection between themselves and myth. While listening any myth about an event, a person or a place from which from their culture, they correlate with the story immediately (Aslan, 2008, p. 11). By this way, Arabic community or even all Muslims, with the myth of *Arab Cami*, make tighten and older the bond between İstanbul. Both the war before conquering the city by *Fatih Sultan Mehmet* and *Mesleme*, and aslo *Mesleme's* mosque which is named as a first mosque in that city are the provider to connect straightly. Even if today, some people tend to see *Arap Cami* as a first worship place for Muslims in İstanbul. There are still works which aimed to prove this (Cezar, 1991, p.94).

CONCLUSION

Mankind itself sought to create heroes in order to feel more powerful or someone's success becomes giant by talking in order to have power to win (Aslan, 2008, p.17). These kinds of myths could not be called as history chronologically however they could not be considered apart from history, also. In other words they are related with history. Historical events are shown as myth by people in the way that they want to see. Briefly, it is easy to find opinions, ambitions and sense of people in myths. City myth emphasizes the differences of the audience more than partnership with others (Taburoğlu, 2011, p.50). A person who from city in order to cope with major city chaos and its tough conditions he/she needs to extract simple and memorable summary of the case. Addressing *Arap Cami* as first Islamic shrine was important for Muslims who settled in Galata after conquest. It makes easier to connect with past due to this myth. Following words may express the confusion of the origin about *Arap Cami* dramatically: "*There is little information about the old Genoese neighborhood: just a few remains of city walls. However now, Dominican church of St. Paul which is known as Arap Cami today portrays the Catholic architecture on the Galata sky when bell tower was illuminated at night in Ramadan.*" (Bertele, 2012, p.52).

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THROUGH CITY MINIATURES OF MATRAKÇI NASUH ANALYZING BİTLİS WITH REGARDS TO HISTORY OF ARCHITECTURE

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ABSTRACT

Bitlis is an important historical city that was settled on important trade roads between Asia and Mediterranean as a kind of market bridge since the beginning of history. Because of having such important position between mountains as a valley of Bitlis river makes this city precious on a very high plateau at the end of Eastern Taurus. With the victory of Malazgirt in 1071 city is frequented by the Turkish army after that point Seljuks became the ruler of Bitlis. Since that time Bitlis owned the essence of open-air museum even today because of having so many Seljuks monuments. The importance of historical background and vital location of city has not been reflected in the historical sources as anticipated. Domestic and foreign travelers who visits Bitlis somehow keep travel diaries which are reference guides today in order to have an idea about the situation of the city at that time, events, places and people in light of the author's owns style and vision. In this context, especially Evliya Çelebi who visited Bitlis in 1655 is at the first place. Travelers records have been documented as visual map through Matrakçı Nasuh. Between 1533 and 1536 Kanuni Sultan Süleyman organized a campaign and through their journey all ranges were they crossed he noted a book which is called as *Beyân-ı Menâzil-i Sefer-i Irâkeyn Süleyman Han* or Description of the Stages of His Imperial Majesty Sultan Süleyman's Campaign in Two Iraqs (the 'two Iraqs' of the title refer to areas that are today Western Iran and Iraq) has consisted of 90 pages, 107 miniatures and 25 illustrated texts. Matrakçı Nasuh has recorded representations of the cities making them almost appropriate exactly to their origin. In this context, this study would be the first study of Bitlis which is aimed to build city inventory of Bitlis in 16th century view collaborating with miniature of Matrakçı Nasuh. Method of the study as depicted through the city which is the only document of the 16th century, structures which are still standing today, overlaid with the technical drawings of buildings and photographs describing the current situations will be discussed with the travelers records from past.

Keywords: Matrakçı Nasuh, Bitlis, miniature, architecture.

INTRODUCTION

Bitlis valley is a kind of precious place between higher hills on mountainous terrain. Because of linking Asia and Mediterranean with offering market bridge position the city always keeps its key role at region. This status makes city unshared until the victory of Malazgirt in 1071 (Köhler, 2011, p.29). After controlled by Seljuks Bitlis can be called as open-air museum aspect of having so many Seljuks and Ottoman monuments which are still standing today (Arık, 1971, p.7). The importance of historical background and vital location of city has not been reflected in the historical sources as anticipated, unfortunately has become ignored together with the lack of academic researches. Domestic and foreign travelers who visits Bitlis somehow keep travel diaries which are reference guides today in order to have an idea about the situation of the city at that time, events, places and people in light of the author's owns style and vision. In this context, especially *Evliya Çelebi* who visited Bitlis in 1655 is at the first place, the French merchant and traveler Jean-Baptiste, and Italian traveler Pietro Della Valle whose road even if does not cross with Bitlis, he heard and noted about *Bitlis Bey* while being in İstanbul, their records have import places in history of Bitlis (Dankoff, 1990, p. 61). *Şerefname* is another important source aspect of urban history of Bitlis. On the other hand it is written by one of the Bitlis rulers who named as Şerefhan Bitlisi. The book consists of historical information about Kurds, Seljuks and Ottomans and also what they did in Bitlis while taking under control of the city. Starting from general layout of city to important architectural remains information makes this book a reference-guide book, too. Travelers records have been documented as visual map through Matrakçı Nasuh. Between 1533 and 1536 Kanuni Sultan Süleyman organized a campaign and through their journey all ranges were they crossed he noted a book which is called as *Beyân-ı Menâzil-i Sefer-i Irâkeyn Süleyman Han* or *Description of the Stages of His Imperial Majesty Sultan Süleyman's Campaign in Two Iraqs* (the 'two Iraqs' of the title refer to areas that are today Western Iran and Iraq) has consisted of 90 pages, 107 miniatures and 25 illustrated texts. Matrakçı Nasuh has recorded representations of the cities making them almost appropriate exactly to their origin (Kösebay, 1998, p.14).

MATRAKÇI NASUH

Matrakçı Nasuh lived in the period of Bayezid II (1481-1512), Selim I (1512-1520) and Kanuni Sultan Süleyman (1520-1566) who was historian, mathematician, calligrapher, painter, fighter and the inventor of Matrak game Nasuh as a sophisticated Ottoman intellectual person. He lived in 16th century of Ottoman Empire who was a versatile person at that time. However because of not having more information about his life in detail it was unknown that exactly where and when he was born. It is estimated that he was born in circa 1480, probably in Bosnia (Unat, 2014, p.2). Furthermore having so many privileged characteristics as a strategist, mathematician, geographer, historian, artist, knight and writer among Ottoman elites, he placed himself at the forefront of their history (Ebel, 2008, p.4). Matrakçı Nasuh can be considered as *Renaissance man* like others in Europe who were contemporary with him. From that point of view, when all things about Matrakçı considered it is not too wrong to call him as person of Renaissance. This Renaissance person, his books and miniatures which were depicted as close to real situation of architectural remains were

can be evaluated as city guides and historical documents. Besides of them this study which is about miniature of Bitlis, intend to be first modest step to study *Beyân-ı Menâzil* in detail city by city, at least amount of researchs which studying about miniature of Istanbul belongs to Matrakçı Nasuh.

BİTLİS

The miniature of Bitlis which was depicting by Matrakçı Nasuh in the 16th century is the oldest image of the city (Erkan, 2011, p.187). When Matrakçı Nasuh's depictions of cities considered as a way of seeing, miniatures begin to constitute a historical document. Indeed, some landmarks and monumental buildings which are still surviving today, it is possible to watch over from the miniature of the city. Since the early ages it is storied that Bitlis valley where is settled between two mountains depicted in miniature just identically. According to narrations, starting from the establishment date of the city and its castle was built by one of the commander of the Alexander who is called as *Bidlis* until taken soldiers from castle of Bitlis with the edict of Abdülhamit in 1894 castle was full of people and living structure as a defense wall (Sevgen, 1959, p.79). The castle of Bitlis is still standing as a backbone of city. In the miniature of Matrakçı Nasuh, castle was depicted as inner citadel and outer citadel. Geographical formations and vegetations of city's depiction differs from other city representations of Bitlis miniature in the *Beyân-ı Menâzil* (Kösebay, 1998, p.113). Index of study shaped according to castle structure in this study. There are three main subtitles about depiction of Bitlis. For instance, buildings which are identified from miniature at inside of the castle and out of the castle, unidentified monumental buildings on miniature, and also monumental buildings which were belongs to that era but not represented on Nasuh's miniature. Structures within the castle with cases that can be detected, respectively; *Ulu Cami* (mosque), *Şerefiye Külliyesi* (social-complex), *Han Hamamı* (bath) and some 16th century house samples which are represented on miniature. Then, *Han of El-Aman* where is at out of citadel as illustrated on representation of city after that under the subtitle of unidentified monumental buildings one possible market place which is at the inside of citadel and another han place which is thought to be *Hüsrev Paşa* (Başın) Han when we compare with Evliya Çelebi scripts with its location on miniature. However from illustration it does not have any relation with *Hüsrev Paşa Han* because of that reason it cannot be identified. Finally, although they are not depicted on miniature but included as significant buildings of that period such as *Kızıl Cami* (mosque), *İhlasiye Medresesi* (madrasah) and Hüsrev Paşa Han and more than one bridges of city to be adressed and analyzed in order to complete the whole image and inventory of the city.

CONCLUSION

In order to measure and record the distance between ranges and to keep account of food supplies and ammunition in addition to them documenting every place overwriting the name on each depict where they belong to makes *Beyân-ı Menâzil* and Matrakçı Nasuh pioneer of era. In this state, depictions and miniatures of Matrakçı Nasuh can be evaluated as historical document that shed light today. Regardless of the purpose of the miniaturist it

is possible to think that they designed these city's oldest images are as qualitative as city guide.

With miniature depictions of the geographical areas direct serve the idea of land ownership which belongs to Turkish-Islamic state organization. Portraying typical structures such as mosques, shrines, social complexes and city walls on depiction underlines Islamic organization while framing state policy. When it comes to portray as a whole showing the land owned by Ottomans, miniatures start to become a statutory declaration of Kanuni Sultan Süleyman's political power and authority. As a consequence This Renaissance person, his books and miniatures which were depicted as close to real situation of architectural remains were can be evaulated as city guides and historical documents. Besides of them this study which is about miniature of Bitlis, intend to be first modest step to study *Beyân-ı Menâzil* in detail city by city, at least amount of researchs which studying about miniature of Istanbul belongs to Matrakçı Nasuh.

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- 1: Vegetation**
- 2: Inner Citadel**
- 3: Outer Citadel**
- 4: Bitlis Ulu Mosque**
- 5: Şerefiye Mosque**
- 6: Şerefiye Social Complex**
- 7: Han Bath**
- 8: El-Aman Han**

STRIKE A POSE: EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURY PHOTOGRAPHS OF ASIAN WOMEN AND THE ISSUE OF AGENCY

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ABSTRACT

When examining some early twentieth century photographs depicting Chinese women, photographs that are posed rather than candid, one thing stands out: many resemble Qing ancestor and royal portraits. Likewise, pictures of Japanese women seem to adhere to photographic conventions found in Meiji Era art.

This paper focuses on *Chinese Girl*, *Chinese Lady #1*, *Geisha Girl*, and *Geisha Girls* that were taken by the Gerhard sisters, Emma (1872-1946) and Mamie (1876-1955), as part of their project *Aboriginal Portraits* created in St. Louis, Missouri during the 1904 Louisiana Purchase Exposition (World's Fair). By closely analyzing their photographs of Asian women from both a formal and thematic standpoint, and comparing these to photographs by other photographers of similar subjects, this paper argues that there are levels of agency visible beyond the surface of the photographs: one level is that exerted by the Exposition organizers and staff who determined which photographers would be given permits; another is that of the photographers themselves; and still another is that of the subject.

It can be argued that, by alluding to the aesthetic conventions of their home countries, the Asian women of the Gerhards' pictures projected their cultural identities through adhering to the aesthetic conventions of their home countries.

Keywords: Asia, China, photograph, woman.

When examining some early twentieth century photographs depicting Chinese women, photographs that are posed rather than candid, one thing stands out: many resemble Qing ancestor and royal portraits. Likewise, pictures of Japanese women seem to adhere to photographic conventions found in Meiji Era art. This paper focuses on *Chinese Girl*, *Chinese Lady #1*, *Geisha Girl*, and *Geisha Girls* that were taken by the Gerhard sisters, Emma (1872-1946) and Mamie (1876-1955), as part of their project *Aboriginal Portraits* created in St. Louis, Missouri during the 1904 Louisiana Purchase Exposition (World's Fair). By closely analyzing their photographs of Asian women from both a formal and thematic standpoint, and comparing these to photographs by other photographers of similar subjects, this paper argues that there are levels of agency visible beyond the surface of the photographs: one level is that exerted by the Exposition organizers and staff who determined which photographers would be given permits; another is that of the photographers themselves; and still another is that of the subject. It can be argued that, by alluding to the aesthetic conventions of their home countries, the Asian women of the Gerhards' pictures projected their cultural identities through adhering to the aesthetic conventions of their home countries.

At the moment Theodore Roosevelt pressed the golden telegraphic key that lit the Palace of Electricity to open the 1904 Louisiana Purchase Exposition, St. Louis was one of the wealthiest of America's cities (Everdell, 1994). It was also a city with a large German immigrant and German-American population, a population to which the Gerhard's belonged. As late as 1900, twenty percent of immigrants to St. Louis were German and forty-one percent had foreign-born parents. The majority of the St. Louis German population settled between the Mississippi River and Broadway from Buchanan to Salisbury on the north side and throughout the south side of the city. Germans came to the state of Missouri starting in the mid-1830s and expanded their population quickly; for instance, in 1833 there were eighteen families living in St. Louis, but in 1837 there were 6,000 Germans in the city (Olson, 1980; Gerlach, 1986; Sandweiss, 2001).

For working-class women such as the Gerhards, the changes of the Progressive Era afforded them—as skilled professionals—a status more elevated and a profession more admired than the factory work or domestic service that was characteristic of earlier eras. Indeed, since photography was an acceptable avocation for middle-class women and “lady photographers” created home-like environments that associated the professional woman with gentility, the veneration of the domestic and middle-class cult of domesticity could enhance the prestige of a woman's professional studio (Rosenblum, 2010; Friedewald, 2014). While it may be true, as C. Jane Gover asserts, that this notion was complicated by a denigration of the photographic medium in the popular press of the era, such a veneration allowed professional women photographers to flourish (Gover, 1988; Palmquist, 1989; R. Edwards, 2006).

For the sisters, who had purchased their first studio from their employer F.W. Guerin in 1903 in a German-American community on St. Louis' north side (Brannan, 2011), the Exposition's notoriety allowed exposure and opportunity that could enhance their standing in St. Louis' economy and within the rigidly class-divided German-American community

(Rydell, 1984; Everdell, 1994; Rydell, Findling, and Pelle, 2000; Fermin, 2004; St. Louis Public Library, 2005). Moreover, their products needed to appeal to a wide swath of society, a society that wanted to appear more developed than the subjects of the photographs (E. Edwards, 1997; Diner, 1998). The Gerhards' representations fit nicely into these patrons' perceptions for the Gerhards' utilized strategies of Pictorialist photography that created what Anne Johnson's *Notable Women of North Saint Louis* explains are "character pictures in which décor, pose, and lighting are manipulated to convey the inner aspects of the sitter; in addition, hand coloring imitates oil painting to elevate the pictures beyond mere documentation to something approximating portrait painting" (Johnson, 1914, p. 79-81). The effect of these aspects is dual: potential consumers would be drawn to something that approximated high art, but was affordable for them; and viewers would interpret the filmy surfaces and raking light of Pictorialist aesthetics with the sitters in homey interiors as feminine (Rosenblum, 2010; Chadwick, 2012; Friedewald, 2014).

Chinese Girl, *Chinese Lady #1*, *Geisha Girl*, and *Geisha Girls* to some extent utilize the Gerhards' "character" elements by the fact that they stand in a seemingly domestic space. Yet, what one notices first are the flat lighting, foreign dress and stiff poses. *Chinese Girl*, to go further, conforms to viewers' expectations in several ways; the Gerhards' photograph accentuates the embroidered silk vestment rather than the woman herself. She sits, in strict profile, without any highlighting that would have drawn attention to her face; likewise, the long arms of her shirt fan into the foreground to form a focal point. From this point of view, the effect of such elements is to diminish the sitter's personhood. It is the clothing that carries meaning and the signification is otherness to the intended consumers; indeed, it was such exotic raiment that attracted fairgoers like thirty-one year old carpenter Edmund Philibert who was so entranced with the embroidered Chinese silks he viewed at the fair that he made note of them in his diary, marveling that such women could produce these extraordinary textiles (Clevenger, 1996). Philibert's general attitude—suggesting a kind of touristic and entertainment-oriented view of all features (including people) at the Fair—seems typical of the average visitor and, at first glance, appears to be reflected in *Chinese Girl* and *Chinese Lady #1*. Conversely, if one rotates his/her perspective to that of the viewed rather than the viewer, taking into account the idea that these women may have been only instructed to stand frontally or sit in profile and were, hence, allowed some measure of self-posing, this reading appears flat. In other words, what emerges is that the sitters' gazes, poses and arrangement of their vestments adhere to Qing Dynasty norms set by the Empress Dowager Cixi, conventions that were reflected in Cixi's portrait painted by the American artist Catherine Carl that was sent to the Fair (Ling, 2007; Tsang, 2006). From this point of view, the photographs are tantalizing hints at Chinese women's projections of their cultural identities. The most obvious way in which these portraits conform to canons of representation in China is that, in portraits of non-elites, the sitter does not engage the viewer's gaze; in *Chinese Lady #1* the woman looks to her proper left rather than directly at the viewer. A second significant feature is the lack of strict frontality; in portraits of aristocrats, the sitter is frontal (Conger, 1909); whereas, in this portrait the woman is angled slightly toward her left. In portraits of royals and courtiers, the hands of the figure are often displayed. In this photograph the long sleeves of the holiday attire that *Chinese Lady #1*

wears can be read doubly: as impeding her ability to act while the viewer's gaze acts upon her as an apparently handless and passive being (Conger, 1909; Garrett, 2007); or as indicating her social status within Chinese society by adhering to the posing conventions for those of her rank in the social hierarchy (Conger, 1909; Ho, 2012).

There are some striking similarities between *Chinese Girl*, *Chinese Lady #1*, *Geisha Girl*, and *Geisha Girls*. Like *Chinese Girl*, *Geisha Girl* presents a profile image removed from any cultural context beyond her Japanese signifiers of hair and clothing (Banta and Hinsley, 1986; E. Edwards, 1992; Smith, 1999; Lee, 2001; Hight and Sampson, 2002; Poignant, 2003; Vizenor, 2004). Comparisons to near contemporary images underline how the Japanese woman is largely objectified into the type of the beautiful and exotic other if one applies a western gaze. This gaze is illuminated by a fairgoer, Sam P. Hyde and is reproduced in Martha Clevenger's manuscript:

I have said that the Japanese women were fairly good looking. I remember one in particular, she was in attendance in a booth decorated with large boughs of (paper) apple blossoms, far removed from the other Jap displays, and was selling pictures and translated Jap story books. She was dressed in the bewitching costume of Tokio [sic]. All rich soft delicate silk with a pillow bound to her back with an elegant sash. A picture of feminine loveliness and one that for delicate beauty would rank above par under any flag. I talked with her considerable, and on my next visit sought her again but found her in the garb of a well dressed [sic] American girl. I asked her which dress she preferred, she said, 'O the other is so much more comfortable.' I told her that the costume of Tokio [sic] was much the most becoming. She was a beautiful girl however in either and I should have liked to get better acquainted, but though I haunted that little booth I never found her again. I think it was her that I passed one day as she was hurrying towards the gates with a suit case [sic] but our acquaintance did not permit me to speak. I would take no chances of having one of those ugly little Japs jump on my neck (Clevenger, 1996: 138-139).

His limning of his encounter with a young Japanese woman is particularly salient to understanding how Euro-American males presumed that foreign women at the fair existed for their delectation; this perspective appears to carry over to photography when one compares the Gerhard sisters' *Geisha Girl* to Stillfried and Anderson's *Prostitute, Probably in her Early Teens*. Both depict a figure in profile view and both are traditionally coiffed and dressed. The *Geisha Girl* wears an old-fashioned hairstyle known as the *shimada*, and is bedecked in an elaborately decorated kimono with the *taigo* obi popularized during the Edo Period of 1603 to 1868 (Banta and Taylor, 1988; Winkel, 1991; Stain, 1996; Dalby, 2001; Hight, 2002). This is interesting to note because, by photographing a woman in antiquated dress she is removed from the contemporary world, and therefore, from one viewing her as a personality; instead, she becomes an icon of traditional Japan. Hyde's concern and fear of the male other, made in his last remark of the paragraph, is alleviated because he could purchase such photographs of this remote and distant beauty and, therefore, never encounter a male threat. The other Gerhard photograph, *Geisha Girls'* presents two figures: the woman of *Geisha Girl* and another, more mature woman. To return to the issue of

implicit agency exerted by the sitters, the pictures at first seem only to display what Euro-Americans considered the odd and foreign in that the clothing and hairstyles are so different from those of the west. The standing woman accentuates the pride of place that clothing holds in this photograph because she displays the front sleeve of her kimono and the younger woman's heavily decorated garment is on full view. Dalby is informative here: the younger woman's characteristically Meiji kimono with *taiko* style obi indicates that she is unmarried; whereas, the older woman's *nagajuban* or undergarment is also typically rich in color (Dalby, 2001). The carefully composed image that emphasizes the exotic dress and foreign physiognomies, reifies Hyde's statement; the viewer becomes a thoughtful spectator who sees him/herself as participating in the project of national identity-building that places him/her high on the scale of human development by consuming photographs that are meant to distinguish Americans from others (E. Edwards, 1992; Christ, 2000).

Despite their efforts at determining the message, however, the forthright gazes of the women indicate that the photographers, and by extension the fair organizers and American public, had less control over their subjects—and the interpretations of the images produced—than one might presume. Curtis Hinsley homes in on this point with his statement: “It seems clear that the central problem of the exposition as a psychological construction of whit Americans was to determine distances and relative placement between peoples, physically and ideologically. Where the gaze can be returned, specular commerce becomes uneasy” (Hinsley, 1991). The fact that these women are obviously in the Gerhards' studio right away shifts the physical distance between sitter and photographer and produces an unconscious psychological effect on the viewer of allying the two groups of women.

And what if one pushes this idea further by noting that the traditional regalia and coiffures in which the women have adorned themselves could be said to speak to the women's agency as mercantile beings, posing for photographs to be sold. In other words, both the Gerhards and the Japanese women are commercially motivated. When observed from such a point of view *Geisha Girls'* becomes a simulation that manipulates Euro-American desire for the exotic other into a capitalist boon for the sitters (and/or their agents). This may be stretching the evidence a bit, but is intriguing nonetheless. Another noticeable aspect of the image is the forthright looks of the sitters out at viewers. Is it too far to suggest that such a look destabilizes the idea on the part of the fair organizers and attendees that they were “creating a congress of races that would pay particular attention to the most primitive races or ethnic groups” because do not the looks rather appear not at all primitive, but refined and canny (Rydell, Findling and Pelle, 2000: 54)

If one compares the Gerhard Sisters' photographs to other images: stereocards and the Louisiana Purchase Exposition album photography that displays a panoply of the fair from epic to banal, a fuller picture emerges of the complexity of intercultural interaction in this epoch and of the layered agencies of Fair participants. Two such images, *Dainty Geisha Girls* and *Japanese Ladies*, are instructive of disjunctions between the simulacrum of tradition and the reality of the modern that one could argue is in some ways akin to the shifting social conditions and sexual politics of Progressive Era America (Diner, 1998). Julie

Brown has argued that the photographs of the World's Columbian Exposition of 1893 are "contesting images" that address such a seeming paradox (Brown, 1994). The *Dainty Geisha Girls* stereocard presents a picturesque scene that simulates foreign travel; simultaneously, *Japanese Ladies* shows women wearing their hair in the trendy *sokuhatsu* style derived from the Gibson Girl image and standing before a shop of Japanese curiosities. Thus, the former women are displayed as exotic, traditional and timeless, that is, removed from the modern world; even as the latter—caught candidly—are part and parcel of the contemporary environment of global commerce in which culture is exploited for the economic opportunity it provides (Hales, 1984; Harris, 1990; Hinsley, 1991; Lippard, 1992; Lutz and Collins, 1994; Stain, 1996; Smith, 1999; Wexler, 1999; MacFarlane, 2003).

The analysis of these photographs begs the question: what are the implications in terms of understanding national identity building, women's history, intercultural interactions, art history and the growing culture of commodity, spectacle and simulation that is signaled by the World Fair phenomenon of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries? The answers are—like the women involved—complex and contradictory and only lead to more questions. One may say that these photographs reveal that images taken at the world's fairs of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries illuminate the complex and ambiguous relationship between women, men, American and foreign. Are the sisters complicit in imperializing paternalism, or are they merely taking advantage of the opportunities available to them to better their social status and standard of living? Are the Asian women victims of the ambitions of the Empress Dowager Cixi in China and the Meiji regime in Japan sent far away to represent their races, or is their participation in expositions allowing them some measure of autonomy or self-sufficiency far from the prying eyes of their governments? Are the photographs ethnographic inscriptions of difference, or objects of art, or mere commodities?

A comparison of these photographs to the self-portrait of the sisters may provide some measure of an answer in regard to the sisters' attitudes at least. The Gerhards represent themselves in profile, with silken dresses that emphasize their feminine beauty as established in the Progressive Era. Maybe the most striking similarity is that both the sisters and their Asian sitters are photographed in what appears to be a domicile. Granted it is feigned, but it still seeks to situate all of the women in an intimate, domestic space. At first glance, the Gerhards' poses appear to be the same as *Chinese Girl* and *Geisha Girl*, but there exist subtle, yet telling differences. Rather than a diffuse light that provides an all-over glow, a raking light emanating from outside the picture plane at the viewer's left falls upon the sisters to bathe their hands and faces, faces that tilt slightly downward to draw the eye away from their coiffures. The gaze is, thereby, transfixed on the faces and hands of the women. These elements, additionally, impart a sense of personality and liveliness to the figures that contrasts with the rigidity of the *Chinese Girl* and *Geisha Girl* whose evenly lighted faces and elaborate clothing or hairstyle encourages the viewer to see them less as humans and more as objects of scrutiny.

Scholars of the material evidence from the St. Louis World's Fair often remark upon how the photographs of Native Americans in the Gerhard Sisters' *Aboriginal Portraits*

participate in the building of a national, Eurocentric identity (Breitbart, 1997; Wexler, 1999). A salient issue is that of how the World's Fairs fostered both regional and national identity. Paradoxically the overarching imperialist agenda was a national identity issue; simultaneously, the competition among the cities of the nation to act as a host to an exposition and showcase their city was a regional unifier. St. Louis had vied for the 1893 Exposition, but lost out to their larger neighbor, Chicago. When St. Louis made its bid for the 1904 World's Fair it was in a much better position, since the city could link its ambitions to the mapping of the Louisiana Purchase territory: itself an imperialist project. What was the role of photography in normalizing the nationalist, imperialist doctrine at the fairs while simultaneously enhancing—through its encoding of difference—the “advanced” nature of the American city and the prestige of an individual city? This embedding is clearly demonstrated by the layout of the Fair itself: The site of the Louisiana Purchase Exposition was 1,272 acres in what is now called Forest Park. The structures of the World's Fair were eight Neoclassical buildings that served as lynchpins around Festival Hall at the center of the grounds. The foreign pavilions stood to the west on the site of what is now Washington University. The entertainment district, called the Pike, lay to the west of the Fair's entrance and extended over one-and-a-half miles (Hanson, 1904; *World's Fair Authentic Guide*, 1904). Thus, the fair was divided into zones of anthropological, artisanal, and entertainment districts. Even though it is true that the sisters' photographs do participate in this project visually, as professional women their lives were, perhaps, more similar to their Asian sitters than to those of wealthy St. Louisans. This paper has hopefully demonstrated, through a close visual analysis of *Chinese Girl*, *Chinese Lady #1*, *Geisha Girl*, and *Geisha Girls* combined with an exploration of how the photographs seemingly share in the aesthetic conventions of Qing Chinese and Meiji Japan portrait photography as well as an examination of contemporary fairgoers attitudes to the Asian women at the Louisiana Purchase Exposition that both the “exhibits (that is Asian women working at the fair) and the Gerhard sisters were precariously situated in relation to Euro-American males and the process of nation building that the expositions of this era represent. In the end, one could say that the women of *Chinese Girl*, *Chinese Lady #1*, *Geisha Girl*, and *Geisha Girls* lurk in the shadow of the other to perhaps consciously, likely unconsciously, to exerted a form of agency of what it meant to be an Asian woman in a world of Americans.

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READING VISUAL SYMBOLS ON ANATOLIAN KILIMS

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ABSTRACT

This study examines the relationship between visual semiotics and the symbols on Anatolian rugs. The shortsge of research and investigation on Anatolian rugs by decoding symbols in a semiotic approach contributed to the developing of the paper.

A culture is explainable by its body language, writing, painting and by the symbols on art crafts (Jean, 2010, s. 156). The main goal of this study is to figure out, how Anatolian culture particularly expressed their feelings and their ritual needs by using symbols on their rugs. The signification codes studied by Roland Barthes are defined under five topics; hermeneutic (presentation of enigma), the semiotic code (connotative meaning), the symbolic code, the proairetic code (the logic of actions), and the cultural code which comes from historical knowledge (The European Graduate School, 2015). The analysis of social messages hidden behind the images will be investigated by using Roland Barthes's denotation, connotation and myth process. Barthes wrote that "the viewer of the image receives at one and the same time the perceptual message and the cultural message" (Barthes, 1964\1977, p. 36). To make this paper more perceptible, the history of semiology, visual communication, cultural studies are also investigated. Thereby, this paper, the brief history of hand woven rugs, symbols meanings and cultural life of Anatolia is investigated.

Keywords: Visual semiotics, cultural message, Anatolian cultural symbols.

1. INTRODUCTION

Anatolia has a rich history of hand woven rugs and carpets. There are sources about Anatolian rugs and carpets from twelfth and thirteenth century (Thompson, 1993, p. 67). Traditional Turkish handcraft has distinctive characteristics of the Anatolian tradition on them. Weaving is the oldest and one of the current handcraft traditions in Anatolia and a very important source of income for the practitioners and the wider economy. Wool, Angora wool, cotton, animal hair and silk were and still is the common materials of weaving (Albayrak, 2012, p. 422).

The symbols on the Turkish rugs have imbeded social and cultural messages (Taşkıran, 2006, p. 7). Analyzing the symbols and the composition of them on Anatolian rugs will help to understand the relationship between visual semiotics and the symbols of the previous Anatolian life. This paper discusses, how visual semiotics is related with the social life in Anatolia and investigates the symbols on the Anatolian rug weavings. The goal of the investigation is to read the visual symbols on hand made traditional rugs and find out the social messages on them by using connotation and denotation methods of the semiotician Roland Barthes.

In the past century, the hand made rugs has been the subject of researches for the hand crafting experts and the art historians. Significant number of books and journals have been written on the subject, that shows weaving hand made carpets is an important form of art (Ayyıldız, 1983, p. 10). Reading Georges Jean's Signs, Symbols and Ciphers: Decoding the Message, Barthes's Myth Today, Turkish Handwoven Carpet catalogs, Göstergebilim and the articles written about semiology theories increased the concern of the investigation in reading motifs on the carpets.

2. THEORETICAL DISCUSSION

The study of signs is called semiotics. The signs can be drawings, paintings, photographs and also can be words. Semiology also studies the role of the signs within the part of social life.

Traditional semiotics co-founders were Charles S. Peirce(1839/1914) and Ferdinand de Saussure(1857/1913). They were interested in visual analysis and ideologies. Their philosophical models of signification in linguistics made the theoretical foundations for cultural theory works (Aiello, 2006, p. 92).

Saussures' approach to signification was interested in cultural theory of visual analysis. Charles S. Pierce's mainly interest was the relationship between the sign and the object. Ronald Barthes was a follower of Saussure. He was the first semiologist looking at signs and signification as dynamic elements of any give social and cultural fabric . Barthes was interested in how the meanings of signs can change across different cultural and historical contexts. According to Barthes the level of connotation suits to the symbolic or ideological meaning of an image (Aiello, 2006, p. 94).

3. METHODOLOGY

Barthes considers that the first level of perception is not the literal level which is denotation. He argues that denotation also can be connotation. Denotation is purely literal and universal meaning. Connotation makes the meaning ideological which is higher than the first level of perception. Connotation can be named as personal perception and cultural knowledge about the texts and visual images (Silverman, 1983).

In "Mythologies" (1970/1990), Barthes discusses an additional ideology of signification: Myth. Myth is related to ideological concepts that are evoked by a certain sign. Connotation is the ideological meaning that is attached to a specific sign (Aiello, 2006, p. 95).

Symbols of "ram's horn", "tree of life" and "hands on hips" on Anatolian rugs will be explained by the process of denotation, connotation and myth.

4. CASE STUDY

4.1. HAND CRAFTING

Hand crafting is a mainly hand made activity that is skillfully achieved by hand to supply people's basic needs, using natural, local materials that can be easily found around waven by simple hand tools, in their free times. Hand crafting also can be a profession that requires creativity to produce products which have aesthetic, functional and reasonably priced. Hand crafting has an important role to transfer the national cultural characteristics and their values, from the older generation to the new generations (Albayrak, 2012, p. 420).

4.2. RUG WEAVING IN ANATOLIA

The art of carpet weaving is one of the oldest handcraft of the world which has 3500 years of history (Mutver, 1990). Word of carpet is used for larger scales of items and word of rug is used for smaller scales, maximum 125 centimeters by 75 centimeters (Hann, 2013). Weaving is the oldest and one of the current handcraft in Anatolia and a very important source of income. Wool, Angora wool, cotton, animal hair and silk were the common materials of weaving (Albayrak, 2012, p. 422).

Traditionally rugs were designed by Anatolian women. They were woven by rural women while men were at war or at hunting in Anatolia. The women who were weaving carpets were not designers. Researchers believe that the colors and the symbols used on carpets display a type of symbolism which helps to differentiate various social groups from each others (Ünal, 1990, p. 6). To weave high valued carpets, long months of hand labour, patience and great labor-skills were required. Besides being utilitarian objects, they are also a source of contentment to their owners (Ayyıldız, 1983, p. 9).

4.3. SYMBOLS ON ANATOLIAN RUGS

Hand crafting has an important role in transferring the national characteristic and cultural knowledge, from the older generations to the new generations (Mevhibe Albayrak, Melda Özdemir, 2010). There are symbols and compositional structures on the rugs of Anatolia. Some symbols on rugs changed forms over time with their original

significance (Hann, 2013). The symbols on rugs informs us about the Turkish culture and the family structure in the past years. The symbols on rugs were a way for women to express their feelings to the society and to their families. The symbols were usually about the wishes of women for her family and social surroundings. Sometimes the carpets were a communication, to reach out to God to make the women’s wishes come through (Taşkıran, Reading Motifs On Kilims:A Semiotic ApproachTo Symbolic Meaning, 2006).

For example women, wishing to get married was expressed by waving a “hair band” symbol, wishing endless love was waved as a “ying-yang” symbol, immortality was expressed in the form of a “tree”. For protection their family and land the women were waving the symbol of “water way”. The fertility motifs were used more then other symbols (Taşkıran, 2006, p. 25). Hand made rugs wre usually woven from various materials, shapes and colors (Quataert, 1986, p. 1).

To give another example, water is the most important need of mankind, thus waterline figures are widely used in the art works. It symbolizes life, has a curved shape like river (Taşkıran, 2006, p. 14). (see fig.1)



Figure 1: Waterline motifs. (Kilim Com Timeless Weaving, 2014)

Ying-Yang symbols origin is Far East. It shows the harmony between a man and woman (Erbek, 1987, p. 24). It is a symbolic form because the sign is arbitrary and the motif is an abstract motif (Taşkıran, 2006, p. 13). (see fig. 2)



Figure 2: Ying-Yang motifs. (Kilim Com Timeless Weaving, 2014)

5. ANALYZING SYMBOLS

	Ram's Horn	Tree of Life	Hands on Hips
Denotation	The signifier directly refers to the signified.	The signifier does not directly refers to the signified. It refers to the “Tree”, but not the “Tree of Life”.	The signifier does not refer to the signified. There is a symbolic connection.
Connotation	The symbol connotates the Ram's Horn.	The symbol connotate the tree but does not shows the meaning of “Tree of Life”.	The symbol connotates the body shape of a female figure which has “Hands on Hips”.
Myth	This figure is used as a symbol of fertility, heroism, masculinity and power (Erbek, 1987, p. 11).	The tree is a symbol of believing in single god (Erbek, 1987).	The hands on hips figure shows that the weaver of the carpet is very proud (Taşkıran, Reading Motifs On Kilims:A Semiotic ApproachTo Symbolic Meaning, 2006).

Table 1: Anatolian rug symbols decoded by the denotation, connotation and the myth process.



Figure 3: Ram's Horn symbol. (Kilim Com Timeless Weaving, 2014)



Figure 4: Tree of Life symbol. (Kilim Com Timeless Weaving, 2014)



Figure 5: Hands on Hips symbol. (Kilim Com Timeless Weaving, 2014)

5. CONCLUSION

There are two external characteristics of human behaviour. These are communication and expression. Expression is a social behaviour and communication is a personal behaviour. Man can express their feelings and thoughts in too many ways, these can be natural or artificial. He can express himself by using body language (laughing, humming, moaning, etc...) or he can express himself by using artificial means, writing poems, painting, or any other art crafts.

Man can communicate by using undestandable forms and visualize his feelings. Expression and communication are very close human behaviours to each other. The feelings and thoughts can be sayable by using a system of signs or symbols (Jean, 1989, p. 155).

For the next paper, the composition of symbols on rugs are going to be investigated. The symbols on the Anatolian rugs will be compared with the other countries hand wowed carpets.

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Wael Shawky, The Tradition of the *Qawalli*, and the Mobile Habitat of the Mother Tongue

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ABSTRACT

My first experience of Wael Shawky's performance work was at the opening of the Eleventh Sharjah Biennial on March 13, 2013. It was in fact the first time the project was publicly performed after a planning and preparation period that began at the preceding biennial in 2011. Foreign press, curators, and artists had gathered at the entry to the newly renovated Sharjah Heritage Area, the preserved urban core to the city consisting of traditional Emirati homes built over a half century before – ancient when compared to the outlandish glass-and-steel juggernauts that dominate the city's horizon line in the twenty-first century. In preparation for the 2011 Biennial, the Sharjah Art Foundation (SAF) converted several of the traditional homes into austere, pristinely designed exhibition spaces while maintaining the intimate, close-knit grid of the original structures' plans.¹ The buildings are so close together that the exterior space of the Heritage Area functions like a network of open-air hallways flanked by the high, sun-eclipsing walls of the white-washed new galleries. The group of art world interlocutors, dressed eloquently and perusing their biennial guides, paused at the opening of one of these passages as attendants blocked the way, asking them to wait for the beginning of the performance. The sounds of the swiftly moving traffic that surrounds the Heritage Area and bellowing calls to prayer from the city's numerous mosques drifted over the scene.

Keywords: Wael Shawky, Biennial, art, performance.

¹ "Sharjah Art Foundation New Art Spaces," accessed on May 16, 2015, <http://www.sharjahart.org/biennial/sharjah-biennial-11/information/sharjah-art-foundation-new-art-spaces>.

My first experience of Wael Shawky's performance work was at the opening of the Eleventh Sharjah Biennial on March 13, 2013. It was in fact the first time the project was publicly performed after a planning and preparation period that began at the preceding biennial in 2011. Foreign press, curators, and artists had gathered at the entry to the newly renovated Sharjah Heritage Area, the preserved urban core to the city consisting of traditional Emirati homes built over a half century before – ancient when compared to the outlandish glass-and-steel juggernauts that dominate the city's horizon line in the twenty-first century. In preparation for the 2011 Biennial, the Sharjah Art Foundation (SAF) converted several of the traditional homes into austere, pristinely designed exhibition spaces while maintaining the intimate, close-knit grid of the original structures' plans.² The buildings are so close together that the exterior space of the Heritage Area functions like a network of open-air hallways flanked by the high, sun-eclipsing walls of the white-washed new galleries. The group of art world interlocutors, dressed eloquently and perusing their biennial guides, paused at the opening of one of these passages as attendants blocked the way, asking them to wait for the beginning of the performance. The sounds of the swiftly moving traffic that surrounds the Heritage Area and bellowing calls to prayer from the city's numerous mosques drifted over the scene.

Suddenly the pulse of melodious singing in an unfamiliar language – unfamiliar to me, at least – filled the air, signaling the beginning of *Dictums* and the official opening of the Biennial. The attendants allowed my group to slowly filter into the passageway between the galleries, where the shade from the merciless glare of the Gulf sun felt like a cooling curtain separating two environmental logics, one dry, bright, and washed out by the blaze of the sun, the other dark, more intimate, and obscured by mystery. As we inched forward, packed close to one another, the chanted susurrations grew louder, and were soon joined by the rhythmic clapping of hands and the chest-reverberating beats of *doumbek* hand drums. The music came as somewhat of a revelation to me on that quiet Sharjah morning. I had come to the Biennial to view the work of numerous Egyptian artists, including Shawky, Mohamed Abdelkarim, Hala Elkoussy, Hassan Khan, Basim Magdy, and Ayman Ramadan.³ While I was familiar with much of the work from previous viewings or research, Shawky's *Dictums* project remains something of an enigma to me up until the performance itself. I had no idea what to expect, and the masterful use of the Heritage Area's confined exteriors produced a sensational accumulation of curious suspense as I moved through the narrow corridor.

The passage ended at a point of intersection with another, similarly high-walled alleyway. Once our group reached this juncture, we turned right, and Shawky's collaborators came into full view. Flanking each side of the corridor, numerous musicians sat cross-legged on floor pillows, dressed in whites or pale colors, each playing an instrument. There were many *doumbek* players, some musicians on guitar, a man playing an electric keyboard, and perhaps a dozen others clapping their hands in rhythm to the beat

² "Sharjah Art Foundation New Art Spaces," accessed on May 16, 2015, <http://www.sharjahart.org/biennial/sharjah-biennial-11/information/sharjah-art-foundation-new-art-spaces>.

³ A list of participating artists can be found in *Sharjah Biennial 11: Guidebook* (Sharjah, UAE: Sharjah Art Foundation, 2013).

of the song. Our group was led slowly between this cadre of musicians toward the far end of the passage, where two singers stood behind a white pedestal, each pumping the bellows of their own harmonium while they intoned the dramatically oscillating core of the song, gesticulating fluidly toward the rest of musicians with dramatic sweeps of their hands. Through it all, Shawky stood off to the side, unassuming in dark slacks and a casual shirt, observing the performance he himself had planned and orchestrated.

For a fuller understanding of why the two expressive forms were intermingled in *Dictums 10:120*, one must return to the Tenth Sharjah Biennial in 2011, when Shawky was invited by the SAF to participate in the Witness Programme, a three-week residency that coincided with the exhibition.⁴ The SAF organized the Programme as an opportunity for invited artists to engage with the Biennial as it progressed through its opening weeks. Through the course of its duration, residents observed other artists install their work, curators translate their conceptual frameworks into concrete form, and the Biennial's audience respond to the finished exhibition.⁵ The invited artists were then prompted to produce work of their own, in response to their experiences as globally active artists working in the local confines of Sharjah.

Compared to earlier biennials at Sharjah, the tenth iteration was rife with controversies that brought the polarities of global and local into sharp relief. Curated by Suzanne Cotter, Rasha Salti, and Haig Aivazian and showing 119 artists, the exhibition revolved around the call to "Plot a Biennial," a theme fraught with the paranoia, intrigue, sedition, and conspiracy that traditional representations of political plots evoke.⁶ In her review of the show, Wilson-Goldie emphasizes this boldness of vision while also recounting its very real consequences, writing, "In retrospect, the curators of the Tenth Sharjah Biennial were probably asking for trouble when they decided to create an exhibition about conspiracy, subversion, and betrayal in one of the purest autocracies on earth."⁷ The trouble she references came to a climax on April 6, 2011, when Persekian was fired by the ruler of Sharjah, Sheikh Sultan bin Mohammed al-Qasimi. Persekian was forced from his position for allowing the inclusion of Mustapha Benfodil's 2011 work *Maportaliche/Ecritures Sauvages (It Has No Importance/Wild Writings)* in the exhibition. The Algerian artist's installation consisted of 23 mannequins garbed in the uniforms of two soccer teams, their T-shirts emblazoned with appropriated texts that ranged from jokes and love poems to a vivid and ferocious description of a young woman's rape committed by militant Islamists during the chaos of the Algerian civil war. The mannequins were set up in a public courtyard that had been decorated – or defaced, depending on one's point of view – by roiling graffiti also by Benfodil. Finally, a large sound system blasted North African hip-hop. *Maportaliche* enraged local Emirati audiences, resulting in a slew of angry responses on social media and embittered complaints to the government itself. Following Persekian's firing, Benfodil's work was taken down on April 7, a causality to the same fusillade of government censorship

⁴ Wael Shawky, interview with the author. Digital recording. Alexandria, Egypt. April 1, 2013.

⁵ "Witness Programme," accessed May 16, 2015, <http://www.sharjahart.org/news/witness-programme>

⁶ Kaelen Wilson-Goldie, "Sharjah Biennial 10: Sharjah Art Museum and Other Venues, UAE," *Artforum International*, vol. 49, issue 10, Summer 2011, 399.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 399.

that pushed the director from his position.⁸ Following his dismissal, Persekian blamed the herculean workload that came with the Tenth Biennial's epic scope, telling the UAE newspaper *The National*, "It was foolish of me, I had not looked at it carefully because I couldn't, there were so many works and so many things to produce - films and books and publications and videos, a million things I didn't go through."⁹ Sheikha Hoor Al-Qasimi, the Sheikh Sultan's daughter and the president of the SAF, personally oversaw the work's removal.

The critical response to the Tenth Sharjah Biennial foregrounds Shawky's creative engagement with the event, expressing an ambivalence that echoes the show's contradictory foundations. While critics almost universally lauded the show's scope and curatorial inventiveness, their reviews are also prevalently haunted by the "Persekian affair" and the questions that emerged in its fallout.¹⁰ Wilson-Goldie interrogated the very basis of the Biennial, writing, "If a biennial in Sharjah can only exist without intellectual independence or artistic autonomy, without recourse to public discussion or debate, then maybe it isn't worth organizing in the first place."¹¹ Hanan Toukan called the Tenth Biennial the "post-1990 contemporary Arab art world's most challenging moment to date," writing:

Questions that immediately arise include how one negotiates the role of censorship in a place where the very act of censoring is enshrined as a necessary cultural norm and a social value by regime and society alike. Additionally, the question of where one draws the line between supposedly agreed-upon social values based on local cultural sensitivities and violent acts of suppression in the name of "cultural relativism" becomes ever more pressing.¹²

And responding to the original petition and the following pro-boycott alarmism on social media, Ghalya Saadawi situated her critical response in the art history of institutional critique, castigating the anti-Gulf sentiment as a racist relic from the colonial era. She wrote:

Some of these claims are indeed accurate and legitimate, while others are problematic, deeply reductionist, and borderline racist. For one, they implicitly view the Gulf as a singular out-group entity to be discriminated against for its backwardness and lack of local culture, without nuance or differentiation. They create false dichotomies between original and imported, authentic and fake, or local and transnational, however contentious or loaded the politics of these terms may be.¹³

⁸ Kaelen Wilson-Goldie, "Sharjah Biennial 10: Sharjah Art Museum and Other Venues, UAE," *Artforum International*, vol. 49, issue 10, Summer 2011, 399.

⁹ Colin Simpson, "Sharjah Biennial chief sacked over one work," *The National*, April 7, 2011, accessed on May 17, 2015, <http://www.thenational.ae/arts-culture/art/sharjah-biennial-chief-sacked-over-one-work>.

¹⁰ Kaelen Wilson-Goldie, "Sharjah Biennial 10: Sharjah Art Museum and Other Venues, UAE," *Artforum International*, vol. 49, issue 10, Summer 2011, 399.

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² Hanan Toukan, "Boat Rocking in the Art Islands: Politics, Plots and Dismissals in Sharjah's Tenth Biennial," *Jadaliyya* accessed on May 17, 2015, http://www.jadaliyya.com/pages/index/1389/boat-rocking-in-the-art-islands_politics-plots-and#_edn2.

¹³ Ghalya Saadawi, "Post-Sharjah Biennial 10: Institutional Grease and Institutional Critique," *e-flux*, accessed on May 17, 2015, http://www.e-flux.com/journal/post%E2%80%933sharjah-biennial-10-institutional-grease-and-institutional-critique/#_ftn5.

Much of the fraught, sometimes sharp-edged critical debate was summarized in a deceptively simple question asked by Jennifer Higgle as she recalled the 2011 uproar in her later review of the Eleventh Sharjah Biennial: "Who is this biennial actually for?"¹⁴ Was it for the Emirati public, to be used as a cultural veil to hide the more oppressive aspects of Sharjah social and political life? Or was it for a predominantly foreign audience made up of globally active artists and intellectuals who purportedly hold freedom of expression as an inalienable right? Or, as Saadawi suggests, are these questions foundationally flawed and unrepresentative of the social and cultural communities they seek to interrogate? As Shawky developed his own artistic response to the Tenth Biennial, the issue of exactly whom the biennial was for, and how this hypothetical audience negotiated the divide between local realities and global forces, came to the forefront. But rather than focus on the Emirati public or the jet-setting members of the international art world, the artist chose a third constituency: the voiceless migrant laborers and technical staff that built, supported, and maintained the biennial's infrastructure even as a critical maelstrom stirred about their activities without acknowledging their perspective or their contribution.

In his controversial critical engagement with the backlash provoked by the Tenth Biennial, Ekwui Enwezor posed a question that had hitherto remained unasked in other reviews: "Might one not ask the reverse question, that of the responsibility of the curators and the artists to observe the rules of Sharjah, however oppressive they might be according to Western standards?"¹⁵ In a sense, Shawky's preparations for the *Dictums* performance represent various attempts to observe the rules of the local audience, though he took the term 'local' to connote the working population of the Biennial itself. Like much of Sharjah's migrant population, these workers are Pakistani in origin, migrants who travelled to the Emirates for the promise of high paying jobs and the ability to send remittances back to their families in Pakistan. During the initial three weeks of the Witness Programme, the artist organized a workshop with 25 of the Pakistani laborers and technicians. He brought numerous documents to the workshop, including the Tenth Biennial's original curatorial proposal, the curators' final thoughts released following the exhibition, and transcripts of three press conferences done at the Tate Modern, the Modern Museum of Art in New York, and Dubai.¹⁶ Persekian, Cotter, Salti, and Aivazian each spoke at the conferences, giving statements and answering questions about the purpose and for of the Biennial. "That became the main data that I would be working with," he said during an interview with the author. Shawky had these documents translated into Urdu, and, in collaboration with the workers, he began formulating a performance that would both integrate and respond to the discursive material produced by the Biennial.¹⁷ In this fashion, he hoped to explore how the international mechanisms of the event interacted with the often-observed local realities in

¹⁴ Jennifer Higgle, "Sharjah Biennial 11," *Frieze*, issue 156, June-August 2013, accessed on May 17, 2015, <http://www.frieze.com/issue/review/sharjah-biennial-11/>.

¹⁵ Okwui Enwezor, "Spring Rain," *ArtForum International*, Summer 2011, accessed May 17, 2015, <https://artforum.com/inprint/issue=201106&id=28339>.

¹⁶ Haig Aivazian and Rasha Salti, "Sharjah Biennial 10: Curators' Final Statement," *Universes in Universe*, accessed May 17, 2015,

http://universes-in-universe.org/eng/bien/sharjah_biennial/2011/aivazian_salti_final_statement.

¹⁷ Wael Shawky, interview with the author. Digital recording. Alexandria, Egypt. April 1, 2013.

Sharjah itself, specifically those of the Pakistani workers that were historically unacknowledged by both the Sharjah government and the organizers of the Biennial. He told me, "I needed to talk about the relationship between the Biennial itself and the local community. It was very important to me that this project give the authority to the workers inside the Biennial"¹⁸

During the workshop, he and the workers decided to convert the Biennial documents into a song. Once the form of the presentation was decided, Shawky directed the workers to mine the translated documents for excerpts that could be repurposed as lyrics. Since the artist could not speak or read Urdu, he could not understand the workers' deliberations or the final document they produced. For Shawky, this was an important structural element of the performance; he wanted to leave all the significant planning to the laborers with as little direct intervention from him as possible.¹⁹

The artist held three further sets of workshops with the migrants over the following months, polishing the song lyrics and eventually producing a document three pages long. With the help of Pakistani poet Ali Akbar Natiq, they retooled some of the language to soften sharp rhetorical edges and transform the critical language of the Biennial into the lilting poetic rhythms of a song or a poem. Throughout the workshops, Shawky and the workers debated which musical genre to use in the performance, eventually settling on *qawwali* music, a Sufi devotional form popular in Pakistan and widely loved by the participating migrants. Like all the other decisions that took place during the workshop, the choice of *qawwai* music was settled through a democratic vote among the participating works. After they finalized the lyrics, Shawky travelled to Karachi, Pakistan to search for a group of *qawalli* musicians to compose the song and perform at the Eleventh Sharjah Biennial in March 2013. After spending a month in Karachi, the artist hired Farid Ayaz and his *qawwali* family to convert the lyrics into a ballad that they would perform multiple times at the Biennial. Internationally renowned, Ayaz and his band emerged from a long line of *qawwali* musicians known as a *gharaānā*, a socio-cultural tradition that connects musicians through genealogical lineage and apprenticeship.²⁰ At the final realization of the project in 2013, nineteen musicians from Ayaz's *gharaānā* performed alongside fourteen other artists based in the Emirates.²¹

The entire performance lasted for around a half hour, and was repeated eight times during the first three days of the Biennial. During the remainder of the exhibition, which lasted until May 13, small speakers played an audio track of the performance throughout the Heritage Area, leaving a sonic vestige of the original performances. A small pamphlet authored by Shawky was handed out to audience members upon entry to the performance grounds. It provided the names of all the participants, including the workshop laborers, the

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Maneesh Pandey, "Pak qawwals have Dilli roots," *The Times of India*, accessed on May 17, 2015, <http://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/city/delhi/Pak-qawwals-have-Dilli-roots/articleshow/287236.cms?referral=PM>.

²¹ A list of participating musicians and workers can be found in Wael Shawky, *Dictums 10:120* (Sharjah, UAE: Sharjah Art Foundation).

qawwals from Pakistan, and the singers hired in the UAE. Along with the lyrics of the ballad and the scheduled performance times, the artist also included a short text describing the work as a “contemporary art experiment,” writing, “The project tests the authenticity of the language used to communicate the biennial’s *raison d’être*, namely its relationship to the local community.”²² Echoing the vernacular of Quranic verse, the artist chose the title *Dictums 10:120* to confer a quantum of sacredness to the project’s text, suggesting that the idiom by which biennial organizers describe and conceptualize their cultural products has reached the level of religious discourse among the art community’s initiated.²³ Referring to the tenth iteration of the biennial and the quantity of artworks on display at that exhibition, the numbers of the work take the basic coordinates of biennial culture and put them forward as hallowed markers, sacrosanct to the catechized of the global art world.²⁴

The Eleventh Sharjah Biennial proved to be a less controversial staging ground for such an experiment. Perhaps chastened by the well-publicized calamities of the previous installment, the organizers of the 2013 exhibition eschewed any direct reference to radical politics and avoided the presentation of any potentially offensive works. Titled *Re:emerge – Towards a New Cultural Cartography*, the show instead traded in the sometimes vague conceptual language of critical theory and imaginative geographies, proposing inventive new points of engagement with the cultures of the Global South and the Far East. The show’s promotional materials emphasized this project of cultural and geographical innovation, presenting a new map of the world in which the geographies of North Africa, the Middle East, Latin America, and the Far East are realigned to form an utterly unrecognizable landmass. Ironically, curator Yuko Hasegawa took the Islamic courtyard as her point of conceptual departure, a stark reversal of the defacement that this architectural feature underwent through Benfodil’s installation work during the preceding biennial. Hasegawa’s inspiration was referenced in the exhibition’s guidebook, where the courtyard was envisioned as a local node of cultural encounter and exchange within an increasingly globalized world. It read, “Within the network of intensifying international and globalizing links, the courtyard as an experiential and experimental space comes to mirror something of Sharjah as a vital zone of creativity, transmission, and transformation.”²⁵

Through the *qawwali* ballad, the text – the very language – of the biennial is made lucid to those who precondition the show’s existence with their labor. The gesture of inclusion was widely appreciated by its target audience, as bands of the city’s workers appeared at each of the eight performances to listen and appreciate the artistry of the *qawwals*. In fact, as the first three days of the biennial drew to a close, the international audience that had initially arrived in Sharjah to view the exhibition slowly slipped away to their various corners of the globe, and the last performances of *Dictums 10:120* were attended by audiences almost entirely composed of migrant laborers.

²² Wael Shawky, *Dictums 10:120* (Sharjah, UAE: Sharjah Art Foundation).

²³ Wael Shawky, interview with the author. Digital recording. Alexandria, Egypt. April 1, 2013.

²⁴ Kaelen Wilson-Goldie, “Lost and Found,” *Parkett*, vol. 95, 2014, 109.

²⁵ *Sharjah Biennial 11: Guidebook* (Sharjah, UAE: Sharjah Art Foundation, 2013), 8.

Shawky's project explicitly confronts the question of hospitality toward the foreigner by engaging with the migratory labor relations that contribute to – in fact, undergird the very existence of – both the Sharjah Biennial as an institution and the Emirates as national and economic organisms. These institutional and national constructs would not exist and thrive without cheap migrant labor from Pakistan and India, yet the migrant laborers that make up this absolutely essential preconditional force are treated as serfs and foreign interlopers, paid little, confined to offsite dormitories, and excluded from the main arteries of the vibrant cultural and economic life often vaunted by Emirati aristocracy and statesmen as the gleaming product of their nation's contemporary global success. Language itself is often used as a tool of exclusion, as many migrant workers do not have full mastery of English or Arabic, the two most-used languages in the Emirates and the modes of communication used by all published material arising from the Biennial. As Jacques Derrida noted in his perspicuous deconstruction of the concept of hospitality, the foreigner is first identified as such by their use of a separate language, as "someone who doesn't speak like the rest, someone who speaks an odd sort of language."²⁶ Before opening a space of conditional hospitality toward the foreigner, Derrida observes that translation must be imposed, as an act of violence, on the outsider to make her more recognizable and less threateningly other. "That is where the question of hospitality begins," he writes. "Must we ask the foreigner to understand us, to speak our language, in all the senses of this term, in all its possible extensions, before being able and so as to be able to welcome him into our country?"²⁷ Without this act of inaugural linguistic violence, conditional hospitality cannot come into being, though enforcement of domestic language also paradoxically forecloses the opportunity to extend absolute hospitality toward the foreigner, forever labeling them as other and outsider due to their late or incomplete adoption of their host's official language.

By shifting the language of his project away from dependence on English or Arabic and toward the worker's language of Urdu, Shawky opens a new space of absolute hospitality toward the Biennial's workers. Through this gesture, *Dictums* becomes for them, for the laborers, in a way that none of the other artworks at the event could claim. The traditional Emirati homes that provide the architectural edifice upon which the Sharjah Heritage Area was built therefore became a different kind of home meant for a different kind of resident, one ignorant to the linguistic and cultural frameworks of the Biennial yet equipped with their own complex and deeply rooted linguistic and cultural literacies that were at least partially inaccessible to the event's intended audience. As Derrida argues later in *On Hospitality*, an individual's "mother tongue" travels with them as a sort of linguistic "mobile home," a portable and piercingly intimate remnant of a wider life-world that travels with a migrant wherever she goes, providing connection to a lost home while also securing a form of comfort and belongingness in the foreboding midst of the new. He writes:

What in fact does language name, the so-called mother tongue, the language you carry with you, the one that also carries us from birth to death? Doesn't it figure the home that never leaves us? The proper or property, at least the *fantasy* of property that, as close as

²⁶ Jacques Derrida and Anne Dufourmantelle, *On Hospitality* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2000), 5.

²⁷ Ibid., 15.

could be to our bodies, and we always come back there, would give place to the most inalienable place, to a sort of mobile habitat, a garment or a tent? Wouldn't this mother tongue be a sort of second skin you wear on yourself, a mobile home? But also an immobile home since it moves about with us?²⁸

For a short time in March 2013, *Dictums* opened a space of hospitality toward the migrant workers of the Biennial on which the tent, the garment, the mobile habitat of their mother tongue could be laid out, sung at the heights of the *qawwal*'s collective voice, welcoming the laborers to fully inhabit at least a linguistic trace of their former – or, to use Derrida's favored term, always-already – home.

²⁸ Ibid., 89.

INDIGENOUS EROTICA: TWO-SPIRITS IN SELECTED WORKS OF KENT MONKMAN

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ABSTRACT

Recently queer and Native people rights activism has become widely debatable subject within Canadian borders. Numerous artists have aimed to engage their artwork in order to empower Native people and enable them to reclaim their identity. Within last four decades both writers and artists worked in order to change attitudes towards traditional Native values and their social status by retelling their personal experience through visual media and life-writing. Numerous scholars believe that the historical accounts dealing with Indigenous erotica under the influence of the Western worldview distorted the image of sexual diversity amongst the Natives and deprived them of understanding their own heritage. Native people identify same-sex eroticism and non-dualistic concepts of gender by numerous names and perceive sexuality as a continuum. Different communities used different terms which could not have been easily translated into Eurowestern concepts of sexuality and gender. For decades scholars referred to those individuals as berdache, a term that rather collapses cultural differences into a binary and do not respect spirituality and social status of those people in Native circles. Artists such as Kent Monkman engage the viewer into Native issues and show that notions such as history and sexuality may be fluid constructs. The author of this paper would like to concentrate on the queer alter-ego of the artist, his approach towards non-normative sexuality and Native mythological symbols in his selected artworks.

Keywords: Kent Monkman, America, art, painting, photograph.

TWO-SPIRITS HISTORICAL BACKGROUND AND THE ANALYSIS OF THE SELECTED ARTWORK

For centuries alternative genders were present in Native circles in North America. They were documented in more than 150 tribes and perceived as an integral part of the society. The perception of those "alternatively" gendered people differed from the views of colonizers, since they were widely accepted and in the majority of cases played an important part in religious life in Native circles. Recently, people tend to use the term Two-spirit which reflects traditional First Nations gender diversity and the fluid nature of sexual and gender identities (Walters, 2006: 2). In pre-contact period, Two-spirit people would hold high social status and engage into counselling, healing, shamanism, as well as quotidian activities. The historical events of contact and conquest caused that Native queer people in North America started to be described by the term berdache. Nowadays, this terminology is considered outdated and even derogatory. The berdache was not a third category, but a way of referring to a continuum of human behavior that do not fit neatly into the European notions of male and female; for Natives they were defined by a number of factors, such as spirituality, androgyny or even type of work performed for the community. For instance, in the Crow society the berdache was neither male nor female, but an individual who had characteristics of both (Native American Netroots, 2009).

For decades colonial writers mainly ignored issues related to sexuality and gender diversity amongst Indigenous people or were reluctant to include those descriptions for a number of reasons. Some of them could have been afraid of being perceived as the ones participating in relations with berdache, or simply losing the financial support for their research because berdaches were held in contempt in the Western society (Blackwood, 1984: 27). Some scholars believe Western writers have even fostered a culture of shame when it comes to alternative gender traditions. Since the 16th century, European policy towards third- and fourth-gender traditions imposed a false belief that "homosexuality is completely 'other,' a phenomenon imagined to belong to the urban white man and categorized with the other catastrophes attributed to him- disease, alcoholism, [and] emotional dysfunction" (Roscoe, 2000: 102). Indian cultures in general did not view gender and sexuality as being restricted to just two categories. As Will Roscoe, in *Changing Ones Third and Fourth Genders in Native North America*, referred to gender diversity, it was "one of the most common and least understood features of Native North America" (Roscoe, 2010).

The term Two-Spirit originated in Winnipeg (Canada) during the third annual intertribal Native American/First Nations gay and lesbian conference in 1990. It is believed to be chosen in order to distance Native peoples from non-Natives as well as from the infamous word berdache and Western-oriented term gay. Actually, one of the most influential Pan-Indian term is the very word queer. According to Blincoe, throughout creating and using a new Pan-Indian terms the Native peoples are able to distance themselves from the Western ideology and reclaim their sexual identity (Blincoe, 1993: 155-157). Historically, where traditions of Two-spirits were known and accepted by tribal leaders, they were not often considered connected to Western concepts of homosexuality.

The discourse of Native American history is believed to begun in the second half of the nineteenth century and the main focus was on collecting Native art and artifacts. The end of the nineteenth century was the time of the documentation of Native people as simply vanishing and an attempt to save their culture from extinction. It is worth to mention, that the main shift in perception took place in the mid-twentieth century. Indeed, in Canada terms like queer and Two-spirit have triggered a number of discussions, both within Native and non-Native circles since the 1970s. In the 60s and 70s one could have observed that alternative sexualities became openly portrayed and queer artists would play an important role in the LGBT rights movement within Canadian borders. Indeed, at this time the queer literary scene started to emerge. Finally in 1981, persecution of the gay community in Toronto triggered even more artistic response and activism. Sexual orientation could not have been anymore ignored by media and in politics. Within the last four decades numerous artists have started to create protest art, which may be an equivalent of native authors' writings tinged with their life experiences.

The art and texts created by the Native writers were a means to heal the years of injustice as well as a room to regain their identity and social position (Canadian Encyclopedia, 2015). According to Oxendine, the 1970s were a turning point for Native artists in Canada. In 1972, as it was published in *Art in America*, a new generation of Indian with new positive identity had their voice in a whole new way. Number of artists became engaged in reflecting their heritage and values via their artwork (Jacobs, 2015). With regards to the themes, it is notable that most of the those artists have dealt with the issues of body and sexuality in their artwork. Furthermore, many of their pieces of art are filled with irony, insight and lack the adaptation to the former demands of White culture. In the 19th century the majority of art lost its pure Native features in order to fulfill the expectations of the marketplace after the contact-period. In order to survive most of the artists needed to assimilate or at least mask their "uncivilised" worldviews (Penney, 2004).

The refusal to recognize that gender and sexuality were interwoven into Native traditional way of living, caused that Native North Americans, such as Monkman, had to face marginalization and struggle in order to find their identity. It was visible as well in the artwork of non-Aboriginal artists, engaging themselves in order to document lives and traditions of Indigenous people. Artists like George Catlin or Edward Curtis would think twice before representing a particular image from daily life of Indigenous people. For instance, Catlin who was the first artist to picture Native people at such a scale in their own territories and portraying them not as the savages, still manipulated his subjects in order to capture the image of timeless Indians (Dippie, 2008). Interestingly, Catlin's attitude towards American Indians, and in particular his perception of berdache acted as the turning point in the Monkman's career. Nowadays, Kent Monkman, a First Nations artist of Cree ancestry is well known for working with a variety of mediums by which he demonstrates an overlapping of race and gender in Native circles. During his research, after having learnt that George Catlin refused to include berdache in his representations of traditional Native lifestyle, Monkman decided to dedicate a series of his artworks to issues of queerness, erotica and Two-spirit traditions.

Various contemporary artists in Canada put great emphasis on the wisdom and traditions of their ancestors. As it is highlighted in *The Canadian Encyclopedia* (2014), nowadays Indigenous artists focus on producing artworks in order to empower their communities and express their personal experience. Aboriginal art, although for decades repressed and influenced by Western canon, becomes one of the stages for queer and Native rights activism in Canada. For instance, Miller stresses (Miller, 2014) the importance of exhibitions such as the *RezErect* that took place in Vancouver in 2013. The curators of the *RezErect* claim it could have been the first exhibition that dealt with queer issues with such humor and creativity. They have underlined as well the omnipresence of erotica in Native lives and the unique approach towards sexual diversity in Native circles. According to Tyburczy, "by reflecting on the ways in which queer sex has been displayed in museums, this exhibition exposes museums and art galleries as spaces where some of the most volatile and informative battles about sexual identity, sexual practices, and the history of sexuality have been and continue to be waged in the public sphere" (Meier, 2015). Likewise, Kent Monkman in his installations and solo exhibitions, has tried to reflect Native lives and engage the viewer into Two-spirits' issues. Since for centuries, one of the biggest struggles was maintaining the heritage and Indigenous values, Monkman engages numerous artifacts and symbols from Native mythology in order to show how culture and gender are tied together.

Icon for a New Empire (2007), as in *Pygmalion and Galatea*, the sculptor wakes up to life his marble creation; however, instead of a naked lady, the sculpture is a mounted Indian modeled as the iconic warrior on *The End of the Trail* by James Earle Fraser. Fraser allegedly had second thoughts on the details of the prototype of the sculpture. The details were supposed to embody the representation of the vanishing savage warrior, but the artist decided to replace the battle shield with the medicine bag. Thus, the Indian was to symbolise the spiritual side of Native people. What is more, the artist removed the buffalo hide robe in order to stress the musculature of the rider and to represent the strength of Native nation. When it comes to *Icon for a New Empire*, the viewer may notice American Indian mythological themes and homosexual desire of these figures. In this acrylic on canvas, two male figures are depicted, almost ironically after centuries of oppression and genocide. On a background of green, a colour symbolizing healing process, nature and harmony in Native mythology, the sculptor himself and his piece of art are the predominant elements (Alchin, 2015). They appear aloof, caught in the moment and absorbed with the kiss, that wakes up a dandy-like figure to life. The sculptor wears what appears to be an Indigenous outfit, including long shirt with belt, leggings with fringes on the outer seams and mocassins. The blue colour of his shirt may represent the Native wisdom and intuition. When it comes to sex of these figures it is seemingly easy to distinguish, though one cannot see clearly their faces, especially the one of the rider. The creation of a sculpture may represent the creative aspect of sexuality, where the clash of cultures is irrelevant. The room at the first sight could appear like a neutral ground, but due to the presence of the aforementioned items, Native mythology symbols seem to play an important role.

Depictions of the male nude have its history back to antiquity, indeed was associated with the heroic and allegorical, yet Monkman may be believed to have his viewer beyond the obvious pictorial representation (Geough, 2008: 70-71). In the left upper corner one may notice a cupid, who as a dual god/dess of love, originally portrayed as intersex and may symbolise the interweaving of both worldviews. Raven mask on the cupid's face, one of the disguise of the trikster figure in Native mythology, a figure whose sexual drive was described in numerous traditional stories. Just below the trikster-like cupid, one may notice the warrior shield and a quiver. Shields and their design were usually linked with the protective deities, as the gift and aid for the worthy men in combat. Lord's shirt or an Indian dress visible on the wall may stress the values of family and traditions while the headdress is known as an item given only to men who have earned a place of great respect in their tribe. One may conclude that the inspiration Monkman gained from the Cree mythology is evident in his depiction of queer figures, who are surrounded by Native artifacts.

Before the arrival of Europeans, individuals could have made an overt choice in order to be perceived as male or female; many of them decided to change their role due to their dreams, or signs believed to be given by the spirits. Due to education and moral norms imposed on Natives, especially the residential school experience, many of them became ashamed or disgusted with their own sexual identity; at large scale children were isolated from their families, devoided not only their heritage, but also any understanding of Native mythology and their ancestors' attitudes towards sexuality. Under the Western influence, social status of Two-spirit people became endangered both within non-Native and Native circles; (Williams 2010). In contrast to the Western worldview, the Native peoples have seen gender as a continuum and something that cannot be taken for granted. The missionary work influenced the freedom of expression and even installed shame about their culture and attitude towards sexuality (Vorano, 2008: 125).

An interesting observation was discussed by Ann Shuler (2008: 79), a historian who wrote on the sexual behaviour between Europeans and Aboriginal people; according to Shuler, one's gender was usually determined by the person's spirit, not even on the basis of their sexual activity. In Native mythology the body is just a temporary house for the soul-spirit. McGeough (2008: 56-86) claims that this kind of approach, perception of the body as incidental, while gender being the matter of personal choice is crucial in analysis of images of sexual intimacy. Furthermore, McGeough states that one may understand how unstable those notions may be. Following this approach, studying Monkman's artwork allows the viewer to explore whether it is possible for a Native artist to create a unique understanding of the erotica within his paintings.

In order to bring two-spiritedness into his artwork, Monkman has developed his alter-ego drag persona: Miss Chief Eagle Testickle, who may be seen in many of his paintings, videos and performances. Indeed, Miss Chief was originally inspired by Cher who is believed to be embracing Indianness and having "a lot of sexual power." Seven-inch platform highheels, a raccoon jock strap and numerous jewellery items are just a few of her features. According to Mason (2012), she embodies the "glorified representation of the relations between the European and Aboriginal cultures". Monkman admits the majority of

his early paintings represented the inner struggle and his attempt to embrace his nativeness and sexuality. Studying Monkman's artwork allows us to see how at the beginning blurry, slightly shapeless figures, finally take pride in a wide range of backgrounds and how Miss Chief may symbolise re-acceptance of sexual diversity after decades of oppression.

According to Saens (2015), apart from queer theory, deconstructionism is a crucial approach to discuss Monkman's artworks. Monkman, at some point had to change his style in order to express more explicitly his attitudes and his struggle as a queer person. Within the Western artistic tradition the berdache was depicted in a strictly documenting or even ridiculed manner. His series of photographs address exactly this issue and his alter ego is believed to be a means to apply a transcultural shock to counter homophobia and racial discrimination. It is worth to mention that Miss Chief reclaims her voice not only through pictures and paintings, but also through videos and interviews. For instance, once asked by the curator Cathy Mattes if Europeans have Berdashes in their cultures, Miss Chief responded that their world was lacking the berdache to provide a healing mediation of the genders" (De Blois, 2015).

In his *Dance to the Berdashe*, Monkman brings to life Catlin's *Dance of the Berdashe*. In many paintings and photographs the artist created the background that seemingly resembles the works by Catlin and Curtis. Monkman himself has stressed many times that his "work is a response to artists like George Catlin and Edward S. Curtis, who created frozen-in-time images of Native people." Since both Curtis and Catlin manipulated their subjects, the presence of Monkman's alter ego directly engages the viewer into "an alternative account of colonial history". The berdache figure, previously ignored, ridiculed or misinterpreted, becomes on the the most influential persona in the artist's artworks. So many viewers may ponder when we approach those paintings with the Western attitude and Christian influence on our perception, what can we see? To some the artist may be simply a half-breed calling for the attention because of his homoerotic or trans-erotic desire. Some may perceive it as a manifest of the struggle, shame or pride.

According to Roscoe, in order to understand Native approach towards those issues one should imagine that the Native people did not only create the niche in order to place berdache in a certain place in their community, but treated them as an integral part in their sociocultural systems. He argues that all the societies may be believed to have at least two genders and that they were usually linked to the perception of physiological differences. Finally, after decades of silence Monkman tries to address this non-normative niche and enables the viewer to follow the experience of Two-spirit beings in his numerous artworks. What is more, he is able to highlight the struggle about one's Native and sexual identity, the AIDS crisis in Canada and the biases towards queer people.

Miss Chief may be seen in many disguises in Monkman's artworks, but it's worth to mention that in his *Artist and model*, Monkman seems to strengthen the relationship between artist and subject. Morris believes that since the beginning the figure is firmly established as Monkman's alter ego. One may notice the signature "S.E.T." in the lower corner of the painting. These are not Monkman's initials, but Miss Chief's. When it comes to

the details of *Dance to the berdache*, the abundance of the red colour may symbolise violence, blood, wounds, power and success, as well as happiness and beauty. In Monkman's paintings Miss Chief is usually portrayed as sexually confident and dominant, while White man is sexually submissive, but not always unwillingly. According to Ann Stoler, colonizers aimed to "colonize bodies and minds", while Monkman seems to stress the importance of Two-spirit people and give them opportunity to take pride in their traditional ways of living (Taylor, 2008). Thanks to the persona of Miss Chief he is able to validate and empower queer people, especially the trans community.

Nowadays, the awareness is much higher and there are many centres aimed to assist and educate people of Aboriginal ancestry. Number of activists engage into cultural programs letting the First Nations people to reclaim and honour their identity, both Native and queer. Monkman engages his alter ego and queer issues in order to create and add not only to a body of erotic work, but to use art as a means of criticism and stage for reclaiming one's sexual and Native identity. Number of artists are believed to reveal and unmask a different understanding which is rooted in the traditional Native way of living. Indeed, Monkman brings as well the understanding of sexuality as an integrated part and what it means to be Two-spirit. By appropriating selected works of art from 19th century, he enables the viewer to see that both time and history may be a fluid and changeable constructs. Finally, one may believe that through his queer alter-ego Miss Chief, the artist is able to grasp the uniqueness of the concept, reclaim the status of Two-spirit people within Canadian borders, as well as wake up the interest in the Aboriginal issues.

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SUPPRESSION AND EXPRESSION: THE LOUD AND SILENCED VOICES IN ATHOL FUGARD, JOHN KANI AND WINSTON NTSHONA'S *THE ISLAND*.

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ABSTRACT

The Island (like *Sizwe Bansi*) was collaboratively devised in workshop by Fugard, Kani and Ntshona. The play is a gripping tale of incarceration, torture, abuse, desperation, and anxiety. It traces the condition of the political prisoners, John and Winston, on Robben Island – an ominous dead-end where life and dignity were snuffed out of black political prisoners and extra-parliamentarians. John was originally played by John Kani and Winston by Winston Ntshona. *The Island* was first performed underground on 2 July 1973 – in front of a small audience, mostly members of The Space Theatre in Cape Town. It had to be kept low so as to avoid publicity that may lead to censorship, banning or arrest. It was the first play to openly discuss the condition of South African political prisoners on Robben Island.

Keywords: Athol Fugard, John Kani, Winston Ntshona, South Africa, theatre.

Brother, brother, what are you saying? I mean, you have blood on your hands! Dunya cried in despair.

The blood that's on everyone's hands... that flows and always flowed through the world like a waterfall, that is poured like champagne and for the sake of which men are crowned in the Capitol and then called the benefactors of mankind. Well, just take a closer look and see what's really what!.

(Fyodor Dostoyevsky, *Crime and Punishment*).

INTRODUCTION

The Island (like *Sizwe Bansi*) was collaboratively devised in workshop by Fugard, Kani and Ntshona. The play is a gripping tale of incarceration, torture, abuse, desperation, and anxiety. It traces the condition of the political prisoners, John and Winston, on Robben Island – an ominous dead-end where life and dignity were snuffed out of black political prisoners and extra-parliamentarians. John was originally played by John Kani and Winston by Winston Ntshona. *The Island* was first performed underground on 2 July 1973 – in front of a small audience, mostly members of The Space Theatre in Cape Town. It had to be kept low so as to avoid publicity that may lead to censorship, banning or arrest. It was the first play to openly discuss the condition of South African political prisoners on Robben Island (Vandenbroucke, 1985). And because the state had banned the discussion of such issues in the arts, the collaborators had to use the title *Die Hodoshe Span* to conceal the actual concern of the play (Fugard, 1995). It was first performed at The Space Theatre, Cape Town, on 2 July 1973 with the title *Die Hodoshe Span* (Fugard, 1995). *Hodoshe* means a green carrion-fly in Xhosa and was the nickname of a white notorious prison warden on Robben Island. As such, only those who had been to the island, or that knew someone there, could identify the imagery in the name. It was only after the London and American tours of 1973 and 1974 respectively (with *Sizwe Bansi* and *Statements after an Arrest*), and the accompanied success of the play in other European countries, that it came to be known as *The Island*. Astbury (1980) recounts that *The Island* and *Sizwe Bansi* were unscripted in their early run so as to avoid censorship and banning, the intention being to get plays performed and not banned. The plays survived the times majorly because of this playmaking method. *The Island* is an example of theatre's role in depicting and exposing the level of man's inhumanity to man. The collaborators notably picked on a taboo topic, Robben Island, with all the brutality and dehumanisation carried out there. They broke the conspiracy of silence in the country and demonstrated that statements can be made against the state and its many inhuman measures of containing subversion.

THE HISTORICAL AND IMAGINARY CONTAINMENT CONTEXT

The Island makes defiant “statements about the injustice of the law which sends” the political prisoners, John and Winston, to the island for defying apartheid (Walder, 1984: 76). The actors used their real names in the play. The names are therefore real as well as character names. As in a tribunal, it presents audience/readers with evidence bit by bit and testimonies from subject-actors. In that way, it guides the audience/readers in reaching a

verdict. Apartheid, according to Gobodo-Madikizela (2003: 2), is “one of the most brutally repressive systems in modern history.” The state employed many overt and covert means of suppressing radical voices, including, but not limited to, compulsive and tight stringent laws, incarceration, and worst, execution of opponents of the system. Robben Island, which historically served as a military base during the Second World War, as an island for banishment and imprisonment since the beginning of white settlement there, and as a leper colony in the 19th century, was turned into a maximum security prison for political prisoners in 1959. Norman Ntshinga in the original notes for *Die Hodoshe Span* reveals that prisoners could not break out because of the sharks in the sea, patrol boats in case of attempted escape, and the distance to the mainland. He confirms that a lot of the gruesome activities carried out there were kept underground. Jibril (2015) reports that political prisoners were taken to the island to rest in peace and that no black warden (no matter his training) was posted there so as to hide the atrocities and horrendous deeds.

Fugard and the actors did not know much about the deadly prison either prior to the release of the actors, Nshinga and Duru, whose testimonies expose the atrocities perpetrated there in the name of the state. And much like Vlakplaas – the apartheid government’s farmhouse of death in Johannesburg – discussion about the notorious island was all guess-work and rumours. Gobodo-Madikizela (2003: 6) reveals that the anonymous Prime Evil, Eugene de Kock, carried out the covert assassinations and torture of opponents of the regime in Vlakplaas, adding that he was the “surest evidence of all that had happened under apartheid.” Brutal wardens like *Hodoshe* and *Suitcase* symbolise the level of tyranny and cruelty of the state. Mandela (1996) reveals that *Suitcase* was the nickname of a dangerous, brutal and heartless white warden on the island. It was a setting for the destruction of black bodies, minds and convictions. High profile prisoners confined there such as Nelson Mandela, Ahmed Kathrada and Walter Sisulu retained their dignity and refused to break. The island in the play is presented as both a historical and imaginary setting meant to contain radical voices and dissent. It also represents the containment of the black population in the homelands under the Group Areas Act. Even the island however – with its notoriety for brutality and dehumanisation – could not successfully silence the loud and bitter voices, or suppress the anti-state activities in its four walls.

SUPPRESSION AND EXPRESSION IN *THE ISLAND*

The play opens with a loud and extended siren, and with John and Winston miming a back-breaking and strenuous labour on the beach. The actors are wearing oversized khaki shirt and short loose-fitting trousers, and are engaged in an absurdist and meaningless labour that reveals the absurdity of their existence. The arduous labour is cyclical, unending and lacks essence. The original script for *Die Hodoshe Span* offers a vivid and sad description of how the prisoners were cowed into “animal-like submission” and treated as “unfeeling robots” that had to carry out a circle of “stupid and pointless labour.” The labour went on and on with *Hodoshe*, the “green fly,” pushing the actors to exhaustion point that “they cannot even register relief at the cessation of the work” (*Die Hodoshe Span*, 1973: 1). This detailed description and imagery is missing in the published text. The stage direction in the published text states that “the labour is interminable. The only sounds are their grunts as

they dig, the squeal of the wheelbarrows as they circle the cell, and the hum of Hodoshe, the green-carrion fly" (195). Hodoshe feeds on the prisoners' bodies and pushes them beyond human limits. As *fulcrums*, and guided by an existentialist belief, John and Winston shoulder their fate and refuse to be silenced and suppressed. Ultimately, Winston's unbearable voice is heard at the end of the play despite his dreadful fate as a condemned prisoner on the island. He is a living dead who must still walk a long way to his actual death.

John and Winston represent the thousands of prisoners behind bars, in addition to the numerous other victims of apartheid that were psychologically and physically destroyed by the system. Prisoners were taken to Robben Island irrespective of their colour, offence, or age. Ahmed Kathrada (an Indian) was sentenced to life on the island and quite a few white liberals also served terms there. John refers to the coloured prisoners who on their way to the island looked out from their cell windows urging the black prisoners in the van to persevere and have courage, "coming to their cell windows and shouting. Courage, Brothers! Courage!" (215). Cramped in a police van, travelling for hours without a chance to urinate, and then into the jetty, John recalls that the sight of a familiar home, a familiar world, begun to wane, "you looked back at the mountains... farewell Africa!" (215). John's description of how prisoners were taken to the island is similar to Mandela's description in *Long Walk to Freedom* (1996) and that of Ntshinga in the original notes for *Die Hodoshe Span*. Ntshinga, in the notes, described how they were transported from Rooihel to Robben Island. He spoke of the coloured prisoners who were imprisoned for petty crimes calling on them through their cell windows to persevere and have courage when the police van transporting them stopped at the fuel station to refill. Welcome Duru also narrated his experience on the way to the island and remembered saying: "this is the last time you stand on Africa" shortly before leaving the mainland. Mandela and Ntshinga also exposed the condition of life in the prison, one that the state tried to hide from the international community, families of the prisoners and white liberals and sympathisers of the black cause.

The apartheid government made the writing (or discussion in any way) about prison facilities or police strong-arms technique illegal and punishable. The collaborators contravened the censorship law that prohibited this discourse, thereby clarifying the mystery surrounding the notorious prison. Kani and Ntshona (in separate interviews) state that they wanted to make their art more relevant to the people. Kani maintains that their plays are considered political not because they politicians but because they reflect their lives as black South Africans (Vandenbroucke, 1975). The attempt to capture the specifics of the story about the island led to a series playmaking exercises which allowed them to remain objective by reporting events as they occurred to Ntshinga and Duru. Welcome Duru and Norman Nshinga were among the pioneer members of the Serpent Players of New Brighton, the black group Fugard worked with from 1963 to somewhere around 1974. They were both arrested and taken to Robben Island. Nshinga was arrested in 1965 and charged with trivial offences on the evening of the group's performance of Sophocles' *Antigone* at the St. Stephen's Church Hall in New Brighton. Ntshinga was to act the role of Haemon in the play, a role then given to John Kani, hence marking his first important speaking role. Ntshinga was then incarcerated for many years on the island, and while there he presented

the production (which is *Antigone*) the group were rehearsing before his arrest. Duru was also arrested and incarcerated on Robben Island in 1965 (Vandenbroucke, 1985). Fugard (1995: 232) confirms that it was Ntshinga and Duru that provided the group “with their inspiration, and the detail for most scenes.” This can be seen in the original notes for *Die Hodoshe Span*, which is a record of the actors’ narrations and experiences such as, 1) transportation to Robben Island, 2) the actual Rooihel experiences, 3) the psychology, anxiety and tension of the prisoners on the way to the island, 4) the final destination, 5) the prison’s uniform and shaven heads, 7) prisoners walking/running barefoot, 8) prisoners chased and beaten mercilessly by wardens and 9) prisoners shackled together and walking with three legs. All these materials are captured and represented in *The Island*.

Fugard, Kani and Ntshona synthesised and creatively reworked these materials through a playmaking process despite the apartheid laws that would have limited their creativity, or even made it impossible for them to operate. Their determination and ability to cross very high hurdles during the playmaking process can be compared with John and Winston’s perseverance and will to rehearse Antigone’s trial scene and make dangerous statements before brutal wardens like Hodoshe. Burns (2002: 241) observes that the trial scene in the play confirms the relevance of art in the struggle and its relation to the South African politics of the time, thus emphasising the “social and political responsibility of the writer” in an oppressed society. Notably, Ntshinga and Mandela also presented the trial scene while on Robben Island. *The Island* thus echoes Mandela’s presentation of Sophocles’ Creon – a vicious and uncompromising king who, like the apartheid state that he symbolises in the play, does not condone subversion. The play concurrently relates the trial of Antigone in relation to that of John and Winston. John and Winston compare their honourable defiance with Antigone’s, who is charged with the offence of burying her traitorous brother, Polynices – an act in complete defiance of Creon’s authority as the state. Fugard and the black actors creatively created a connection between the two settings and situations – that of 4th century Greek B.C with Antigone defying the state and that of South Africa in the 1970s with John and Winston following suit. In both instance, therefore, what is at stake is the law and the punishment for breaking it. Theatre had always provided a working space for this kind of practice. The history of drama, from classical to modern, is a history of protest and defiance of the dominant authority and form of writing.

Thespis’ defiance and abandonment of the chorus during one of the Bacchus ritual can be regarded as an early example of the individual rebellion in theatre. Subversion is therefore not new to the arts. Shakespeare’s *Lord Chamberlain’s Men*, for example, tried to subvert the British state under Queen Elizabeth, who ironically also championed the theatre (Greenblatt, 2005). This altogether confirms Plato’s fear in *The Republic* that poetry has the tendency to stir emotions and disrupt and challenge the republic. John and Winston defy the state to protect the little dignity they have left. They also put their heads on the block for the sake of the exploited and humiliated blacks. Antigone also defies Creon’s law to honour the body of her dead brother through proper burial. She believes that God’s law supersedes Creon’s law. In both cases is the disobedience of the law in pursuit of a moral obligation. Defiance demonstrates man’s inner desire to defend and fight for what is right

and just. The tendency for subversion is thus apparent whenever a man's dignity and rights are tugged away. No law, no matter how tight and punitive, can permanently chain the innate human quest to break free from the shackles of enslavement and tyranny. Plato in *The Republic* speaks of man's capacity to channel expression in the course for liberation. New historicists identify that these subversive potentials are important in a cultural analysis. Mantrose (1989: 21) believes that new historicist analysis should examine the possibility for the individual's "effective contestation or subversion of the dominant ideology" side by side the state's ability to "contain apparently subversive gestures, or even to produce them in order to contain them." Individual subversion and state containment are therefore inextricably linked. Individual subversion occurs either as a backlash or is created by the state to lure the oppressed and rebellious spirits so as to effectively subdue and punish them as an example.

The state creates repressive laws and conditions that are impossible to overcome. Mantrose (1989: 21) maintains that the ability of the state to handle and contain subversive tendencies marks "the very condition of power." Apartheid South Africa is not in general different from what Mantrose calls the Tudor-Stuart states such as Britain and Ireland, who also, in some instances, created and contained subversive gestures. The relationship between the contexts is apparent. Greenblatt (2005: 81) states that cultural critics should then be able to identify the connection between the "literary foreground" and "political background." It is also the critic's duty to present the "cracks in the glacial front" of the parties involved in the confrontation (Greenblatt, 2005: 17). The voice of the oppressed is therefore as important as that of the oppressor. *The Island* was to a large extent informed by the testimonies of Ntshinga and Duru. It was also informed (to a certain degree though) by the trial and incarceration of Mandela. There are salient but unambiguous parallels between Winston's defiance of the law during the prison concert and Mandela's overt attack of the same law during the Rivonia trial.

Mandela questions the jurisdiction and right of the law to try him, and then pleaded not guilty during the trial, "my lord, it is not I, but the government that should be in the dock. I plead not guilty" (Mandela, 1996: 72). In the same vein, Winston (as Antigone) questions Creon's authority, the law forbidden the burial of Polynices, and speaks to the audience and readers' conscience, "Gods of our fathers! My land! My home! Time waits no longer. I go now to my living death, because I honoured those things to which honour belongs" (227). Mandela and Winston's declarations during the trials suggest that it is the state that should be tried for crimes against humanity; it is the state that has broken human and moral laws. Walter Sisulu, in the same Rivonia trial, also blames the state for the dehumanisation and violence in the country, arguing that "the government is responsible for what has happened in the country (Mandela, 1996: 72). Kimathi in Ngugi and Mugo's *The Trial of Dedan Kimathi* also question the right of the white government and colonial court to try him in his father's land. Kimathi, Mandela, and Sisulu shared the common ideals of liberation, freedom, and the right to one's human and moral obligation, ideals they dedicated themselves to, and were willing to live and die for. It is neither Sophocles' Antigone nor Winston therefore that

should be cross-examined and sentenced, but the apartheid government and its instruments of compulsion and containment.

The Statement plays – *The Island*, *Sizwe Bansi is Dead* and *Statements after an Arrest under the Immorality Act* – were received and applauded during the 1973 South African Season in London and the 1974 Broadway season in America as political works of great value (Davis 1973; Kroll 1974; Mitchell 1974; Villiers 1974). The reviews of the performances confirm that the collaborators had produced heart-wrenching protest plays that combined creativity with powerful political statements. Niven (1975: 89) maintains that the plays were successfully produced and performed despite the numerous constraints and problems that could stifle any art:

It puzzled many members of the audience during the Fugard season that these plays could have been performed publicly in South Africa without police persecution. The indictment of apartheid contained within them is overt and bitter. Yet Fugard is no shallow polemicist and I think his plays will never appeal to the kind of audience who expects their 'serious' theatre to be accompanied by plush-covered seats and gin-and-tonics in the interval. Fugard uses the theatre experimentally...

Fugard, Kani, Ntshona, and Bryceland managed to evade and defy the Group Areas Act and the Suppression of Communism Act, acts that would have stalled the rehearsals and performance of *Sizwe Bansi is Dead*, *The Island* and *Statements after an Arrest under the Immorality Act* – the three plays making up the *Statements Plays* (1974). *Statements after an Arrest* also takes on a taboo topic, but this time around the infamous Immorality Act that illegalised extramarital affair, or even sex, between whites and non-whites. Frieda Joubert (a white librarian of 42 years) and Errol Philander (a coloured teacher of 36 years) are thus charged in the play for contravening the Immorality Act. Tsiga (2010) observes that artists in South Africa were caged in a state in which their thoughts and art were subject to the dictates of the apartheid regime. Fugard (1964) stated that the fear of incarceration and banning compelled the Serpent Players to lie low and work underground. He maintained that unlike the off-Broadway group that was crippled by economic set-up, what they were dealing with was an “official way of life that is one step away from branding our efforts as criminal” (Fugard, 1964: 54).

Fugard and the actors had to perform under very poor conditions. Fugard had to use few and versatile actors, and work with tight shoestring budget and few props, in order to remain in business. In *The Island*, for example, the actors devised and used few props such as a nail-necklace, buckets, a piece of chalk, wash-rag and blankets. In *Sizwe Bansi*, the actors had to take on the roles of many people through role playing and switching. This gives credence to the group's use of the Grotowskian poor theatre model. Brook's conception of the *Empty Space* also came handy and allowed John and Winston in *The Island* to convert their cell-area into a space for the prison concert. Pieters (1971) maintains that Fugard's will to survive and work informed his use of few actors so as to travel safely and easily. Financial constraint also hampered his work, and to survive he had to improvise and work

with the little budget at his disposal (Walder, 2003). The Grotowskian poor model was particularly useful to Fugard's minimalist use of space and actors, what Olaiya (2008: 81) calls the cockroach theatre:

The cockroach theatre cannot afford large casts and elaborate sets and stage properties; this then conditions plays with small casts and manageable human and social milieux. The dramaturgy of Fugard incorporates these determined social constraints but however negates them through the device of role-deconstruction and de-totalisation...

Jeyifo (in Olaiya, 2008) notes that Fugard used the theatre to contextualise as well as transcend the South African experience. Almost all works at the time had to pass through a strict censorship system instituted by the state to gauge, suppress and strangle politics and propaganda in the arts. Coetzee (1992) states that the Publication Act of 1975 specified strict conditions before a work could be published or performed. The act (as amended in 1978) gave the censorship boards the prerogative power to ban undesirable works and punish artists who produce anti-apartheid works. It stipulated conditions like I) decent content, II) lack of ridicule or contempt, III) respect for inter-section relations, among other clauses, as criteria before a work can be published or performed. As such, works with radical content were categorised undesirable and therefore banned. The censorship agencies thoroughly scrutinised all forms of expressions and strangled many radical works at birth:

Though the censorship laws ante-date total onslaught talk, they are an expression of total onslaught thinking, and the construction of a bureaucracy of censorship entrusted with the task of scrutinising every book, every magazine, every film, every record, every stage performance, every t-shirt to appear in the land is what we can legitimately call a manifestation of paranoia (Coetzee, 1992: 329).

Artists found guilty of contravening state laws were arrested, and, in some cases, their works were banned. Kani and Ntshona were arrested during their performance of *Sizwe Bansi* in the small town of Butterworth and briefly imprisoned in the "Transkei for anti-Bantustan remarks expressed as part of the performance" (Walder, 1984: 77). Davis (2013) states that the actors' performance was radical and explosive and the state did not take the attack of the sham Bantustan independence lightly. The state in its defence of the incarceration of the actors (in the *Daily Telegraph* of 13 October 1976) stated that the performance was "vulgar, abusive and highly inflammable" (Davis, 2013: 117). The collaborators defied and transcended all these odds. In an interview with Raeford Daniel in 1978, Fugard complained of the situation in South Africa – one affecting audience and artists who had to survive amidst the storm. He stated that considering the dire situation, artists had to persevere knowing that they "live in a country with short horizons, with low-ceiling cloud. We've got to let ourselves go as far as we can, knowing that we are walking into a wall" (Daniel, 1978: 64). Artists in the country had to deal with the dictates of the intimidating circumstances (one which they had to respond to), in addition to the dilemma of choosing to write either overtly political works that might lead to their arrest or banning or liberal works that are just as potent.

Fugard, Kani and Ntshona evaded arrest and also defied censorship and regulatory state laws by speaking about Robben Island. They refused to be contained and cowed into silence. And unlike in *Sizwe Bansi*, the collaborators are more engaging and direct in their attack of the system in *The Island*. John and Winston's determination to rehearse, perform and make protest statements during the concert despite the presence of the omnipotent Hodoshe symbolises the artists' unflinching will to produce and perform the play. The dehumanising condition of the prisoners on the island also represents the actual condition of the political prisoners incarcerated there. Inhumanly treated, the prisoners held on. This can be seen in John's improvisation by using urine to wipe Winston's injured eye and Winston's built-up anger and violent frustration at the system. Winston's "anger and outrage are uncontrollable" (195) and thus cannot be compared with John's resignation and lack of courage. Ntshinga in the original notes for *Die Hodoshe Span* recalls the pessimism and cowardice of the prisoner and the fear of Hodoshe and the wardens. The fear is replicated in John's attempt to placate and calm Winston's uncontrollable rage – who calls out to Hodoshe to read his warrant and remember that he was "sentenced to life... not bloody Death" (196).

The level of suppression and compulsion on Robben Island is also mirrored in the character of Old Harry. Time, patience, and the brutality in the prison had turned Harry into a rock and unfeeling robot. He is a living corpse that has forgotten why he is in prison. His ideals and conviction are thus nonexistent and dead:

WINSTON. When you go to the quarry tomorrow, take a good look at Old Harry. Look into his eyes, John. Look at his hands. They've changed him. They've turned him into stone. Watch him work with that chisel and hammer. Twenty perfect blocks of stone every day. Nobody else can do it like him. He loves stone. That's why they are nice to him. He's forgotten himself. He's forgotten everything... why he's here, where he comes from (220-221).

The essence of the humiliation, robot-like labour and cruelty on the island was to transform the prisoners: to make them forget themselves, their ideals, dreams, convictions and to accept apartheid and its firm grip on individual life. John's broadcast and news bulletin about "black domination" being chased by "white domination" and "conditions locally remain unchanged" (196) illustrates the unending trauma of the political prisoners. It is also, according to Ntshinga and Duru's reports, historical. This means of comic relief, a respite from the daily trauma of existence on the island, can also be seen in the imaginary bioscope and in John's one-sided telephone conversation. The prisoners have resigned themselves to their fates, resorting to the one and only alternative that they have, the performance of Antigone's defiance – itself an act of expression. Ntshona and Duru's testimonies during the workshop process also confirm that Old Harry had patiently accepted the brutal and repressive system that had gradually turned him into a stone.

The choice of *Antigone* for the prison concert is a wise and cowardly one. It is wise because it will allow the actors to hit the wardens (as representatives of the state on Robben Island) with Antigone's defiant words right on the face as they laugh, and cowardly in the

sense that they can neither overtly revolt nor question the authority there. In the end, nonetheless, a statement is made: one padded with moral right and activism. Winston/Antigone throws caution to the wind by defying the authority on the island, making protest statements and questioning the man-made laws guiding the state's operation. He, in this way, also questions the morality and justification of the apartheid state and its beneficiaries. Winston's defiance is heard through Antigone's voice as well as his own:

WINSTON. What lay on the battlefield waiting for Hodoshe to turn rotten, belonged to God. You are only a man Creon. Even as there are laws made by men, so too there are others that come from God. He watches my every transgression even as your spies hide in the bush at night to see who is transgressing your laws. Guilty against God I will not be for any man on this earth. Even without your law, Creon, and the threat of death to whoever defied it, I know I must die... Your threat is nothing to me, Creon. But if I had let my mother's son, a Son of the land, lie there as food for the Carrion fly, Hodoshe, my soul would never have known peace...

(226)

Ntshinga was incarcerated for belonging to a banned organisation (ANC) and for distributing pamphlets (Fugard, 1983). This singular act is a contravention of the country's Suppression of Communism Act. John and Winston are on the island for also engaging in communist activities. John continuously reminds Winston that he is there because he staked his neck out for others – his own people. Blacks at the time were treated as second-class citizens in their land of birth, caged in impoverished townships and boxed in matchbox houses, compounds and train-like single men's quarters. All these issues, among others, led to a backlash, resulting in a series of confrontations, strikes, protests, and the resultant violent compulsions on the part of the state. The resistance also resulted in the death, arrests and imprisonment of many activists/agitators, often without trial. The Sharpeville massacre of March 21 1960, for example, resulted in the death of sixty-nine people and the injury of many others (186 according to figures). Black people in their thousands protested against the imposition of passbook, resulting in the appalling and grotesque bloodbath. The Soweto Uprising of 1976 also exemplifies the blacks' revolt against the system, equally resulting in the death and massive arrest of many high school students. Jibril (2015) identifies that this mad and senseless carnage led to a series of demonstrations in the townships, leading as well in the violent containment and killings, as witnessed in the Langa massacre of June 16 1976.

Gobodo-Madikizela (2003: 9) confirms that several black students were killed during the peaceful Langa "match against the imposition of Afrikaans as a language of instruction." The compulsion and containment was so brutal that even peaceful protests were stalled, and protesters killed or incarcerated. John refers to the 1952 passive mass campaign against apartheid where over 8,000 people were arrested. The passive protesters (that included blacks, coloureds and Indians) sang defiance campaign songs across the regions in the

country. The campaign was characterised by freedom songs, good coordination, and, worst, mass arrests – with over 8,000 people arrested across the regions. The condition in the country despite the campaigns and carnage remain unchanged and political activists were arrested and taken-out by the day. A lot of the activists had to go on exile to avoid incarceration on Robben Island. The success or failure of the regime depended on the suppression of radical minds, expression, and dissent. The state fed on the suffering and sweat of the downtrodden and exploited in the same way Hodoshe feeds on the prisoners' suffering. John/Creon during the trial maintains that the success and stability of a state depends so much on its ability to contain and punish defiance, establish and enforce laws and maintain the sanctity and legitimacy of the authority. As such, subversive elements such as Winston/Antigone must be arrested, interrogated, tried and, if found guilty, incarcerated on Robben Island to be dehumanised and transformed, or (at worst) rot and die.

Antigone (almost alone) defies Creon and the fear of death. Her cause is noble and just even as she is dishonourably and unjustly sentenced in the end. She is an epitome of the struggle and the law that punishes her symbolises the very flawed and insensitive law blacks under apartheid had to live and deal with. John and Winston see their struggle in her eyes, in her rare courage, resolve, defiance, and in her potent and explicit expression of humanity, moral obligation and values. But unlike her, they are not alone because there is a sense of collective struggle, steadfastness, and agitation in their actions and statements. *Nyana we Sizwe* (a Xhosa rallying cry, meaning son of the nation/land) is referred to in the last scene of the play as a rallying cry urging the people to rise beyond pettiness and fight for their father's land. It is also used to emphasise that the struggle encompasses individual and personal interest. Notably, it appears throughout the original script for *Die Hodoshe Span*. It was also mentioned several times during the early performances of the play. The thought of fighting for the good of the land and its people sustained many prisoners on the island at the time. The ideal also sustains John and Winston even as the latter sometimes doubts this principles and why he is incarcerated, "why am I here... fuck the others... fuck our ideals" (221). He also questions the concept of legends in the process, arguing that unlike the fictional Antigone, their imprisonment and struggle are real:

WINSTON. Go to hell, man. Only last night you tell me that this Antigone is a bloody... what you call it... legend! A Greek one at that. Bloody thing never happened. Not even history! Look, brother, I got no time for bullshit. Fuck legends. Me?... I live my life here! I know why I'm here, and it's history, not legends. I had my chat with a magistrate in Cradock and now I'm here (210).

John's conviction and ideals, on the other hand, seems constant. His constancy allows him to re-educate, redirect, and help Winston resolves his confusion as to why he is on the island. He reminds him of the whole apartheid agenda of ridiculing and crushing black ideals and agitation. Dehumanising and segregationist laws were enacted and compulsively implemented so as to limit black potential, contain and box them in certain areas, and break the back of any form of resistance. Mandela (1996) recalls that the wardens also introduced

ruthless laws on the island, and breaking such laws meant severe punishment or, worst, solitary confinement. He also narrates how he was punished and confined for sneaking in and reading a newspaper – an act in contravention of the prison’s laws. The authority determined what the prisoners read. John speaks of not having received a letter from his wife for three months during his one-sided telephone conversation with Sky. Mandela (1996) states that prisoners were allowed to receive a letter after every six months and even those letters from families had to be censored. The prisoners, however, found a way to bypass the censorship using the same letter medium, and also secretly exchanged notes with other prisoners so as to get information about what was happening in the country (Jibril, 2015). Prisoners were cut-off from the mainland, from families and friends, and from politics and events. John speaks of Hodoshe’s zealous project, one aimed at ridiculing them and making them forget the struggle and who they are:

JOHN. Hodoshe’s talk, Winston. That’s what he says all the time. What he wants us to say all our lives. Our convictions, our ideals... that’s what he calls them... child’s play. Everything we fucking do is ‘child’s play’... when we ran that whole day in the sun and pushed those wheelbarrows, when we cry, when we shit... child’s play! Look, brother... I’ve had enough (210).

John and Winston overcome the daily humiliation and daunting challenges and emerge intact and reinvigorated. The denigration associated with the use of the ridiculing and childlike prison uniform, prison cell numbers as identity numbers, being turned into boys, appearing naked before Hodoshe, and the emotional torture of being denied access to see their families, did not also put a wet blanket on them. John says that the wardens (bastards, as he calls them) will try their best to break you at the quarry, and when it did not work, they resort to emotional torture. He reminds Winston of the “last visit of the wives, when they lined up all the men on the other side” and instructed that they “take a good look and say goodbye! Back to the cells” (213). Suppressed and utterly humiliated, John and Winston did not give in. They persevere due to the bond between them – shackled together in misery and joy for years – and the thought of the ideals of the struggle against apartheid.

The Island suggests that individual action and defiance is limited, and is often followed by a corresponding containment. This explains why Winston and John are behind bars. The struggle must therefore start with the individual and his resolve to fight for the people and the land. John makes reference to their experiences as Serpent Players and the arrest of Norman Ntshinga in June 1965 before the group’s performance of the reworked version of Sophocles’ *Antigone*, “Jesus, Winston! June 1965... This, man. *Antigone*. In New Brighton. St. Stephen’s Hall. This place was packed, man! All the big people. Front row... dignitaries. Shit, those were the days. Georgie was Creon...” (202). The performance had to however go on without Ntshinga, who prior to his arrest was to act the role of Haemon, and in spite of the tight security in the area (Fugard, 1995).

Struggle and the quest for a change must always start at the individual level. Collective action is therefore dependant on the individual's resolve to fight for a common cause. Winston is incarcerated because he participated in a defiance protest and because he equally burnt his passbook in front of a police station as an act of defiance against the state. The protest that saw Winston ending up in the docks echoes the 1952 defiance campaign that also saw over 8,000 protesters ending up behind bars for defying the imposition of the passbook. Robben Island, with the all the brutality perpetrated there, could not contain the prisoners' avid desire to speak of freedom. And even in pain, their outrage and slide towards violence is uncontrollable. Mandela (1996) recalls that the prisoners participated in protests such as the *go-slow* protest during work and the hunger strike. The hunger strike attracted attention nationally and internationally and the condition of the prisoners was improved a bit afterwards. The wardens also used the opportunity that the protest availed to put their demands on the table. Expression was evident and the state could not silence the loud, tormented and passionate voices. John and Winston's fervent desire to speak, to break the conspiracy of silence surrounding their incarceration, and to defy the unjust and cagy laws is manifest in the rehearsals and trial scenes in the play.

Winston faces nothing but hopelessness on the island and hankers for death as a gift as he embraces his tragic doom at the end of the play. The prospects of John's early release haunts him because he equally has fingers and wants to count his remaining days. What worries him the most is the thought that John will leave the island, forget him, abandon the struggle, and go on to pursue flimsy longings like alcohol and women while he rots there for life. His concern puts a hole in the whole idea of the collective struggle and further shoots the black conviction right in the leg. Winston's doubts however give way and John tames his excitement of an early release. And eventually, they are able to work together to produce Antigone's trial scene. The trial scene captures the confrontation between the state (represented by Creon) and the accused and oppressed Antigone. Dressed as Antigone, with tits and wig, Winston re-enacts the trial scene and stress his point at the end of it all. He questions the legitimacy of the law that imprisons him, challenges the authority, and tearing off the wig, assaults the audience (the assumed wardens in the play) as they laugh. He also justifies his offence as moral and just, "I go now to my living death, because I honoured those things to which honour belongs" (227). In the end therefore, not even the thoughts of Hodoshe's brutality, fear of solitary confinement, or the nightmare of living an eternity on the island could restrain and silence him.

Winston's declaration is moving and sympathetic. Purgation sets in, and as audience/readers we identify with his pain, misery and despair, as well as that of the many political prisoners that he represents. The last scene suggests that though art (here theatre) does not ideally offer answers, it still has the tendency to contribute (in its own way) to the struggle for liberation and freedom. Winston's courage and defiance shows that the state can be challenged and expression can rise above suppression. It also proves that the long grave-like silence in the country can be broken, not minding the price one has to pay. *Sizwe Bansi* and *The Island* demonstrate that commitment was possible; materials could be

reworked in theatre; and that even apartheid laws can be manipulated and challenged. *Sizwe Bansi* is an experiment with individual action, how far he can go, and what law he can break or manipulate. *The Island*, on the other hand, shows what happens when subversion is contained and ideals are put to a test. Most importantly, the play demonstrates the strength of conviction at both the individual and collective level. *The Coat* experiment in 1966 prepared the ground for radical and immediate experimentation using real materials and individuals, and proves that it is possible for South African artists to make dangerous and subversive statements and still get away with it.

CONCLUSION

Apartheid South Africa was characterised with the exploitation and dehumanisation of the non-white group (mostly the black inhabitants) in the interest of the occupation, luxury and heritage of the oppressive white group. The period was also known with the violent backlash of the oppressed class and the state's corresponding containment measures meant to subdue acts of dissent and subversion. This paper identified that subversion and containment are inextricably linked at the time. Robben Island, as a maximum security prison with a long history of abandonment, incarceration and repressive laws, was one of the many prison facilities used to confine and contain communists and other opponents of the regime. It was meant to contain and transform rebellious spirits, or, at worst, break them permanently. But then, as examined in this paper, even the island, with all the vicious cruelty and suppressive laws in its walls, could not contain the conviction of its political inmates. John and Winston, as representatives of the numerous political prisoners confined there, demonstrate that the spirit of the nation and its people cannot be easily overcome. They also prove that the human body cannot be destroyed or subdued; and expression cannot be easily silenced using the infamous suppression, compulsion and transformation method. The actors' experiences in the play are concurrently historical and fictional, and the paper had traced the source of the materials (from Ntshinga, Duru and Mandela) which informed the story as well as the collaborators' creative reworking of the materials. It had also identified that art had always been used to protest against, and sometimes outrun or subvert, oppressive regimes – what Mantrose (1989) calls the Tudor-Stuart states. The history of theatre, from Thespis to modern playwrights such as Fugard, is a history of subversion, protest and transcendence of immediate experience. It is also a tale of the transformation of the art itself.

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THE INFLUENCE OF CHINESE COSTUMES ON DESIGNS AND COLORS OF KOREAN TRADITIONAL WEDDING CLOTHING

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ABSTRACT

Wedding ceremony is a state of art that contains both the country's history and culture. In my research I am specifically delving into Korea's and China's wedding ceremony especially the clothing. The conclusion I made was that the historical ties of two countries influenced what Korean people wore in weddings. Modern Korean wedding consist of two ceremonies. One is western-style conventional wedding ceremony in which bride and bridegroom wear western wedding clothing. The other ceremony takes place after the western wedding ceremony ends. The bride and bridegroom change their western wedding clothing to Korean traditional one and have traditional Korean wedding ceremony before their parents and relatives. Unlike a western simple white colored wedding dress, a Korean traditional women's wedding clothing is layers of red colored clothing on top of traditional Korean clothing, *Han-bok*. Such Korean wedding clothing as different from western wedding clothing in color and style led me to research the origin of the Korean traditional wedding clothing. During the research for the origin and history of the Korean traditional wedding clothing, I found that it has something to do with Chinese traditional clothing culture and Confucianism. I mostly referred to old books, documents, and paintings of weddings for the research. The book about the customary formalities of a family written by Zhuzi, a Confucianism scholar of Song Dynasty in China (AD. 960~1279), was introduced into Chosun Dynasty in Korea (AD. 1392~1897). Zhuzi's book was based on ancient China's six proprieties. In Chosun Dynasty, the book was reorganized as "National Five Proprieties" which reflects Chosun Dynasty's living at times. This book about manners and courtesy influenced wedding ceremonies of Royal family and ruling class, Yang-ban. In the late period of Chosun Dynasty, the book titled *Geo-Ga-Jap-Bok-Go* (Family Clothing Research) by Park Kyu-su (AD. 1807~1876) reflected contemporary manners and courtesy about ceremony clothing and widely used. (National Folk Museum, 1999) The similarities between Korean and Chinese traditional wedding clothing are as follows: First, by Confucianism influence, general people could also wear wedding ceremony clothing the same as ruling class people wear at the wedding. This reflects the idea of equal celebration on wedding over people without differentiating in wedding clothing. Second, bride's wedding clothing is red colored. Third, in wedding clothing of both bride and bridegroom, hat and head ornaments are similar. In other words, bridegroom wears black colored hat and bride wears splendid and beautiful headpiece. Though both Korean and Chinese traditional wedding clothing have similarity based on Confucianism and traditional clothing culture, Korean traditional wedding clothing has uniqueness which reflects Korea's social, environmental, and aesthetic values. This research shows that cultural similarities between Korea and China influenced wedding clothing with three kinds of similarities demonstrated above.

Keywords: China, Korea, wedding clothing.

INTRODUCTION

In Korea, the newlyweds in Korea go through two different procedures of weddings. After they wear a white gown and a tuxedo and have a ceremony in front of their guests, the couple change into a Korean traditional wedding clothing and have a traditional ceremony in front of their close family relatives. Only after the two procedures are over is when the couple is finally married. These procedures are both the remnants of the influence of the West and traditions.

In contrast to the simple white Western wedding gowns of the bride, the Korean traditional wedding clothing is *hanbok*, the name of Korean traditional wear, layered with outer coats of vibrant colors such as red. The stark contrast between the two wedding clothing was the reason behind this research.

In both the West and the East, on the wedding day the bride and the groom wear the most beautiful and luxurious costume and decorate themselves with accessories. The question is that did people of old Chosun, the dynasty of Korea peninsula (1392-1910), celebrate weddings as fancy as the people nowadays do? If so, did the peasants of Chosun also celebrate lavishly in a class stratified society? Chosun was a country under heavy influence of China, so were the wedding clothes also influenced? If so which designs?

With these questions, I conducted a research based on published Korean costume history books and thesis.

BODY

The history of Korean traditional weddings started in the dynasty of Chosun and deeply related to the Chinese costume culture and Confucianism. The book about the customary formalities of a family written by Zhuzi, a Confucianism scholar of Ong Dynasty in China (960-1279AD), was introduced into Chosun Dynasty in Korea. Zhuzi's book was based on ancient China's six proprieties. In Chosun Dynasty, the book was reorganized as "National Five Proprieties" which reflects Chosun's living at times. This book about manners and courtesy influenced wedding ceremonies of royal families and ruling classes, the Yangban. In the late period of Chosun, the book titled *Geo-Ga-Jap-Bok-Go* (Family Clothing Research) by Park Kyu-su (1807-1876) reflected contemporary manners and courtesy about ceremony clothing and widely used. (National Folk Museum, 1999) Through these books, the Korean traditional wedding clothing can be traced back to Chinese origins but at the same time have its own differences based on Korean values.

The traditional Korean costume in general is made up of *jeogori* (the top) and *chima* (the skirt), which has not changed since the Three Kingdoms Dynasty (57BC-668AD). However, except the *jeogori* and the *chima*, the rest of the clothes such as outers (*jeak-yi*, *changsam*, *wonsam*, *hwal-ot*), special skirts (*Siran skirt*, *daeran skirt*), and hair accessories (*jeok-duri*, *hwa-guan*) are all influences of China but transformed into Korean style.

Likewise, China influenced Chosun in not only economics and politics but also clothing costumes. If one sees a Chinese old movie, he or she can see that the costumes of the emperor and empress of China are similar to those of the king and queen of Chosun. The

clothes of the king and queen of Chosun such as *wonsam* or *hwal-ot* became the wedding clothes of the high and middle class. Therefore, Korean traditional wedding clothes can be said to have originated from the costumes of emperor and empress of China not the wedding clothes of Chinese people. A Confucian dynasty, Chosun emphasized the importance of class stratification but in weddings, the Chosun kings allowed the peasants to wear a clothes of the palace. (Shin,2004)

KOREAN TRADITIONAL WEDDING CLOTHES STYLE

THE BRIDE

In Chosun Dynasty, the *wonsam* and *hwal-ot* were usually worn for weddings. Both *wonsam* and *hwal-ot* originated from the style of Chinese wrap dresses. However, *hwal-ot* is much more fancy than *wonsam*. (Yoo, 1990) The *hwal-ot* has the characteristic of a red background and embroidered with flowers. This clothing was worn by Goryeo, Chosun Dynasties' princesses or wedding clothing of the high class. On the front side of *hwal-ot*, icons of longevity and wealth, a wave, rock, elixir plant, lily, wood, crane, and butterflies are embroidered. On the side and shoulders, characters of eternal happiness are embroidered as well. A *hwal-ot* is usually worn on top of a yellow *jeogori*, red skirt, and with a dragon shaped hairpin or a headpiece called *hwa-guan* of seven colors. (Yoo, 1990)

The *wonsam* is an official clothing for the palace court. The empress wore the gold yellow *wonsam*, the queen wore a red *wonsam*, the princess wore a green *wonsam*, and high class nobles also wore green *wonsams*. In addition, the commoners of Chosun could wear green *wonsams* for their weddings. (Yoo, 1990) However, the commoners did not wear green *wonsams* with gold embroidery while the nobles and princesses did.

THE GROOM

Like the grooms of today wear a black tuxedo and a fancy bowtie, the grooms in Chosun wore *Samogwandae* which was a long robe along with a belt and a hat. The upper class men of Chosun dynasty who were mostly high government officials wore a uniform called *gwan-bok*. The uniform was influenced by the Chinese palace costume and there are four different versions: public attire, official attire, common attire, and military attire. Common attire of the *gwan-bok* is *samogwandae*. *Samogwadae* is consisted of a hat called *samo*, ceremonial robe called *dan-ryeong*, belt called *gwandae*, and cotton shoes. (Keum, 1994) *Samo* is a black hat looks like ears of a rabbit. *Dan-ryeong* is a round necked ceremonial robe that is long sleeved and falls to the ankles. There are pieces of embroidery work on the front chest and shoulders of *dan-ryeong* called *hueng-bae*. A crane or a tiger is embroidered on the *hueng-bae* which signals whether the person is a court official or military official. *Gandae* is worn on top of the *dan-ryeong*. Likewise, the Chinese also wore their government official uniform for weddings although the design and the name is different than Chosun's. This similarity in design of wedding clothes signals that Chosun was influenced by the Chinese court attire.

THE COLORS OF KOREAN TRADITIONAL WEDDING CLOTHES

One of the most distinct characteristic of Chosun's clothing is the beauty of vivid colors. To avoid dullness, usually the colors of the top and skirt were different. Especially in women's clothing, the difference in colors are prevalent. (Keum, 1994) The beauty of colors can also be found in the Chosun bride's wedding clothes, *wonsam*. The outside color of the *wonsam* is green while the inside color is green. The contrast of the green on the outside and red in the inside gives the green more luxurious feeling due to the soft tint of red. In addition, when the bride moves around the colors of green and red alternate creating an opposite color effect. (Keum, 1994)

Chosun was a stratified dynasty so the colors of the clothing signaled what class the wearer was in. So only the empress wore gold *wonsam*, queen the red *wonsam*, and princess and nobles the green *wonsam*. Also, the commoners were allowed to wear green *wonsam* on their wedding days. (Yoo, 1990)

The wedding clothes of brides in China have different designs compared to Chosun but the similarity is that both use the colors red and blue. In Chosun, *hwal-ot* is oftentimes vibrant red with streaks of blue, gold, white, and black in the embroidery. In China, the traditional wedding clothes is made by a fabric called *kwa*. *Kwa* is a red silk fabric with embroidered phoenix and cloud. Chinese wedding clothes also include streaks of blue in the background of red because red symbolizes the groom and blue symbolizes the bride. The combination of red and blue means the union of the man and woman.

THE ACCESSORIES OF KOREAN TRADITIONAL WEDDING CLOTHES

DECORATIVE EMBROIDERIES

Chosun Wedding Clothes, *hwal-ot* and *wonsam*, both had decorations all over the fabric. (Keum,1994) According to class, the gold *wonsam* was decorated with dragon, red *wonsam* with phoenix, and green *wonsam* with flowers. Also, on the chest, back, shoulders of the *wonsam*, there were *hueng-baes* (embroidery for decoration). The *hueng-baes* also signaled which class the wearer was in. (Keum, 1990)

HAIR ACCESSORIES

The bride of Chosun wore two kinds of hair accessories. When wearing *wonsam*, the bride wore *jeok-duri*; when wearing *hwal-ot*, the bride wore a ceremonial crown *hwa-guan*. A *jeok-duri* is a hair accessory for ceremonies of weddings, funerals, and ancestral rites. (Kim, Hong, 1996) It is made with seven satin strips connected together and decorated with jade, jewels, and pearls. The *hwa-guan* is a fancier and bigger accessory than *jeok-duri* and has more decorative jewels and pearls.

The Chinese wedding accessories had fancy headpieces decorated with gold, silver, pearls, and jewels. It was worn in weddings of the royal family or the high class nobles. The difference between the hair accessories was that in China only certain class can afford to wear the headpieces but in Chosun, even the commoners can afford a *jeok-duri*.

GROOM'S HAT

The grooms, as explained before, wore hats called *samo*. Similarly, the Chinese grooms wore a similar hat but named differently: *hwa-bokdu*.

CONCLUSION

Both Korea and China is closely geographically and culturally. They share the values of Confucianism and share the Chinese characters. (Shin, 2004) The two Confucian dynasties considered weddings as one of the biggest ceremonies in a family. For the wedding ceremony the fanciest clothes are wanted even for the commoners. So the similarities are the following.

First similarity is the Confucian values in the wedding clothes. Because the Confucian idea emphasizes wedding ceremonies, the commoners are allowed to escape social stratification and wear court costumes for their weddings. This reflects the idea of equal celebration on wedding over people without differentiating in wedding clothing.

Secondly, both China and Chosun used the colors of red and blue in the wedding clothing of the bride. The Korean *wonsam* and *hwal-ot* both have a base fabric color of red and embroidered streaks of blue, gold, white, and black. The Chinese *kwa* is also red with streaks of blue which symbolizes the unification of man and woman.

Thirdly, the both brides wore fancy hairpieces decorated with pearls and jewels and both grooms wore black colored hats. The Chosun brides wore *jeok-duri* or *hwa-guan* while the Chinese high class brides wore fancy gold headpieces. The groom of Chosun wore *samo* while grooms of China wore *hwa-bokdu*.

This research found three similarities of Korean and Chinese wedding clothing. As Chosun was under heavy Chinese influence, the cultural and historical influences of clothing can be seen through the similarities.

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Hwal-ot (Daegu National Museum)



Korean Traditional Wedding Clothing (Ministry of Culture, Sports, and Tourism)



Chinese Traditional Wedding Clothing (myoto1214)



Red Wonsam (Keum,1994)



Chinese Wedding Clothes (Chinanews)



Jeok-duri (Keum,1994: 136)



Hwa-guan (Keum,1994: 136)

ORIENTALISM REVISITED: AN ARTISTIC REDEFINITION OF THE ORIENTALIST IMAGERY. (CASE STUDY: ISTANBUL)

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ABSTRACT

In the nineteenth century, the Orient – in my research the Orient is limited to Middle Eastern countries – attracted a considerable number of writers and painters, and eventually it became an immensely popular artistic destination. Several societal and cultural factors explain the attraction of Orientalism in this period. In the eyes of both the painters and their public, the Orient was a means to break loose from the rigid Western morality, an exciting escapism. Nowadays, however, the genre seems to have become completely obsolete as an artistic practice, due to some extent to Edward Said's publication of *Orientalism* in 1978. Even though his criticism of the Western image of the Orient has been toned down, it is difficult to dissociate Orientalism as an artistic movement from its pejorative connotation with Western imperialism. The contemporary Western art world is reluctant to consider the Orient as an artistic subject. Trying to dissociate Orientalism and its connotation with Western imperialism remains a difficult and delicate matter. Moreover, the current political instability and Western uneasiness towards Islamic culture only complicate the situation. In addition to these ideological reasons, formal elements are responsible for the decline of interest in Orientalist art as well. The iconography of the nineteenth-century Orientalist painters is characterised by exotic fantasies expressed in exuberant colours, resulting in stereotypical images. The power of the Orient as an artistic subject does not reside in creating a twenty-first century sequel to this imagery, but in representing the Orient through sensory impressions based on the perceptions of the artist. In my PhD research I redefine the exuberant Oriental imagery and restore the Orient as a source of inspiration for artistic experiment.

In this paper I will present both the general background of my PhD research as I mentioned above, and a specific case study of my artistic research. I am currently working on an artistic project in which I investigate to what extent Istanbul still has the power to enchant foreign artists like it did in the past. Firstly, I examined literary fragments from writers who visited Istanbul in the nineteenth century (Edmondo de Amicis, Gérard de Nerval, ...), and took a close look at artworks from Orientalist artists that drew inspiration from the city (Antoine Ignace Melling, Jean-Léon Gérôme, ...). Secondly, I lived in Istanbul for several months and collected my own Istanbul-archive, consisting of photos, drawings, textual fragments and videos. Finally, I engage in a dialogue between my own work and the texts and images from the past.

Keywords: Orientalism, Middle East, Istanbul, nineteenth century, art.

1. STATE OF THE ART/INTRODUCTION

In the nineteenth century, the Orient attracted a considerable number of writers and painters and eventually it became an immensely popular artistic destination. Several societal and cultural factors explain the attraction of Orientalism in this period. (Royal Museums of Fine Arts of Belgium, 17–32) Numerous painters gained fame depicting the exotic fantasies of the Western bourgeoisie. Their paintings were often stereotypical representations of exotic landscapes and beautiful women (e.g. Jean- Léon Gerôme, Jean-Joseph Benjamin-Constant). In the eyes of both the painter and his public, the Orient was a means to break loose from the rigid Western morality, an exciting escapism.

Despite the fact that the Orient turned out to be a source of readymade exotic images as well as a place for artistic development, Orientalism started to lose its appeal at the beginning of the twentieth century. Today, the genre seems to have become completely obsolete as an artistic practice, due to some extent to Edward Said's publication of *Orientalism* in 1978. Even though his criticism of the Western image of the Orient has been toned down (e.g. Warraq, 2006), it is difficult to dissociate Orientalism as an artistic movement from its pejorative connotation with Western imperialism.

Collectors still treasure the paintings, but the contemporary Western artistic scene is rather reluctant to devote their artistic practice to Orientalism because of formal (1) as well as ideological (2) reasons.

(1) A key notion in the visual language of nineteenth-century Orientalists is excess; exotic fantasies rendered in exuberant colours. Orientalist paintings hardly surpass the stereotypical romanticised and eroticised burst of colours, which approaches kitsch. This image is still being kept alive by the movie industry (e.g. with *Prince of Persia: The Sands of Time*, 2010) and seems to be engraved in our collective memory. The close relationship with this iconography is one of the reasons that make the Orient an unpopular theme for Western artists.

(2) Westerners also encounter difficulties in representing the Orient because they are outsiders entering countries that still bear the painful memories of a colonial past. Moreover, their political instability complicates travelling to the Middle East and sheds a negative light on the area, feeding the Western uneasiness towards Islamic culture. In short, the balance between political and cultural entities in the Middle East is very precarious, which makes the Western perception of the region highly complex.

The historical genre's connotation with kitsch and excess on the one hand, and the current issues in the Middle East on the other, have eliminated the Orient as a topic in contemporary Western visual arts. Some documentary photography could be considered as art (e.g. Schuytser, 2012; Depoorter, 2012), but the photos' artistic intentions are always subordinated to their journalistic value. The artistic representation of the Orient is almost exclusively an activity of local artists. Several tendencies are at work here, but generally this is politically motivated art denouncing different aspects of the social and political life, rather than art that tries to translate sensory impressions into an artistic representation of a land(scape). Conceptual art, pop art, calligraphic minimalism, postmodern pastiches of the

nineteenth-century Orientalism: these are but a few of the artistic languages artists use to bring violence, war, globalisation, gender, belief and other issues to the public's attention (see Sloman, 2009).

Both Western and local artists seem to neglect art representing the Orient based on affects and sensory experiences. Even though it is far from self-evident for the Westerner to claim the land(scape) of other people for artistic representation, the attraction of the Orient as an artistic topic resides exactly in this position of the outsider. Independence might be a prerequisite for an artist to be able to see the artistic possibilities of his surroundings (e.g. Boehm, 2005, 140). In a foreign country, the artist is in a different way receptive to the environment, which enables him to open up freely to the light, to particular details, to the aesthetics of the ugly and the beauty of the unexpected.

2. ORIENTALISM REVISITED: GENERAL OBJECTIVE AND INTERPRETATION

In my PhD research I aim at a revision of the Orientalist imagery through a draughtsman's visual language, converting the impressions and experiences of the artist into visual images. By consistently starting from concrete sensory perceptions, I want to change the negative view of Orientalism caused by its connotation with stereotypical, exuberant imagery. This emphasis on sensory experiences implies that the landscape (natural and urban) plays a crucial role in the artistic experiments. Inevitably, representations of Oriental landscapes will remain ideologically charged (e.g. Delue & Elkins, 2008, 88-150). Poverty, religion, politics and tourism all leave their traces on the landscape and are subtly denounced through artistic representation. Yet this ideological aspect is not the main objective in the visual experiments, but an additional consequence that gives an extra dimension to the artworks.

Through the use of visual techniques that emphasize the artist's experiences, the exuberant Oriental iconography can be redefined and the Orient can be revalorized as a source of inspiration for artistic experiment, despite the tension that currently determines the relationship between the West and the Middle East.

My work is not bound to a specific technique, but I have a background as an illustrator. It is important that my images invoke sensory stimuli upon their audience, and there are different techniques fit for that goal.

Due to the convoluted subject, there will always be a certain tension in my work. This tension is perceptible on various levels:

(1) Firstly, the relation between form and content can be tense. Aesthetics guide me in my creation process. These days, however, the Orient – as mentioned above – suffers from war and many other problems. Including such problems in my artworks in a way that the images are visually attractive, creates a contradiction. As an artist, I enjoy seeking aesthetics in things that are unappealing to the eye.

(2) Another tension is distinguishable between realism and formalism. It is not my purpose to make a journalistic record of my travels in the Middle East. *“These photographs taken at random by a wandering camera do not in any way attempt to give a general picture*

of any of the countries in which that camera has been at large.” (Bresson, 1952) Even though I want to redefine Orientalist imagery, I don't claim or want to give an accurate and complete representation of the 'real' Orient. My work is not a direct representation of reality, at most it gives an image of my personal reality, which in no way is the 'real' or 'true' Orient.

Even though sensory perceptions are at the basis of the visual experiments, the artwork is not a direct representation of these impressions. Realism is not a prerequisite for this new draughtsman's imagery because an exact depiction of a place is not always representative for the impressions this place evokes. Selection, imagination and personal formalism – a formal stripping of redundancy which demonstrates a personal vision – are invoked in the attempt to redefine the Orient in an affective, artistic way.

Despite the theoretical background of this research, I want the creation process to be free, unrestricted and not laid out in advance.

(3) Orientalist imagery has a long tradition that seems impossible to avoid. By depicting evident things in an oriental landscape, like a palm tree, a camel, or by photographing a desert landscape, you engage yourself in this tradition. In my series of images, there is a tension between the Orientalist image tradition and between modernity: elements (architectural, human) that seem intruders in this vast tradition.

(4) There is also a tension between expectation and reality. Travelling generally consists of three stages: the anticipation, the journey itself and retrospection. Our expectation of the Orient is formed by news media, but to a large extent we still believe in the Hollywood Orient too: a place of exotic fantasies. These expectations are hardly lived up to in reality, and initially disillusion accompanies you. After some time, however, you start to admire things that you didn't expect to encounter, and the disappointment makes place for wonder.

My works move back and forth between these contradictions, which empower my artwork. It is not necessary to focus on finding the right balance between them, because this seems to happen naturally.

3. INSPIRATION

During my research I draw inspiration from everything that crosses my path, but there are some main sources that lead me in image making and writing. I don't use the following sources in a specific order.

3.1. LITERATURE

There is a great amount of marvellous travel literature written about the Orient through the ages. However, this literature is written by outsiders, and it is not always clear to what extent their diary is a recording of true events or mixed with creations of the mind, it offers an affective knowledge about the Orient. Authors as Gérard de Nerval are masters in ventilating the affects that go hand in hand with travelling. The Orient is a place that evokes melancholy, admiration, joy, but also disappointment and aversion. Although much of this literature is written in the past, these affects still sound very familiar to a

contemporary traveller.

When I read a travelogue after I visited the same place myself, I look for similarities and differences; I rediscover my own trip from a different viewpoint while reading the book. When you read it in advance, it creates certain expectations that are lived up to or not, and determine your sentiment regarding a place.

Literary descriptions offer a specific form of knowledge about the Orient; they are able to differentiate and deepen our view on the Middle East by focusing on the affective aspects of the experience of the Orient. As such, literature forms a subtle but necessary counterbalance for the explicit, stereotypical imagery of the Middle East that we see on the news, in Hollywood movies or in touristic brochures.

3.2. ORIENTALIST ART HISTORY

Although Orientalist art history is not the primary source of technical inspiration for my own work, it inspires me on a different level. The paintings bring alive light, colour and atmosphere of the Orient, and awaken a desire to be in another place than behind my computer.

Paintings, drawings and engravings compose your expectations in a similar way as travelogues. They give you an idea of how Orientalist artists perceived their environment and chose to depict it. Other than their written counterparts, they focus almost exclusively on the idyllic Orient, which presently you may find nearly untouched only on rare occasions. (Visiting a deserted Egyptian temple makes you still feel as if you are wandering through one of David Robert's watercolours for example.)

These artworks also make you understand how the Western image of the Orient developed, and how sometimes the current Orient tries to live up to that image wherever tourism finds its way.

The Orient that was never 'real' becomes thus reality in a very estranging manner.

Some modernist Orientalists who considered the Orient as a place for artistic development, do influence my visual experiments. They transformed visual perceptions into a more abstract, colourful, and personal reality. Henri Matisse was inspired by Islamic art when painting Orientalist patterns, Paul Klee united the view of the graphic artist and the painter in his representation of Arabic towns; an analysis of their works inspires me to reconsider my own representational questions.

3.3. TRAVEL

During this research project I try to spend time in the Orient as well, avoiding the tourist traps as much as possible. Only on the spot can you be inspired by the sunlight, the indefinite vastness of the desert and mountains, the subtlety and variety in colours, the capricious shapes of Islamic architecture (especially its domes and minarets), the vegetation, ruins, ever-growing cities, traffic, smells, noise, ...

3.4. VISUAL INSPIRATION

While travelling you have a chance to reflect on the travelogues you have read and artworks you have seen, you collect an archive with visual and written impressions that will form the basis of your own artistic work.

Every artist has his own image archive that he collected over the years with images he liked or found worth remembering. This archive is consulted mostly at the beginning and/or during a creation process. My own archive consists of many subdivisions, like (Asian) landscape art, Ottoman and Persian miniatures, old illustrated maps, old scientific drawings, Orientalism, modernists, old photos, some contemporary art as well, ...

I use these sometimes as technical inspiration (composition, material, colour...).

4. CASE-STUDY: ISTANBUL (AND TURKEY)

The past year my research focused on Istanbul (and Turkey) as a source of Orientalist inspiration. The city was an interesting workstation because it is literally a bridge between West and East. It is a place in which two different worlds collide, sometimes causing a mess by doing so.

In this case, I also based my work on literature, art history and my own experiences.

4.1. LITERATURE

Before I went living in Istanbul for a year, I became acquainted with the nineteenth-century Istanbul of Gerard de Nerval, a French romantic writer. His melancholic and depressive nature was temporarily cured in the city of two continents. He admired the picturesque streets, enjoyed the entertainment during the Ramadan nights (listening to storytellers in the cafés and watching the Karagöz shadow theatre), and was naively moved when the sultan looked him in the eye and they shared a moment of understanding. Istanbul appeared to him as a spectacle in which he forgot all that troubled his mind in France. Nevertheless, he had an eye for the steady Europeanization of the city, describing the streets of Beyoğlu and their similarities to London and Paris. However, he didn't perceive Istanbul as a melancholic city (yet). De Nerval also praised the religious and ethnic tolerance in the city: "*quatre peuples différents qui vivent ensemble sans trop se haïr. Turcs, Arméniens, Grecs et Juifs, enfants du même sol et se supportant beaucoup mieux les uns les autres que ne le font, chez nous, les gens de diverses provinces ou de divers partis.*" (De Nerval, 1851, II-153)

I loved reading de Nerval because of his curious nature, his openness and acceptance of the Other and the fact that he was not, like many of his colleagues were, too arrogant to question his own European beliefs.

At the beginning of my stay in Istanbul, I read Orhan Pamuk's *Istanbul: Memories and the city* (2005). Written from the position of a contemporary insider, it gives a totally different view on Istanbul than the one I became acquainted with. He speaks of *hüzün* – a collective melancholy – as the central feeling of Istanbul and its inhabitants, a feeling that slowly befell me as well the more I grew familiar with the city. The Oriental beauty is ingurgitated by modern constructions, eating away the soul of the city. Pamuk likes to dwell

through the backstreets of Istanbul, in search for ruins of the past.

Later on I also read some old travel accounts of the city, from Harrison Griswold Dwight (1915), Edmondo de Amicis (1877), Julia Pardoe (1838), Thomas Allom (1839) and (1911). Even though they generally marvelled at the beauty of the city, you may find some critical notes that seem to be indications of the present-day Istanbul.

"Often, while gazing at Constantinople from the bridge of the Sultan Validé, I would be confronted by the question, "What is to become of this city in one or two centuries, even if the Turks are not driven out of Europe?" Alas! There is but little doubt that the great Holocaust of beauty at the hands of civilization will have been already accomplished." (de Amicis, 1896, 172)

"Everything on earth has an end. We have been told so ever since we were children. On and on and on, and now the houses of Kaliji Oghlu grow fewer, woods begin to appear; there is but one more group of dwellings. Quickening our pace, we passed them by, and at last reached - Merciful Heavens! What did we reach? Nothing in the world but another suburb." (de Amicis, 1896, 115-116)

In short, the literature I read about the city before and during my stay in Istanbul, gave me an image of a two-faced city that is forced into a future in which it originally did not belong. The affects of the authors who spent time in Istanbul vary from melancholy and regret to adoration and bewilderment.

4.2. ORIENTALIST ART HISTORY

Istanbul was an evident stop for almost every Orientalist artist. Like I mentioned earlier, Orientalism in visual arts was more one-dimensional and idyllic, this also goes for the Istanbul-orientalism. Painters as Jean-Léon Gérôme painted harem scenes, slave markets, Turks with turbans smoking hookah, oriental girls visiting a hamam, ... This is exactly the kind of Orient that is responsible for the image of our current Hollywood-, or Disney-Orient. It is hard to say if this Istanbul was ever real. It may have been – it is not so hard to imagine similar scenes while visiting the Topkapi palace –, but even if it was, it shows a very selective part of the old Istanbul. (Fig.1)

A different tone can be found in the works of Antoine Ignace Melling, much admired by Orhan Pamuk. His engravings, though still very beautiful and idyllic, seem more real than the ones of contemporary colleagues, like Thomas Allom. His city and Bosphorus views are less dramatic and romantic, and feel very 'real'. He doesn't seem to be hiding or exaggerating parts for the sake of the exotic. Still this is a very majestic Istanbul, and reality will not always have been so alluring. (Fig.2)

The Orientalist Istanbul is here an intoxicating city of salacious dreams and exciting architecture, without the melancholic undertone we can find in the nineteenth-century Orientalist literature.

4.3. MY OWN EXPERIENCES

I have lived in Istanbul for ten months, and have had time to consider whether the current city lives up to the expectations created by its literature and art history. During this time I collected lots of photographs, notes, some sketches and even videos. My memories of Istanbul have similarities with those written in the old travelogues, but they are fundamentally different.

Istanbul is a city with two identities, on two continents. It does not seem to know which side to choose. The city became too much a Westernized metropolis to feel like a traveller in the Orient. It is a metropolis, but actually in ways that would not be possible in the West. The city already reached its bursting point, but new constructions keep sprouting everywhere, at the expense of its beautiful past. Heritage and aesthetics are very often ignored in the current urban planning, and I saw too many places that I liked being broken down in only this short time.

"These are nothing like the remains of great empires to be seen in Western cities, preserved like museums of history and proudly displayed. The people of Istanbul simply carry on with their lives amongst the ruins." (Orhan Pamuk, 2005, 91)

Sadly enough, this side of Istanbul is becoming more and more prominent and oppresses what is left of its magnificent past. Wandering through the city, I feel that melancholy is always present under the surface. In the depiction of Istanbul, the tension between the Orientalist image tradition and modernity is very present, but the latter takes precedence.

This magnificent past implies mostly the great mosks and palaces, which I much admire, but I feel that this beautiful side of the city fails to show its oriental soul as well. Tourists swarm around like ants, the monuments are surrounded by kitschy souvenir shops, bad kebab places and selfie sticks. You are forced in the role of a tourist and have a hard time keeping off pushy guides. With the little bit of your attention that is still available you can admire the majestically decorated domes in the Blue Mosque or the superb mosaics in the Aya Sofia, lost in flashes and screams. In the touristic neighbourhoods, it also becomes clear how locals want to respond to the Hollywood-image of the Orient: ice cream-sellers wearing traditional outfits, waiters wearing a fez (even in Ottoman times fezzes were only for rich city dwellers), over the top ornamental decoration... Some regions became almost like a small Disneyland.

However, this does not mean that the 'oriental soul' is totally gone in Istanbul. From time to time one stumbles upon it unexpectedly, in a local 'pazar' for example (a big open market with food, clothes, fabrics, and much more), in the old neighbourhoods with streets where they are selling just one specific thing in every building, and another in the next street, or when you see a street seller pushing a wooden chariot full of melons in the night with a tiny oil lamp, in big families having a party in the local parks or sometimes next to a highway, or in the always peaceful old cemeteries. The beautiful Eyüp cemetery, for example, makes me feel as if I am walking into art history, as it offers an almost unspoiled vision of the Ottoman times.

In this case, it also seems that disappointment makes place for wonder and liking of things that are unexpected, more subtle in their otherness, but also much more real.

Another thing that I experienced to be quite different from the Orient I imagined, was the weather. I always thought the Orient, and Istanbul, were warm places. Nothing could be further from the truth. I've faced a stronger winter in Istanbul than I can recall enduring in Belgium since many years. It was very cold and it snowed heavily from time to time.

Last but not least, the tolerance between the different ethnic groups De Nerval admired so much, is not so evident the present day. Most of the non-Turks were driven out of Istanbul in the nineteen fifties. The ones who are left, and the recent Syrian refugees, are not always receiving a warm welcome.

Although these remarks may sound rather negative, I think Istanbul still has a lot to offer to the artist. Sometimes you have to look at your surroundings without their loaded contexts; empty-minded. When you forget about the orientalist frame, the opposition between East and West, the threatening urban development projects, religion, death, the problematic future of the city, ..., you may experience things that strike you as an artist: the shapes of the minarets echoed in cypresses and the skyscrapers in the distance, the melon-shaped domes and beautifully sculptured Ottoman gravestones changing colour in harmony with the hour of day, the vibrantly lit shores of the Bosphorus and the thousands of lights of its first bridge flickering in many colours in the night, and so on. Although modernity has shown many of its worst features in Istanbul, the city still manages to enchant one's senses. These sensory experiences soften the troubled face of Istanbul and should be formulated before they vaporise, in words, drawings, photographs... as a means to extend the artist's visual archive. This visual archive shows that this piece of the Orient, stripped from its context, offers a sensory knowledge that makes you a more eloquent artist. For the spectator, these sensory impressions mean a welcome supplement to the stereotypical image of the Orient.

However, I still like to dwell on such impressions in my work and rather enjoy painting those tiny pieces of Golden Horn shore where trees still dominate the view, I have experienced that I slowly started to lose my status as an outsider. I said earlier that independence might be a prerequisite for an artist to be able to see the artistic possibilities of his surroundings (e.g. Boehm, 2005, 140); I am still in that position, but after some time I realised I got more involved. There are some things going on in Istanbul that I cannot and do not want to ignore. These aspects infiltrated my work as well.

4.4. MY WORK

The previous components form the basis of three art projects that synthesize my Istanbul-experience.

4.4.1. SALT

I printed a selection of my photos in the nineteenth-century photographic salt print technique. This technique in which the photos resemble paintings in sepia tones, is a reference to the Istanbul of the Orientalists. The subjects vary, and are a combination of

photos that represent my feelings towards modern-day Istanbul. This means that there are also images of the destruction of the immigrant neighbourhoods, as well as the lamps of the bazaar and chickens running down the street in Eminönü. Technique and content contradict each other, just like Istanbul contradicts itself in almost every street corner.

When I was working with salt to print my photos, it felt like the right technique for the Turks. Coming from Europe I realized each day how we have a sugar culture and Turkey a salty one. (Fig.3-4)

4.4.2. TURKEY'S CONTEMPORARY ARCHAEOLOGICAL FINDS.

In series of images I draw objects that are typical for Istanbul (and Turkey) as archaeological finds. I am trained as archaeological illustrator, and apply a technique in which an object is drawn very precisely in ink. This technique, that demands a lot of time and careful attention, suggests that the objects are valuable, which is not exactly true in this case. Here, there is thus a contrast between form and content.

Objects that are chosen to draw are among others, a simit (a typical Turkish circular bread with sesame seeds), a transparent plastic bag (which Turks are using for everything, also their bread), a tesbih (the Turkish rosary for praying, many men carry it through the streets) and a selfie stick (sold on every street corner by Turks screaming "selfieler"). (Fig.5-6)

4.4.3. RE-ENGRAVING ISTANBUL

In a last project I revisited the places from some of Antoine Ignace Melling's engravings published in his *Voyage Pittoresque de Constantinople et des Rives du Bosphore* (1819). I looked for some landmarks that are still recognizable and reconstructed the drawings in their present-day form. However some of them are still similar, the atmosphere and architecture is quite different in my drawings. This project is an easy way to show how the city is different than the one the Orientalist artists visited. Also here I place myself technically in the Orientalist tradition and engage myself in a dialogue between my own work and historical works. (Fig.7-8)

All of the projects show my love for handwork and time-consuming procedures. In a time in which art became volatile and ready-mades are esteemed equal to renaissance paintings, I want to revive outdated processes and genres. These techniques not only demand a larger amount of time in the creative process, but also invite the viewer to look closer and longer. Profound observation often seems to have become a lost habit in these multimedia times, which every artist can only regret.

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Fig. 1: Gérôme, J.-L., 1886, *The Terrace of the Seraglio*.



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Fig. 2: Melling, A.I., 1819, *Marche Solennelle du Grand-Seigneur, le Jour du Baïram*.



Fig. 3: examples of photos fit for this project.



Fig. 4: an example of one of my photos that I printed as a salt print.

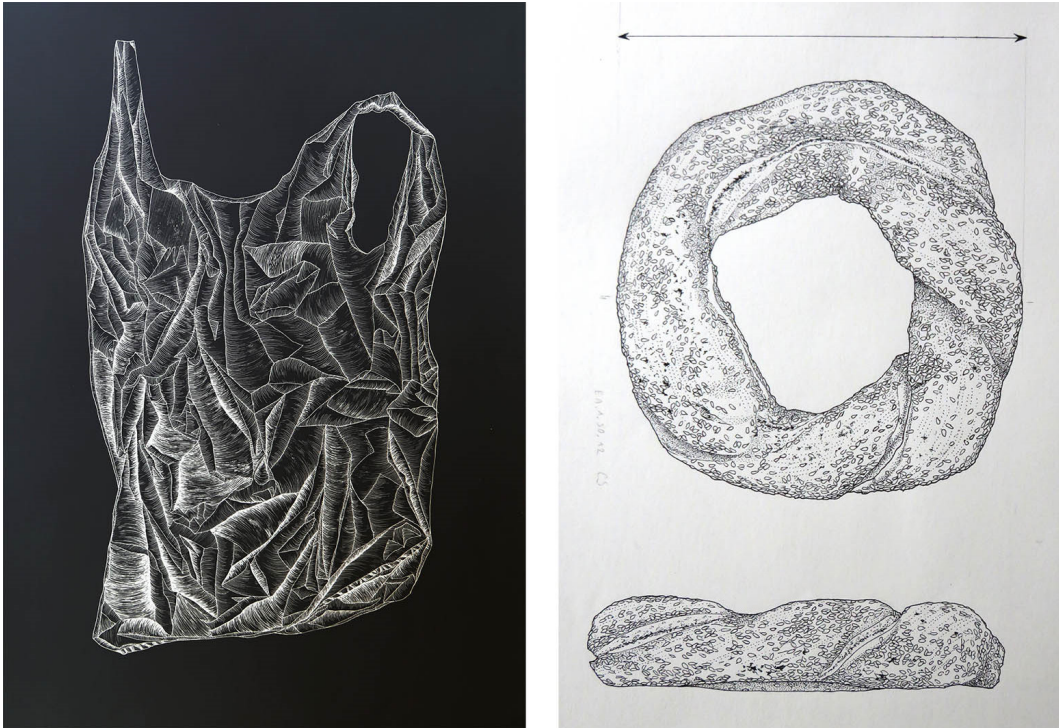


Fig. 5-6: two works of the Turkey's contemporary archaeological finds' series.



Fig. 7: Tophane, after Mellings *Vue de la Place et des Casernes de Top-Hané à l'entrée du port de Constantinople.*

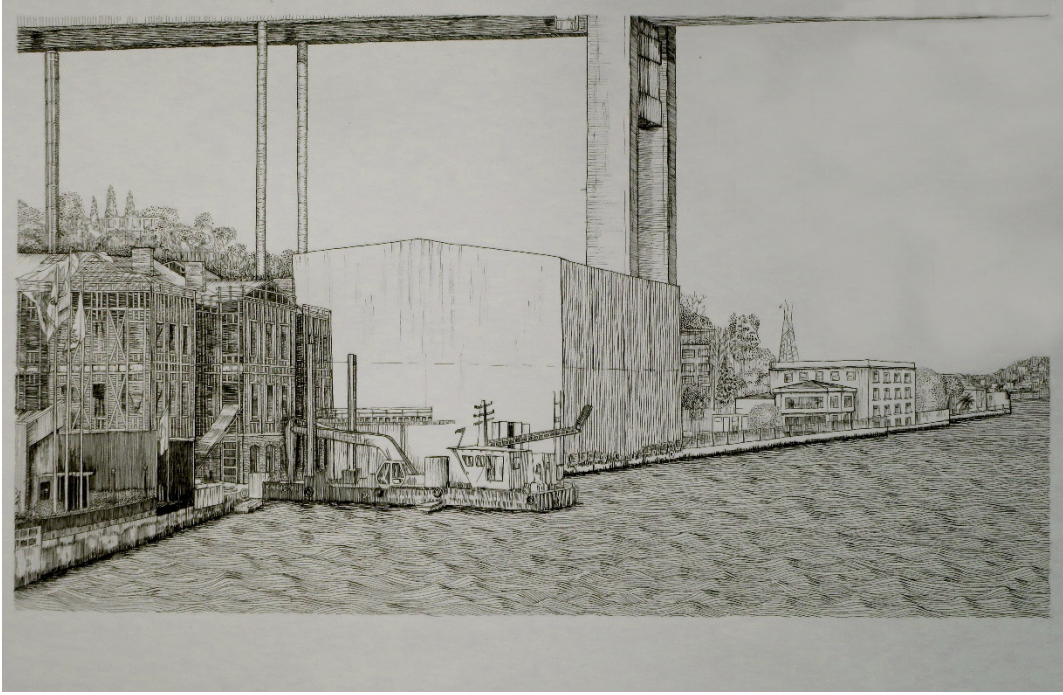


Fig. 8: Hatice Sultan Sarayı, after Mellings *Palais de la Sultane Hadidgé*.

FUTURE PLANS, AGGRESSIVE POLICIES? A LOOK AT TURKEY'S HERITAGE REPATRIATION STRATEGY

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ABSTRACT

With a long history of archaeological repatriation requests, Turkey has become a focal point in the discussion particularly since 2011, due to its numerous requests for the return of artefacts currently on display in museums as distinct as the Metropolitan Museum in New York, the Pergamon Museum in Berlin and the British Museum in London. Turkey is clearly following a Cultural Nationalist approach, claiming that all artefacts found in Turkish soil and taken to other countries illegally should be returned to their homeland and cared for the nation where they were first found. Overall, European and American museums have perceived Turkey's heritage repatriation strategy as aggressive and uncooperative. The situation has since captivated the attention of national and international scholars and curators, while arguments for and against repatriation seem to have multiplied endlessly.

Keywords: Turkey, heritage repatriation, strategy.

Archaeological heritage repatriation can be defined as the restitution of artefacts to their country of origin after having been kept under the stewardship of a foreign museum. The topic has fostered passionate debate over the decades and remains a controversial theme in contemporary media, especially because heritage repatriation requests often generate conflict and lengthy discussion rather than intuitive cooperation between nations. Such is particularly true when heritage has been taken from one country to another in times of peace rather than armed conflict, under the laws of an epoch that are now obsolete. Surely each heritage repatriation case is unique, but inevitably all processes will foster discussion on who is the owner of a certain artefact and why. Roehrenbeck (2010: 190) defines two main approaches to notions of ownership in the heritage repatriation debate: Cultural Internationalism and Cultural Nationalism. Adherents of Cultural Internationalism believe that *“cultural property belongs to the global community, and the country with the better resources to care for another country’s cultural property should retain possession”*. Cultural Nationalists, however, support the idea that *“a nation’s cultural property belongs within the borders of the nation where it was created. Nationalists emphasize national interests, values, and pride”*. Heritage repatriation thus inspires the following questions: does an artefact belong to the country where it was found, or to the entity who can best care for it? Should it remain within the borders of its country of provenance, or should it be transferred to where it can be seen by a larger number of visitors? Where heritage is concerned, is it pertinent to speak of a rightful owner? If an artefact was taken from a country under a set of laws which is now obsolete, which law of what time in history should be prioritized? Can national borders really support an argument for rightful ownership? Evidently, complex questions arise during heritage repatriation processes, and the outcome of each case may determine the quality of relations between two nations for decades to come, both positively and negatively.

With a long history of archaeological repatriation requests, Turkey has become a focal point in the discussion particularly since 2011, due to its numerous requests for the return of artefacts currently on display in museums as distinct as the Metropolitan Museum in New York, the Pergamon Museum in Berlin and the British Museum in London. Turkey is clearly following a Cultural Nationalist approach, claiming that all artefacts found in Turkish soil and taken to other countries illegally should be returned to their homeland and cared for the nation where they were first found. Overall, European and American museums have perceived Turkey's heritage repatriation strategy as aggressive and uncooperative. The situation has since captivated the attention of national and international scholars and curators, while arguments for and against repatriation seem to have multiplied endlessly. While scholars such as Özel (2010) and Price (2010) focus on the legal facet of cultural property issues in Turkey, the work of Haines (2012) and Gürsu (2013) focuses on relating Turkish policy for heritage with its turbulent relations with Europe. Some aspects of Turkish heritage repatriation policy, however, seem to have been only loosely mentioned: the majority of the literature on the case seems to imply that Turkey's decisions are based mostly on past conflict between Turkey, Europe and the United States of America, if not fully motivated by feelings of bitterness towards the European Union due to frequent exclusion and rejection of full membership requests by Turkey. While these aspects must not be

neglected when attempting to analyze Turkish cultural policy, the vision of a future Turkey too should represent a major player in the game, not only the country's past.

Turkey is currently experiencing a major shift from a role of mediator to a proactive role. Archaeology represents a crucial tool for the country to achieve a higher level of influence, but the repatriation of artefacts to Turkey has only been researched due to its negative consequences for Europe rather than its positive role for future Turkey. This study attempts to build a complete picture of heritage repatriation policy in contemporary Turkey and place it side by side with future plans for the country. The argument put forward is that in order to fully comprehend Turkish demands for ancient heritage, it is not only past conflict with Europe that matters, but also plans for future Turkey as tailored by the Turkish government. The article starts by positioning Turkey within the heritage repatriation debate through a short literature review. The second part establishes a parallel between Turkey's policy for heritage repatriation and what has become known as the 2023 Vision for Turkey, a set of goals established by the Turkish government meant to be accomplished in the next eight years. For the sake of accuracy, I shall restrict this analysis to the repatriation of archaeological objects, excluding other objects of repatriation such as human remains, indigenous heritage or fine arts. I am well aware that Turkish foreign policy and its relationship with cultural heritage is extremely complex and could never be addressed fully in a short article. Therefore, my goal with this piece is to question rather than providing answers: too often Turkish archaeological heritage repatriation policy has been labeled as hostile, aggressive and inconsiderate. More than exploring the relations between this policy and the future of Turkey, I intend to question this effortless characterization and attempt to open space for a neutral analysis.

ARCHAEOLOGY, HERITAGE REPATRIATION AND TURKISH IDENTITY: A SKETCH

Samuel P. Huntington (2009), a prestigious political scientist, has made the observation that Turkey has attempted to portray itself as an economic, political, religious and cultural bridge between civilizations, at least from the 1990s until present times. "*A bridge, however, is an artificial creation connecting two solid entities but is a part of neither*", the author states. It is thus not surprising that Turkey has often found itself at a crossroads, and has frequently attempted to establish its very own identity through a clear division between neighboring nations, at times pending towards European influences and sometimes leaning on Islam to bring a fresh start to the country. The 20th century was a time of intense motion, as the rise of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk and the consequent formation of the first Turkish Republic in 1923 caused a stir. Over the century, Turkey saw improvements in communications, access to education, entertainment, urban organization and even language: Ottoman Turkish was abolished in 1928 in favor of modern Turkish, shifting from an Arabic script to a Latin alphabet with a deep reform in vocabulary, pronunciation and structure (Stone 2012). These were creative times, but nevertheless most change was deeply inspired by the culture of European powers, particularly France and England. And such inspiration was not confined to the 20th century: ever since the beginning of the 19th century, the Ottomans wondered how Europe had surpassed them in innovation, technology, weaponry and science (Lewis 2002). In what can be perceived as a prelude to

the 20th century, the Ottomans experienced major changes in costume, gastronomy, military, transport and the media. Archaeology too underwent some change, as the first archaeological museum in Turkey was founded in 1869: the Ottoman Imperial Museum, an embodiment of the efforts to modernize the Ottoman Empire inspired by museological success in Paris.

Archaeology would play a major role in the construction of this new, modernized Turkish identity: it soon became a tool for a self-seeking nation in a quest for a defined place in history. Under the command of Atatürk, archaeological activity and research were prioritized and became means for proving that Turks were actually secular in nature and had originated from notable ancient civilizations as an ethnicity (Haines 2012; Fuhrmann 2009). The exploration of Hittite, Greek and Roman heritage thus surpassed the study of Islamic Ottoman heritage, with the goal of verifying a scientific connection between European and Turkish peoples:

Prior to this time, Turkish history and origins had been researched and published by Western historians who often portrayed the Turkish people and their ancestors as an inferior race. It was important to Atatürk that Turkey write its own history to show Europe the Turks were descended from notable civilizations that influenced the Greeks and other civilizations so highly esteemed by the Europeans. Turkish archaeologists began excavating more Turkish sites in order to validate these studies (Haines 2012:61).

From the 20th century forward, archaeology never stopped occupying a place of honor, although with varying degrees of visibility and different governmental reasons behind its special treatment. For instance, it is rather interesting to verify that the periods characterized by the highest number of nominations for UNESCO's World Heritage List by Turkey correspond exactly to the periods when Turkey was preparing to apply for a full membership at the European Union. Conversely, when Turkey was rejected for a full membership at the European Community in 1989, the enthusiastic nominations for the World Heritage List dropped drastically (Atakuman 2010). In a way, archaeological sites performed the role of translators, as the Turkish government made use of its own archaeological heritage to convey directions in foreign policy and to manage relations with its neighboring countries. Presently, the relationship between archaeology, national identity and foreign policy remains strong in Turkey. Particularly since the rise of AKP (*Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi*, meaning Justice and Development Party) in 2002 and the nomination of Ertuğrul Günay as the Minister of Culture and Tourism in 2007, Turkey saw a drastic increase in funding for archaeological excavations - from an annual 1 million US dollars in 2000 to 20 million US dollars in 2010 - and archaeological heritage repatriation became one of the highest priorities in the governmental agenda (Haines 2012).

A strong aspect of AKP's policy was the investment in cultural heritage and particularly the prioritization of archaeological heritage repatriation. European and American museums watched in awe as the Turkish government filed an increasing number of requests for the return of artefacts found in Turkish soil, at times more than a century

ago. Gürsu (2013) created an illuminating graph which illustrates the number of restituted artefacts to Turkey from 2005 to 2011 by foreign museums:

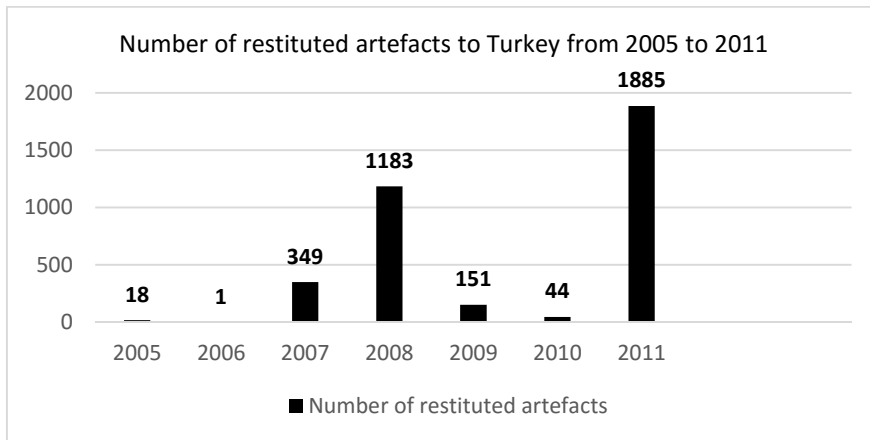


Fig. 1 Adaptation of the graph presented by Gürsu (2013), based on data of the Turkish Ministry of Culture and Tourism.

The given graph is revealing, in that it conveys the commitment by the Turkish government to recover as many artefacts as possible, especially in 2011. The last five years were therefore critical for the construction of this policy. According to Haines (2012), in March 2012, the Turkish government started by prohibiting the loan of artefacts to the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, the British Museum, the Louvre Museum, the Pergamon Museum in Berlin and the Victoria and Albert Museum, if these were not willing to return Turkish artefacts allegedly obtained and taken illegally from the country. According to *The Economist* (2012),

Western museums house tens of thousands of objects from Turkey. Most of these were given or acquired without full documentation. Though Turkey passed a law in 1884 (updated in 1906) stating that all antiquities were the property of the state and could not be taken out of the country, this was only loosely enforced. (...) Today, however, the government argues that any object without the correct permissions or with gaps in its provenance has been stolen and so belongs to Turkey.

The general consensus is that Turkey's attempts to recover this wide variety of artefacts have been favorable. After all, the government was successful in recovering the top half of the 1800-year-old 'Weary Herakles', a statue initially found in Southern Turkey but hosted by the Boston Museum of Fine Arts until September 2011, when it was brought back to its homeland by President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan himself. Additionally, in November 2012 the Turkish government triumphantly recovered a Hittite sphinx which had been found in Boğazkale in 1906 by the German Archaeological Institute, and kept at the Pergamon Museum in Berlin for over 40 years. Such victories, however, were achieved after lengthy and painful processes: in order to recover the Hittite sphinx, for instance, the Turkish government resorted to the threat of revoking archaeological permits from German teams in Turkey, particularly the German Archaeological Institute with whom Turkey

shares a meaningful cooperative past. Such measures have disturbed museums from Europe and the United States of America which had perceived Turkey as a mediator, an ally and a country seeking acceptance into the European community, rather than a cultural adversary. Newspaper headlines from Germany to the UK clearly expressed this surprise and interpreted Turkey's initiative as the beginning of a cultural war. For instance, *Der Spiegel* (2012) used the title *Art War: Turkey Battles to Repatriate Antiquities* when addressing the Turkish requests; along similar lines, the *Art News* (2012), self described as the leading source of art coverage since 1902, released an article about the dispute with the title *Turkey Turns Up Heat on Foreign Museums*; another example is the article *Of Marbles and Men: Turkey Gets Tough with Foreign Museums and Launches a New Cultural War* by *The Economist* (2012), which describes Turkey as an ambitious country: "The Turkish authorities are using a mix of entreaty and threats to ensure they get what they want. They are refusing to led treasures abroad, dragging their feet on licensing foreign archaeological digs and launching public campaigns they hope will shame Western museums". Some authors imply that this seemingly bitter strategy is related to previous rejection by European powers, and that Turkey seems to be determined to turn its back on the West (Haines 2012; Atakuman 2010). One question that needs to be asked, however, is whether this tendency to drift away from European acceptance is synonym with hostility, or whether Turkey is attempting to recreate its foreign policy altogether and pursue a different direction, far from European influence (Kanat 2010).

TURKEY 2023: THE VISION OF A FUTURE TURKEY AND THE ROLE OF HERITAGE REPATRIATION

"Our dream is to have the largest museum in the world". These ambitious words from then Minister of Culture and Tourism, Ertuğrul Günay, referred to one of the most popular plans for future Turkey under the rule of AKP: a new Museum of Civilizations in Ankara, which an aide to current Prime Minister Ahmet Davutoğlu described as his "most precious project". An aide to Mr. Günay added: "It will be the biggest museum in Turkey, one of the largest in Europe; an encyclopedic museum like the Metropolitan Museum of Modern Art in New York or the British Museum" (*The Economist* 2012). To be located nearby the Atatürk Cultural Center in Ankara, the future archaeological museum will be 25,000 square meters in size and is expected to be complete in 2023. Its mission will be to showcase the diversity of civilizations that occupied Turkey from the Greeks and Romans to the Hittites, Byzantines and Ottomans, displaying artefacts from all regions of the country. In 2012, during the ceremony in which the protocol of construction of the museum was signed, Minister Günay described: "We dream of a museum like the Topkapı Palace Museum. The Louvre is also a palace museum, and it is the most original museum with its collection and its architecture. Our aim is to become such a museum and compete with those museums in the world". Whether the future Museum of Civilizations in Ankara will correspond to the intended magnitude remains to be seen, and will certainly open many doors for further scholarship about the building and its final architectural, conceptual and organizational inspirations. For now, it is the expectation placed upon this project that raises interesting observations. Firstly, Turkey being inspired by museums in Europe and the United States of America to create its

own massive museum is meaningful, if not ironic: still counting on a vast list of artefacts to recover from the Louvre Museum, the Victoria & Albert Museum in London, the Davids Samling Museum in Denmark, the Cleveland Museum of Art, the Getty Museum and the Gulbenkian Museum in Lisbon (*The Economist* 2012), the Turkish government is aware of the diplomatic role and economic power of these museums, regardless of the criticism it has fostered towards them. It is also noteworthy that the new Museum of Civilizations in Ankara is meant to “*compete*” with the same museums that will inspire its conceptualization: is this further proof of Turkey’s attempt to walk away from healthy cultural ties with Europe? Is this the final assertion that Turkey will no longer seek the approval of Europe regarding its own identity and heritage? What could be the strength of this future encyclopedic museum in the context of a Middle Eastern security and political crisis? Could the future museum contribute for an increasing engagement between Turkey and the European Union by enhancing shared heritage, or will the relationship weaken due to the increasing pressure for the return of supposedly Turkish artefacts?

The future Museum of Civilizations in Ankara is far from representing the only meaningful project for the Turkish government: in fact, it is part of a wider plan, commonly known as the 2023 Vision. Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, first Prime Minister and now President of Turkey, has developed this ambitious set of goals to be reached in the symbolic year of 2023, on the centenary of the Republic of Turkey. Concerning areas as distinct as energy, economy, foreign policy, health care and transport, the programme certainly did not neglect the importance of cultural heritage and tourism as tools for development. According to *Tourism Strategy of Turkey: 2023*, a document made available by the Ministry of Culture and Tourism in 2007, some objectives include: investing in the development of environmental-friendly tourism; diversifying tourism products and regions, rather than focusing on dominant areas such as Istanbul, in order to promote domestic tourism; creating niche-directed tourism opportunities (developing cultural routes, thermal tourism, winter sports); and eliminating bureaucratic barriers to facilitate investment in Turkey from foreign nations. Additionally, Turkey intends to improve cultural infrastructures, among them museum buildings and access to archaeological sites: in 2011, according to Minister Günay, more than 30 million Turkish Lira had been spent on archaeological excavations, the protection of ruins and the modernization of museums (*Today’s Zaman* 2011). Along with cultural heritage policy and organization, foreign policy too shall suffer some changes, the most evident being Turkey’s intention to strengthen ties with immediate Middle Eastern and European neighbors, rather than the strongest powers in Europe. According to *The Economist* (2012), Prime Minister Ahmet Davutoğlu announced to the Turkish Parliament in April: “*A new Middle East is about to be born. We will be the owner, pioneer and the servant of this new Middle East.*” In the article “AKP’s Foreign Policy: Is Turkey Turning Away from the West?”, Professor of Political Science Kiliç Kanat (2010) comments this turnaround in Turkish foreign policy:

It has become commonplace for certain analysts of Turkish politics to criticize Turkish foreign policy making during the Justice and Development Party's (AK Parti) tenure for turning away from the West and leaning towards the Middle East. (...) In fact, this article, while not denying some recurring problems in Turkey's foreign policy, suggests that Turkey is not turning away from the West; but striving to reconfigure and reformulate its foreign policy, reflecting the demands of an increasingly open and democratic society and adapting to the realities of a multi-polar world.

What information can we compile from these announcements and comments? How do these plans from the Turkish government come together to create meaning and what does Turkish heritage repatriation policy tell us about Turkey's attitude towards Europe, if seen under the light of a future vision? Firstly, Turkey seems to be preparing for two general goals in the future: a higher level of influence abroad and a solid identity at home. After analyzing the 2023 Vision and its objectives for culture and heritage, it is fair to state that Europe does not seem to be the priority: Turkey is. The wish to improve domestic tourism, diversify touristic offer, recover archaeological artefacts from foreign museums and build a massive, encyclopedic Museum of Civilizations comes to show that Turkey is well aware of its strategic position and is not willing to battle for acknowledgment, at least at the same degree it would some decades ago. Price (2010: 203) agrees: *"There is no doubt that Turks are aware of the significance of their seat at the crossroads from East to West and North to South; after all, that's the justification for the 'push me, pull me' relationship the country has had with the EU for decades"*. The reference to the birth of a new Middle East and the prominent role of Turkey in the renovation of this region also speaks volumes: the effort to preserve, recover and display Turkish heritage – and consequently, the heritage of some civilizations that occupied the Middle East as well – comes off as a purposeful, hopeful gesture in a time when a relevant portion of the region suffers with security issues and merciless cultural destruction by the Islamic State, a very present force nearby the Turkish border.

CONCLUSION

Objects in museums, particularly archaeological objects, have never been devoid of political meaning and everything from the way they were acquired to the way they are displayed, cared for and promoted is a statement. Particularly in governmental museums, as will be the future Museum of Civilizations in Ankara, this statement becomes part of a wider political agenda, although with varying shades of clarity in the way it is conveyed. Objects are thus related to *"spirit, will, pride, identity"* (Gurian 2001) and this is why heritage repatriation policies matter for the understanding of a country's political and cultural standing. In this article I have attempted to relate Turkey's initiative to recover archaeological objects – guided by what was largely considered an aggressive archaeological heritage repatriation policy – with future plans for autonomy and increasing influence in the Middle East. A variety of questions remain to be answered: will Turkey accomplish its 2023 Vision? To what extent will cultural heritage and recovered archaeological objects be influential in eight years, when the vision is meant to have been

accomplished? How will European and American universal museums deal with the return of collections they had hosted for decades, and that Turkey demands return to their homeland? Time shall tell about cultural developments in Turkey until 2023, when the reality in the Middle Eastern region will hopefully have changed for the better.

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STREET ART AND CULTURAL CONTEXT IN THE MENA REGION

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ABSTRACT

In the years since the so-called Arab Spring of 2011 the use of street art as a tool of political discourse and protest in the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) has received substantial attention in the popular and critical press as well as through social media outlets. There is a tendency in these discussions to generalize, to speak of street art in the Middle East as a uniform entity with similar styles and goals in locations throughout the region. However, the reality is much different, with artists throughout the MENA region adopting not only specific visual styles in the street art they produce in different countries but also, and quite significantly, in the political and social motivations and purposes of this artwork. As a form of public visual expression street art dances on the boundary of the legal and the illegal, the popular and the elite, the valued and the disdained. The role that street art plays throughout the MENA region is shaped within countries not only by specific political situations but also by artistic tradition, public sentiment and economic drivers. Street art may be created primarily in reaction to certain political events and to provide a counter-narrative to established or official communication channels. It may serve to provide a broader social commentary on the status of a region or its citizens. It may also be created for the purpose of generating tourism or to engage with a contemporary art scene that increasingly values street and urban art as a means of expression. The role of street art is inextricably linked to the cultural and social context of its production. This paper considers the role of street art in three locations: Cairo, Dubai and Palestine and examines the roots of the practice in each area, the style of the work produced and the culturally and geographically specific functions that street art fulfills in each place.

Keywords: Middle East, Nort Africa, MENA Region, street art.

INTRODUCTION

In the years since the so-called Arab Spring of 2011 the use of street art as a tool of political discourse and protest in the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) has received substantial attention in the popular and critical press as well as through social media outlets. There is a tendency in these discussions to generalize, to speak of street art in the Middle East as a uniform entity with similar styles and goals in locations throughout the region. However, the reality is much different, with artists throughout the MENA region adopting not only specific visual styles in the street art they produce in different countries but also, and quite significantly, in the political and social motivations and purposes of this artwork.

Street art may be created primarily in reaction to certain political events and to provide a counter-narrative to established or official communication channels. It may serve to provide a broader social commentary on the status of a region or its citizens. It may also be created for the purpose of generating tourism or to engage with a contemporary art scene that increasingly values street and urban art as a means of expression. The role of street art is inextricably linked to the cultural and social context of its production. This paper considers the role of street art in three locations: Cairo, Dubai and Palestine and examines the roots of the practice in each area, the style of the work produced and the culturally and geographically specific functions that street art fulfills in each place.

STREET ART IN THE MENA REGION: A BRIEF OVERVIEW

The proliferation of street art in the Middle East and North Africa (MENA), particularly during and in the wake of the Arab Spring of 2011, has been widely documented through social media, websites, news outlets and several published photo essays. Although street art can be defined as any art developed in public spaces, my concern here is with two-dimensional works including graffiti, murals, wheatpasting, stickers and so on. Virtually every country in the region has an active street art practice, although the style, quantity and quality of the work vary widely. Countries such as Syria, Iraq and Yemen see somewhat less activity due to the widespread conflict in those areas; however, there is an emerging trend of using street art as a therapeutic tool, particularly with children, including those in refugee camps. The status of street art also varies widely between countries with some labeling the practice as illegal and removing many works once created, some tacitly accepting of the art as long as it conforms to certain social and political norms, and others actively pursuing and promoting street art as a cultural asset, often to boost tourism and public awareness of the arts community. Likewise, the purpose and themes of the work are different from country to country. I have identified three broad areas of concern which I address here: protest art created by local artists in response to specific political concerns (for example, the street art created during the Arab Spring); politically or socially relevant work created by artists from outside the region, often internationally famous street artists; and work without specific political or social context (what might be termed “decorative” street art) created by both local and international artists as part of a cultural program within a city or country.

STREET ART IN THE PALESTINIAN TERRITORIES: THE BANKSY EFFECT

Although street art has been present on the separation wall between the Palestinian territories and Israel since the building of the barrier, a 2005 trip by the (in)famous street artist Banksy drew heightened attention to the work and encouraged a proliferation of images on the wall. During Banksy's 2005 trip to the West Bank barrier he painted a series of nine images that called attention to the wall's function of, in his words, "turn[ing] Palestine into the world's largest open-air prison." (Parry, 2005) These ranged from a simple stencil of a girl holding a bunch of balloons which lift her off the ground in an apparent attempt to float over the wall, to more visually complex trompe l'oeil paintings which seemed to open the wall onto a vista of sandy beaches and palm trees. Banksy reported that he was harassed at least once by an Israeli soldier who encountered him while painting and on his website shared a conversation with a Palestinian man which has been often repeated in discussions of the Palestine project:

Old man: You paint the wall, you make it look beautiful.

Me [Banksy]: Thanks

Old man: We don't want it to be beautiful, we hate this wall, go home (Parry, 2005).

While many critics have written approvingly of Banksy's choice to embed art commenting on the Palestinian and Israeli divide directly at the physical site of that divide, this quote represents another, and not unusual, opinion of any attempts to beautify the separation wall. That Banksy himself shares the exchange may act as an acknowledgement of the complicated responses surrounding his politicized imagery and to give space to dissenting as well as supporting voices. Nonetheless, the Palestinian man's derision deterred neither Banksy nor the many international street artists who came to Palestine in the wake of Banksy's visit to make their own mark on the separation wall. Of course, Palestinian street artists as well became active contributors to the growing body of work on the separation wall and the relatively blank canvas that Banksy encountered in 2005 has today become a palimpsest of overlapping and sometimes competing images commenting on the conflict and the restrictions placed on Palestinian citizens.

Banksy returned to Palestine on two other occasions after his 2005 visit. In 2007 he and several international and Palestinian artists created a number of new paintings in Bethlehem. In addition to the new street images, Banksy also organized Santa's Ghetto, a temporary exhibition and sale of works by various artists that was set up in Bethlehem's Manger Square, next to the Church of the Nativity. The Santa's Ghetto concept was six years old by that time; since 2001 Banksy had created a pop-up gallery with the same name in London each December to sell affordably priced works by himself and other urban artists. (Brown, 2006) By 2007 the annual shop had become so well-known and popular that its removal to Bethlehem received substantial attention from the UK and international press. The Bethlehem iteration of Santa's Ghetto is a clear example of the Banksy effect in operation. Banksy's own participation in the event did much to encourage attention and the success of the operation relied on the fact that the artist had already capitalized on his

growing notoriety and popular appeal to set up a successful model in London. Importantly, the shops in both London and Bethlehem included not only works by Banksy himself but featured a number of street and urban artists who were able to find an audience and market for their work through Banksy's name. If you wanted to buy one of the works on display in Bethlehem you had to do so by placing a bid on site at the pop-up gallery. As one of the participating artists, Peter Kennard (2008), wrote "This was important, because Bethlehem is being starved of its tourist trade as visitors are bussed in to see the Church of the Nativity and bussed out an hour later back to Israel. All proceeds from the sale, which exceeded \$1m, went to local charities."

While the Banksy effect (briefly, the rise in price and popularity of street art that has paralleled Banksy's ascendance) along with the political commitment of Banksy and a group of like-minded artists, appears to have generated a positive result in the case of the Santa's Ghetto project, his work in Palestine subsequently became embroiled in a controversy that arguably also had its roots in the Banksy effect. In August 2011 the Keszler Gallery opened an exhibition in Southampton, New York that included two Banksy works that had been removed from their original Bethlehem locations. The works, referred to as "Stop & Search" and "Wet Dog," had been created during the 2007 visit and removed from their original locations shortly thereafter. The two works were never authenticated by Pest Control, the PR arm of the Banksy operation, and the gallery came under substantial scrutiny for how they were acquired and criticism for putting them up for sale. (Corbett, 2011) Writing in the British newspaper *The Independent*, Guy Adams (2011) summarizes the controversy: "The debate highlights the problems that emerge when the soaring contemporary art market turns what some view as petty vandalism into a prized commodity. These days, Banksy pieces can fetch as much as \$1.9m, meaning that his public works are often thought to be worth more than the building they originally graced." In short, the Keszler show highlights a negative outcome of the Banksy effect.

Banksy's most recent project in the Palestinian territories was undertaken in Gaza in early 2015 when he apparently snuck into the city through a network of tunnels in order to paint four new works, including a text only piece that reads "'If we wash our hands of the conflict between the powerful and the powerless we side with the powerful — we don't remain neutral.'" While his intention to draw attention to the plight of the citizens of Gaza appears genuine, Banksy retains a sense of irony and humor with comments such as this, referring to a painting of a kitten playing with a ball of rusted wire, "I wanted to highlight the destruction in Gaza by posting photos on my website – but on the internet people only look at pictures of kittens." (streetartnews.net) Only a few months after the works were created, however, the greed and opportunism that sometimes follow Banksy's work appear to have surfaced in Gaza. In April various news outlets began to report that the family on whose abandoned house Banksy had painted the work *Bomb Damage* had sold the piece (painted on a wooden door) to a local artist for just \$175, not recognizing the work's potential value. The painting was subsequently confiscated by the police and is being held while the ownership dispute is adjudicated. The incident may reveal both a positive and

negative aspect of the Banksy effect. The artist who purchased the work, Belal Khaled, has himself adopted a street art style in his altered photographs of rockets detonating in Gaza. When confronted about the purchase of the recent work, he claimed that his motivation was “to protect the Banksy mural from neglect and that he had always wanted to own something from the renowned street artist.” (rt.com) However, the incident also highlights the fact that as prices for Banksy’s work have risen people have used questionable means to acquire them.

REVOLUTIONARY STREET ART IN EGYPT

The street art produced in Egypt, particularly in Cairo, during the 25 January 2011 revolution has received more attention than that produced in other countries during the Arab spring. This may be due in part to the fact that Egypt was relatively accessible to outsiders shortly after the revolution and to the fact that a number of Egyptian scholars and journalists have themselves chosen to comment on the street art produced at that time. The attention may also stem from the novelty of the street art that emerged during the revolution. As Mia Gröndahl writes in her book *Revolution Graffiti: Street Art of the New Egypt*, prior to the revolution “The Egyptian youth didn’t write without permission on public surfaces. The wide spectrum of street art—individual tags, stencils, pieces, and murals—that usually belong to an urban landscape, had escaped Cairo.” (2012, pp. ix-x) Gröndahl goes on to quote Egyptian street artist El Teneen on his experience of the opening up of public spaces to visual forms of comment and protest:

“It was the first day we actually took control of the [Tahrir] Square. There was a large portrait of Mubarak, and Ganzeer sprayed ‘Down with Mubarak’ on it, something I had always wanted to do; and after that we continued to put our mark on the walls around the Square. The protesters hadn’t seen graffiti before; the idea of writing something in a public space was new, but they liked it.” (2012, p. 43)

Lina Khatib of Stanford University notes that the use of street art in the 25 January revolution was particularly significant in that it “made visual expression a key tool in political protest, catalysing the use of street art in other revolutions that followed in the Arab world, such as in Libya and Syria.” (2013, p. 299) The images have various subjects and references: political leaders, martyrs of the revolution, democracy and voting, gender rights and more.

The street art that emerged in Cairo at this time can be categorized by style as well as by theme or subject. Styles included simple stenciled works that functioned almost as logos, free-form paintings that often occupied large surfaces, and text-only works that looked more like the traditional tags found in urban locations throughout the world. Some artists and protestors also adopted the poster and sticker technique popularized in the United States by Shepard Fairey; these artists sometimes directly copied Fairey’s designs, including his signature “Obey Giant” character. Some of the street art referenced historical Egyptian motifs, such as King Tutankhamen and ancient tomb paintings, while other images seemed

to go in their own direction; these often expansive and complex murals are reminiscent in scope, if not skill, of works created by Mexican muralists of the mid-20th century. Aesthetically speaking not all of the street art is very good, but it is important as a record of the struggle for political change as well as the development of an artistic genre that had previously been virtually absent from the visual culture of contemporary Egypt.

Two particularly compelling examples of the effective use of stencils in Cairene street art are the recurrent motif of the blue bra and the image of Nefertiti wearing a gas mask, found in stencils as well as on stickers and posters. As the journalist Soraya Morayef has noted, a number of street artists in Cairo, both men and women, used their work to focus specifically on issues of women's rights and to condemn violence against women in Egyptian society. (2013a) One of the iconic images of such violence that emerged from the Tahrir Square protests is that of the so-called "girl in the blue bra," the female protestor whose beating at hands of military police was documented in video and still photographs. The blue bra rapidly emerged as a symbol for street artists, a kind of shorthand reminder of the brutality of the regime and particularly of its mistreatment of women. In some works, the blue bra itself was simply stenciled as a stand-alone signifier of both a particular act of violence and of the systemic inequities faced by Egyptian women. In others, artists used a free-hand style to represent the act of the beating as captured in the most widely circulated photos of the event. The stenciled works may be seen as more in keeping with an internationally recognized style (perhaps not coincidentally popularized by Banksy) in terms of both their creative presentation and their reliance on a single motif to make a point. The freehand works, however, are embedded in an alternative style of Egyptian revolutionary graffiti, one that exhibits a more narrative quality.

Another image that seems to employ strategies from contemporary international street art—Banksy's stenciling combined with Shepard Fairey's use of stickers—while also connecting with Egypt's history is that of Nefertiti with a gas mask by the graffiti artist Zeft. This is a seemingly simple subject that carries complex layers of meaning. The figure can be read as a symbol of Egyptian women's resilience and commitment to the revolution, standing alongside the men of Tahrir and facing the same dangers, such as tear gas attacks. The graffiti image was then transferred to a poster format by the artist, who added symbolic spatters of blood to symbolize the assaults against women in Tahrir and beyond. (Morayef, 2013b) The image is thus complicated by adding imagery alluding to women as victims of male aggression and sexual assault and was appropriated by activists for women's rights in Egypt and beyond.

The commercial aspect of the growth and acceptance of street art in Egypt is not yet entirely clear. Some writers on the topic, such as Morayef, see a burgeoning interest in this art following the revolution: "Cairo's street artists today are being sought after by art galleries, cultural institutes, international art exhibitions, advertising companies and many more. Some have gone on to create art for magazine covers, others have exhibited in Europe,

and others have seen their stencils recreated on t-shirts that are worn by the young revolutionary segment of Egyptian society.” (n.d., Street Art)

Indeed, Ganzeer, the artist who sprayed “Down with Mubarak” across the dictator’s Tahrir Square portrait in 2011, had a solo exhibition at New York’s Leila Heller Gallery in early 2015. The urban art gallery Station 16 in Montreal has featured a number of Egyptian street artists and recently released a limited edition print by the artist Shehab. The print, titled *No to Stripping the People*, features the iconic, stenciled image of the blue bra. It is worth noting, however, that works by these artists are not commanding high prices: Shehab’s print, for example, retails for approximately \$120.

Critic Giacomo Crescenzi sees a more complicated picture surrounding Egyptian street art, one in which the attention paid to the genre may be obscuring other contemporary art activity in Egypt and giving a false sense that the art market there is healthy and growing. Additionally, Crescenzi questions whether the perceived exposure given to Egyptian street art is really as substantial as suggested. Writing on the website egyptianstreets.com, Crescenzi (2013) draws attention to the problems faced by contemporary artists in Egypt:

Despite the fact that street art is only one small component of the art scene in Egypt, this newly found media interest may have had a positive impact if the public interest was translated into concrete opportunities for street artists as representative of a new era for art in Egypt, but very little has been done to this date...If so much media attention is reserved to Egyptian street artists why is no one compelled enough to bring their work where art is being made today? And what about the majority of Egyptian artists who have nothing to do with street art? Why haven't they been empowered as representatives of a culture that needs to soften its politicization?

Crescenzi goes on to address the absence in 2013 of Egyptian artists at two significant events in the region: Art Dubai and the Sharjah Biennial (at least one Egyptian artist is represented in the 2015 edition of the Biennial). Crescenzi raises legitimate and important questions about the true impact of the attention received by the street art of the revolution, questions which suggest that the potentially positive aspects of the Banksy effect on Egyptian street and Egyptian contemporary art more generally have not been fully realized.

STREET ART IN DUBAI

The street art scene in Dubai has been developing rapidly in recent years. Street Art Gallery, opened in Dubai in 2013, is self-described as “Dedicated to Street Art...the only Gallery in Dubai to offer wide selection of great Artists from USA, Europe and Middle East.”(streetartdubai.ae) The gallery not only offers works for sale online and from its physical location but also provides collaboration and consultation services for interior

designers as well as restaurant and retail spaces. That the gallery is promoting a vision of Dubai as a regional, if not international, destination for street art tourism is made evident by a 2014 show: "Wynwood Goes Dubai." The Wynwood of the show's title refers, of course, to the Wynwood Walls complex in Miami, established in 2009, which mixes high-end bars and restaurants with commissioned street art. The brainchild of a local property developer, the warehouse complex, located just blocks from the heart of Art Basel Miami and supported by corporate sponsors, firmly established the nexus between street art, the global art scene, and commerce. The Dubai show brought street artists whose work is shown at Wynwood Walls; a clear bid for global recognition and authenticity for Dubai as an emerging street art hub. However, that the show did not include any local street artists points to a curious aspect of the approach Dubai and its art institutions have taken to the embrace of street art in the city; that is, international street art is often imported and celebrated more than that produced by local talent, a situation very different than that of cities such as Cairo where the grassroots development of local work defines the scene.

In some ways, street art in Dubai can be described as a decorative commodity to be carefully deployed, promoted and valued within strictly authorized circumstances. The arts districts in the city (notably DIFC and Al Quoz) have sponsored street art festivals and a few permanent murals remain from those, however most of the works were designed to be dismantled after a limited period of display. The newly established Dubai Design District seems to be following a similar pattern; for d3's opening celebration in spring 2015 the British street artist Ben Eine created a mural that was then split into sections that were sold and given away as door prizes at the event.

This irony is not lost on local street artists, many of whom appear frustrated by Dubai's reluctance to sanction more authentic and permanent street art despite its professed enthusiasm for the form. The Dubai-born street artist Fathima succinctly describes the situation: "Street art didn't start the same way here as it did elsewhere. In most cities, artists took to the streets to claim space and express themselves, but Dubai is a business centre and it was commercialism that created the platforms for street art." (Hundal, 2015)

The French-Tunisian "calligraffiti" artist el Seed has made the most permanent marks on the Dubai landscape as well as in neighboring Sharjah. His colorful, almost abstract renderings of Arabic script are well-suited to the culture and landscape of the Middle East and have been well-received in the UAE. el Seed has risen substantially in popularity over the past years, working around the globe in cosmopolitan areas such as Paris as well as in conflict zones such as Tunisia. Although el Seed was raised in France, there is still a sense that he "belongs" to the Middle East and that feeling of connection may also contribute to his enduring popularity and many return visits to the United Arab Emirates.

el Seed, however, remains the exception rather than the rule and street art in Dubai appears, at least for now, to serve at once as a popular medium in the visual culture of the city while at the same time observing boundaries of space, subject and duration.

CONCLUSION

In the past several years, the practice of street art in the MENA region has emerged as an important social, political and cultural tool and means of public expression. While the diverse circumstances faced by countries in this region make it impossible to identify a single style or function for street art in the Middle East and North Africa, there are themes that are shared across countries. In addition to the use of street art for political expression both during and after the 2011 revolutions, the genre has evolved for many cities and countries into a means to generate and sustain a tourist economy and to establish a presence in the international art community. The rising acceptance and popularity of street art will likely result in increased attention and some commercial success for artists in a region that is still often marginalized in the global art market. However, the attention of that market comes with its own risks and one of those is the possible co-opting of street art for commercial and touristic purposes, representing a departure from its intensely political and emotional origins. While the future for street art in the MENA region remains unclear in some respects, there is no doubt that the work of established and emerging street artists will form a critical element of contemporary art in the region for years to come.

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THE PROBLEM OF *MIMESIS* IN RANCIÈRE'S CONCEPTUALIZATION OF AESTHETIC REGIME OF ART

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ABSTRACT

Asserting ideas on the politics of art, political art, and the social function of art initially requires the development of a reflexive approach, and a comprehensive understanding of both art and politics. Such critical actions may also provide an appropriate basis for the discussion about whether art can possess a unique politics of its own distinction. One of the original perspectives with regards to this issue has been proposed by Jacques Rancière in his 'Aesthetic Regime' conceptualization. Through the perspective of the 'Aesthetic Regime', he manifests that by the end of the 18th century art becomes political insofar as art and politics are correlated with the (dis)sensual experiences and the (re)distribution of the sensible. In terms of its political potential, art could no longer be considered as 'the ways of doing or making' as it were in mimetic or representational traditions/regimes of the past, which enables the concordance amongst senses and operates as a pedagogical model in Rancière's point of view.

This brings to fore one aspect which makes Rancière's theory controversial and this paper will discuss the following questions with regard to this: How mimesis or mimetic tradition lost its political potential in this historical turn? Is there a room for mimetic ways of doing or making which are not predefined by rules and are non-hierarchical, for dissensual or political practices? In short, this paper aims to rethink mimesis in Rancière's sense of politics. In order to do so, at the very outset, Rancière's concept of 'Aesthetic Regime of Art' and the question of why art becomes political in this regime will be examined. In the sequel, by focusing on Rancière's historical and theoretical approach to mimesis and mimetic practices, the problems of the 'Aesthetic Regime' will be discussed. Through both a critical reading of Rancière's writings and a comparative reading with the mimesis theory from ancient to modern times, a counter approach on the politics of mimesis will be proposed.

Keywords: Rancière, mimesis, aesthetics, politics, regime, art, dissensus.

POLITICS AND AESTHETICS IN RANCIÈRE'S WORKS

How to consider the relation between politics and art at the present time? This particular question is essential to provide answers for further questions such as; what are the politics of art? Or what political art is? It is possible to examine this issue from a socio-political perspective, as well as to discuss it with a reflexive approach to art (which is also of significant importance). In fact, asserting ideas on issues such as the politics of art and the social function of art requires a specific comprehension of the art itself to be put forward. The expression of such a comprehension is necessary in order to provide an appropriate basis for the discussion of whether art can possess its own peculiar politics. One of the original perspectives in this direction has been presented by Jacques Rancière. Rancière states that, by the end of the 18th century, a historical rupture had occurred in art that resulted in the emergence of a new phase, which he defines as the aesthetic regime of art. Rancière explains that this new function, which the concept of aesthetics has gained in the context of art, plays a significant role in conceiving the relation between art and politics. Before analyzing this approach and conducting some polemical interventions¹ on his framework through *mimesis*, it is crucial to scrutinize Rancière's own approach to the concept of politics.

For Rancière, politics is about the comprehension of the contrast between consensus and dissensus.² In this case consensus relates to police, therefore converging with the hierarchical organization of society and the consent of the subjects to be governed in a specific way. In other words, he identifies a process designated by the homogenizing dominance of the governmental apparatus [*dispositif*] through legislations, institutions, discourse, and practices (Rancière, 1992: 58). The principle of the police is "to turn the techniques of governing into natural laws of the social order" (p.59). What is expected of the people within the police is that they perform their socially determined roles, as well as move, conduct, hear, and see inside the given configuration. For Rancière, politics is the direct opposite of the police. Contrary to common assumption, for him politics is not about power or the struggle for power. The role of politics is to damage the order of the police and invent divergence (Rancière, 2010). Politics is the transformation of an established sense of body, space, and time; shattering the distinctions of private and public, visible and invisible, speech and noise.

[P]olitics begins when those who were destined to remain in the domestic and invisible territory of work and reproduction, and prevented from doing 'anything else', take the time that they 'have not' in order to affirm that they belong to a common world. It begins when they make the invisible visible, and make what was deemed to be the mere noise of suffering bodies heard as a discourse concerning the common of the community. Politics creates a new form, as it were, of dissensual 'commonsense' (Rancière, 2010: 139).

¹ Rancière states that; "the works of Rancière are not 'theories of', they are 'interventions on'. They are polemical interventions" (2009a: 116).

² Dissensus is a term coined by Rancière in order to obtain a contradiction with consensus, whilst addressing the term **sense** at the same time.

Hence, politics is a process of interruption and reformation of the harmonic relations between senses. Consensus, however, is the elimination of politics within the police and therefore the end of politics itself. Consensus makes the given world absolute and it is then politics that can demonstrate the possibility of other worlds or render them imaginable. This is the context where art and politics meet. Art is not political because it mentions political subjects, conveys political messages to its audience, or causes emotional interactions. Nor is art political because it represents identities, political structures, or conflicts between groups. *"It is political because of the very distance it takes with respect to these functions, because of the type of space and time that it institutes, and the manner in which it frames this time and peoples this space"* (Rancière, 2009b: 23).

Art becomes political when it suspends the given forms and relations, *"the normal coordinates of sensory experience"* (Rancière, 2009b: 25), and opens the door to the idea of a new world. It is political when the harmony between the senses, between *"the sensible and the thinkable"* (Rancière, 2010: 143) is disrupted, and the borders between them violated. Eventually, the politics of art becomes an issue that has to be comprehended in the context of aesthetics³, insofar as it is related with interruptions on the sensory basis, and with organizing the distribution of the sensible⁴ (*partage du sensible*). Comprehending the concept of aesthetics, which emerged as a discourse two centuries ago, calls for a specific perception of art. This is why Rancière introduces the aesthetic regime of art.

AN EXAMINATION OF THE REGIMES OF ART

On the issue of the definition of art in Western history, Rancière ascertains that there are three major regimes which have ruled from the Classical Age of Ancient Greece to the present day. It is relevant to briefly mention the meanings of the terms related with art in the context of Ancient Greece, in order to comprehend Rancière's categorization of the regimes.

The term art had a very different meaning in Ancient Greece, compared to the modern perception of it. Art referred to the term *tekhne*, corresponding to a way of doing, such as poetry, sculpture and also crafts. The act of bringing forth these productions is called *poiesis*⁵ (Blackburn, 2008; Shiner, 2001). *"Well, you know, for example, that 'poetry' [poiesis] has a very wide range. After all, everything that is responsible for creating something out of*

³ The concept of aesthetics, deriving from the ancient Greek term *aisthesis* meaning perception or sensation, was first run in the context of fine arts by Baumgarten in 1735. By the end of the century, this term takes its place in dictionaries and encyclopedias. For instance, in *Encyclopédie* published in Switzerland in 1781, the term is described as follows: *"Aesthetics is a new term (...) that has been suggested to name a science emerged recently. This science is the philosophy of fine arts"* (as cited in Kristeller, n.d., p.40). Baumgarten conceived of the term *"from the perspective of the way in which art addresses spectators. Thus, when philosophers talk about aesthetics in the narrower sense that frequently signals that they are interested in the audience's portion of the interaction between artworks and readers, listeners and viewers. (...) [T]he emphasis is primarily on the experiencing subject rather than the object that gives rise to the experience"* (Carroll, 1999: 157).

⁴ Rancière runs the concept of distribution of the sensible (*partage du sensible*) to address the *"distribution and redistribution of places and identities, this apportioning and reapportioning of spaces and times, of the visible and the invisible, and of noise and speech"* (Rancière, 2009b: 24).

⁵ *Poiesis* generally refers to making, in terms of every kind of production or creation. It is distinctive from *praxis* which refers to making in terms of human activities (Blackburn, 2008).

nothing is a kind of poetry; and so all the creations of every craft [tekhnaï] and profession are themselves a kind of poetry, and everyone who practices a craft is a poet [poietai]" (Plato, 1997a: 488 [205c]).

Plato distinguishes these ways of doing from each other, but his primary concern is *tekhne* as a means to unveil the context of truth [*aletheia*]. As for the mimetic acts, it is possible to read from his book, *Republic*, that he opposed such acts, because they receded from the truth by producing a second copy of things (Plato, 1997b [books III and X]). However, it is quite difficult to reach a coherent conclusion on Plato's philosophy about art and *mimesis* in general, because the issue is mentioned in different sections and contexts within his dialogues. Furthermore, considering the conditions of Plato's era, his attitude towards the sophists and his polemical discussions, it is even harder to reach a precise interpretation.⁶ As mentioned above, the issue is more about the absence of a certain conception of art in the Classical Age, rather than the complexity of Plato's philosophy. This applies to what Rancière terms the ethical regime of images, which based on the philosophy of Plato. In this regime, the images are evaluated due to their relation with ethics and truth; "*it is a matter of knowing in what way images' mode of being affects the ethos, the mode of being of individuals and communities*" (Rancière, 2011: 21).

Rancière states that the attempt to constitute an identity of art by categorizing the ways of doing within themselves, which has started with Aristotle, materializes in the poetic/representative regime. This regime is distinctive because it is identified in the framework of *poiesis/mimesis* duality, as well as determining the appropriate ways of doing and their convenient means of imitation (Rancière, 2011: 22-23). For instance, a sculpture made in specific ways of doing by a sculptor, who is capable of constituting a representative mediation, is a product of the art of sculpture, and "*it is viewed through an entire grid of expressive conventions*" (Rancière, 2009b, p.29). Here the role of *mimesis* is not limited to the creation of a resemblance or generating a copy of the model, but rather, it is about determining the conditions of what could be an artwork. The hierarchical relations of social life overlap with the hierarchical order of what could be included in the artwork and how.

[The logic of representation] enters into a relationship of global analogy with an overall hierarchy of political and social occupations. The representative primacy of action over characters or of narration over description, the hierarchy of genres according to the dignity of their subject matter, and the very primacy of the art of speaking, of speech in actuality, all of these elements figure into an analogy with a fully hierarchical vision of the community (Rancière, 2011, p.22).

The dominant perception of art up until the end of 18th century can be understood by these two regimes. Rancière argues that from the 18th century onwards, what determines the quality of art is no longer ethical images or canons of representation, but the "*aesthetic regime of art*" (Rancière, 2009b: 29). This regime does not take reality as a model for itself, nor does it attach itself to any other theory or ways of doing. The reason why this regime is

⁶ For a counter-reading on Plato's approach to art in accordance with the social conditions of the era, see Paksoy (2011), especially the chapter entitled "*What is Plato against?*"

described as aesthetic is because the identity of art “*is based on distinguishing a sensible mode of being specific to artistic products*” (Rancière, 2011: 22). Thus, the artwork has ceased its reconciliation with reality, and instead reached “*free appearance*” (Rancière, 2009b: 29).

The concepts of free play or free appearance are shaped by the thoughts of Kant and Schiller. In his book *Critique of the Power of Judgement* (2002), Kant asserts that the aesthetic experience of humans depends on the free play of the faculties and it can be experienced not only through works of art, but also natural things. Furthermore, most of the examples he gives are natural things and he states that under the condition of disinterestedness, aesthetic experience is possible to anyone. Likewise Schiller, in his work entitled *Letters on the Aesthetic Education of Men* (2006), states that “*man only plays when in the full meaning of the word he is a man, and he is only completely a man when he plays*” (Letter 15). In this context, by the term play he is not only referring to art, but also to the art of living in general. Rancière’s conceptualization of the aesthetic regime of art is epitomized in Juno Ludovici statue of the Goddess Hera, which is mentioned in Schiller’s book. In Letter 15, Schiller narrates the artistic quality and perception of this sculpture:

While the female god challenges our veneration, the godlike woman at the same time kindles our love. But while in ecstasy we give ourselves up to the heavenly beauty, the heavenly self-repose awes us back. The whole form rests and dwells in itself—a fully complete creation in itself—and as if she were out of space, without advance or resistance; it shows no force contending with force, no opening through which time could break in. Irresistibly carried away and attracted by her womanly charm, kept off at a distance by her godly dignity, we also find ourselves at length in the state of the greatest repose, and the result is a wonderful impression for which the understanding has no idea and language no name (Schiller, 2006, p.n.d.).

According to Rancière, the free appearance of this statue, which is “*a self-sufficient creation*”, reveals the godlike idleness and indifferency:

The specific attribute of divinity is not to want anything, to be liberated from the concern to give oneself ends and to have to realize them. And the artistic specificity of the statue inheres in its participation in that ‘idleness’, in this absence of volition. Standing before the idle goddess, the spectator is, too, in a state that Schiller defines as that of ‘free play’
(Rancière, 2009b: 27).

The spectator, just like the sculpture itself, has suspended ordinary experience: “*the ‘player’ stands and does nothing before the goddess*” (p.30). Eventually, there is no power relation between the sculpture and its spectator [the player]; the relations of power, interest, and reference to the exterior are all suspended. There is only an aesthetic distribution of the sensible through play; which at the same time reveals the principle of autonomy of art. The relation between art and autonomy must be comprehended as the autonomy of a form of sensory experience, not as the autonomy of artistic making (Rancière, 2009b: 32). It is this particular site of experience where the social hierarchies and inequalities are suspended. For Rancière, it also introduces the dissensual politics of aesthetics.

REMOVAL OF *MIMESIS*

Even though Rancière develops a remarkable point of view on art's politics, it seems questionable to connect the political potential to aesthetic experience, or to the distribution of the sensible which is specific to the aesthetic regime of art. Even though Rancière's intention is not to constitute an art theory, he presents a suggestion "*for identifying what is recognizable as art*" (Rancière, 2009b: 8), namely, that the aesthetic regime of art "*is the name of a specific regime for the identification of art*" (Rancière, 2009b: 8). However, in this regime, art is no longer a major term that consists of various genres [various ways of doing] like poetry, painting, theater and so on, and of their regulated correlations. Instead, art, and everything which we term as art, henceforth, depends on the sensory experience which organizes the dissensual distribution of the sensible, and that which suspends the coordinates of police order.

The matter which seems disputable⁷ here, is whether it is possible to think of the sensory experience separately from the ways of doing⁸. In other words, is there room for ways of doing that are not predefined and non-hierarchical, for dissensual or political practices? Rancière doesn't elaborate on the ways of doing, and utilizes the term *mimesis* in favor of establishing the aesthetic regime of art. It is worth noting his rigorous effort to attribute a political and historical value to aesthetics under conditions of modernity, such that it seems as if the historical turn did not make any sense in terms of *mimesis*. It is as if *mimesis* is buried in the past's wreckage as an obsolete artistic process, which is quite important, since the aesthetic regime of art rises above this wreckage of *mimesis*⁹. In order

⁷ On the other hand, Hal Foster (2013), in his review on Rancière's book, *Aisthesis*, questions the method of Rancière and raises concerns over the problems and the insufficiencies in referring to such generic concepts like regime.

⁸ In this instance the term ways of doing is not related with the specific artistic genres, but rather with the activity of a general bringing-forth/doing [*poiesis*], with ways/methods [*tekhne*] involving the labor process of the artist. If we allow ourselves to speak of the existence of an identifiable fact of art, then how it is made and by whom becomes more of an issue. The question of artwork and artist in Rancière's work is the subject of a more extensive investigation that exceeds the scope of this essay, but even so, it is worth considering briefly. Since Kant, the status of aesthetics has been the status "*in which [artworks] are perceived as works of nature or, in other words, as the operation of a non-human nature not subject to the will of a creator*" (Rancière, 2009b: 10). Yet the question of will, which Kant had tried to surpass by asserting the divine creation in nature that applies to the creation of genius artist in arts, remains unexamined in Rancière's texts. While genius according to Kant "*is a kind of inborn gift to those fortunate enough to have it*" (Wood, 2005: 166), it is inexplicable and very difficult to infer the artist's status from Rancière's texts. After all, we still don't know by whom it has been made, but "*artworks refer no longer to those who commissioned them*". In contrast they now "*relate to the 'genius' of peoples and present themselves, at least in principle, to the gaze of anyone at all*" (Rancière, 2009b: 13).

⁹ Discussions about the classification of the art genres in an intellectual sense were prevalent across Europe, especially in France and England, throughout the 17th and 18th centuries. In his prominent work, *The Fine Arts Reduced to a Single Principle* [*Les beaux arts réduits à un même Principe*], which was published in 1746, Abbé Charles Batteux defines the fine arts as having the sole purpose of giving pleasure, in a position between liberal arts and mechanical arts. He classifies the set of imitation based arts; music, poetry, sculpture and dance, as fine arts. D'Alembert makes alterations in this list and replaces dance with architecture and puts them all together in the category of liberal arts. Others organize and label the genres under categories according to different criteria. Eventually, by the end of 18th century, a consensus was reached and the fine arts category was widely agreed to comprise of poetry, painting, sculpture, architecture and music (Shiner, 2001: .80-87). In these discussions, aesthetics and *mimesis* are in collaboration when it comes to organizing the consensus. From this context, Rancière chooses and liberates the aesthetics and leaves *mimesis* behind. For an overall analysis, see Rancière, *The Future of the Image* (2007).

to address this claim more clearly, a closer look at Rancière's examination of *mimesis* is required.

For Rancière, representative regime of fine arts can be defined as a "*relation between a way of doing*¹⁰ –a *poiesis*– and a way of being which is affected by it –an *aisthesis*– " (Rancière, 2009b, p.7) which is regulated by the laws of *mimesis*. Namely, art is defined by asking the question does it "*tell a story? Is it a mimesis?*" This also draws the dividing line between artist and artisan. The emergence of the aesthetic regime of art also announces the end of *mimesis*, i.e., the immediation of the relation between *poiesis* and *aisthesis*¹¹, since, the concordance of them depends on the "*human nature that is either lost or by a humanity to come*" (Rancière, 2009b, p.8). By establishing an uneven situation through the mediated relation between human nature and social nature, the representative regime ties artworks to "*celebrating worldly dignities, the dignity of their forms were attached to the dignity of their subjects and different sensible faculties attributed to those situated in different places. 'The man of taste', said Voltaire, 'has a different pair of eyes, a different pair of ears, a different sense of tact to that of the coarse man'*" (Rancière, 2009b: 12). However, with the appearance of the aesthetic regime of art, all the hierarchies (subjects, represented characters, priority of the action and even the imitation principle that separates itself from the forms of ordinary life) are abolished (Rancière, 2007: 106). Nevertheless, the declaration of the end of *mimesis* and its specific significance for Rancière, still needs to be acknowledged.

The aesthetic break has generally been understood as a break with the regime of representation or the mimetic regime. But what mimesis and representation mean has to be understood. What they mean is a regime of concordance between sense and sense. As epitomized by the classical stage and classical doctrine, the theatre was the site of a twofold harmony between sense and sense. The stage was thought of as a magnifying mirror where spectators could see the virtues and vices of their fellow human beings in fictional form. The performance of the bodies on the stage was an exhibition of signs of thoughts and emotions that could be read without any ambiguity, because they possessed a grammar which was regarded as the language of nature itself. This is what mimesis means: the concordance between the complex of sensory signs through which the process of poiesis is displayed and the complex of the forms of perception and emotion through which it is felt and understood - two processes which are united by the single Greek word aisthesis (Rancière, 2009c, p.65).

Relating *mimesis* with harmony and concordance between sense and sense, whilst at the same time qualifying it as "*a pedagogical model*" (Rancière, 2010: 136) and as an ethical apparatus, gives an explanation as to why it has been politically disposed from aesthetic

¹⁰ The phrase ways of doing (fr. *manière de faire*) has an important role in Rancière's texts that is provided to contrast with the aesthetic regime, although the usage of the phrase is confusing to the same degree. Rancière's associates this phrase directly with the Greek word *poiesis*. However, as stated above, whereas *tekhnē* can be translated as ways/methods/skills, *poiesis* comes to mean the activity of bringing-forth, that of doing/making. So, ways of doing seems to overlap with the Greek phrase *tekhnē poietike*.

¹¹ Yet, on the celebration of the triumph of *aisthesis*, it's significant to recognize the disappearance of *poiesis* as well as the story and *mimesis*. We have to make do with a lack of analysis on the immediate relation and "*the gap between poiesis and aisthesis, which is defining of the veritable 'modern' specificity of the aesthetic regime of art*" (Rancière, 2009b: 77). So after all, "*the things of art would henceforth be identified less according to criteria of 'ways of doing', and more in terms of 'ways of sensible being'*" (Rancière, 2009b: 10-11).

regime by Rancière. However, there is nothing surprising for mimesis that operates for the sake of aesthetic experience based on concordance, given the pre-modern social conditions and social life. Especially when considering that the deciding principles were being arranged according to the transcendent referential conceptions such as God or Nature. Yet, is that all what *mimesis* can do? It seems it is also worthwhile scrutinizing whether *mimesis* in itself, subsumes a dissensually political aspect or is destined to be seen as an apparatus (*dispositif*) of the police.

THE POLITICS OF *MIMESIS*

Aristotle, in *Poetics* (1996), scrutinizes *mimesis* in terms of tragedy where aside from merely being an imitation of an object or a person, he uses the term in a broader sense. Initially, as a mode of *tekhne*, *mimesis* functions in the theater genres, tragedy and comedy, as an imitation of action (*mimesis prakseos*). “*Tragedy, is an imitation of an action and the imitation of the action is the plot [mythos] (by ‘plot’ here I mean the organization of events)*” (Aristotle, 1996: 11). This is where we see that plot [*mythos*], for Aristotle, is the most important element of tragedy:

The most important [element of tragedy] is the structure of the events: Tragedy is not an imitation of persons, but of actions and of life. Well-being and ill-being reside in action, and the goal of life is an activity, not a quality; people possess certain qualities in accordance with their character, but they achieve well-being or its opposite on the basis of how they fare. So the imitation of character is not the purpose of what the agents do; character is included along with and on account of the actions. So the events, i.e. the plot, are what tragedy is there for, and that is the most important thing of all (Aristotle, 1996: 11).

In Aristotle’s work, “[i]mitating or representing is a mimetic activity inasmuch as it produces something, namely, the organization of events by emplotment” (Ricoeur, 1984: 34). Secondly, there exists a relation of priority between imitation of action and imitation of the person who carries out the action. Ricoeur explains:

By so giving action priority over character, Aristotle establishes the mimetic status of action. It is in ethics that the subject precedes the action in the order of ethical qualities. In poetics, the composition of the action by the poet governs the ethical quality of the characters (Ricoeur, 1984: 37).

Providing that the people had inborn certain social roles in that era, they should arrange/organize their actions in order to attain happiness. At the same time this demonstrates the reason why tragedy is superior to comedy for Aristotle, since tragedy, in contrast with comedy, is “*an imitation of people better than we are*” (Aristotle, 1996: 25). Noble people should be taken as a model both in social life and on stage. An audience should be purified (*catharsis*) from emotions through pity and fear when they are affected by the disastrous events that noble people come up against on stage (Aristotle, 1996: 10).

While examining the purifying and edifying function of tragedy and the pleasure that imitation provides in it, Aristotle first and foremost exhibits a technical analysis of how to

configure¹² a tragedy. Indeed *mimesis* for Aristotle is a matter of configuration. For him it is not primarily the imitation of the things, but rather of the action(s), and moreover, of life; namely of the entire sphere of *praxis*. Therefore, the meaning of *mimesis*, as a specific mode of *tekhne*, has become manifested in tragedy. The tragedy as a suspension of the life; as a making (*poiesis*) of poet who organizes events in order to serve as a reminder of the goal of life (happiness); a *tekhne* that reflects life not as it is, but as it should be (i.e. more than a reflection, as an idealization). This shows us that translations such as imitation, representation, copying, similarity, resemblance, etc. are insufficient on their own for full and relevant comprehension of *mimesis*. Lima (1986 cited in Minor, 2001: 168-169) says that *mimesis*, “*contrary to its false translation, imitation, is not the production of similarity, but rather the production of difference. Difference, nevertheless, that is imposed on a horizon of expectations of similarity*”.

So *mimesis*, in fact, is a politics of difference, rather than of similarity as it organizes and reflects the differential. In this sense, considering the moral and pleasing elements as the founding politics of *mimesis* is a fallacy. Pedagogical functions such as moral education, edification and gratification of the sense of pleasure only account for the function of the tragedy, not for any political specificity of *mimesis*. The politics of *mimesis* might literally be related to the configuration of the things. To conclude, the politics of *mimesis* which is organized as an imitation of action is life as non-life. Hence, we can say that Aristotle proposes a politics on reproducing the police order through the configuration of tragedy (*tekhne*) towards the goal of happiness. The importance of Aristotle in terms of art, arises not only from his preoccupation with a well-structured tragedy form, but also from his unique approach to the concept of *mimesis* which has had a widespread influence on his successors throughout history. *Mimesis* had long been a part of public life and its politics, insofar as the invention of the modern term of technics replaced the concept of *tekhne*. Being exploited by the church and the institution of the states in order to serve their own interests, does not justify disregarding the potential of mimetic activities to opening the doors for a new life. This potential, the suspension of the everyday life, was being materialized in activities such as organised festivals, commonly held carnivals of the Middle Ages, games, circuses, parades and so on...

Even after the Renaissance period, these qualities were preserved. For example, we can follow Stephen Greenblatt's (1988, p.19) lines describing how the theater of Shakespeare “*depends upon a felt community: there is no dimming of lights, no attempt to isolate and awaken the sensibilities of each individual member of the audience, no sense of the disappearance of the crowd*”. He continues when he writes that Shakespeare's stage was not “*a place radically detached from the realm of social practice*”:

¹² The verb to configure here can be understood as meaning to organize, to structure, to arrange and so on. The emphasis is on re-making the order of things. It may even conclude in reproducing the police order.

The theater is marked off from the 'outside world' and licensed to operate as a distinct domain, but its boundaries are remarkably permeable. For the circulation of social energy by and through the stage was not part of a single, coherent, totalizing system. Rather it was partial, fragmentary, conflictual; elements were crossed, torn apart, recombined, set against each other; particular social practices were magnified by the stage, others diminished, exalted, evacuated (Greenblatt, 1988: 19).

Greenblatt confers the mimetic practice of suspension as the cunning of theater: *[T]he practical usefulness of the theater depends largely on the illusion of its distance from ordinary social practice. The triumphant cunning of the theater is to make its spectators forget that they are participating in a practical activity, to invent a sphere that seems far removed from the manipulations of the everyday. Shakespeare's theater is powerful and effective precisely to the extent that the audience believes it to be nonuseful and hence nonpractical. And this belief gives the theater an unusually broad licence to conduct its negotiations and exchanges with surrounding institutions, authorities, discourses, and practices (Greenblatt, 1988: 18-19).*

In fact Greenblatt makes many points that evoke the Kantian conceptions, yet it is self-evident that the suspending quality of these practices have nothing in common with the free play of the faculties. The focus here is on the redistribution of relations between time and space through the mimetic suspension of the everyday life. And Shiner (2001: 52) also observes that Shakespeare, the plot organizer of this activity, was not a genius, but was only "a craftsman-entrepreneur who knew how to please an audience as he worked toward a secure retirement at Stratford". On the other hand, Adorno and Horkheimer (2012) epitomize how the relations of domination had a devastating effect upon *tekhne* and *mimesis*, under capitalist conditions:

Civilization replaced the organic adaptation to otherness, mimetic behavior proper, firstly, in the magical phase, with the organized manipulation of mimesis, and finally, in the historical phase, with rational praxis, work. Uncontrolled mimesis is proscribed. The angel which, with fiery sword, drove humans out of paradise and on to the path of technical progress, is itself the symbol of that progress. The severity with which, over the centuries, the rulers have prevented both their own successors and the subjugated masses from relapsing into mimetic behavior-from the religious ban on graven images through the social ostracizing of actors and gypsies to the education which "cures" children of childishness-is the condition of civilization. (...) With [technology's] triumph human expressions become both controllable and compulsive. All that remains of the adaptation to nature is the hardening against it. (...) In the bourgeois mode of production the ineradicable mimetic heritage present in all praxis is consigned to oblivion. (...) Those blinded by civilization have contact with their own tabooed mimetic traits only through certain gestures and forms of behavior they encounter in others, as isolated, shameful residues in their rationalized environment.

(Adorno and Horkheimer 2012: 148-149)

So, it's clear that *tekhne* is a concept related to *poiesis* (bringing forth) in terms of doing/making. Bringing forth, in terms of arts, does not mean a divine creation of the things out of nothing, but a creation based on the knowledge of how nature operates. Hence, nature here is a reference point. As mentioned previously, this is what separates *poiesis* from

praxis, as the latter depends on human activities. At the root of all this lies the labor of the people who meet the basic requirements of the public, namely, of the non-citizens. This labor provides the necessary space and conditions for the free, non-working noble men to conduct politics and to make decisions about the public sphere. And later, during modern times, labor will have become the basic principle of the entire social structure. Both makings, *poiesis* and *praxis*, will be rationalized by utilized reason and the activities of bringing forth will be subjected to labor processes under the name of creativity (Agamben, 1999). This inversion results in the domination of self-referential human culture over nature¹³. As Adorno and Horkheimer asserted, the function of *mimesis* in such a culture could merely be a reconfiguration in order to produce a homogeneity under bourgeois ways of production. So that what *mimesis* has been reconfiguring as homogeneity, is in fact, the existing relations of domination.

Therefore, we can say this shift is historical and can not be bound ontologically to *mimesis* as a mode of *tekhne* and as a form of suspension. In the place where culture imposes itself as a mere reality, *mimesis* could decipher the fictional quality of culture with its politics of difference and its egalitarian perspective that operates against domination. *Mimesis* itself, can not be easily judged as a law-maker, reproducer of domination, reasoner of inequities, and so on... These qualities may, of course, be related with mimetic activities when considering the historical development. However, the political in *mimesis* depends on whether it organizes the events towards consensus or dissensus, in Rancière's terms. The playful cunning of *mimesis* is not concerned with establishing laws or lawlessness, but rather, with designating the alterity and reconfigurability of laws and rules.

CONCLUSION

Rancière's description of the "aesthetic regime of art" is stimulating and inspiring in its contemplation of aesthetics and its politics. Reattribution of its value to aesthetics comes in reply to the recent discussions on aesthetics. He puts great effort into restoring its reputation by reminding us what the function of aesthetics is. He also strongly defends it against the declarations of 'the end of aesthetics' or the attempts to burden it with crimes such as the aestheticization of life, and blurring of the borders between life and art. But the cost of this effort is the removal of *mimesis* from the art sphere. This essay tries to demonstrate that interrelating *mimesis* directly with ethics as an apparatus [*dispositif*] of police and a pedagogical model is a result of Rancière's reductive comprehension of *mimesis*. Until the 19th century, if *mimesis* was associated with terms such as harmony, concordance,

¹³ When describing the immediation of the relationship between *poiesis* and *aisthesis*, as discussed above, Rancière asserted that this mediation had once been launched by the laws of *mimesis*. But subsequently, under the conditions of modernity, this mediation has vanished since human nature was a lost nature and was away from being a reference point: "A 'human' nature is always simultaneously a 'social' nature" (Rancière, 2009b, p.12). Rancière acknowledges the metaphysical difficulty of this issue, however, he does not continue with further analysis on *mimesis* in modern times. [Georg Simmel has discussed the question of mediation and he claims that, human acts were grounded historically on the idea of being, nature, or god. And with modernity, in order to deal with the problem of grounding, the concept of life had been invented. See, Simmel (1997) and also Agamben (1999)]

rule, order and beauty, then at the very least, aesthetics also shared an association with these terms.

The politics of art, with its dissensual quality, as identified by Rancière, involves the aesthetic and mimetic elements, as experienced in the processes of production, execution and perception of the artistic activities. As emphasized by Rancière, the politics of art is actually connected with the suspension of relations of dominance, and the redistribution of time-space relations, along with what can be seen, heard, or thought. Yet, at the same time, the ways of doing, in which the means and forms that would interrupt the usual flow of the police are initiated, are also included in this politics.

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A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF STRUCTURAL SIMILARITIES BETWEEN PERSIAN AND HUNGARIAN MUSIC

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ABSTRACT

This paper measures structural similarities in a musical comparison study. This study characterizes common musical structures between Persia and Hungary through melodic analysis. This paper extends to study in two varieties of scopes including historical and linguistic aspects. This study was used descriptive-analytical method along with modern historiography (historical analysis) and utilizing library research method and auditory documents and interviews. The results report common ethnic and linguistic qualities are a basis for musical similarities between Hungarian folk music and some Old Persian Mughams; in an addition, developing direct relations between Persians and the Ottomans in today Turkey and indirect ones with Eastern European regions caused to find some certain structural impacts on Hungarian music during Middle Ages. The results show that Persian music effects on Eastern European music and makes add a taste of eastern music.

Keywords: Mugham, Musical Similarity Analysis, Abd al-Qadir Maraghi, Hungarian Folk Music.

1. INTRODUCTION

Iran's official music before changing its system to the Dastgah (tuning system) -as it is today- called Muqam. This repertoire in some aspects up to the tenth and eleventh centuries AH -approximately coincided with the Safavid Dynasty in Iran- has also been common with Turkish and Arabic music (Darvishi 2001). This study focuses on the Muqam music which is so-called official music repertoire of Iran before changing to the tuning system; and in this approach, it seems that "Sough-Nameh" collection that contains Tasnifs (Persian equivalent to ballads) attributed to Abd al-Qadir al-Maraghi is the best example of available music from the Timurid era. Abd al-Qadir al-Maraghi's contemporary Ottomans retained this heritage though creating a secure and dynamic platform for art and culture as it deserved.

Hungarian folk music includes a broad array of styles e.g. the recruitment dance verbunkos, the czardas and nota. During the 20th century, Hungarian composers were influenced by the traditional music of their nation which may be considered as a repeat of the early "nationalist" movement of the early 19th century (Beethoven) but is more accurately the artists' desire to escape the hegemony of the classical tradition manifold at that time. Bela Bartok is one of the most important composers of the 20th century; he and Liszt are regarded as Hungary's greatest composers (Gillies 2001). Through Bartok's collection and analytical study of folk music, he was one of the founders of comparative musicology, which later became ethnomusicology. Bartok took this departure into the abstract musical world in his appropriation of traditional Hungarian as the basis for symphonic creations. Zoltan Kodaly and Bela Bartok observed that Hungarian "peasant music" use isometric (with an even number of structures) strophe structure and certain pentatonic (five tone) formations, along with a liking for tempo giusto (rhythm consisting chiefly of equal values). These features jointly may be considered as altogether typical, and differentiate "Hungarian peasant music" from that of any other nation. Bartok studied over 300 melodies, and noted that more modern tunes used for dancing featured pentatonic turns with frequent leaps in fourths. (Rearick, 1939) Bartok recognized the ethnically mixed origin of special type of melody in the form of Phrygian scale with the second and third scale degrees raised when ascending and believed it to be related to Persian-Arab melodies. (Schneider 2006)

Initially, Bartok (2002) suggested that the influence of some special features of Turkish music is the impact of Persian and Arabic music on Turkish music; but the limitations of time and place makes the process of tracking this impact stop at the same place.

1. It seems benchmarking Bartok's refers to Persian and Arabic melodies in studying the origins of Hungarian music composition, in addition to examine the presence or absence of common ethnic roots, the musical elements of these two countries should be studied comparatively and through this crossing, achieve approval or rejection of this assertion.
- 2- It also seems that the influence of Persian music on Turkish music through several centuries of travelling of immigrants, gypsy tribes, and even notable courtier musicians such as Ghulam Shaadi (disciple of Abd al-Qadir), Dervish Mahmood Ibn Abd al-Qadir-zadeh

(grandson of Abd al-Qadir), and Hasan Jan (muezzin and great composer) into Ottoman court has also effected music of Eastern Europe territories. Turkey (Anatolia) always connects Asia and Europe like a bridge which has an important role in musical exchanges between Iran and Hungary. Turkey hosted many Persian artists, musicians of Timurid and Safavid era during late Middle Ages and Renaissance when Ottoman government ruled on Turkey; and since official court music during Ottoman era had no significant differences and clear border with folk music, and Persian musicians of the Ottoman court have played in banquet and dance events among the people as well as the court; Turkish folk music which had very close and effective tie with Eastern Europe music can be considered under the influence of Persian music and musicians. Further, the impact of Turkish music on Balkans where several instruments with Turkish names reflect Turkish culture is undeniable. Although, today it is impossible to trace the type and process of musical exchanges easily, but this study has attempted to trace part of musical tradition which transfer through providing accurate information about the presence of Persian musicians in the Ottoman court and society. Of course, no records appear in history about the names of all musicians. Also, the basis of this art is based on the oral quotes; hence undoubtedly, no record exists for the name of people such as immigrants and gypsies and many others that heard this music in market, the court or the banquet events and then they could transfer it to other lands.

This study makes a significant contribution to folk music studies of Eastern Europe particularly the Balkans; and opens the path to distinguish the older musical elements in folk music of these lands, and ensure historical and geographical accuracy is declared by other researchers on some of discovered musical elements. Also, this research reveals the significance of further studies and researches on lands and nations who pose a mediatory role during history. This study can be effective on responding historical questions and intra-cultural relations in the fields of social sciences and humanities particularly literature and art.

The principal objective of present study is to determine the structural similarities of Persian and Hungarian music through the melody analysis. This study also aims to explore common lingual and historical roots.

This paper is organized as follows. First, the material of choice for conducting present comparative study is highlighted and methodology is discussed. Next, historical evidences and documents backing common ethnic roots and accurate information about presence of Persian musicians in Ottoman court and society presented; afterwards, six Hungarian folk melodies and three Old Persian Muqams are analysed. The results of these three mentioned areas have been drawn and compared.

2. MATERIALS AND METHODS

For conducting this research, 'Sough-Nameh collection' attributed to Abd al-Qadir al-Maraghi and 'Catalogue of Hungarian Folksong Types' book are selected as musical study materials.

"Sough-Nameh collection" contains twenty-four Tasnifs of Abd al-Qadir al-Maraghi, the most prominent Persian musician, theorist and composer of eighth and ninth centuries AH. It seems that al-Maraghi's Tasnifs and generally his composing style is probably forgotten in Iran after Safavid period and emerged in Turkish music repertoire and became a basic style in Turkish music composing. According to oral narrations and Rauf Yekta's index in second section of "Masters of composing" thirty Tasnifs attributed to Maraghi. Although, these Tasnifs are quoted by Turk narrators during Ottoman era and in the late nineteenth century have been written in today's musical notations; despite a few of them, others have never been performed in Turkey and some of them remained sporadically in archives and library repositories of Turkey. (Darvishi 2011)

Choosing 'Catalogue of Hungarian Folksong Types' book is suggested by number of musicology university professors of Hungary who have been contacted while collecting folkloric melodies in Hungarian music section. Selected melodies are chosen from old style part, because after playing and re-listening presented melodies of this book and discussing with prominent Persian music scholars, it is concluded that melodies of this part have more similarities to old Persian Music and finally, six melodies of this part are selected as comparison criterion after several re-listening and playing with various Persian instruments. This research was conducted in descriptive-analytical method with modern historiography (Analytical History) approach and employed library research techniques, auditory documents and interviews.

3. RESULTS

3.1. HISTORY AND LINGUISTIC BACKGROUND

Alan was one of the several tribes of Iran who inhabited in the first century B.C in the Azov and the southern regions of Caucasus and from there attacked the Crimean Peninsula, Asia Minor and Transcaucasia. (Behzadi 1989) Mongol invasions in the thirteenth century and the invasion of Timur in the fourteenth century was the death knell for the country and the people of Alan. After that, many of these people were killed in massacres, the rest of the Alans were divided into three groups, one group retreated to the foothills and Valleys of Central Caucasus and live in that place to this day. The second group migrated to Europe and settled in Hungary. This group was mentioned in Hungarian and Russian letters and dates as "Yassic" and "Jasz". The territory of these people occupied called "Jaszag" today which means province of "Jasz". "Jasz" people maintained their language and culture till Fifteenth century, but they eventually accepted Hungarian language and dissolved among Hungarians and the third group served Mongolians.

Two centuries of comparative linguistics research shows that the Hungarian language belongs to the Finno-Ugric family and is a branch of Uralian languages of the Ural area in northern Kazakhstan. Two thousand years BC, the unity of the Finno-Ugric languages ended

when the two groups began their great migration to the West. Distant relatives of today's Hungarians live in the Yenisei River, the largest river flowing into the Arctic Ocean and origins from north of Siberia and Mongolia. Finno branch passed Ural and continued to Europe in west; but Ugrian ended their migration in east side of Ural Mountains in North of Caspian Sea and settled on that region. Ancestors of Hungarians were neighbors of Persian and had a history of trade and commerce, particularly with Persian Alans who lived in the Caucasus region. Ugrians borrowed several words from their Arian neighbor including words for glass, bridge, trade, princess, rich, milk, butter, feeling and ten. According to Margit Szakacs in 'The Hungarian language', stress is on the first syllable and usually uses in the end or suffix of the words end with vowels, it should be mentioned that in Persian language is also this same feature.

3.2. TURKEY AS ARTISTIC AND CULTURAL BRIDGE

In two handbook of Wojciech Bobowski (also known as Ali Ufki) and Dimitrie Cantemir (Dimitri Kantemiroğlu in Turkish) in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, clearly it can be seen that in addition to grounds evidences such as many technical and artistic vocabulary in Persian, many of the deeper layers of Ottoman music of the time such as the concepts of Muqam and melodic evolution, melody naming system, fretting etc. is not only close to what is known of the foundations of old Persian music but is also close to present-day traditional music of Iran. In general, historical roots of this musical relationship should be considered in effective but more recent contribution of Turks in that unique musical system that Persian and Arabs developed during Islamic centuries period; but in particular, musical effectiveness of Iran on Ottoman firstly have direct relation with cultural, political, and social mutual impact of Turks with other ethnics and people who have somehow migrated from ancient Iran to Anatolia such as migration of "Jalal ad-Din Muhammad Rumi" in 1273 who was born and raised in cultural dominance of Iran, and afterwards the importance and continuity of "Mevlevi Order" which Persian music and poetry have a distinctive role in that; And secondly, it is linked to the fact that these interactions between the Persians and the people of Anatolia continued consciously or not, long after the formation of the Ottoman Empire in 1299 AD. (Mohafiz 2011)

The court of Sultan Husayn Mirza Bayqara (1469-1506) thanks to Ali-Shir Nava'i, was the cultural centre of Middle East (Farmer 2010, P. 81). According to Feldman, this court was the ideal model for art support and supervision from the perspective of Ottoman and they clearly were aware of the supreme culture of the Timurid court. Feldman presented some information from "Baburnama" of Zahir-ud-Din Muhammad Babur in 1530, as well as other sources about active musicians in Timuird court; it shows that firstly, most of the Ottoman forms were popular in Herat Court and secondly shows that, how frequently musicians of other regions visited this court and thereby have transferred common artistic tradition with themselves (Feldman 1996).

Other important wave of influence of Persian music reached Istanbul court in the time of Sultan Selim I (decade of 1520). A considerable part of Selim I reign coincided with coronation of Ismail I in Iran in 1501, and the consolidation decade when Safavid tried to dominance entire lands of Iran. In this period, the recognition of Shiite religious as the

official religion of Iran, caused a great religious and political conflicts between Iran and the Ottoman. Social consequences of Battle of Chaldiran (1514) and occupying Tabriz apparently is the initial determining point in inescapable propagation part of the musical tradition of Iran to the territory of neighbouring country. It seems, sixteenth century is the basis of the most effective impact of Persian music on Ottoman artistic circles. Even today, oral tradition of Turkey considers Persian artists as and the most influential musical factor in the early sixteenth century of Ottoman court (Mohafiz 2011).

In Iran, after Ghulam (student of Abd al-Qadir), Mir Khan, Mir Abdullah, Shah Guli, Mir Ali Awad Zin al-Abedin, Dervish Mahmud Ibn Abd al-Qadir-Zadeh (grandson of Abd al-Qadir Maraghi), Hasan Jan (muezzin, memorizer of the Quran, Singer, Producer and Composer) and other prominent masters emerged and preserved glory of Persian music. Then, Turks learned this music from Persian and even became their masters. Sultan Salim I in his wars with Persian moved some of the Persian musician to Constantinople. Selim II and his successor have also followed the tradition of their father and since then, every Sultan who went to Iran brought the most qualified people of any field (Fenton 2006)

Feldman believes that musical types in Istanbul during a large part of the sixteenth century are quite similar to the presented types of Safavid Iran and Herat and works of Abd al-Qadir Maraghi, Ghulam Shaadi, and Shah Guli considered as the most important materials in Istanbul and Herat. Only since the last third of the sixteenth century until the second half of the seventeenth century the Ottomans began to distinguish between their musical system and Persian system and did not show any interest to emulate the foreign musicians, primarily Persians (Feldman 1996).

Comparative analysis of six Hungarian folk melodies with three Tasnifs of “Sough Nameh collection” (attributed to Abd al- Qadir) in three Hungarian melodies which are similar to the Neyriz Muqam. (See Figure 1. 2. and 3)

parlando

Ke-rek a szu - le le - ve - le ke-rek a szu - le le - ve - le

5

Var - ta lak ro - zam ez esz - te Var - ta - lak ro - zam ez esz - te

Fig. 1. Bogdanfalva (Moldva)

Giusto

Gye - re - mark am es - te gu zsa - jas - se - ba

Gye - re - mark am es - te gu zsa - jas - se - ba

Ne - ked a - dom - ha - gom ko - szo - ru - jat

Ne - ked a - dom - ha - gom ko - szo - ru jat

Fig.2. Ketrís (Moldva)

Je - zus szu - le - tel id - ves - se - gunk - re

A - mit re - gen - ten va - la i - ger - ve

A - tya - is - ten - neck nagy sze - rel - me

Em - be - ri nem - hez tel - szek eb - be ke - gyes - se - ge

Fig.3 Korogy (Szerem)

Neyriz Tasnif of Sough-Nameh is presented as follows. (See Fig. 4)

Maqâm(mode): Neyriz
 Form: Kâr
 Dowr(Rhythmic mode): Âqir samâ'î (Sangin Samâ'î)
 Lyricist: Anonymous

مقام: نهریز
 فرم: کار
 دور(ریتم): آخیر سماعی (سنگین سماعی)
 شاعر: ناشناس

دور آخیر سماعی (سنگین سماعی)
 Dowr-e Âqir samâ'î (Sangin Samâ'î)

دور یوروک سماعی
 Dowr-e Yuruk samâ'î

♩ = 54

ba rá ye ta' ne ye má in

ha me çe da r ju

sa nd á ri mo rá do

ma n vá y

ke á qe lán ha me di v

vá vá

ne ye qa bá

Fig. 4. Neyriz Tasnif of Sough-Nameh

Analysis of Hungarian melodies Number 1, 2, 3 and Neyriz Tasnif in Neyriz Muqam of "Sough-Nameh" are presented in table 1.

Table 1. Structure of Hungarian Melodies Number 1, 2 3 and Neyriz Muqam

Melodies	Melodic Basis	Dominant Rhythm	Distinctive Intervals	Melodic Motion
Hungarian Melody No.1	Tonic Sol B-Flat C-Sharp (lateral)	Eighth Eighth-Dotted Quarter	Augmented second (C Sharp/B-Flat) Second Intervals, Small and Large Third Intervals, Small and Large	Descending second movements Ascending second movements Skip to third Interval Descending movement in final cadence
Hungarian Melody No.2	Tonic Sol (Second Part of the melody) B-Flat (lateral) (Second Part of the melody) C-Sharp (lateral)	Eighth Quarter	Augmented Second (C-Sharp/B-Flat) Second Intervals, Small and Large Third Intervals, Small and Big Perfect Fourth	Descending second movements Ascending second movements Descending movement in final cadence (last four scales) pause on second degree of eleven Scale and skip to fifth degree in twelve scale
Hungarian Melody No.3	Tonic Sol B-Flat E-Flat (Always after that we have descending movement to D)	Eighth Quarter	Augmented Second (Natural-B, A-Flat) Second Intervals, Small and Big Third Intervals, Small and Big Perfect Fourth	Ascending second movements Descending second movements Fourth skip whole Descending movement in final cadence
Neyriz	Tonic Sol (in first line with focus on A) B the rest (interval equal to 4 commas) C-Sharp	Eighth Dotted Quarter- Eighth Quarter + Eighth-Quarter	A little higher than Augmented Second (C-sharp/B the rest) Second Intervals, Small and Big Perfect Fourth Interval	Descending second movements Ascending second movements Descending movement in final cadence pause on second degree in the beginning of melody and skip to fifth degree on second Scale

3.3. ANALYSIS OF HUNGARIAN MELODIES NUMBER 1, 2, 3 AND NEYRIZ TASNIF IN NEYRIZ MUQAM OF "SOUGH-NAMEH"

3.3.1. MELODIC BASIS

-In the first Hungarian example, there is B-flat and C-Sharp in clef. C note changes to C-Sharp laterally in this piece. Tonic note of this piece is G.

-In second section of second Hungarian melody (from nine scale) B and C notes changes to B-Sharp and C-Sharp laterally. Tonic note of this piece is G.

-In melodic basis of mentioned example of Sough-Nameh in clef of Neyriz Muqam, there is C-sharp and B-the rest is there and tonic note of this piece is G. The only difference with melodies number one and two is B-the rest note that has minimal differences with B-flat. Its difference is equal to 4 commas.

-In third example, B and E notes are flat. (E note in all parts moves toward D note with a half-tone movement.

3.3.2. RHYTHM

- Eighth in all of three pieces is dominant rhythmic figure.

-In studying rhythm in Neyriz Muqam, there are dotted quarter-Eighth notes while in Hungarian melodies it is vice versa, i.e. Eighth-dotted quarter have been used.

3.3.3. DISTINCTIVE INTERVALS

-Second, third as well as augmented second intervals which are intervals of eastern music are the most important intervals in Hungarian and Neyriz melodies. In Neyriz melody, augmented second interval is a little lower than augmented second interval in western theory of music.

-Fourth interval is there in second, third and Neyriz melodies

3.3.4. MELODIC MOTION

Melodic motion movement in Hungarian pieces are done with large second intervals or ascending and descending second in third large or perfect fourth spans. In first and second melodies, always descending second movement and then ascending second movements are appeared and in third melody, the movement at first is ascending and then become descending.

-In Neyriz of Sough-Nameh is also at first, descending seconds and then ascending in span of third, fourth, and fifth intervals are appeared.

-In final cadences of Hungarian and Neyriz melodies, melody moves from a fifth interval toward a tonic and descending.

-Second Hungarian melody pauses in eleventh scale on second degree and then with a perfect fourth skip to fifth degree of tonic G and with a question mode sustained the melody. Neyriz melody is also begins with the same interval (perfect fourth) with this difference that in first four scales of Neyriz, modal centre is on A note. Figure 5 and 6 show a Hungarian melody that is similar to Osaq Muqam



Fig. 5. Lorincreve (Also - Feher)

Maqam(mode): Osaq
Form: Kâr
Dowr(Rhythmic mode): Xaff

مقام: حشايق
فرم: كيار
دور(ريتميك): خافف
شعر: تدارد

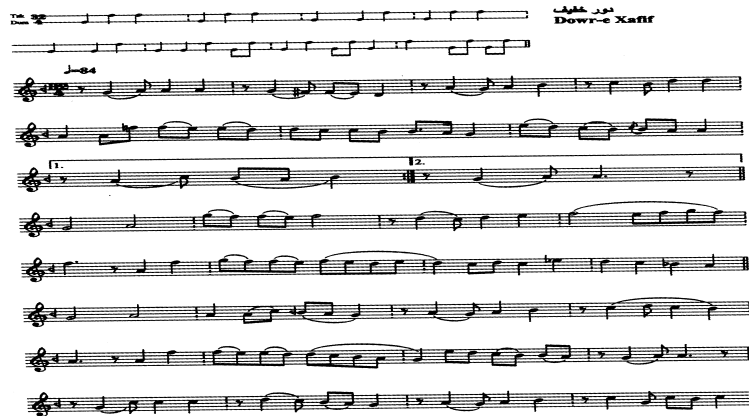


Fig. 6. Osaq Tasnif of Sough-Nameh

Hungarian number 4 melody and Tasnif in Osaq Muqam of Sough-Nameh are analyzed in table 2.

Table 2. Structure of Hungarian melody number 4 and Osaq Muqam

Melodies	Melodic Basis	Dominant Rhythm	Distinctive Intervals	Melodic Motion
Hungarian Number 4 Melody	Tonic Sol B-flat E-flat A-flat	Eighth Eighth-Quarter (triplet)	Large and Small second Intervals	First four scales: undulating movement in fifth interval span Second four scales: undulating in sixth interval span Circular cadence around tonic, ascending to descending
Osaq	(With transfer to Sol tonic) B-flat E-flat A-Fazleh (an interval equal to 1 comma)	Eighth Quarter-Eighth	Small and Large Second Intervals	First two scales and second two scales Undulating movement in fifth interval span Descending movements after two sixth leaps in 5,6,7 scales Circular Cadence around tonic ascending to descending

3.4. HUNGARIAN NUMBER 4 MELODY AND TASNIF IN OSAQ MUQAM OF SOUGH-NAMEH

3.4.1. MELODIC BASIS

In surveying melodic basis of these two examples, tonic note should be assumed common, because in melody number 4 tonic note is G and in Sough-Nameh Tasnif tonic note is A. through transferring origin of A to G in Sough-Nameh melody, a melodic basis completely matches with melodic basis of Osaq Muqam can be achieved. The only difference is in A-flat and A-fazleh which their difference is negligible.

3.4.2. RHYTHM

-Eighth is frequently repeated in both examples
 -Quarter-Eighth mode or its vice versa i.e. Eighth-Quarter appeared in Hungarian melody number 4 in triplet but in Tasnif of Sough-Nameh, mentioned rhythm appeared as normal.

3.4.3. DISTINCTIVE INTERVALS

-Second small and large intervals are the dominant intervals in both the examples

3.4.4. MELODIC MOTION

-Hungarian melody in its four first scales has undulating movements in fifth interval span and in second four scales has undulating movements in sixth interval span. Osaq Tasnif in first two scales and second two scales reveals undulating movements in fifth interval span.
 -Both melodies end their cadence with circular movement around tonic.

Two selected Hungarian melodies which are similar to Hoseyni Muqam in figure 7 and 8.

Ma - rin - ka Ma - rin - ka ma - gya - ral Mar - git - ka
 Ha - rom ka - to - na - bol Sa Mely - ket sze - re - ted?

Figure 7. Gajcsana – Magyarfalu (Moldva)

Parlando
 Ka-szas e fol-don a ha-lal KI min - de-nutt ren-det ka-szal.
 E-re-jet mu-tat-ja Ka - sza jat for-gat-ja Vi-ra-go-kat nem szan
 Ko-rok-kal egy-be-hany Jaj-odd ma-gad szep vi - rag - szal!

Figure 8. Istensegits (Bukovina)

Maqām(mode): Hoseyni
 Form: Kār
 Dowr(Rhythmic mode): Xāff
 Lyrics: Anonymous

ماقام: حوسيني
 فرم: كار
 دور(ريتميك مود): خاف
 اشعار: مجهول

دور خاف
 Dowr-e Xāff

Fig. 9. Melody N.21 of Sough-Nameh

Hungarian melodies similar to Hoseyni Muqam is analyzed in Table 3.

Table 3. Structure of Hungarian Melodies Number 5, 6 and Hoseyni Muqam

Melodies	Melodic Basis	Dominant Rhythm	Distinctive Intervals	Melodic Motion
Hungarian Melody Number 5	Tonic Sol B-flat E-flat	Eighth Eighth-dotted Quarter	Small and large second intervals	Undulating movement in fifth interval span Descending movement in cadence
Hungarian Melody Number 6	Tonic Sol B-flat E-flat	Eighth Eighth-dotted Quarter	Small and large second intervals	Descending movements in entire melody Descending movement in cadence
Hoseyni	With transfer to Sol tonic B-flat E-natural E-flat (lateral) A-fazleh (an interval equivalent to 1 comma)	Eighth Quarter	Small and large Second intervals Small and large Third intervals	Descending Undulating movement Descending movement in cadence

3.5. ANALYSIS OF HUNGARIAN MELODIES SIMILAR TO HOSEYNI MUQAM

3.5.1. MELODIC BASIS

Six degree of 5 and 6 melodies (E-flat) compared to six degree of Hoseyni composition on G basis (E-natural) are small but, in fact during the Hoseyni composition with transfer to G basis, B and one scale on this note changes to E-flat while the duration of entire composition is

Hundred and twelve scales. As a result, practically B and E notes are flat in all three melodies and only A note in Hoseyni melody is one comma lower.

3.5.2. RHYTHM

-Eighth has the most number of frequency in all three examples

3.5.3. DISTINCTIVE INTERVALS

-Small and large second intervals have the most appearances

3.5.4. MELODIC MOTION

-Hungarian melody number 5 in two first scales and two second scales has undulating movement in span of fifth interval

-Hungarian melody number 6 present a descending movement in all scales

-Hoseyni Tasnif frequently present a descending movement that ascend with an undulating movement and again descend and somehow has both melodic pattern of Hungarian melodies.

-Cadence pattern in all three melodies is descending

The authors present the following interesting example. One of the best examples found in initial stages of this research was a Hungarian melody of 'Jaszarokszalla' region which has minimal differences with Persian Esmar-Esmar melody that still plays and sings in western parts of Iran.



Jaszarokszallas (Jasz-Nagykun-Szolnok)



Esmer-Esmer melody of western Iran

These two melodies reveal their similarities not only in listening form but in visual aspects have also clear similarities.

4. CONCLUSION

This study, in accordance to benchmark Bartok suggestion of Persian roots in Hungarian music through studying history and language shows that, since a date around 2000 BC to Fourteenth century, there were common ethnic roots between Persians and Hungarians and after that era, cultural and artistic exchanges continued because of Ottoman court indirectly and intangible. Finally, through analysis of musical pieces some musical similarities revealed that highlights the impact of Persian music on Hungarian music. The most important use of this research moreover to clarifying combined roots of Eastern Europe music is approaching lost truth of ancient musical elements of both the nations because, through this approach, older pure and intact music can be recognized. Although, in this way various limitations including lack of noted resources of ancient music of Iran and dispersion and extent of gypsy societies for collecting their huge musical treasures as the most important always travelling narrators of music, leads this research to difficult challenges. Further suggested researches on 'comparative study of gypsy music in Iran, Asia Minor, and Eastern Europe' can help in clarifying causes and types of common similarities and find musical elements specified to each region.

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