

**Investigating Turkey: Detective fiction and Turkish nationalism,  
1928-1950**

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of the requirements of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

by

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*For my wife.*

## **Abstract**

After extensive study of the Ottoman Empire, one notes that the historiography focuses on events from the perspective of the sultan and/or the elites. This should come as no surprise as this has historically been the case. However, I felt an urge to know more about the lives and histories of the general population. In addition to this interest, I hold a long-standing interest in propaganda in popular culture. Concepts of Turkish nationalism were expounded by the elite in a top-down effort to rally the population of Anatolia to protect their homeland from the impending attempt by European powers to control the territory. As it was a top-down effort, there needed to be a mechanism or mechanisms through which these concepts could be transmitted to the general population. I decided to assess the level to which authors of indigenous Turkish detective fiction written between 1928 and 1950 attempted to aid in this process of transmission. In order to assess this, I carefully analysed five series of detective fiction. I found that authorial intent to spread ideas of Turkism was clearly displayed by personal addresses to the reader and the uniformity of message in each and every series. These messages of character traits Turks should embody, the palpable derision shown toward Turks who would work to support a foreign power, and promotion of both rationalism and feminism adhered closely to Kemalist concepts of Turkism. As a result, I conclude that these authors did work to spread concepts of Turkism to the general population.

## Résumé

Une étude extensive de l'Empire ottoman, m'a amené à relever que l'historiographie se concentrait sur les événements uniquement du point de vue du sultan et/ou des élites. Ceci ne devrait pas être surprenant puis qu'historiquement c'était le cas. Cependant, j'ai eu envie d'en savoir plus sur la vie et l'histoire de la population. Par ailleurs, j'ai un intérêt de longue date pour la propagande dans la culture populaire. Les concepts du nationalisme turc ont été énoncés par l'élite, dans un effort du haut vers le bas, de rassembler la population d'Anatolie pour protéger leur patrie contre la tentative des puissances européennes de contrôler le territoire. Comme il s'agissait d'une initiative partant du haut pour aller vers le bas, il fallut un mécanisme ou des mécanismes par lesquels ces concepts pourraient être communiqués à la population. J'ai décidé d'étudier les moyens par lesquels les auteurs de littérature policière turque, écrite entre 1928 et 1950, ont essayé de faciliter ce processus de transmission. Pour ce faire, j'ai soigneusement analysé cinq séries de littérature policière. Cela m'a permis de constater que l'intention des auteurs de répandre le Turkisme se manifestait clairement par des messages adressés directement au lecteur et par l'uniformité du message au sein de chaque série. Ces messages exaltent les traits de caractère turcs, expriment une dérision certaine en vers les Turcs qui travailleraient pour soutenir une puissance étrangère et promeuvent le scepticisme et le féminisme, s'inscrivant ainsi dans la droite ligne du Kémalisme et du Turkisme. Ma conclusion est que ces auteurs ont contribué à propager l'idéologie turkiste parmi la population.

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## *Introduction*

It is estimated that a third of the fiction currently published in English is detective fiction.<sup>1</sup> That, in addition to the myriad of detective and crime fiction serial television programmes on today, attests to the popularity of the genre. This is by no means a new development as, from the beginning, detective fiction has held an intimate cause-effect relationship with propaganda. Propaganda was at the heart of the development of the genre and its subsequent popularity ensured that it would continue to be an effective vehicle for propaganda for generations to come.

Yet whenever one searches for the first example of a genre, one comes up against a few key obstacles. Some of these include: 1) when did the genre officially begin? 2) does the work in question contain all the elements of said genre?, and 3) how does one account for parallel developments in disparate parts of the world? It is the third question that interests this study with regard to the development of detective fiction as a genre.

Some claim that the earliest known murder mystery that contained all the key elements of detective fiction was "The Three Apples," (Arabic: "Hikayat al-sabiyya 'l-muqtula," which is literally translated as "The Tale of the Murdered Young Woman") one of the tales in *One Thousand and One Nights*, which was compiled during the golden age of Islam and first translated into French in 1704 and English in 1706.<sup>2</sup> In this tale, a fisherman discovers a heavy locked chest that is painted pink with flowers on it along the

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<sup>1</sup> Stephen Knight. *Crime fiction, 1800-2000: detection, death, diversity*. (Houndmills [England]; New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), x.

<sup>2</sup> Yuriko Yamanaka and Tetsuo Nishio. *The Arabian nights and orientalism: perspectives from East & West*. (London; New York: I.B. Taurus, 2006), xv, and *One Thousand and One Nights*. [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/One\\_Thousand\\_and\\_One\\_Nights](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/One_Thousand_and_One_Nights) (accessed 29 July 2010).

Tigris river and he sells it to the Abbasid Caliph, Harun al-Rashid, who then has the chest broken open only to find inside it the dead body of a young woman who was cut into pieces. Harun orders his vizier, Ja'far ibn Yahya, to solve the crime and find the murderer. This whodunit mystery may be considered an archetype for detective fiction.<sup>3</sup> Yet, it cannot be considered a true detective story because Ja'far makes no effort to solve the case. Beyond this we know that "Arabic literature never produced an indigenous detective fiction genre."<sup>4</sup>

Others discuss some eighteenth-century Chinese novels as being examples of early works in the history of the detective fiction genre. I, however, will limit my discussion of the development of detective fiction to the European/American form for two reasons. First, it is this strand that most scholars accredit with the development of modern detective fiction, and second, whether or not the Europeans and Americans did develop detective fiction, the detective fiction in the Ottoman Empire arises and develops out of translations of European/American detective fiction.

As these stories were, for the most part, originally written in Europe and, accordingly are an outgrowth of European culture, I will begin by looking at the culture from which they emerged. Beginning in the eighteenth century, I will address crime, punishment and public attitudes towards both. Following that I will look at socio-economic realities that impacted on the development of these stories. I will then address how the works of specific English, French and American writers led to the development of detective fiction as a genre. Finally, I will discuss the Ottoman Empire into which these stories were transmitted with an eye to what cultural impact they had.

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<sup>3</sup> Mystery fiction. [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mystery\\_fiction](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mystery_fiction) (accessed 29 July 2010).

<sup>4</sup> Samah Selim. "Fiction and Colonial Identities: Arsène Lupin in Arabic," *Middle Eastern Literatures*, Vol. 13, No. 2, (August 2010): 191.



## Development of Detective fiction as a genre

Robin Hood, the clever rogue who ‘stole from the rich to give to the poor’ was a popular fictional archetypal English folk hero seen back as far as the thirteenth century.<sup>5</sup> Gil Blas, a hero described by Alain-René Lesage from a naïve youth through cunning servant to landed proprietor and nobleman—with a spell in jail, bereavements and fits of remorse along the way,<sup>6</sup> is an example of a crime story hero in France.<sup>7</sup> The stories, written between 1715 and 1735 were extremely popular. Jack Sheppard (1702–1724) was a notorious English robber, burglar and thief of early eighteenth-century London. Jack was born into a poor family. He began as an apprentice to a carpenter but left this path and took up theft and burglary in 1723, with little more than a year of his training to complete. “He was arrested and imprisoned five times in 1724 but escaped four times, making him a notorious public figure, and wildly popular with the poorer classes.”<sup>8</sup>

These characters, notable for their lack of strict observance of the law, reflect a large group of society who felt disenfranchised and had no real stake in social order. This is evidenced by the crime rates of the period. And crime rates in the eighteenth century were high. Foucault informs us that there was a “crisis of popular illegality that occurred

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<sup>5</sup> Robin Hood. [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Robin\\_Hood](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Robin_Hood) (accessed 28 July 2010).

<sup>6</sup> Alain René Le Sage. *Histoire de Gil Blas de Santillane*. (London: Printed for J. Mawman, 1819).

<sup>7</sup> A.E. Murch. *The development of the detective novel*. (New York: Greenwood Press; 1958), 19.

<sup>8</sup> Martin Priestman, ed. *The Cambridge Companion to Crime Fiction*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 29, and Jack Sheppard. [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jack\\_Sheppard](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jack_Sheppard) (accessed 6 August 2010).

in the eighteenth century.”<sup>9</sup> It is this crisis that, at least in part, drove the reform in penal justice that occurred in the last quarter of the eighteenth century, during which we see a flurry of new, modern penal codes in Russia (1769), Prussia (1780), Pennsylvania (1786), Tuscany (1786), Austria (1788) and France (1791). This was the situation just prior to the beginnings of the detective fiction genre and it speaks to just how much of a “radical change in the way the rogue was regarded by the general public”<sup>10</sup> was required for detective fiction and its detective hero to become a viable genre.

The Industrial Revolution also brought significant social repercussions beginning in the early nineteenth century. For our purposes, the noteworthy result was the creation of a new social class of industrialists. This now wealthy group quickly began to have a real stake in social order and wanted to be protected from crime and criminals. They also wanted to fortify their economic power with socio-political power. One of their main efforts in this matter was the reformation of the education system. By opening new schools that focused on science and technology that became very popular, they drove a change in the liberal Oxbridge curriculum to a more science-based curriculum that, in the end, even Oxford and Cambridge incorporated.

With this we see the beginnings of two trends that were to have significant impact on the events of the nineteenth century: 1) the growth of a middle class—the period is even often referred to as the century of the middle class, and 2) the scientification of education. Both events play significant theoretical and practical roles in the development

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<sup>9</sup> Michel Foucault; translated from the French by Alan Sheridan. *Discipline and punish: the birth of the prison*, trans. Alan Sheridan (New York: Vintage Books, 1995), 84.

<sup>10</sup> Murch, 19.

and importance of detective fiction. But, before we discuss this role, we must return to the early development of police forces.

The first police force comparable to present-day police forces was established in 1667 under King Louis XIV in France, although modern police usually trace their origins to the 1800 establishment of the Marine Police in London, the Glasgow Police, and the Napoleonic police of Paris. The first modern police force, however, is also commonly ascribed to the London Metropolitan Police, which was established in 1829 and promoted the role of the police as a deterrent to urban crime and disorder. This new force was initially opposed by the general public who feared that it would abuse its power to worsen their situation as arbitrary forces loyal to the monarch had in the past. This initially negative attitude had changed, by the middle of the century to one of appreciation and approval. This, however, was not the same as the situation in France, where the police force was changed by Charles X in 1824, following his coronation, into a political weapon against dissenters and would-be rebels. As a result, the French population harboured distrust towards police for a much longer period. This slowly began to change with the aforementioned growth of the middle class, who now had possessions and a stake in social order that they desired to protect. The scientification of education also played an important practical role in the development of a science/reason-based genre. Development of detective fiction transpired as a result of the synergy between writers in England, France, and America. I will briefly trace the developments that resulted from this sharing of ideas outlined below.

The initial glimmerings of detective fiction began in England. In the eighteenth century, broadsheets began printing “last words,” “confessions,” and career biographies

of criminals. The most prominent example of this trend was *The Newgate Calendar* in England.<sup>11</sup> Collected editions of these stories began to appear in the mid-eighteenth century, and in 1774 a five-volume bound edition became the standard version. This led to what was called the Newgate Novel, which was a novel that fostered the interest in exciting tales with a background in criminal exploits. It also made the step of promoting the idea that criminals should be punished, which was new to a population who loved its rogue heroes.

In 1789, Ann Radcliffe (1764-1823), pioneer of the gothic novel, introduced a device, which was to become very common in detective stories: a discussion of events between one very clever individual, who requires no explanation and another less intelligent individual, who does.<sup>12</sup> Later, British writer, William Godwin (1756–1836), makes the first step toward a detective hero with his character Caleb Williams (*Things as They Are: The Adventures of Caleb Williams*), who upon being wronged by another character devotes himself to establishing said character's guilt and seeing him punished.<sup>13</sup> It is a reserved step though, as it seems to indicate that revenge is the only way one could be motivated to take up that abhorrent occupation of informer. Godwin's student Edward Bulwer-Lytton, later Lord Lytton (1803–1873) becomes the first in *Pelham* and *Eugene Aram* (1828 and 1832 respectively) to carefully work out a detective theme with a climax.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> Murch, 20-21.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid., 28.

<sup>13</sup> Murch, 29-30.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid., 38.

In America, Charles Brockden Brown (1771-1810) borrows Godwin's *Caleb Williams* plot, combines it with Radcliffe's technique for explanation and adds his own innovation: a rational explanation.<sup>15</sup>

James Fenimore Cooper despite working in different genres from romantic adventure to realistic narrative in which he created a uniquely American personification of rugged individualism and the pioneer spirit, also made a significant contribution to the detective novel. His creation of characters with a combination of great skill and quick perception established the character of a tracker, which would become one of the prototypical characteristics of later detective heroes. His characters, while following a trail, would explain their conclusions,<sup>16</sup> or as in the following example from *The Pathfinder* (1840) Cooper would explain their perceptions:

Some of the leaves which were exposed to the sun had drooped a little, and this slight departure from the usual natural laws had caught the quick eyes of the Indian; for so practised and acute do the senses of the savage become, more especially when he is on the war-path, that trifles apparently of the most insignificant sort often prove to be clues to lead him to his object.<sup>17</sup>

His novels, the most famous of which was *The Last of the Mohicans* (1826) were soon translated into French and struck a chord with the sensibilities of the French population with his tales set in an unspoiled, natural setting.

The appearance of *The Last of the Mohicans* in French translation coincided almost exactly with the publication of Vidocq's *Memoires* (1828), which became a worldwide success. The two works quickly brought comparisons between the native-American hunter/tracker and the detective tracking his criminal prey.<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> Ibid., 34.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid., 40.

<sup>17</sup> James Fenimore Cooper. *The Pathfinder*. (New York: Signet Classics, 1961), 60.

<sup>18</sup> Murch, 42.

Eugène François Vidocq (1775-1857) was a French criminal who later became the first director of Sûreté Nationale, a plainclothes unit he himself was instrumental in forming, and one of the first modern private investigators. Vidocq, possibly due in part to his criminal past and contemporary struggles with the official police force, became “the first detective hero France and the world had ever known.”<sup>19</sup> Accordingly, he bequeaths a number of character traits to the prototypical detective hero model: great physical strength, patience, endurance, skill in disguise, insight into criminal mentality, a reputation for success, a low opinion of the police force and a catch-phrase (his being simply “I am Vidocq!”).

Vidocq set off the first literary attention to the subject of criminals in France with the works of Honoré de Balzac (1799-1850), Eugène Sue (1804-1857) and Alexandre Dumas (1802-1870). Balzac adopted elements from Radcliffe, Cooper and Vidocq and created criminals who were admirable for their cleverness, but Balzac never made the detective a hero or even a main character. Despite this, Balzac occupies an important position in the development of the detective novel for a number of reasons: first, he was the first really great novelist to devote serious attention to the working out of detective themes;<sup>20</sup> second, he popularised the use of serialised characters, and third, he introduced technical language into fiction and gave short dissertations on scientific subjects.<sup>21</sup>

Eugène Sue added extensive knowledge of prison life, slang, and criminal psychology to the fledgling genre. He also introduced the concept, which would be

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<sup>19</sup> Murch, 44.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid., 54.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid., 58.

commonly used in detective fiction, that certain types of criminals commit certain types of crimes.<sup>22</sup>

Alexandre Dumas gave us D'Artagnan and the three musketeers, Athos, Porthos, and Aramis, who were serial characters that readers could count on to succeed.<sup>23</sup> He also brought a greater focus on analytical deduction and Dumas is the first writer to present a sympathetic police officer.<sup>24</sup>

It is at this time that Dumas' American contemporary, Edgar Allan Poe, writes the first detective story, "The Murders in the Rue Morgue" (1841).<sup>25</sup> The detective story has been defined as "a tale in which the primary interest lies in the methodical discovery, by rational means, of the exact circumstances of a mysterious event or series of events."<sup>26</sup> Poe was the first one who wrote with the purpose of devising an entertaining, baffling problem which was to be unravelled by the detective hero in this case Auguste Dupin, who is the most important character in each tale whose plots were designed to display his powers of reason and observation.<sup>27</sup> Poe does this while the writers in England and France are still preoccupied with criminal heroes. His hero, Auguste Dupin, shows an obvious influence of Vidocq as he is French, the story is set in France, he has great powers of observation and harbours a negative opinion of the police force. Poe is also the first to make reference to a textbook that Dupin has in his personal library. Poe's work is recognised as the first detective fiction because it is the first work to have a detective theme with a detective hero as the main character.

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<sup>22</sup> Murch, 60.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid., 62.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid., 64.

<sup>25</sup> Kenneth Silverman. *Edgar A. Poe: Mournful and Never-ending Remembrance*. (New York: Harper Perennial, 1991), 171.

<sup>26</sup> Murch, 11.

<sup>27</sup> Murch, 68.

Back in England, Thomas de Quincey (1785-1859) was one of the first English writers to turn from the preoccupation with criminals to an objective consideration of crime.<sup>28</sup> But the closest he came to detective fiction was *The Avenger* (1838), which lacks a key element in detective fiction: the detective.<sup>29</sup>

Still in England, two authors who were sensitive to changing trends in public attitudes, Charles Dickens (1812-1870) and Wilkie Collins (1824-1889), begin to write stories in which criminals are punished. This reflects the developing desire of the public, more of whom now have a stake in social order, to be protected from crime and criminals and an accompanying positive attitude towards the police force. Dickens makes further additions to the developing genre including a mysterious crime explained at the end and a dominant detective theme.<sup>30</sup> But the work of Dickens also distinguishes the English detective story from American and French detective stories. Dickens uses typical police officers and shows a positive attitude towards the police force in general. One of his police officers is Inspector Bucket. Bucket is an honourable officer but he is never the main character.<sup>31</sup> Also, unlike Poe, he never focused on mystery. Wilkie Collins, on the other hand, shows more influence from the French and Poe in that, aside from his Sergeant Cuff, he shows no admiration for the police.<sup>32</sup>

It is at about the same time in France that we see two authors who are important in our consideration of the effect of detective stories on Turkish culture, Ponson du Terrail (1829-1871) and Emile Gaboriau (1833-1873). The very first detective story translated into Turkish, by Ahmet Münif, was du Terrail's *Les Drames de Paris* (1857)

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<sup>28</sup> Ibid., 84.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid., 85.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid., 92.

<sup>31</sup> Murch, 100-102.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid., 106.



and almost all of the first fifty-four translated works were written by French authors. In his newspaper article, Güner quotes Erol Üyepazarcı, who informs us that “[s]ince most of the detective novels at the time were written in French, they were translated from French. There were 54 novels translated during the reign of Abdülhamid.”<sup>33</sup>

Rocambole, the creation of du Terrail, is a fictional adventurer, whose importance to the genres of adventure novels and crime fiction cannot be underestimated. The word *rocambolesque* has become common in French to label any kind of fantastic adventure. Rocambole retains a good deal of roguishness in his character, a possible indication of the difficulty the French reading public had in accepting a good honourable police officer. He is, like Vidocq, an ex-con who, eventually—in the fourth novel—becomes a do-gooder.

Gaboriau in his creation of detective hero, Monsieur Lecoq, originates the French detective story, or *roman-policier* (*L’Affaire Lerouge* (1866)). The character Lecoq is strongly influenced by the real-life character of Vidocq. Monsieur Lecoq is a fictional detective who was employed, as was Vidocq, by the French Sûreté.<sup>34</sup>

Now we come to the year 1887 and, the moment you have been anticipating, we witness the appearance of Sherlock Holmes. Holmes represents the first serial detective hero in England.<sup>35</sup>

Sir Arthur Conan Doyle establishes his aims for his new character, Sherlock Holmes, in the first novel *A Study in Scarlet* when, in a discussion between Holmes and

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<sup>33</sup> Musa Güner. “Polisiye roman okumadan uyumayan sultan.” <http://www.haberpan.com/polisiye-roman-okumadan-uyumayan-sultan-haberi> (accessed 30 July 2010).

<sup>34</sup> Murch, 122-124.

<sup>35</sup> Murch, 145.

Watson, he has Holmes compare himself to the two preceding fictional detectives, Poe's Dupin and Gaboriau's Monsiuer Lecoq:

'It is simple enough as you explain it,' I said, smiling. 'You remind me of Edgar Allen Poe's Dupin. I had no idea that such individuals did exist outside of stories.'

Sherlock Holmes rose and lit his pipe. 'No doubt you think that you are complimenting me in comparing me to Dupin,' he observed. 'Now, in my opinion, Dupin was a very inferior fellow. That trick of his of breaking in on his friends' thoughts with an apropos remark after a quarter of an hour's silence is really very showy and superficial. He had some analytical genius, no doubt; but he was by no means such a phenomenon as Poe appeared to imagine.'

'Have you read Gaboriau's works?' I asked. 'Does Lecoq come up to your idea of a detective?'

Sherlock Holmes sniffed sardonically. 'Lecoq was a miserable bungler,' he said, in an angry voice; 'he had only one thing to recommend him, and that was his energy. That book made me positively ill. The question was how to identify an unknown prisoner. I could have done it in twenty-four hours. Lecoq took six months or so. It might be made a text-book for detectives to teach them what to avoid.'<sup>36</sup>

Holmes does become the prototypical detective hero, or as Murch says it, "with Conan Doyle, the detective story came at last to full fruition."<sup>37</sup> The fact that Sherlock Holmes became the prototypical detective also speaks to the long, arduous journey detective fiction writers set out on to popularise the detective. There were, as mentioned, some efforts being made to popularise the police force in general, but that still needed some time to develop as even Sherlock Holmes regularly looks upon the police force with scorn. But, why was he so popular? Sir Arthur Conan Doyle created the character traits of Holmes very carefully. In a blending of old and new, Doyle was able to retain the much-loved characteristics of the detective hero to date with new qualities, "the very qualities that the late Victorian general public admired most:" superior intelligence, good socio-

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<sup>36</sup> Sir Arthur Conan Doyle. *A Study in Scarlet*. (London: Cricket House Books, 2010), 19.

<sup>37</sup> Murch, 191.

cultural background, perfect respectability and integrity, status of a scientist and an international reputation for success in his field.<sup>38</sup>

Let us turn our attention now to the Ottoman Empire into which these stories were translated. The Ottomans had, for centuries, been the world's superpower habitually achieving military victories over all opponents. This gave them a good deal of confidence, both in their administration and in their religion, Islam, which was seen as the ultimate foundation of the system and the reason for its power. However, with this confidence came a side effect: seeing others—and here I mean Europeans in particular as it was against them and their territories that the Ottomans aspired—as inferior, they felt certain that there was nothing that they could possibly learn from them. So, while European powers kept embassies in Istanbul so as to carry out continuous diplomacy, the Ottomans saw no need to keep embassies in European capitals. Thus, they remained blissfully unaware of the developments and improvements occurring in Europe at the time.

One detail that could not fail to attract their attention was the obvious shift in the balance of military power. No longer were Ottoman military victories simply a formality. In fact, they even began losing battles (and territory) to the Europeans. By the last decade of the eighteenth century it became clear to many in the Ottoman ruling class that something had to be done.

In response to this, the Ottomans began to open permanent embassies in European capitals<sup>39</sup> and, since it was the military that was showing weakness, they began to establish a new military force that would use European weapons and be trained in a

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<sup>38</sup> Murch, 177.

<sup>39</sup> Sultan Selim III (r. 1789-1809) was the first to begin opening Ottoman embassies in European capitals, the first being London (1793) and Paris (1796).

European style. We haven't the time to go into the details of the internal difficulties they faced in this policy. Suffice it to say that, seeing their position in society threatened, the military opposed the move vehemently.<sup>40</sup>

Thus, modernisation in the Ottoman Empire began with the military. Yet, a state enters a bit of a conundrum when it begins to modernise. Uncertain about what provides the impetus for success, one doesn't know how much one should adopt. At the beginning, it is relatively easy: new weapons and new training. But then, what of subjects that may be related but further afield like mathematics and geography. Finally, the question becomes one of how much of a role culture in general plays in the success of a state. Some say that modernisation is like a rose—you must take it all, thorns included.

Well, for all intents and purposes, this became the operating maxim of the Ottoman administrators in the middle two quarters of the nineteenth century. This period was called the *Tanzimat* (Reorganisation).

Penal and commercial codes were adopted, virtually verbatim, from extant European examples; a modern police force was established (1845); changes in dress codes were imposed, and non-Muslims were granted equal status to Muslims. While these changes were easy enough for the administrative class—many of whom had spent time living in Europe, the rest of whom had, at least, familiarity with European languages

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<sup>40</sup> For a further discussion of this dynamic, see: Niyazi Berkes. *The development of secularism in Turkey*. (Montreal, McGill University Press, 1964); Roderic H. Davison. *Essays in Ottoman and Turkish history, 1774-1923: the impact of the West*. (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1990); M. Şükrü Hanioğlu. *A brief history of the late Ottoman empire*. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008); Bernard Lewis. *The emergence of modern Turkey*. (London; New York [etc.]: issued under the auspices of the Royal Institute of International Affairs [by] Oxford U.P., 1968); Stanford Shaw. *History of the Ottoman Empire and modern Turkey: Reform, revolution, and republic: the rise of modern Turkey, 1808-1975*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976-1977); Erik J. Zürcher. *Turkey: a modern history*. (London; New York: I.B. Tauris, 2004).

and culture to adapt to—they were much more difficult for the general population to understand and accept. Unaware of the changes in the balance of power and firm in the belief in the superiority of their system of administration and its vitalising force, Islam, the general population was surprised and shocked by these changes.

As it was a top-down approach to reform, the Ottoman administration recognised the need to get the population on side if it was to succeed in accomplishing its aims. Thus, they began extensive reforms to the civil education system. These reforms have been largely seen by historians as virtual copies of European pedagogical methods and were meant to accustom the youth to the new realities.

As previously mentioned, detective stories began to be translated into Turkish during Abdülhamid II's reign (1876-1909) and a total of fifty-four were translated.<sup>41</sup> The first example of Turkish detective fiction was *Esrâr-ı Cinâyât* (1884) by Ahmet Mithat Efendi (1844-1912).<sup>42</sup> These coincide with the reign of the autocratic sultan, Abdülhamid II.<sup>43</sup>

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<sup>41</sup> Güner.

<sup>42</sup> Erol Üyepazarcı, *Korkmayınız Mister Sherlock Holmes!: Türkiye'de Polisiye Romanın 125 Yıllık Öyküsü (1881-2006) 1. Cilt*. İstanbul: Maceraperest Kitapları, 2008, and İlk Polisiye. [http://www.aksaraypmyo.edu.tr/index.php?do=static&page=ilk\\_polisiye](http://www.aksaraypmyo.edu.tr/index.php?do=static&page=ilk_polisiye). (accessed on 31 August 2010), and Ahmet Mithat Efendi. [http://tr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ahmet\\_Mithat\\_Efendi#Romanlar.C4.B1](http://tr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ahmet_Mithat_Efendi#Romanlar.C4.B1) (accessed 29 July 2010).

<sup>43</sup> Abdülhamid's image is currently being reconsidered by historians; previously portrayed as a tyrant (for further reading see: Edwin Pears, *Life of Abdul Hamid*. New York: Henry Holt, 1917, and Gilles Roy, *Abdul-Hamid: le sultan rouge*. Paris: Payot, 1936) current works concerning him are beginning to reassess him in a new light (see: Mustafa Armağan, *Abdülhamid'in kurtlarla dansı*. İstanbul: Ufuk Kitap, 2006, and Ebul Faruk Önal and Sabit Bekçi, *Sultan İkinci Abdülhamîd Hân'ın hayır eserleri*. İstanbul: Çamlıca, 2006). None have gone so far as to portray him as a soft ruler, but they are reconsidering his actions in light of the weak economic situation of the state at the time, along with the constant threat of the European powers eyeing Ottoman territory like circling vultures over a dying animal.

Regarding Abdülhamid, there are two points that impact on this study: first, Abdülhamid's institution of a strict rule of censorship over newspapers, and second, Abdülhamid's policy of pan-Islamism.

First, fearing criticism and possible revolt, Abdülhamid instituted a strict policy of censorship over the newspapers, which, finding it very difficult to write anything about current events turned to different subjects to publish. Newspapers began to write stories about different cultures, geography, physics and literature.

The second point concerns Abdülhamid's pan-Islamism policy. With the separation of Greece from the empire and autocracy and continued push for liberation of territories in the Balkans, the Christian percentage of the population was ever decreasing. As a move to strengthen the unity of the empire, Abdülhamid focused on Islam in an appeal to the largest proportion of the population.

This is very interesting because, on one hand, to further strengthen the empire, modernisation had to continue. But, on the other hand, to prevent further weakening of the empire, religion had to become a focus as a unifier of the largest proportion of the population. Detective stories, which were enjoyed greatly by Abdülhamid himself (it has even been stated that he had 600 detective stories in his own collection),<sup>44</sup> were spreading Western concepts, including causality, through the general population while Abdülhamid was emphasising his role as Caliph and defender of the faith.

## **History of Turkism**

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<sup>44</sup> Güner.

Kemalism, sometimes referred to as the “Six Arrows,” is the principle developed by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk that defines the characteristics of the Republic of Turkey. The ‘arrows’ are the foundational principles of the ideology: republicanism (*cumhuriyetçilik*), populism (*halkçılık*), secularism (*laiklik*), revolutionism (*inkılapçılık*), nationalism (*milliyetçilik*), and statism (*devletçilik*). The difficulty in applying these principles arises due to the fact that we do not possess any type of systematic presentation of the Kemalist ideology by Atatürk himself.<sup>45</sup> We do, however, possess a great sampling of direct quotations of Atatürk discussing pragmatic implications of his principles.

I will now expound Kemalist ideology in terms of how it applies to Turkism, the culture, religion, or social system of the Turks, which lie at the core of Turkish nationalism. As such, we will not be expounding each and every one of the six arrows. republicanism and statism, for example, define the principles of government and revolutionism, which delineates the way in which the new government earned its right to govern. As such, these principles will not be included in this discussion.

Let us, then, begin with populism. With populism, Atatürk aimed at mobilising the entire population of the country. This policy had significant implications in terms of equality between the sexes. Atatürk explains: ““As such, every individual’s equality must be realised, but this will only be possible with the lifting of all traditional inequalities.””<sup>46</sup> There are many other occasions in which Atatürk elucidates his desire to achieve equality for women and we will discuss some of these in the chapter on detective hero Vefa Polad,

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<sup>45</sup> Bernard Caporal. *Kemalizmde ve Kemalizm Sonrasında Türk Kadını (1919-1970)*, trans. Ercan Eyüboğlu. (İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası, 1982), 185.

<sup>46</sup> Translation is mine. (Original reads: ““Bu anlamda her ferdin eşit tutulmasının gerçekleşmesi, ancak, eskiden kalan eşitsizliklerin ortadan kaldırılmasıyla mümkün olabilirdi.””)

who, like Atatürk, shows his desire for women's rights. This is a principle that Atatürk successfully worked hard to realise.<sup>47</sup>

Next, we shall discuss Atatürk's understanding of secularism. The principle of secularism is, in fact, not unlike the previously discussed principles of republicanism and statism in that secularism does not prescribe how a Turk should think or behave, but simply makes a statement about a principle of government. Quite simply, Atatürk insisted that religion, in this case Islam, should play no role in politics. I only mention it here because the issue has become so confused that many actually believe that Atatürk was anti-religion. This is not the case as demonstrated by his many statements about religion.

To begin, let us understand Atatürk's rationale for removing religion's political power. In the following statement, Atatürk confirms the strength and value of Islam, but points out that due to a mixing of true faith with superstition, Turks have been taken advantage of by enemies: "'Despite being Muslims,' states Atatürk, 'Turks have come under ruin, poverty, and deterioration; by mixing old superstitious habits and beliefs with Islam, they have distanced themselves from true Islam and have made themselves slaves of their enemies.'"<sup>48</sup> It is for this reason—that is, the role a superstition-infused Islam has played in causing the decline in the status of Turks in the world—that Atatürk supported the idea of secularism. Atatürk goes further to encourage Turks to abandon their "old superstitious habits and practices" in favour of knowledge, science, and reason. Atatürk,

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<sup>47</sup> For further reading on this subject, see: Janet Browning. *Atatürk's Legacy to the Women of Turkey*. (Durham, England; Centre for Middle Eastern & Islamic Studies, University of Durham, 1985); Abadan-Unat. "The Legal Status of Turkish Women," *Women, Family, and Social Change in Turkey*. Edited by Ferhunde Ozbay. (Bangkok: UNESCO, 1990), and Tezer Taşkıran. *Women in Turkey*. (Istanbul: Redhouse Press, 1976).

<sup>48</sup> Kerem Yılmaz. *Dindar Atatürk*. (İstanbul: Çınar Matbaacılık, 2004), 6. Translation is mine.



famously,<sup>49</sup> states, “Science is the most genuine guide in life.”<sup>50</sup> We will see that the promotion of reason and skepticism play a significant role in two of the detective series we will analyse.

On other occasions, Atatürk was very specific about the value of Islam in the lives of individual Turks. For example, Atatürk says, “Religion is the sustenance of people. A person without religion resembles an empty house and gives grief to people... This, the last of the religions is clearly the most perfect. Islam is superior to all other religions.”<sup>51</sup> Or again, ever more directly, Atatürk says, “Turks must be more religious.”<sup>52</sup> Not only does he encourage greater individual religiosity, Atatürk uses religion as a foundation for one of the character traits he encourages among Turks: to be hardworking. He bases this on the ninety-fourth surah of the Qur’ān,<sup>53</sup> which states: “So when thou art relieved, still toil.”<sup>54</sup> Atatürk backs this up further when he says, “Some say our great religion says nothing about humanity being lazy. Some people believe that being civilised equals being an infidel. True infidelity is this belief.”<sup>55</sup> Atatürk follows this by attempting to link Islam

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<sup>49</sup> This quotation is on a plaque that is hung prominently on the wall of the Naval High School on Heybeli Island, Istanbul among being displayed prominently in other important public locations throughout Turkey.

<sup>50</sup> Translation is mine. (Original reads: “Hayatta en hakiki mürşit ilimdir.”).

<sup>51</sup> Ibid., 68-69. Translation is mine. (Original reads: “Din insanların gıdasıdır. Dinsiz adam boş bir eve benzer. İnsana hüznü verir... Bu, dinlerin en sonuncusu elbette en mükemmelidir. İslam dini, hepsinden üstündür.”)

<sup>52</sup> Ibid., 69. Translation is mine. (Original reads: “Türk Millet’i daha dindar olmalıdır.”)

<sup>53</sup> Yılmaz, 57.

<sup>54</sup> Muhammed Marmaduke Pickthall. *The Glorious Qur’an*. (New Delhi: Goodword Books, 2005), 440. (The Turkish reads: “Şu halde boş kaldığın zaman, durmaksızın (dua ve ibadetle) yorulmaya devam et.”)

<sup>55</sup> Yılmaz, 57. Translation is mine.

to his nationalist project when he states, ““Our religion would not recommend *our nation* to be pathetic, wretched, and inferior.””<sup>56</sup>

Or again, Atatürk links being hardworking to the national goal for Turks: ““Our national goal is clear. Finding the roads that lead to that goal is not difficult. It can be said that we do not require anything. We only really want for one thing: to be hardworking.””<sup>57</sup>

Thus, religion actually plays a significant role in two of the character traits that Atatürk recommends to Turks. These traits are being rational and being hardworking. Atatürk develops other character traits important to this study under the rubric of nationalism.

A number of Atatürk’s expectations for Turks are clearly laid out in the “Student Vow” (*Andımız*), which is recited by all primary school students before lessons begin:

I am Turk, I am honest, I am hardworking

(*Türküm, doğruyum, çalışkanım*)

My principle is to protect the young and respect the elders, to love my country and my people more than I love myself

(*İlkem; küçüklerimi korumak, büyüklerimi saymak, yurdumu, milletimi özümden çok sevmektir*)

My ideal is to move forward, to progress

(*Ülküm; yükselmek, ileri gitmektir*)

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<sup>56</sup> Yılmaz, 57. Translation and italics are mine. (Original reads: “Bizim dinimiz, milletimize değersiz, miskin ve aşağı olmayı tavsiye etmez”).

<sup>57</sup> Mehmet Evsile. *Atatürk’ün Söylev ve Demeçleri’nin Konular İndeksi*. (Ankara: Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi Yayını, 1999), 22. Translation is mine. (Original reads: “Milli hedef belli olmuştur. Ona ulaşacak yolları bulmak zor değildir. Denebilir ki, hiç bir şeye muhtaç değiliz. Yalnız bir tek şeye çok ihtiyacımız vardır: çalışkan olmak”).

Hey Great Atatürk!

*(Ey Büyük Atatürk!)*

I solemnly promise to walk on the road you have opened without stopping, toward the goal you have showed

*(Açtığın yolda, gösterdiğin hedefe durmadan yürüyeceğime ant içerim)*

May my existence be a tribute to the Turkish existence

*(Varlığım Türk varlığına armağan olsun)*

How happy is the one who says 'I am a Turk'!

*(Ne mutlu Türküm diyene!)*<sup>58</sup>

With this vow and the position it occupies in the lives of young Turkish students, Atatürk clearly demonstrates his belief in the value of teaching children, and he offers objective proof of many of the character traits and beliefs he promotes for Turks.

In the “Student’s Vow,” a number of character traits, such as being hardworking, honest, progressive, and taking pride in Turkishness are avowed. In addition to this, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk made a number of very clear statements regarding being hardworking, reason and science, rationalism, patriotism and women’s rights.

Atatürk was very clear in his promotion of reason and science. As such, he made a number of clear statements on the subject. Some of which include the following.

“Wherever knowledge and science are to be found, we will obtain it and plant it in the minds of each individual in the nation.”<sup>59</sup> Or when speaking to the public in Alaşehir in 1923, “Following this we will arrive at very important victories. But these will not be a victory of warfare, but victories of economics, knowledge, and enlightenment...Let us

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<sup>58</sup> Translation is mine.

<sup>59</sup> Evsile, 45. Translation is mine.

prepare for victories of knowledge and enlightenment.”<sup>60</sup> Or again, when he is speaking to the public, “Following this, in order to bring our nation to a definitive liberation, it behooves us to take strong and foundational measures. The most important of these measures is knowledge and scholarship.”<sup>61</sup>

Patriotism was also a vitally important concept for Atatürk. One can see this in a number of speeches in which he discusses patriotism. One example of this comes when he addresses children specifically: “Whatever the limits of the education we will give our children and our youth may be, the essential concepts that we must teach them well are that it is necessary to struggle against enemies of the 1) Turkish Nation, 2) Turkish State, and 3) Turkish Parliament must be opposed.”<sup>62</sup> In another speech in 1926, Atatürk links the importance of patriotism with culture: “We are outright nationalists and, more specifically, Turkish nationalists; our country’s support is the Turkish community. And however well-versed in Turkish culture the individuals in that community are, the country leaning on that support will be all the stronger.”<sup>63</sup> I will not present each and every comment Atatürk made about patriotism as they are legion, but I will offer up one more that speaks to the unified, dedicated nature he prescribes for Turks with regard to their nation: “When necessary, Turks will rally around and work for their country with

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<sup>60</sup> Ibid., 46. Translation is mine.

<sup>61</sup> Ibid., 46. Translation is mine.

<sup>62</sup> Atatürk ve Çocuklar. <http://www.turkiyeinternette.com/haber/3967-ataturk-ataturk-ve-cocuklar.html> (accessed 11 August 2010). Translation is mine. (Original reads: “Çocuklarımıza ve gençlerimize vereceğimiz tahsilin hududu ne olursa olsun, onlara esaslı olarak şunları öğreteceğiz: 1) Milletine, 2) Türkiye Devletine, 3) Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisine; düşman olanlarla mücadele lüzumu.”)

<sup>63</sup> Evsile, 83. Translation is mine.

the decisiveness and desire of one individual body. Obviously, it is a nation that is a deserved candidate for a great future.”<sup>64</sup>

The status of women was also a focus of specific interest for Atatürk. He speaks about the importance of the equality of women on a number of occasions. For example, ““Turkish women must be the world’s most enlightened, virtuous, and earnest women...The Turkish woman’s duty is to raise, defend, and look after a generation of Turks with her mentality, ingenuity, and determination...Without doubt, the woman must be great.”<sup>65</sup> Or again, when he says,

‘The woman’s greatest duty is motherhood. If one remembers that the very first place a child begins to receive and education is in the mother’s embrace, then the importance of this duty will be clear. Our nation is determined to become a powerful one. One of today’s needs is to guarantee that our women will rise in every respect. Accordingly, our women will become ‘men of letters,’ scientists and will pass through every level of education that men do. Then, women will walk together with men in society, with each helping and protecting the other.’<sup>66</sup>

These are the main messages depicted in the works of detective fiction this study analyses.

## Methodology

As Benedict Anderson argues in *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, nationhood is an ‘imagined community.’ It is an imagined community—or a sense of collective identity—that emerged in Europe in the nineteenth century that was based largely on the novel. Yet, as it is popular culture that communicates ideas to the population, “others would, no doubt, want to argue for the

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<sup>64</sup> Utkan Kocatürk. “Atatürk’ün Fikir ve Düşünceleri,” <http://www.atam.gov.tr/index.php?Page=FikirDusunceler&IcerikNo=54> (accessed 10 August 2010).

<sup>65</sup> Evsile, 59. Translation is mine.

<sup>66</sup> Evsile, 61. Translation is mine.

centrality of drama or even opera.”<sup>67</sup> These ‘imaginings’ began in Europe long before the Turks of the Ottoman Empire began to imagine themselves as “Turks.” This, in fact, involved a heavily government-directed process through which citizens of the Ottoman Empire envisioned themselves as “Ottomans,” then, following the loss of European territory and, accordingly, much of its Christian population, citizens were encouraged to think of themselves as “Muslims” to vitalise the Sultan Abdülhamid II’s concept of pan-Islamism. Finally, with the loss of Arab lands, Turks were encouraged to conceive of themselves as “Turks” in order to prevent the final separation of the empire into vassal states of the European powers.

Valdés and Hutcheon state that events “serve as markers of major shiftings in national boundaries, linguistic power, religious affiliation, not to mention such recently explored issues as gender relations and the literary institution. And all of these ‘events’ have an impact on the literature of the region.”<sup>68</sup> I have just alluded to the loss of territory as an event that served as the impetus for the Ottoman and later Kemalist governments to direct concepts of identity.

While this is the first work to analyse the role of Turkish detective fiction in the creation of Turkish identity, over the last decade there has been increased academic attention paid to popular culture and its impact on populations.<sup>69</sup> Valdés and Hutcheon have compiled an expansive work of comparative literary history in which they aim to

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<sup>67</sup> Mario J. Valdés, and Linda Hutcheon. *Rethinking literary history, comparatively*. (New York, NY: American Council of Learned Societies, 1994), 3.

<sup>68</sup> Valdés and Hutcheon, 10.

<sup>69</sup> Rebecca L. Stein and Ted Swedenburg, editors. *Palestine, Israel, and the politics of popular culture*. (Durham: Duke University Press, 2005), 1.

“rethink” the field.<sup>70</sup> The intent is to expand the boundaries of the field. In so doing, they place literary works in the field of historical study as “events” themselves:

As we have described it here, comparative literary history seeks to recast literary works as historical "events" within a dynamic cultural context of both reception and transmission. This undertaking will necessitate the reexamination of certain blind spots involving things like institutional promotion or suppression of literature or the politics of participation in the literary historical ‘event.’<sup>71</sup>

We just discussed territorial losses as practical ‘events’ with implications on the boundaries of the empire, now we will look at the publication of these individual series of detective fiction as ‘events’ that would have had an impact, however large or small, on the general population.

This is not the first foray into this broadened field of literary history. In his study of poets in the Third Reich, Jay Baird notes that the poets “became Hitler’s poets, validating the dreams of a brilliant future for the German Reich. *Their contributions were in harmony with the movement’s ideology...*”<sup>72</sup> This line of argument corresponds to mine in this study. Natsu Onoda Power studies the overlap of history and pop culture in her study of the “God of Comics,” Osamu Tezuka.<sup>73</sup> This work has also begun in the field of Middle East History. In the edited work *Palestine, Israel, and the Politics of Popular Culture*, authors address the relationship between politics and popular culture in Palestine and Israel with special attention to popular music, press, cinema, cyberculture, and

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<sup>70</sup> Valdés and Hutcheon, 4.

<sup>71</sup> Valdés and Hutcheon. “Rethinking Literary History – Comparatively: Methodology—a summary.” <http://www.chass.utoronto.ca/lithist/summary.html> (accessed 10 August 2010).

<sup>72</sup> Jay W. Baird. *Hitler’s war poets: literature and politics in the Third Reich*. (New York; Cambridge [UK]: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 6. Italics mine.

<sup>73</sup> Natsu Onoda Power. *God of comics: Osamu Tezuka and the creation of post-World War II Manga*. (Jackson [Miss.]: University Press of Mississippi, 2009).

comics.<sup>74</sup> In his work entitled *World view in pre-revolutionary Iran: literary analysis of five Iranian authors in the context of the history of ideas*, Pedersen analyses the writings of five Iranian authors in order to elucidate the pre-revolutionary Iranian world view by placing “the short stories in a historical context with respect to the history of ideas.”<sup>75</sup> Most recently Samah Selim has studied ‘Abd al-Qādir Hamza’s early twentieth-century translations of Maurice Leblanc’s Arsène Lupin into Arabic. Selim shows that these translations played a role in the ongoing political effort to fix legal personhood in Egypt out of the “dizzying web of interchangeable identities” that were the legacy of Ottoman, English, and French occupations.<sup>76</sup> Closer to home, as it were, Brummett examines narrative and cartoon satire during the second Ottoman constitutional period in her *Image and imperialism in the Ottoman revolutionary press, 1908-1911*.<sup>77</sup> And Erol Köroğlu, in his study of Ottoman propaganda and Turkish identity during the First World War, argues for the value of interdisciplinary studies, such as the hitherto lacking combination of Turkish historiography and Turkish literary history.<sup>78</sup> He goes on to provide an excellent study of the interconnectivity of Ottoman propaganda efforts and literary output of the First World War. “The masses can be mobilized by means of strategies and tactics that are simple,” Köroğlu states, “Propaganda activities ensure that explicit nationalist

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<sup>74</sup> Rebecca L. Stein and Ted Swedenburg, editors. *Palestine, Israel, and the Politics of Popular Culture*. (Durham: Duke University Press, 2005).

<sup>75</sup> Claus V. Pedersen. *World view in pre-revolutionary Iran : literary analysis of five Iranian authors in the context of the history of ideas*. (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2002), 1-2.

<sup>76</sup> Selim, 197.

<sup>77</sup> Palmira Brummett. *Image and imperialism in the Ottoman revolutionary press, 1908-1911*. (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2000), 10.

<sup>78</sup> Erol Köroğlu. *Ottoman propaganda and Turkish identity: literature in Turkey during World War I*. (London; New York: Tauris Academic Studies: In the United States of America and Canada distributed by Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), xv-xvi.



messages will guide the masses in the desired directions.”<sup>79</sup> But, he also confirms that Turkish identity was still in a state of flux during said period and would continue to develop for some time to come.<sup>80</sup> Our study will pick up the story from this point of relatively underdeveloped—in comparison to identity politics of European countries—national identity.

In addition to these practical studies in the field, this study also benefits from the theoretical studies of the role of press and popular culture in the construction of national identity. Such studies include Jürgen Habermas’ *The structural transformation of the public sphere: an inquiry into a category of bourgeois society*, Eric Hobsbawm’s *The Invention of tradition*, and Benedict Anderson’s *Imagined communities: reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism*.

In the present study, I will be analysing five detective fiction series that were published in Turkish between 1928 and 1950 to reveal the ways in which these works of fiction supported Kemalist efforts to solidify conceptions of Turkish identity among the population of the relatively new Republic of Turkey (founded in 1923). I will focus on authorial intent as due to the virtually complete lack of information on circulation, I am unable to comment on either the numbers of works sold or the number of people affected by these works of fiction. Now, Brummett clearly states that she cannot comment on the intent of the editor with regard to the cartoons she studied; I, however, can comment on both authorial intent and tacit government approval of said intent for the following reasons: first, as Brummett is analysing isolated individual comics, there is no context for determining editorial intent. I, on the other hand, am studying series of detective fiction

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<sup>79</sup> Ibid., xx.

<sup>80</sup> Ibid., xx-xxi.

which, in each and every case, adhere unbendingly and without exception to certain specific ideas. This uniformity of message allows me to state with confidence that each author was working to communicate specific messages to his readership. In addition to this, each author uses reader address on a regular basis as if to say “Attention reader! Read carefully because I am writing this for you.”

As mentioned above, this study is limited by the lack of information regarding publication figures. I have only tentative evidence with regard to publication numbers: first, Erol Üyepazarcı estimates that each printing was likely 10 000 copies.<sup>81</sup> Second, Ömer Türkeş says that there is no definitive answer but that “it was very likely a large number.” And to back up this estimate, Türkeş refers to an anecdote in which well-respected and famous Turkish author Peyami Safa on being asked where he lived, answered ““I live in the home of the famous Server Bedi””—Server Bedi being the pseudonym under which he chose to write detective fiction.<sup>82</sup> The final piece of evidence comes from Samancıgil. In his Hızır Kaplan series, which we will analyse below, he organised some contests. In one of these contests, readers were encouraged to write in so as to vote for whether the series should be published with greater frequency and 3736 votes were tabulated. This makes this author predict that the number of novels sold would have exceeded 3736, as not every reader would have voted.

In addition to the preceding anecdotal evidence regarding circulation numbers, we must also consider the literacy rates of the Turkish-speaking population. Census data confirms that the rate of literacy of the total population in 1927-28 was 10.6 per cent.<sup>83</sup>

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<sup>81</sup> From a personal conversation with Erol Üyepazarcı in Istanbul, June 2009.

<sup>82</sup> From a personal conversation with Ömer Türkeş in Istanbul, June 2009.

<sup>83</sup> Andreas M. Kazamias. *Education and the quest for modernity in Turkey*. (London, Allen & Unwin, 1966), 272.

Now, as I mentioned earlier, concepts of Turkish nationalism were conceived by the elite who were highly educated. The literacy rates on the eve of the language reform and, most significantly the change in alphabet, indicate that the literate would almost exclusively be part of the elite. As a result, literature would not be an effective method by which to spread these concepts to the general population. The argument that this language reform was “catastrophic”<sup>84</sup> certainly has merit, but what is undeniable is that literacy rates, which had never exceeded eleven per cent of the total population before the reform, began to increase dramatically. Census data for 1935-36 shows the literacy rate of the total population had jumped to 20.4 per cent, the rate increased more modestly in the next census to 22.4 per cent (1940-41), then jumped again to 30.2 per cent (1945-46), and at the end of the period this study considers it was at 34.6 per cent.<sup>85</sup> These literacy rates are significant and show that approximately one-third of the population would have had access to the works of detective fiction this study analyses. This does not include the fact that these stories may have been read aloud in reading rooms (*kiraathaneler*), People’s Houses (*Halkevleri*), and coffeeshops (*kahvehaneler*) as was common during the period.<sup>86</sup> But, I hasten to repeat that this study will not be drawing any conclusions with regard to effects on individuals in the general population, but will speak to authorial intent and tacit governmental approval of the content.

This leads me to explain my rationale for the choices I made when selecting the detective series I chose to study. To begin, I must confirm that gaining access to

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<sup>84</sup> For more on this see Geoffrey Lewis. *The Turkish language reform: a catastrophic success*. (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 1999).

<sup>85</sup> Kazamias., 272.

<sup>86</sup> For further reading, see Ralph S. Hattox. *Coffee and coffeehouses: the origins of a social beverage in the Medieval Near East*. (Seattle: Distributed by University of Washington Press, 1985).

resources is always a question and I worked diligently to locate the material I used for this study. My other criteria for the works were: 1) that the detective series be written in Turkish, 2) that the works be set (at least for the most part) in Turkey, 3) that the works make some tangible statements about Turkish identity, 4) that they be written, not simply reprinted, between 1928 and 1950 so as to be part of the *zeitgeist* of the time. With this set of criteria in mind, I was able to locate five series of detective fiction to analyse. I must also stress that my assessments of authorial intent are restricted to the actual texts studied in this text and should not be seen as a full interpretation of all of the works of these authors.

Following my analysis of these five detective fiction series, it will be clear that they make clear statements about Turkish identity and while each develop positive characteristics of Turks, they also each work on a different aspect of Turkish nationalism. Cemil Cahit Cem is the author of the two detective series of the 1930s that I study. Writing as Behçet Rıza, Cem explores the concept of the self-hating Turk in his Pire Necmi series of the 1930s. Following that, Cem—this time as Oğuz Turgut—elucidates the subtle play between the idea of pure Turkishness and its evil twin, xenophobia, in his Cemal Doğan detective series. We then move on to address three series of detective fiction of the 1940s. First, Murat Akdoğan provides both a comprehensive look at the positive character traits to which all Turks should aspire and juxtaposes this with a clear statement of negative traits that should be avoided by Turks as embodied by the criminals of his Orhan Çakıroğlu series. A. Samancıgil follows this with a specific project in mind. He is very clearly targeting Turkish youth with the aim of teaching them the importance

of rationalism in his Hızır Kaplan series. Finally, Ziya Çalıkoğlu rounds out our study by promoting women's rights in the Vefa Polad detective series.

I have also said that we can see the publication of these works as a tacit governmental approval of the message(s) contained within. I make this claim with the 1931 Press Law (*Matbuat Kanunu*) in mind. This law, “which imposed strict measures on press freedom” and required that any publisher be fluent in Turkish, and that anyone who had worked toward realising enemies' goals would not be allowed to publish,<sup>87</sup> was used to close down a number of publications.<sup>88</sup> With a close and watchful eye, the Kemalist government followed publications carefully and if the work was allowed to be published—especially in serial form—it is safe to conclude that the government tacitly approved of the content. Moreover, we have already seen that Atatürk made speeches praising many of the character traits we will see embodied in the detectives in our study.

Before beginning this study in earnest, there are a few points of order I need to mention. First, I will be using the convention whereby I will refer to an entity by its accepted acronym only after writing the full name on first usage. Second, as the Turkish Surname Law (*Soyadı Kanunu*) was enacted in 1934, and as I will be referring to individuals before they adopted a last name, I will, in all cases before 1934, write the full name with the last name in parentheses.

The works of detective fiction that I have studied here have demonstrated the vigour with which the authors supported the Kemalist project. Each and every one has provided an exciting Turkish detective hero to which positive character traits are attached and would certainly have aided in the spread of the messages supporting Kemalist

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<sup>87</sup> Çağaptay, 70.

<sup>88</sup> See Nurşen Mazıcı's “1930'a Kadar Basının Durumu ve 1931 Matbuat Kanunu.” *Atatürk Yolu Dergisi*. V/18 (1996) 131-154.

concepts of Turkish nationalism to the general population. This is a preliminary study that addresses the hitherto unstudied propaganda value of Turkish detective fiction. Further studies that attempt to make definitive claims about the actual impact of these and other works will require firm data on publication and circulation numbers as well as accounts, if extant, of whether or not these types of works were, in fact, read aloud in reading rooms, People's Houses, and coffeeshops. This study reveals both the fidelity with which these authors adhered to the Kemalist line and the clear messages with regard to Turkishness found within these works. This study that combines the fields of history and popular culture is one of the few that have been completed in the field of Ottoman and Turkish studies. This type of study unmistakably offers a valuable new lens through which Ottoman and Turkish cultural history can be studied. Now, without further adieu, let us begin our assessment of the Turkish detective fiction on the period between 1928 and 1950.

### *Pire Necmi and the Mystery of the Self-hating Turk*

The first writer we will consider is Cemil Cahit Cem. Cem wrote, under pseudonyms, the two detective series of the 1930s that we will analyse: 1) the Pire Necmi series, and 2) the Cemal Doğan series.<sup>1</sup> Following our analysis we will see the significant influence Cemil Cahit Cem had on establishing the foundation upon which the detective fiction of the 1940s continued to develop Kemalist Turkism in a more subtle, more nuanced fashion. The first series we will consider is Cem's detective fiction series named not after the detective hero, Mehmet Ali, but after the super criminal Pire Necmi. During the period between 1928 and 1950 two different Pire Necmi series appeared. The first, a three-book series published in 1930 by Tefeyyüz Kütüphanesi, was co-written by Cemil Cahit Cem and Rakım Çalapala. Unfortunately, we were not able to locate these three stories so we will not be considering them here. The second series, entitled *The Adventures of Pire Necmi (Pire Necminin Maceraları)* was written between 1928 and 1933 and published in 1933. For this series, Cemil Cahit Cem selected the name Behçet Rıza as a *nom de plume*.<sup>2</sup> Aside from the fact that Cemil Cahit Cem also wrote the first series of vampire stories in Turkish literature in 1931, and that he wrote other detective fiction dime novel series under the pseudonyms Oğuz Turgut and Yavuz Turgut<sup>3</sup> we were unable to uncover any more information about the author.

Now let us turn our attention to *The Adventures of Pire Necmi* series. The series is composed of the following eight books:

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<sup>1</sup> Erol Üyepazarcı, *Korkmayınız Mister Sherlock Holmes!: Türkiye'de Polisiye Romanın 125 Yıllık Öyküsü (1881-2006) 1. Cilt.* (İstanbul: Maceraperest Kitapları, 2008), 205.

<sup>2</sup> Üyepazarcı, 205.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., 204.

1. *Kanlı Bıçak (Bloody Knife)*
2. *Kadın Hırsızı (The Thief of a Woman)*
3. *Haydut Milyoner (The Millionaire Bandit)*
4. *Görülmemiş Cinayet (The Previously Unseen Murder)*
5. *Boğulan Adam (The Man Who Drowned)*
6. *Üç Meçhul Ölü (The Three Unknown Dead)*
7. *Çapkın Periler (The Licentious Fairies)*
8. *Korkunç Bir Gece (One Terrible Night)*

Despite the fact that these stories were written between 1928 and 1933,<sup>4</sup> Behçet Rıza makes a concerted effort to set the stories in the ceasefire (*mütareke*) period (1918-1922)<sup>5</sup> in Istanbul; in order to ensure that his readers are clear on when and where the stories are set, Rıza writes the following on the inner cover page of each and every story in the eight-story series: “During the years of the ceasefire, Pire Necmi was a terrible bandit and a very wily thief who was the blight of Istanbul. His long-running, frightening and interesting struggle with Special Police Detective Mehmet Ali is replete with hitherto unseen incidents.”<sup>6</sup>

By doing this, Behçet Rıza is clearly making an effort to tap into the general ideas and feelings that the population had toward the events of that period. Therefore, we will begin by describing the *mütareke* period of Turkish history and we will also look into

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<sup>4</sup> Üyepazarcı holds that they were written in Ottoman in 1928 and republished in 1933. Üyepazarcı, 204.

<sup>5</sup> The *mütareke* period begins on 30 October 1918 with the signing of the Mudros peace agreement and ends on 1-2 November 1922 with the abolition of the Sultanate.

<sup>6</sup> Behçet Rıza. “Pire Necminin Maceraları.” Translation is mine. (Original reads: “Pire Necmi, mütareke senelerinde İstanbulun başına bela kesilen müthiş bir haydut, çok kurnaz bir hırsızdır. Hususi Polis hafiyesi Mehmet Ali beyle uzun zaman süren korkunç, ve meraklı mücadeleleri, görülmemiş vak’alarla doludur.”)



1930s and 1940s Turkish historiography of both the *mütareke* period and foreign relations with the European powers. Next, as these stories all promote specific positive character traits deemed important to Turkish identity by Kemalist Turkism, we will examine the character traits of the detective, Mehmet Ali, who is beaten in each story by the criminal Pire Necmi, whose character traits we will also examine. As the traits of Pire Necmi are those of a Western-educated Turk, we will also address the theory of education and the way in which education reform in the Ottoman Empire was conducted. Following this we will demonstrate that these stories, in addition to encouraging the Turk to continue to progress while never abandoning the moral fibre each Turk has within himself/herself, introduce an intriguing dimension to our study of Turkish nationalism: they demonstrate the error made by those self-hating Turks who wish to be governed by a foreign power, instead of having faith and confidence in themselves. Hence, Behçet Rıza (Cemil Cahit Cem) illustrates in broad strokes an aspect of character not befitting a proper Kemalist Turk.

It was during the *mütareke* period that Turks residing in major cities were witness to the fact that the importance of Turkish was waning as Greeks, for example, removed both the Turkish subtitles under the headlines in their newspapers and Turkish classes from their schools.<sup>7</sup> Worse than this was the foreign presence. The Western powers were governing in Istanbul and sharpening their knives in preparation for the final segmentation of the Ottoman Empire into colonies for themselves. Of course, in holding with the standard, established pattern of colonialism said colonies would provide raw materials for England and other industrialised European nations.

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<sup>7</sup> Tarık Zafer Tunaya. *Türkiye'de Siyasal Partiler II: Mütareke Dönemi*. (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınevi, 1999), xviii.

Karen Armstrong succinctly summarises the difference in the way this

“modernisation” was perceived in the East and the West as follows:

This colonization was experienced by the agrarian colonies as invasive, disturbing and alien. Modernization was inevitably superficial, since a process that had taken Europe three centuries had to be achieved at top speed. Where modern ideas had time to filter down gradually to all classes of society in Europe, in the colonies only a small number of people, who were members of the upper class and—significantly—the military could receive a Western education and appreciate the dynamic of modernity. The vast majority of the population were left perforce to rot in the old agrarian ethos... Those who had been left outside the modernizing process had the disturbing experience of watching their country become utterly strange...<sup>8</sup>

Not only were the Turks in the ceasefire (*mütareke*) period witness to a sea change in makeup of their home, they also knew of the misleading way in which these European powers had dealt with and negotiated with them in the past.

Republican historiography writes in no uncertain terms of the bad faith in which the European powers occupied Turkey. The beginnings of this, according to Tunaya, were the “secret treaties” between England, France and Russia that decided how the Ottoman Empire was, inevitably, to be divided.<sup>9</sup> King George V gives a sense of this drive to divide when, in an “apparently impromptu” remark to the Russian ambassador in November 1914, he states, “In regard to Constantinople, it is clear that it must be yours.”<sup>10</sup> This deceitfulness and trickery on the part of the European powers is summed up by Tunaya when he says of them, “The vultures are going to attack the wounded body. The vultures’ desires are clear.”<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> Karen Armstrong. *Islam: A Short History*. (Toronto: Random House, Inc., 2002), 144.

<sup>9</sup> Tunaya, 4., and A.L. Macfie. *The End of the Ottoman Empire 1908-1923*. (London and New York: Longman, 1998), 161.

<sup>10</sup> Macfie, 163.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid., xvii. Translation is mine. (Original reads: “Akabalar yaralı vücuda saldıracaklar. Akabaların ne istedikleri belli.”).

But this is not the only example of deceitfulness that the European powers showed to the Ottoman Empire. As recently as 1875 when the Ottoman government formally declared bankruptcy and England and France were instrumental in establishing the Ottoman Public Debt Administration (OPDA), which was formally established in December 1881. When the Ottomans defaulted on the large loan payments they were due to make to their European creditors, England and France headed the charge to use this as a pretext for establishing the OPDA, which essentially took over control of the Ottoman economy and ensured that debt repayment received top priority. This is effectively the beginning of what is now called neo-colonialism wherein a major power uses economic or political means, thereby avoiding the relatively expensive method of occupation, to continue or expand its influence over less developed states or regions, having many of the same consequences as old-fashioned colonialism, examples include changes to culture, education, etc. Neo-colonialism, or in this case the OPDA as a specific example in a neo-colonial context, was strongly resented by the Ottomans and was seen as a power grab.

Another even more recent example of European deceitfulness that was fresh in the collective mind was European underhanded dealings in the Arab provinces of the empire that actually incited the Arabs to revolt against their fellow Muslims and break away from the Ottoman Empire only to be quickly snatched up as colonies by the British and French.<sup>12</sup>

By setting the Pire Necmi stories in the ceasefire (*mütareke*) period, Behçet Rıza was consciously drawing the reader to reconsider that period. A period during which

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<sup>12</sup> For a discussion of this see George Antonius' *The Arab awakening: the story of the Arab national movement*. Beirut: Lebanon Bookshop, 1969.

England physically occupied Istanbul, French, Greek, and Italian forces were invading Anatolia, and the very future of Turkish speakers was in question.

The conviction that Behçet Rıza was writing these stories to communicate ideas to his readers in addition to simply entertaining them is strengthened by the fact that he directly addresses the reader in a number of stories. Some examples of this include the following: 1) “*Look* at what is written in the letter,”<sup>13</sup> 2) “There isn’t one among *you* that does not know Pire Necmi;”<sup>14</sup> 3) “Now *we* are in the top-floor bedroom of the much-in-love couple’s villa in Beykoz;”<sup>15</sup> 4) “Now, if *we* turn *our* eyes in this direction, *we* will understand something;”<sup>16</sup> 5) “*Look* at what they are talking about...;”<sup>17</sup> 6) “*Our readers* will easily be able to guess that this millionaire is none other than Pire Necmi himself,”<sup>18</sup> and finally, 7) “*Dear readers...*The man across from the detective was Pire Necmi. In order for *you* to understand this turn of events, *let us* return to one day before at the time when Pire Necmi was brought to the prison.”<sup>19</sup> Clearly, the author’s purpose in addressing the reader is not to drive the plot forward as it only does so in the final example, nor is it to add vital information, as the examples do not function in that manner. Instead, Rıza is drawing the reader into the story and making said reader feel that the story is being told to him or her personally. This will, certainly, make the reader more attentive to other concepts within the stories as the reader would feel that the concepts expounded in the stories were intended for him or her.

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<sup>13</sup> Behçet Rıza, *Kanlı Bıçak*, 3. Translation and italics are mine.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid., 4. Translation and italics are mine.

<sup>15</sup> Behçet Rıza, *Kadın Hırsızı*, 3. Translation and italics are mine.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid., 13. Translation and italics are mine.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid., 13. Translation and italics are mine.

<sup>18</sup> Behçet Rıza, *Haydut Milyoner*, 7. Translation and italics are mine.

<sup>19</sup> Behçet Rıza, *Görülmemiş Cinayet*, 10. Translation and italics are mine.

Now let us turn to the character traits of the detective hero, Mehmet Ali, and the criminal, Pire Necmi, in which we will see that Rıza develops the concept of what character traits a Turk should have in juxtaposition to those traits that a Turk should not have. Let us begin with the character traits of the heroic detective of the series, Mehmet Ali. Though the title character of these stories is Pire Necmi, the author ensures that his readers root for the detective, Mehmet Ali. One of the ways that Behçet Rıza accomplishes this is through the final sentence of each and every story, which has either Mehmet Ali promising to capture Pire Necmi, or a confirmation of the author's full confidence in Mehmet Ali and his trust that he will capture Pire Necmi.<sup>20</sup> Mehmet Ali is a well-renowned, well-respected detective on the Istanbul Police Force and the public, who have suffered terribly due to the lawlessness that reigned during the ceasefire period, encourage and cheer for Mehmet Ali.

Both Mehmet Ali and Pire Necmi are Turks, but there is a difference between them that Behçet Rıza alludes to in a number of places but nowhere does he make the key difference more obvious than when he informs the reader of the part of Istanbul in which these two characters reside. In the fourth story, *The Previously Unseen Murder*, the reader learns that Mehmet Ali resides in Sultanahmet.<sup>21</sup> This is significant because Sultanahmet is the heart of old Istanbul, the location of Topkapı Palace, the Sublime Porte, and the Blue Mosque. While the part of the city in which Mehmet Ali resides is made clear, we are able to deduce the part of the city in which Pire Necmi resides. In the third story, *The Millionaire Bandit*, Pire Necmi kidnaps Mehmet Ali simply to serve him

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<sup>20</sup> The only story that does not follow this pattern is the second story, *Thief of a Woman*, which ends instead three short paragraphs after Mehmet Ali's promise to "have the last laugh," with the simple statement that Pire Necmi was still on the loose.

<sup>21</sup> Behçet Rıza, *Görülmemiş Cinayet*, 9.

a nice dinner at his villa. We know that the taxi driving Mehmet Ali passes Galatasaray and Taksim heading toward Şişli and continues on this route for ten minutes (“at lightning speed”) before reaching Pire Necmi’s villa,<sup>22</sup> which leads this author to predict that Pire Necmi’s villa is likely in Ortaköy, Arnavutköy, or Bebek. The reader also learns that when Mehmet Ali goes looking for Pire Necmi, his first stop is Galata. Istanbul, famously, was divided into Istanbul and Pera. Istanbul, of which the heart is Sultanahmet, was the Turkish part of the city while Pera, including Galata and even locations along the Bosphorus such as Ortaköy, Arnavutköy, and Bebek, was always seen as the European side of the city, home to European traders and the usually wealthy and highly educated Turks who lived among them. Tarik Zafer Tunaya, who wrote the main work on the ceasefire (*mütareke*) period, states that those who wanted to form a partnership with the foreigners were mostly on the “other side of the bridge,”<sup>23</sup> that is Pera/Beyoğlu. Thus, I propose to analyse the character of Mehmet Ali, who was deliberately established as an inhabitant of old Istanbul (Sultanahmet) as a metaphor for all Turks and the character of Pire Necmi, clearly representative of the wealthy, highly-educated Turk who lives in Pera, as a metaphor for the self-hating Turk. It is in the analysis of Mehmet Ali’s character that we will see the traits that both make Turks great, and ultimately unsuccessful at the hands of those with questionable morals.

Before a discussion of Mehmet Ali’s positive, Turkish traits, we would like to describe his level of fame. The reader is informed about Mehmet Ali’s fame throughout the stories, but two examples stand out. In the first example, found in the first story, the

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<sup>22</sup> Behçet Rıza, *Haydut Milyoner*, 14.

<sup>23</sup> Tarik Zafer Tunaya, xviii.

reader learns that Mehmet Ali's fame spreads around the world.<sup>24</sup> The second example describes the fame he has earned with his abilities in Turkey by stating that this famous detective's many successes are published in the newspapers each and every day.<sup>25</sup>

Now we will address those character traits that lead Mehmet Ali to such levels of success. These traits include his skill, intelligence, dedication, and respect. Once again, as a metaphor for all Turks, Mehmet Ali embodies the traits that all Turks—under the Kemalist conception of Turkism—share and which make them successful. Mehmet Ali's skill is demonstrated regularly in the stories. In *The Millionaire Bandit*, Mehmet Ali shows his policing skills when after just a short conversation with the hotel manager he deduces that the “French millionaire” is actually Pire Necmi in disguise. The speed at which he deduces this surprises even Pire Necmi who comments on how very sharp Mehmet Ali is.<sup>26</sup> Mehmet Ali surprises Pire Necmi once again in *The Previously Unseen Murder* when he and his officers burst into Pire Necmi's room leaving him speechless.<sup>27</sup> It is this skill level that in the previous example allows Mehmet Ali to capture (albeit temporarily) Pire Necmi. In another example of skill, a disguised Mehmet Ali is able to trick one of Pire Necmi's goons, whom he finds drunk in a bar, to reveal information about their next plan. This allows Mehmet Ali to disguise himself as the goon, who is now being held at the police station, and take his place at the crime scene and capture Pire Necmi, who admits that he had no idea that it was Mehmet Ali. Unfortunately for Mehmet Ali—but another point describing his fatal flaw to be discussed below—the girl, with whom Pire Necmi had been having an affair, points a gun at Mehmet Ali and frees

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<sup>24</sup> Behçet Rıza, *Kanlı Bıçak*, 5. Translation is mine. (Original reads: “...İstanbulun, hatta bütün dünyanın meşhur hususi polis hafiyesi Mehmet Ali...”).

<sup>25</sup> Behçet Rıza, *Görülmemiş Cinayet*, 4.

<sup>26</sup> Behçet Rıza, *Haydut Milyoner*, 9-10.

<sup>27</sup> Behçet Rıza, *Görülmemiş Cinayet*, 8.

Pire Necmi.<sup>28</sup> Pire Necmi has a great deal of respect for Mehmet Ali. As we will discuss later and in one instance that Pire Necmi expresses this respect, Behçet Rıza takes the opportunity to state that Mehmet Ali is, in fact, just as skilled as Pire Necmi says and is a detective who exemplifies the art of detective work.<sup>29</sup>

Now generally a writer of detective fiction will spill a good deal of ink in order to establish the intelligence of the detective hero in the reader's mind. However, Behçet Rıza does not specifically do this. Only once throughout the series of eight stories does he refer to Mehmet Ali's intelligence by writing that "Mehmet Ali had been exhausting his extraordinary mind for hours."<sup>30</sup> Instead Rıza portrays Mehmet Ali's dogged dedication to his duties as a detective leaving the reader with the impression that he never rests. In fact, even on his days off Mehmet Ali goes out disguised as a thug to look for crimes and at times actually takes part in the plan so that he can throw those guilty in prison afterwards.<sup>31</sup>

The next trait to consider is the level to which Mehmet Ali is trusted and respected. We see the first example of this in the second story, *The Thief of a Woman*, when both husband, Kemal, and wife, Ferhunde, are terrified because famous supercriminal Pire Necmi has called them to inform them that he plans to steal Ferhunde. The only thing preventing them from falling into a pit of despair is the fact that detective hero Mehmet Ali has agreed to personally protect them and that Pire Necmi is unaware of this.<sup>32</sup> Their faith and trust in Mehmet Ali keep them going. One of the reasons Mehmet Ali is so trusted is that he is such a straight arrow. He demonstrates this quality of his

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<sup>28</sup> Behçet Rıza, *Boğulan Adam*, 9, 13.

<sup>29</sup> Behçet Rıza, *Haydut Milyoner*, 8.

<sup>30</sup> Behçet Rıza, *Üç Meçhul Ölü*, 3. Translation is mine.

<sup>31</sup> Behçet Rıza, *Boğulan Adam*, 5-6.

<sup>32</sup> Behçet Rıza, *Kadın Hırsızı*, 8.



character in the fifth story, *The Man who Drowned*, when he refuses to smoke the marijuana offered to him in one of the well-known hangouts of Pire Necmi and other criminal-types. To just go along and smoke the marijuana would have been the best thing to do to defend the integrity of his disguise and avoid suspicion, but Mehmet Ali willingly puts himself at risk by refusing to do something he feels is wrong.<sup>33</sup> He “smokes” but he does not inhale.<sup>34</sup> Mehmet Ali is respected even by his arch-enemy, Pire Necmi, who, in *The Millionaire Bandit*, explains to his aide the importance of both his disguise and his role-playing being perfect because Mehmet Ali will notice any inconsistencies.<sup>35</sup> The last example of respect that we will mention comes at a very low point for Mehmet Ali. He had just done what had hitherto seemed impossible: he had captured Pire Necmi and put him in prison. Unfortunately, Pire Necmi tricks the guard, who was simply not aware of how clever and how wily Pire Necmi was, into letting him escape. This, obviously, is not Mehmet Ali’s fault and the newspapers write about the capture and escape but end the story by stating that they have no doubt that Mehmet Ali will capture Pire Necmi once again.<sup>36</sup>

So clearly Mehmet Ali demonstrates a number of qualities that are part of the Kemalist prescription for Turkish identity. However, at this point, Behçet Rıza discusses a trait that might not be beneficial for Turks who are in a position of dealing with people of questionable morals. This is Mehmet Ali’s fatal flaw and the reason he is never able to get the better of Pire Necmi. In fact, under different circumstances, this trait is actually a

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<sup>33</sup> In spite of the possible risks he takes by doing this, Mehmet Ali is not suspected or injured in any way.

<sup>34</sup> Behçet Rıza, *Boğulan Adam*, 7. He draws the smoke into his mouth but exhales before it enters his lungs.

<sup>35</sup> Behçet Rıza, *Haydut Milyoner*, 6.

<sup>36</sup> Behçet Rıza, *Görülmemiş Cinayet*, 14-15.

positive human trait but it causes Mehmet Ali to be fooled by Pire Necmi on each and every occasion: his naïveté. But to say naïveté is really to focus on the negative side, which is what we will do here as it is the cause of Mehmet Ali's downfall. However, it is important to note that in the majority of examples of Mehmet Ali's said naïveté what we are really seeing an example of an honour code. In the same way an honourable cowboy would be killed in a duel by a dishonourable cowboy who draws early, Mehmet Ali is defeated by a dishonourable criminal who does not keep his word. This is a key point to which we will return later.

One example of this occurs in *The Bloody Knife* when Pire Necmi calls Mehmet Ali to inform him that he plans to rob the bank the following day at three in the afternoon. Mehmet Ali spends the entire following day with the bank manager prepared to capture Pire Necmi. The problem is that Pire Necmi had already robbed the bank the previous day but nobody knew this.<sup>37</sup> In another example, Pire Necmi sneaks into Mehmet Ali's house to gloat about his latest escapade and Mehmet Ali pulls his gun on him and threatens to kill him if he makes even the slightest move. Now Mehmet Ali has Pire Necmi. All he needs to do is handcuff him and bring him to the police station, but Pire Necmi laughs and says "...do you really think that I would come to my greatest adversary's house without backup?"<sup>38</sup> At this point Mehmet Ali turns around to check and, in that moment, Pire Necmi hits Mehmet Ali knocking him out. Yet again, Mehmet Ali is defeated by a lie since Pire Necmi was, in fact, alone.

So Mehmet Ali is defeated by lies on the one hand, but on the other hand, he is defeated by his refusal to call for assistance. He often would benefit by having the help of

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<sup>37</sup> Behçet Rıza, *Kanlı Bıçak*, 7-10.

<sup>38</sup> Behçet Rıza, *Görülmemiş Cinayet*, 13. Translation is mine.

other officers, but refuses to call them. This is intriguing because in the only example in which Mehmet Ali captures Pire Necmi, albeit temporarily, he has the assistance of several other police officers. In the second story, *Thief of a Woman*, Pire Necmi has promised to break into a mansion to steal the beautiful wife of a young businessman, the previously mentioned characters Ferhunde and Kemal. Mehmet Ali, who was contacted by Kemal, decides to spend the night at the mansion. This time Pire Necmi comes as he said he would, but since he has brought four bandits with him, they easily overpower Mehmet Ali and kidnap the woman. If, however, Mehmet Ali had come with backup, this reader suspects that the outcome would have been different.<sup>39</sup> Another example of a situation in which Mehmet Ali could have used backup comes in *The Three Unknown Dead*. He enters the house of a man who was carrying, and claims to have found, a package in which a severed head is found. As Mehmet Ali is alone, he is quickly attacked. He valiantly fights off three of his attackers, but in the process a fourth slips a sack over his head and he is captured.<sup>40</sup> Once again the reader suspects that this would not have occurred had Mehmet Ali gone to the suspect's house with backup.

So what can be said about Mehmet Ali's fatal flaw. Well, first of all, it appears that he is too trusting. This again is generally perceived to be a positive trait and Mehmet Ali is never derided for having it. However, this author believes that Behçet Rıza is making a distinction with regard to this character trait. On the one hand, a Turk should be honest and, as an honest individual, should not suspect dishonesty in others. Then again, if the Turk is in the position of dealing with people of questionable morals, examples include criminals and European ambassadors and negotiators, whose deviousness was

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<sup>39</sup> Behçet Rıza, *Kadın Hırsızı*, 12.

<sup>40</sup> Behçet Rıza, *Üç Meçhul Ölü*, 6-7.

explained above, the Turk must expect to be lied to and be prepared for that eventuality. The other point that is made quite clear both in the examples of Mehmet Ali's failures and to his one example of success: the Turk must fight the urge to go it alone and call for help from his compatriots.

Now let us address the character traits of Pire Necmi, the symbolic self-hating Turk. Before delving into these traits, we must comment on one point. To be a "self-hating Turk" does not mean that the person hates himself. He may, in fact be quite pleased with himself and motivated to improve and become wealthier, etc. A "self-hating Turk" is a Turk who would prefer to view himself or herself as a Westerner. He or she is quick to adopt the clothing and the habits of the Westerner, and is often educated in foreign schools. Long before Edward Said began to discuss the topic of Orientalism, Turks had an expression that summed this phenomenon up nicely: *Yumurtadan çıkmış kabuğunu beğenmemiş*, which roughly translates into 'he who hatched from an egg and turned his nose up at his shell;' in this metaphor the eggshell represents the ancestry and culture into which one is born (*hatched*). It is these generally wealthy, foreign-educated Turks, who turned their backs on their nation and became members of groups like The Friends of England (*İngiliz Muhipler Cemiyeti*), which worked to strengthen the British presence in the empire during the ceasefire (*mütareke*) period,<sup>41</sup> that Behçet Rıza is warning against.

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<sup>41</sup> Cengiz Dönmez. *Milli Mücadele'ye karşı bir cemiyet: İngiliz Muhibleri Cemiyeti*. (Ankara: Atatürk Kültür, Dil ve Tarih Yüksek Kurumu, Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi, 1999), 108-109, and Fethi Tevetoglu. *Milli Mücadele yıllarındaki kuruluşlar: Karakol Cemiyeti, Türkiye'de İngiliz Muhibleri Cemiyeti, Wilson Prensipleri Cemiyeti, Yeşilordu Cemiyeti*. (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1988), 71, 75, and İngiliz Muhipler Cemiyeti. [http://tr.wikipedia.org/wiki/%C4%B0ngiliz\\_Muhipler\\_Cemiyeti](http://tr.wikipedia.org/wiki/%C4%B0ngiliz_Muhipler_Cemiyeti) (accessed 20 July 2010).

We know that Pire Necmi was educated in a Western school because, as we learn in *The Millionaire Bandit*, he speaks French perfectly.<sup>42</sup> As such, at this juncture, we must briefly address the subject of education. The educational reform in Western Europe—beginning in the 1870s in France and in the 1850s in England<sup>43</sup>— was driven by industrialists in order to fortify their newly-gained status in society.<sup>44</sup> The changes made to these education systems “perpetuated and reinforced the hierarchic organization of their societies.”<sup>45</sup> Müller, Ringer and Simon confirm that the French education system, which would form the basis of the reformed Ottoman education system,<sup>46</sup> was also marked by this aforementioned segmentation of classes in society.<sup>47</sup> In fact, it is generally agreed that both European and American education systems aim to segment society by reproducing aspects of inequality.<sup>48</sup> Gramsci confirms the internal logic underlying this, writing “schools create and recreate forms of consciousness that enable social control to be maintained without the necessity of...overt mechanisms of domination.”<sup>49</sup> In addition, Noam Chomsky, while discussing the difference between totalitarian and democratic states, says that command states are “run by a bludgeon...the state controls, everybody basically follows orders.”<sup>50</sup> Democratic states, however, cannot function in the same way,

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<sup>42</sup> Behçet Rıza, *Haydut Milyoner*, 4.

<sup>43</sup> Detlef K. Müller, Fritz Ringer, Brian Simon. *The Rise of the Modern Educational System: Structural Change and Social Reproduction, 1870-1920*. (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press; Paris: Editions de la maison des sciences de l’homme, 1987), 60.

<sup>44</sup> Ibid., 90.

<sup>45</sup> Ibid., 3.

<sup>46</sup> Benjamin Fortna. *Imperial classroom: Islam, the state, and education in the late Ottoman Empire*. (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), 372.

<sup>47</sup> Müller, et. al., 53.

<sup>48</sup> Michael W. Apple. *Ideology and curriculum*. (New York: Routledge Falmer, 2004), 2.

<sup>49</sup> Ibid.

<sup>50</sup> Noam Chomsky. “Selections,” <http://www.chomsky.info/books/dissent02.htm> (accessed 18 July 2010).

that is by bludgeoning those who do not toe the party line. Instead, the democratic state has to control what people think.<sup>51</sup>

This all fits with the function of education. Students unconsciously internalise the principles governing the existing social order. This is, of course, by design as “the fundamental concern of the people in the curricular field was that of social control.”<sup>52</sup> As such, the education system and propaganda both within and outside of the education system allow the state to control the thought and behaviour of its citizens. But, how did this affect Turkish students who were educated in Western schools either in the Ottoman Empire or in Europe? Well, we see an early tangible example of a bifurcation when we look at the debates revolving around the idea of reinstating the constitution in 1876. “Many Ottomans, *especially if they had been educated in Western schools*” Goldschmidt writes, “felt that the only way to *save the Ottoman Empire* was to restore the 1876 constitution.”<sup>53</sup> In light of the preceding discussion, the fact that Western-educated Turks would support the overthrow of the Ottoman Sultan, Abdülhamid II (r. 1876-1909) and the re-establishment of a Western-informed constitution should come as no surprise.

Returning to Rıza’s characterisations, we see the scorn with which Pire Necmi looks upon traditional Turks. Pire Necmi sets himself apart from traditional Turks as we see in a comment he makes about a Turkish shop owner who keeps his money in a safe instead of a bank: ““The joker is a traditional Turk. He hasn’t experience of banks and bank accounts. Whatever money he puts his hands on he stuffs into his safe...”<sup>54</sup> This

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<sup>51</sup> Ibid.

<sup>52</sup> Apple, 44.

<sup>53</sup> Arthur Goldschmidt Jr. *A concise history of the Middle East*. (Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 2002), 185. Italics are mine.

<sup>54</sup> Behçet Rıza, *Üç Meçhul Ölü*, 11. Translation is mine. (Original reads: ““Herif alaturka adam. Banka ile hesap gördüğü yok. Eline geçen parayı dolduruyor kasasına...””).

comment is packed with derision and ridicule. Pire Necmi sees traditional Turks as uneducated and unrefined and unaware of developments in the world. Plus, Pire Necmi demonstrates a number of other traits that identify him with those Turks who live on the “other side of the bridge” or their European idols. Pire Necmi is a bullying, greedy, arrogant, deliberately deceptive, charismatic individual. All of these are traits that a Turk of the period might use to describe a European. Turks in a position to know, examples include politicians and journalists, were well aware of the bullying nature of European ambassadors to Turkey.<sup>55</sup> Virtually anyone in the region who even superficially followed current events would be well aware of European greed and arrogance. Arabs in particular, as the wound was still fresh, and many Turks would have a keen understanding of European, especially British, deception.<sup>56</sup> This leaves charisma. I believe that with the charisma Behçet Rıza has bestowed upon Pire Necmi, he is referring to the charisma that the self-hating Turk may have enjoyed in ceasefire-period Istanbul. That is, the self-hating Turk would be wearing European clothing, smoking European cigarettes, listening to European music, and drinking European spirits. All this added together would send out two distinct signals: 1) the conspicuous consumption would be a sign of wealth, and 2) the mix of Turk and foreigner would offer a level of comfort mixed with a certain amount of adventure that comes with a difference in culture. These two factors would very likely increase the self-hating Turk’s level of charisma toward the opposite sex. With a look at

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<sup>55</sup> Even as far back as the early nineteenth century and the famous British ambassador, Stratford Canning, who despite spending a significant portion of his long life in Turkey only managed to learn the expression “Hadi bakalım,” which he would use to intimidate—or so he took pleasure in thinking—lower level Turks in the administration.

<sup>56</sup> For a detailed description of deliberate British deception from the Arab perspective see Antonius’ *The Arab Awakening*.

the reasons for such a characterisation, let us look at examples of these traits in Pire Necmi.

Interestingly, Pire Necmi's bullying nature is only described in the first two stories, *The Bloody Knife* and *The Thief of Women*. Following these first two stories, we do not encounter this trait again. However, the examples in the first two stories are so abrasive that they leave an indelible mark on the reader's mind. In the first story, Pire Necmi, in a letter to the manager of the bank he plans to rob, informs him of both his request to have five hundred thousand lira delivered to the place of his choice, and the fact that if he contacts the police he will face "a terrible punishment:" the bank will be robbed anyway and he will be killed.<sup>57</sup> Needless to say, as it would not have made for much of a detective story otherwise, the bank manager disobeys Pire Necmi's command and contacts Mehmet Ali. Unfortunately for him, Pire Necmi backs his word to the letter and kills the bank manager and robs the bank. However, just prior to killing the bank manager, Pire Necmi says "Do you see that, Mr. Bank Manager? I warned you that if you give me up you would die, naturally you didn't forget. Take this!" and stabs him in the heart.<sup>58</sup> The second and final example of Pire Necmi's bullying occurs in the second story when he phones the home of the happy newlywed couple, Kemal and Ferhunde. When Kemal answers the phone, Necmi asks to speak to Ferhunde and tells her that he has seen her and wants to spend one night—the following night—with her and that he will pick her up at the ferry pier. This phone call is followed up by a letter, which is tied to the rock that flies through their bedroom window, listing the threats on condition of non-compliance beginning with Necmi's solemn promise to do what he says he will do if

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<sup>57</sup> Behçet Rıza, *Kanlı Bıçak*, 4.

<sup>58</sup> Ibid., 9. Translation is mine. (Original reads: "Gördün mü director efendi sana tenbih etmişim, beni ele verirsen ölürsün demişim tabii unutmamışsındır...Al!..").



his conditions are not met. Pire Necmi simply says that he will kill Kemal if he does not ensure that his wife is at the ferry pier at the appointed time with all the valuables of the house.<sup>59</sup> Again, this would not have made for much of a detective story with no detective involved so, of course, Kemal contacts Mehmet Ali and, as a result, he faces the ultimate punishment at the hands of Pire Necmi for doing so.<sup>60</sup> Thus, the reader is introduced to a character that is not only threatening, but also punishes non-compliance with his wishes to the letter. This is a fairly succinct description of European (especially British and French) practices in dealings with non-European states all over the world—some particular examples would be North America, India, and North Africa. What it also shows, especially in the example of wife stealing, is Pire Necmi’s complete disregard for morals and his sheer greed, which we will address next.

Pire Necmi’s greed is exemplified in most of the stories, but the author directly comments upon this greed on a couple of occasions. The first time Behçet Rıza mentions Necmi’s greed is in the first story, *The Bloody Knife*, when he writes “Nobody has escaped his grasp. He traps everyone with a myriad of unthinkable tricks. His desires are diverse: at times money, at times jewels, at times antiques, at times women, at times simply blood!”<sup>61</sup> So, basically, his greed knows no bounds. The second example of the author’s discussion of Pire Necmi’s greed comes in the fourth story, *The Previously Unseen Murder*, when Behçet Rıza writes: “This terrible robber, who has tormented all of Istanbul for months, who has left no safe untouched, and no man unharmed; this head of

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<sup>59</sup> Behçet Rıza, *The Thief of a Woman*, 6-7.

<sup>60</sup> Ibid., 16.

<sup>61</sup> Behçet Rıza, *The Bloody Knife*, 4. Translation is mine. (Original reads: “Onun elinden kurtulan zengin, avucundan sıyrılan güzel yoktu. Herkesi akıllara gelmiyen binbir desise ile avucuna düşürür. Muhtelif şeyler isterdi: bazan para, bazan mücevher, bazan eski eserler, bazan kadın, bazan da sadece [sic] kan!”)

the executioners answered with a joyful laugh.”<sup>62</sup> In the next story, *The Man Who Drowned*, Pire Necmi proudly announces his own avarice as follows: ““In a couple of hours a few hundred thousand lira more will be added to my millions.””<sup>63</sup> In so doing, Pire Necmi both reaffirms his greed and introduces us to our next trait: his arrogance.

We have already alluded to Pire Necmi’s arrogance as exemplified in the first two stories. To remind, in the first story, he writes a letter demanding five hundred thousand liras to the manager of a bank and threatens him if he shows the audacity to contact the police. In the second story, he has the arrogance to request that a newly married man turn his wife over to him for one night! What kind of a man would make such requests? Only a supremely arrogant man would have the audacity to make such demands. But in the first story Pire Necmi goes even further: he has the impudence to actually contact Mehmet Ali and tell him of his plan to rob the bank.<sup>64</sup> This shows a shocking level of confidence that clearly crosses the boundary into arrogance. Pire Necmi again shows his arrogance when, after escaping from prison, he enters Mehmet Ali’s house to gloat about his victory. When Mehmet Ali pulls his gun on him, Pire Necmi simply laughs and tricks Mehmet Ali into looking behind him at which point Pire Necmi knocks him out.<sup>65</sup> The whole idea of going unarmed to the home of the police officer that captured you simply to brag about escaping is an act dripping with arrogance. In the sixth story, *The Three Unknown Dead*, Pire Necmi returns to his arrogant habit of giving Mehmet Ali

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<sup>62</sup> Behçet Rıza, *Görölmemiş Cinayet*, 7. Translation is mine. (Original reads: “Müthiş hırsız, bütün İstanbullu aylardan beri kasıp kavuran, elini sokmadığı kasa, canına kıymadığı adam bırakmıyan cellatlar başı tez ve şen kâhkahasile cevap verdi...”)

<sup>63</sup> Behçet Rıza, *Boğulan Adam*, 4-5. Translation is mine.

<sup>64</sup> Behçet Rıza, *Kanlı Bıçak*, 7.

<sup>65</sup> Behçet Rıza, *Görölmemiş Cinayet*, 13.

forewarning of his next crime, in this case he gives Mehmet Ali the name and address of the store he plans to rob.<sup>66</sup>

Pire Necmi does rob the store, but as we saw previously he deliberately misled Mehmet Ali by telling him of his plan to rob the bank the following day at three in the afternoon when, in fact, he robbed the bank that night. Pire Necmi is deliberately deceptive on a number of occasions throughout these stories and this author believes Behçet Rıza has characterised Pire Necmi as such to further link him with Europeans. Let us look at some examples of Necmi's deception. As previously mentioned, in the second story, *The Thief of a Woman*, Pire Necmi had sworn to kill the husband, Kemal, if he involved the police. He later tells Mehmet Ali that he has decided not to kill him as losing his wife, who fell in love with Pire Necmi—discussed further below—was enough of a punishment for him. This turns out to be a lie because he does kill Kemal.<sup>67</sup> These deceptions in the form of specifically doing what he has promised not to do would clearly strike a nerve with the readership. They would remember British promises to work toward protecting the integrity of the Ottoman Empire and then go ahead and convince the Arabs to revolt in addition to their secret treaties to divide the empire up amongst themselves and their European allies.

The final trait I would like to address is Pire Necmi's charisma. As previously discussed, this charisma may have been an oft-experienced phenomenon by self-hating Turks during the ceasefire period as the conspicuous consumption of European goods that would indicate wealth, and the promise of mystery wrapped in a cover of familiarity would have its appeal to the opposite sex. The first example of this comes in the second

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<sup>66</sup> Behçet Rıza, *Üç Meçhul Ölü*, 10-11.

<sup>67</sup> Behçet Rıza, *Kadın Hırsız*, 15-16.

story, *The Thief of a Woman*, when, as mentioned, Pire Necmi steals the happily newlywed Ferhunde from her husband Kemal. Initially, Ferhunde is disgusted by Pire Necmi, but then we begin to see a change when she looks into his eyes and thinks about the adventurous life he leads the initial hate turns to a mixture of hate and adoration (*nefret ve hayranlık*) and possibly even love (*sevgi*). Then upon seeing his beautiful villa that is decorated like a palace with foreign furniture, she begins to think about staying there.<sup>68</sup> This is the charisma of Pire Necmi I have been describing. One in which wealth and adventure mix in such a way as to charm and hex women into thinking they are in love. At other times in the stories, Pire Necmi's charisma is attributed to his own personal attributes like his eyes or his demeanor. This charisma was so powerful that in *The Man who Drowned* Pire Necmi's 'love interest' actually holds a gun to Mehmet Ali thereby allowing Pire Necmi to escape.<sup>69</sup>

In these ways, Behçet Rıza paints a picture of a self-hating Turk who has adopted the character traits of Europeans that make him a bullying, greedy, arrogant, deliberately deceptive, charismatic individual. He is also an extremely dangerous individual whom people should and do fear. By extension, Behçet Rıza is cautioning Turks against becoming one of these people or being influenced by these people. As foreign schools remained popular in Turkey during the 1930s and 1940s, this would have been an effort to remind students of all the positive traits of Turks as exemplified by the heroic detective hero, Mehmet Ali, including skill, intelligence, dedication, and respect. It is also a warning to Turks who may come in contact with self-hating Turks to control their

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<sup>68</sup> Behçet Rıza, *Kadın Hırsızı*, 13-14.

<sup>69</sup> Behçet Rıza, *Boğulan Adam*, 14.

naïveté, which is the common weakness in a cold, cruel world of the honourable, trusting individual.

***Homeland Security: Cem's detective hero Cemal Doğan instructs Turks how to protect Turkish sovereignty***

In this chapter we will analyse Cemil Cahit Cem's second major contribution to the spreading of concepts of Kemalist Turkism to Turks through the vehicle of detective fiction.<sup>1</sup> While in his Pire Necmi series he (as Behçet Rıza)<sup>2</sup> explored the dangers brought upon Turkey by Turks who sided with and/or identified with the invading foreign powers during the ceasefire (*mütareke*), Cemil Cahit Cem (this time writing as Oğuz Turgut)<sup>3</sup> promotes positive Turkish character traits, rationalism, and xenophobia in his Cemal Doğan series. We will see that Cem is providing a blueprint to Turks on how to protect Turkish sovereignty.

In his speech on 29 October 1923, Mustafa Kemal (Atatürk) appeared to make his position on xenophobia (*yabancı düşmanlığı*) clear when he stated ““Let it be known that not only do we not have any hostile feelings against foreigners, but we desire to be in close relations with them. Turks are friends of all civilised peoples.””<sup>4</sup> Yet, just a few sentences later he hinted at the feelings that would come to the forefront in the 1930s when he proceeded to say, ““If in recent years we have changed our path, you must accept that this is not our fault. You [Europe] forced us.””<sup>5</sup> Or just a paragraph later Kemal, in stronger terms, stated, ““The old agreements brought our country to poverty

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<sup>1</sup> While I argue that this series is an important foundational work in the development and spreading of Turkism to the population, Üyepazarcı is critical of its quality as detective fiction, calling it “a naïve work” (Üyepazarcı, 206).

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., 205.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., 205.

<sup>4</sup> Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi.

<http://www.atam.gov.tr/index.php?Page=SoylevDemecler&IcerikNo=177> (accessed 7 July 2010). Translation is mine.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid. Translation is mine.

and wreckage.”<sup>6</sup> From which he went on to admit that in fact ““it can be said that we are xenophobes.””<sup>7</sup> Thus, in a somewhat befuddled fashion, Kemal begins with a clear statement of the line he intended for Turkey and Turks to take in relations with foreigners, but also highlights the tension that existed in the country in the early 1920s. This foreshadows the swing of the pendulum toward xenophobia during the 1930s.

Of course, Turkey was among a number of countries—those most specifically in Turkey’s sightline being Germany and Italy—to go through a highly racist period in the 1930s and 1940s. Mahmut Esat Bozkurt even writes in *The Revolution of Atatürk* (*Atatürk ihtilali*) “that German National Socialism and Italian Fascism are nothing other than versions of Atatürk’s regime.”<sup>8</sup> According to Ahmet Oktay, some Turkish intellectuals working on the Sun Language Theory<sup>9</sup> and the Turkish History Thesis,<sup>10</sup> “both highly Turko-centric visions of human history,”<sup>11</sup> were influenced by and tried to incorporate the racism of the period in Europe into their works.<sup>12</sup> Recep Peker, a “staunch nationalist” appointed as the CHP’s Secretary General by Mustafa Kemal (Atatürk) on 3 March 1931,<sup>13</sup> gave lectures at Istanbul University during the academic year 1934-35 in which he focused on ideas of race and blood. He discussed the sublime nature of Turkish

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<sup>6</sup> Ibid. Translation is mine.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid. Translation is mine.

<sup>8</sup> Hans-Lukas Kieser. *A Quest for Belonging: Anatolia Beyond Empire and Nation (19<sup>th</sup>-21<sup>st</sup> Centuries)*. (Istanbul: The Isis Press, 2007), 243.

<sup>9</sup> For further reading see Geoffrey Lewis. *The Turkish language reform: a catastrophic success*. (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 57-74.

<sup>10</sup> For further reading see Tom Everett-Heath. *Central Asia: aspects of transition*. (London; New York: RoutledgeCurzon, 2003), 89, and and Ibrahim Kaya. *Social theory and later modernities: the Turkish experience*. (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2004), 65.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid., 242.

<sup>12</sup> Ahmet Oktay. *Cumhuriyet Dönemi Edebiyatı 1923-1950*. (Ankara: Etis Yayınları Ltd; 1993), 58.

<sup>13</sup> Soner Çağaptay. *Islam, Secularism, and Nationalism in Modern Turkey: Who is a Turk?* (London and New York: Routledge, 2006), 43.

blood (*Türk ulusunun kanındaki yücelikten geliyordu*) and also how Turkish blood had remained “clean” throughout all the “noise” of the twentieth century (*Türk kanı bütün bu gürültüler içinde temiz kalmıştı*).<sup>14</sup> Peker was by no means alone in his views. Mahmut Esat (Bozkurt), who was appointed Minister of Justice in 1924 and introduced the Swiss Civil Code to Turkey two years later,<sup>15</sup> showed his xenophobia when, during the Kurdish uprising of 1930, “he went as far as to say: ‘All, friends, enemies and the mountains shall know that the Turk is the master of this country. All those who are not pure Turks have only one right in the Turkish homeland: the right to be servants, the right to be slaves.’”<sup>16</sup> This was not an isolated incident as Bozkurt often “made enthusiastic and exaggerated statements like ‘all for the Turks’; ‘total Turkism’; ‘first the Turks, then humanity, and finally the others’; and—openly anti-Semitic—‘For me a Turk has more value than all the Jews of this world.’”<sup>17</sup> With such examples of xenophobia coming from two high-ranking officials in the Republican People's Party (*Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi* – CHP), one can see that xenophobia formed a significant part of the *zeitgeist* of Turkey in the 1930s.

So while most of the 1930s was defined by fierce xenophobia, in 1939 now-President İsmet İnönü, in what Çağaptay refers to as the beginning of a new era of “High Kemalism,”<sup>18</sup> began to change this. In this “new phase” of Kemalism, İnönü faced “a new set of domestic and international circumstances,” such as “external threats, and a deep economic slump.”<sup>19</sup> While the High Kemalism of 1931 to 1938 had established an “ethno-racial definition of the Turkish nation,” İnönü had to accept that “Turkey was not

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<sup>14</sup> Oktay, 58.

<sup>15</sup> Kieser, 241.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid., 241.

<sup>17</sup> Kieser, 244.

<sup>18</sup> Çağaptay, 56.

<sup>19</sup> Çağaptay, 56.



an ethnically homogenous state.”<sup>20</sup> How would Kemalist nationalism manage this diversity? Kemalist nationalism did allow for voluntary assimilation.<sup>21</sup> A shift toward a concept of nationalism with emphasis on the Turkish language began to develop in the 1930s with the help of Avram Galanti, a Turk of Jewish origin who encouraged other Jews to learn and speak Turkish in order to assimilate. In his *Citizen Speak Turkish! (Vatandaş Türkçe Konuş!)*, Galanti discusses the position of minorities in the Ottoman Empire and the Republic of Turkey and explains the need for Turkish to be spoken in Turkey. He goes on to give examples of minority Jewish populations in other countries (Greece, Bulgaria, and Serbia) who had abandoned both Hebrew and Spanish in favour of Greek, Bulgarian or Serbian. Galanti concludes with a strong recommendation that the Jewish schools in Turkey teach Turkish in order to enable Jews to become Turkicised (*Türkleşmek*).<sup>22</sup> This concept gained intellectual force over the course of the decade, and İnönü later went on to clarify the “new” official position when he stated in his famous speech of 19 May 1944 “we are enemies of the principle of racism; recently, the idea of pan-Turanism has shown it to be harmful and diseased”<sup>23</sup> (*ırkçılık prensibinin düşmanınız, Turancılık fikri, yine son zamanların zararlı ve hastalıklı gösterisidir*). A.N. Kırmacı confirms that this shift in policy actually did occur during İnönü’s presidency when he writes, “The extremely egocentric, isolationist wing of the nationalist movement,” which he confirms “had strong traces of racism,” continued to prevail “in Turkey until the end of World War II.”<sup>24</sup> In our discussion of Turkish detective fiction of

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<sup>20</sup> Ibid., 57.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid., 63.

<sup>22</sup> Avram Galanti. *Vatandaş Türkçe Konuş!*, trans. Ömer Türkoğlu Kızılay. (Ankara: Kebikeç Yayınları, 2000), 46-47.

<sup>23</sup> Oktay, 61.

<sup>24</sup> A.N. Kırmacı. “Nationalism-Racism-Turanism in Turkey,” *Political and Social*

the 1940s, we shall see that xenophobia does not appear and racism is circumscribed,<sup>25</sup> but that will be discussed further below.

As Cemil Cahit Cem wrote both the Pire Necmi and Cemal Doğan series in the 1930s, we will view both as a product of the times. For this series, *The Series of Suspenseful Novels (Meraklı Romanlar Serisi)*, Cemil Cahit Cem uses the pseudonym Oğuz Turgut.<sup>26</sup> This ten-volume series, which carries the subtitle *S.O.S: 13* on the cover page of all but the first story in reference to the name of the international spy ring in the novels, was published by Tefeyyüz Publishing in 1932 and the ten novels of the series are:

- 1) *Esrar İçinde (Inside the Mystery)*
- 2) *Canlı İskelet (The Living Skeleton)*
- 3) *Esrarengiz Otomobil (The Mysterious Automobile)*
- 4) *Ölüm Kuyusu (The Pit of Death)*
- 5) *Kanlı Vesika (The Bloody Document)*
- 6) *Perili Ev (The Haunted House)*
- 7) *Hayaletler Arasında (Among the Ghosts)*
- 8) *Katil kim? (Who is the Killer?)*
- 9) *Kesik kafa (The Severed Head)*
- 10) *Parmak izi (The Fingerprint)*

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*Thought in the Contemporary Middle East*, edited by Kemal H. Karpat. (New York: Praeger, 1968), 361.

<sup>25</sup> While racism was a prominent theme in the two detective series of the 1930s, it only played a secondary role in characterizing the villains in Murat Akdoğan's detective series of the 1940s.

<sup>26</sup> Erol Üyepazarcı, 205.

These ten novels tell the continuing story of Cemal Doğan, who graduated from the French-language Galatasaray High School, spent five years in Europe<sup>27</sup> completing his diploma only to return to Istanbul to witness an attempted murder that actually leads him to an international spy ring. Cemal, from a family of pure-blooded Turks,<sup>28</sup> rushes to the aid of the nearly dead woman, brings her to his home and begins to nurse her back to health. At the same time, he begins an investigation of his own motivated by the concern that the woman may not be out of danger yet. It is in the course of this investigation that Cemal Doğan ends up facing and defeating S.O.S: 13.

Like the Pire Necmi series, the character of Cemal Doğan, who is not actually a police officer or a detective, but a ‘regular’ Turk, embodies a number of the positive character traits that detective hero Mehmet Ali had displayed. This series also develops a number of other ideas including an endorsement of rationalism and a further promotion, like in the Pire Necmi series, of the idea that European foreigners are often enemies of Turkey. As he did in the Pire Necmi series, Cemil Cahit Cem makes his intent to communicate these ideas to Turks clear by regularly addressing the reader. Our analysis of the Cemal Doğan series will begin with an account of this use of reader address. Once Oğuz Turgut’s intent to communicate directly with Turks has been established, we shall move on to analyse Cemal Doğan’s positive Turkish traits. Following this, we will describe Turgut’s coverage of the subject of rationalism, and conclude with an in-depth analysis of the xenophobia displayed in these novels. This chapter will conclude with a summary of the ways in which Cemil Cahit Cem set the foundation for later works of

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<sup>27</sup> It is important to note that despite attending a French school in Istanbul and spending five years in Europe, Cemal Doğan has none of the predilections of the ‘self-hating Turk’ Cem warns against in the Pire Necmi series.

<sup>28</sup> Oğuz Turgut. *Esrar İçinde*, 14. (Original reads: “Bu aile su katılmamış türktür.”).

detective fiction to set off from, develop, and add greater nuance to. This development is exemplified by the work of Murat Akdoğan, who contributes further to the positive portrayal of Turks and the idea of foreigners being villains in his personification of villains in the Orhan Çakıroğlu series, and the work of A. Samancıgil, who develops the idea of rationalism and focuses on promoting the idea to children in his Hızır Kaplan series.

I will begin my analysis of Oğuz Turgut and his detective fiction series with a look at the examples of reader address. As discussed above, the way in which the author addresses the reader provides information about the intent of the author. In the case of detective fiction that is loaded with nationalistic concepts, I maintain that the reader address serves to notify the reader to pay special attention because the work he or she is reading intends to directly communicate ideas to him or her. The reader will note the use of such reader address in a number of places in this series. I will provide some examples of this below.

In the second novel, *The Living Skeleton*, Oğuz Turgut writes, “(you) read this newspaper story I found in the police cases column of the newspaper one morning.”<sup>29</sup> This encouragement to read directed at the reader shows Turgut’s intention to speak directly to the reader through his writings. Turgut goes on in the same story to attempt to make the reader feel like he or she is linked to and shares a common goal with him when he writes, “in time we will understand.”<sup>30</sup> Later in the same novel when Turgut introduces us to the criminal mastermind behind the international spy ring, he writes, “Dear readers, if we go into this room *together*, we will encounter an extraordinary creature neither seen

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<sup>29</sup> Oğuz Turgut. *Canlı İskelet*, 3. Translation and italics are mine. (Original reads: “Bir sabah, gazetesinin zabıta vukuatı sütunundan aldığım şu parçayı okuyunuz.”).

<sup>30</sup> Ibid., 5. Translation and italics are mine. (Original reads: “...zamanla anlayacağız”).

nor known of in previous centuries. It is S.O.S: 13. Yes, the person sitting in the chair directly in front of *us* is S.O.S: 13. (You) *look...*”<sup>31</sup> All three of these reader addresses occur early in the series and establish the author’s intent to communicate directly with his readers.

In the following novel, *The Mysterious Automobile*, Turgut continues his reader addresses, writing “*My dear readers* know what follows this. However, there is one important thing that they do not know and I will explain now.”<sup>32</sup> This passage has the benefit of two functions: first, it confirms the bond between author and reader, and second, it drives the plot forward by introducing new information.

In the next story, *The Pit of Death*, Turgut addresses the reader again. “This, *our* adventure’s hero,” writes Turgut “is none other than Cemal Doğan.”<sup>33</sup> Or again in the next story, *The Bloody Document*, when he encourages his readers to be attentive as follows: “If *we* pay just a little more attention, *we* will recognise this man...”<sup>34</sup> Or finally, when Turgut writes of his readers and how he is unable to answer their question at this time: “Why, I wonder, didn’t this unknown man call [bank manager] Mr. Selim? For now *we* cannot answer this question.”<sup>35</sup>

These examples demonstrate a pattern in Turgut’s writing that underlies his authorial intent to communicate directly with his readers. With this intent established we shall proceed to discuss what it was that Turgut wished to communicate. As previously

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<sup>31</sup> Ibid., 23. Translation and italics are mine. (Original reads: “aziz okuyucular, sizinle şu odaya girersek bundan evvelki asırların görüp bilmedikleri harikulade bir mahluka karşılayacağız. Bu S.O.S: 13 tür. Evet işte tam karşımızdaki koltukta oturan insan S.O.S: 13 tür. Bakınız...”).

<sup>32</sup> Turgut. *Esrarengiz Otomobil*, 28. Translation and italics are mine.

<sup>33</sup> Turgut. *Ölüm Kuyusu*, 15. Translation and italics are mine.

<sup>34</sup> Turgut. *Kanlı Vesika*, 23. Translation and italics are mine.

<sup>35</sup> Turgut. *Katil kim?*, 25, 10. Translation and italics are mine.

mentioned, there are three main points on which he focuses: first, Turgut highlights some positive character traits that Turks should hold; second, he begins the promotion of rationalism, or the idea that there is a rational explanation for everything that occurs in the world, and third, he gives his xenophobic message that foreigners are often enemies of Turkey and are not to be trusted.

Let us begin by analysing the positive Turkish traits exemplified by Cemal Doğan in this series. While Cemal is not a police officer or detective, he does have the cleverness required to be a detective hero. Oğuz Turgut provides a couple of examples to demonstrate this. First, in *Inside the Mystery*, Turgut explains that Cemal did not remove the knife from the body of the near-dead woman he found on the street because the blade of the knife was actually functioning to slow the flow of blood from the wound.<sup>36</sup> Once again in the same story, the reader learns that Cemal Doğan had not involved the police because he thought that the woman might not want their involvement.<sup>37</sup> In another instance, Cemal shows his intelligence by refusing a cigarette offered to him by S.O.S. agent number 3. He senses that since she wants him to take it, there must be something wrong with it. Turgut informs us that there was a narcotic in the cigarette that would have put him into a deep sleep.<sup>38</sup> These examples underscore Cemal's keen observation skills and cleverness. Closely related to cleverness is the ability to reason logically and the reader learns early on that Cemal Doğan also possesses that trait. Again in the first story, Cemal tries to deduce information about the woman as she is unconscious and, therefore, unable to answer questions. The reader is privy to Cemal's reasoning because he carries out a short dialogue with himself in which he attempts to reason out the woman's

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<sup>36</sup> Turgut, *Esrar İçinde*, 12.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, 13.

<sup>38</sup> Turgut, *Kanlı Vesika*, 4.

identity. He begins by asking himself why a woman would be stabbed and left in the middle of the street. He observes her clothing and concludes that she is from a distinguished family, to which he adds that if she had been a prostitute, then the attempted murder would not be terribly mysterious.<sup>39</sup> In this way Cemal displays his ability to deduce useful information about the victim. Thus, we see that Turgut makes an effort in the first story to establish the cleverness and reasoning ability of Doğan's character, which will be a factor in Turgut's promotion of rationalism.

Cemal is also just. The reader learns this early in the third story, *The Mysterious Automobile*, when he encounters members of S.O.S. 13 for the first time. Held at gunpoint and interrogated by masked men, Cemal remains remarkably calm and answers the questions in a way that demonstrates his high moral standards and desire for justice. One example of Cemal's answers in particular is edifying. On hearing the threat that involving himself in this might result in unfortunate consequences for him, Cemal answers that the consequences do not interest him.<sup>40</sup> Well, if danger to himself is not a concern, then his working to defend justice must be an ideal he holds dearly. Cemal also shows his desire for justice with his actions. He seems to go out of his way to rescue maidens in distress. He begins this, as we have discussed, by finding the near-dead Selma and trying to nurse her back to health all the while trying to protect her from further injury. He also tries to save another young woman named Semiramis, who happens to be the daughter of Davut Pasha, the Turkish ambassador to England. Semiramis and her father had moved into an apartment that is said to be haunted<sup>41</sup> and Cemal comes to help

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<sup>39</sup> Turgut. *Esrar İçinde*, 29.

<sup>40</sup> Turgut. *Esrarengiz Otomobil*, 10.

<sup>41</sup> Turgut, *Ölüm Kuyusu*, 5.

them because he understands that they are a part of the attempted murder case in which he is embroiled.

While being questioned by the aforementioned masked men, Cemal shows the reader another of his positive traits: his bravery. But this is just one of a number of examples of this positive trait as seen in Cemal. In *The Mysterious Automobile*, the members of S.O.S. 13 discover the location of Cemal's apartment, break in, and take Cemal by surprise. Despite the surprise attack, Cemal was in the process of defeating the gang members in hand-to-hand combat until he is knocked out from behind.<sup>42</sup> With Cemal rendered unable to stop them, they kidnap Selma, presumably to finish the job of killing her. Cemal regains consciousness and begins to chase after the car. Upon catching up with the car, he jumps onto the back of it and holds on tightly.<sup>43</sup> These events—Cemal's fighting a gang, being knocked out and then chasing after the armed villains in the car—happen in the space of a few pages and underscore Cemal's bravery. Later, in *Among the Ghosts*, when Cemal hears shots fired, he rushes toward the sound once again showing his bravery.<sup>44</sup> Finally in the last novel, after binding one of the female members of S.O.S. 13, who we learn later is a high-ranking inspector, and racing off to face the others, she so admires Cemal's bravery that she says, ““we need a man like that.””<sup>45</sup>

Of all Cemal's acts of bravery listed in the previous paragraph, his battle with the gang members and his chasing, on reviving, the car they were escaping in, not only demonstrates his bravery, but also his refusal to quit. Beaten unconscious, Cemal awakes to chase and jump onto the back of a car carrying armed killers and when he is thrown

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<sup>42</sup> Ibid., 15.

<sup>43</sup> Ibid., 18-19.

<sup>44</sup> Turgut. *Hayaletler Arasında*, 20.

<sup>45</sup> Turgut. *Parmak izi*, 13. Translation is mine.



from the car, he actually gets up again and resumes the chase.<sup>46</sup> He is ultimately unsuccessful on this occasion, but his refusal to quit is impressive and this quality results in his tracking S.O.S. 13 and putting an end to their terrible threat.<sup>47</sup>

In addition to, or possibly as a result of, all of Cemal's positive character traits, he is also confident. The reader is made aware of this confidence when Cemal tells one of the S.O.S. 13 agents "'You mean to kill me too to keep me quiet. Do you really think that that is going to be easy?'"<sup>48</sup> We read of Cemal's confidence again in the final story when he says: "'This night is the S.O.S. 13 gang's last night.'"<sup>49</sup> A short time later, the reader sees that this confidence is not misguided as Cemal actually does, single-handedly, stop the gang.

Turgut also provides his readership with a clear understanding of Cemal's physical traits. In the second story, *The Living Skeleton*, Turgut informs us about how a wound has little effect on Cemal due to the condition of his body. "In any case," Turgut writes "this small wound was unable to have any effect on his sound body."<sup>50</sup> Later, in *The Pit of Death*, Cem describes Cemal's physique further by informing his reader that Cemal is tall and has an athletic build.<sup>51</sup> We also read that Cemal is a young, blonde man.<sup>52</sup> What is more, Cemal is able to put these positive physical qualities to good use. He shows incredible speed when he knocks away the gun that a member of S.O.S. 13 is holding to his temple by hitting the spy's arm with his elbow.<sup>53</sup> Or later, despite a

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<sup>46</sup> Turgut, *Esrarengiz Otomobil*, 15.

<sup>47</sup> Turgut, *Parmak izi*, 26.

<sup>48</sup> Turgut, *Kanlı Vesika*, 14. Translation is mine

<sup>49</sup> Ibid., 11. Translation is mine

<sup>50</sup> Turgut, *Canlı İskelet*, 29. Translation is mine

<sup>51</sup> Turgut, *Ölüm Kuyusu*, 13; *Kesik kafa*, 10.

<sup>52</sup> Turgut, *Kanlı Vesika*, 3; *Kesik kafa*, 10.

<sup>53</sup> Turgut, *Kanlı Vesika*, 18.

gunshot wound to the hand, Cemal shows his athleticism while being attacked with a knife. Turgut describes: “with the agility of a leopard, he lunged at his attacker and landed with his left knee on the throat of his attacker.”<sup>54</sup>

It is in this way that Turgut paints the picture of a ‘regular’—that is, not a detective—Turkish man who is clever, has the ability to reason logically, is just, brave and confident with all of these traits in a handsome, athletic body that has the ability to move with the agility of a leopard.

The next theme Turgut addresses is rationalism, which is an extension of the trait of intelligence discussed previously. Now rationalism was the goal Mustafa Kemal (Atatürk) held for the people of Turkey when he abolished the Caliphate and secularised the country. Yaşar Nabi describes the notion as follows:

Can Turkish nationalism maintain as traditional a number of superstitions, or the ignorant acts of: a) those who expect prayer to bring rain, b) those who wrap women in pitch black covering, and c) those who maintain a primitive lifestyle in contrast to rules of health? Can it view the absence of good manners and ignorance as traditional and hold on to it?<sup>55</sup>

As indicated by Nabi above, Atatürk was very concerned about how the dogmatic adherence to religion and the purveyors of religion<sup>56</sup> by Turks would bode for the future of the country. His aim was to modernise the nation, and this is clear in his famous quote ““For everything in this world: civilisation, life, and success, the most genuine guide is knowledge and science. To search for guidance outside of knowledge and science is

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<sup>54</sup> Turgut. *Katil kim?*, 7. Translation is mine.

<sup>55</sup> Yaşar Nabi. *Atatürk Yolu*. (İstanbul: Varlık Yayınevi, 1966), 54. Translation is mine.

<sup>56</sup> Turhan Feyzioğlu. “Atatürk ve Milli Eğitim,” *Atatürkçü Düşünce*. (İstanbul: Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi, 1992), 674.

blindness, ignorance, and error.”<sup>57</sup> So by extension, Atatürk’s aim was to save Turks from ignorance and error.

Turgut begins his treatment of rationalism by dismissing the story of a haunted house as ignorance. This is the house into which Semiramis and her father Davut Pasha have moved. Turgut writes of the first mention of a haunted house as being of laughable ignorance. He refers to it as “ignorance” and has Davut Pasha break out in laughter on first hearing of it. Even more telling of Turgut’s intent is the next thing he has Davut Pasha say: ““Our people still have not renounced belief, and that’s that. Are we still really hearing stories of spirits and ghosts in this century?””<sup>58</sup> With this, Turgut makes it clear that belief in supernatural is something that should have been left behind long before.

Even when she thinks she sees a ghost through the window, Semiramis ignores her senses and, as it is not logical, she refuses to believe it; instead she runs to and opens the window, and in doing so, she finds a hair that the wind blows in.<sup>59</sup> As the hair would have come from a person, not a ghost, we should view this as a further indication of Turgut’s promotion of rationalism. Her reason is further tested that night when she feels the presence of a ghost in her room, but this time she is afraid.<sup>60</sup> The reader is later privy to her attempt to convince herself that there are no ghosts: “In this century,” Turgut writes a second time to drive the point home “we do not believe in spirits and ghosts. It must have been a dream.”<sup>61</sup>

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<sup>57</sup> Akil Aksan, *Atatürk Der ki*. (Ankara: Aslımlar Matbaası, 1986), 79. Translation is mine. (Original reads: “Dünyada her şey için, medeniyet için, hayat için, muvaffakiyet için en hakiki mürşit ilimdir, fendir. İlim ve fennin haricinde mürşit aramak gaflettir, celalettir, dalalettir.”).

<sup>58</sup> Turgut. *Ölüm Kuyusu*, 5. Translation is mine.

<sup>59</sup> Turgut. *Ibid.*, 10.

<sup>60</sup> Turgut. *Ölüm Kuyusu*, 11. Translation is mine.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, 21. Translation is mine.

If the aforementioned ridicule of belief in ghosts was insufficient, Turgut proceeds to stress the point again when he has one of two friends mention the haunted house. To which the other exclaims ““Oh, come on! In this day and age do people still believe that sort of thing?””<sup>62</sup>

This lack of rationalism among Turks is portrayed by the Russian leader of S.O.S: 13 as a major weakness. He says that the spy ring has played on these fears and has, accordingly, become well-entrenched in Turkey.<sup>63</sup> S.O.S: 13 is foiled in the end by Cemal, who is noticeably a skeptic. Turgut’s portrayal of rationalism deems belief in the supernatural to be a) laughable, and b) an idea that should have been left behind long ago. Moreover, Turgut deems reason to be less fallible than the senses, and as such one should disregard any sensory perceptions that contravene logic. Moreover, with this discussion of an international spy ring becoming entrenched in Turkey by utilising Turks’ belief in superstition against them Turgut is promoting the idea that a properly prepared Turk who is a skeptic can help to protect Turkey from foreigners harbouring ill will toward it.

Following rationalism, the last point we will address is the xenophobia displayed in this series. Xenophobia, or fear of foreigners, is often mistakenly used as a synonym for racism, or belief in the inherent inferiority and/or hatred of other races. As previously discussed, Cemil Cahit Cem touched on the danger of the foreign element in the Pire Necmi series. In that series, the recrimination was against those Turks, who like Pire Necmi, had foresworn the Turkish nation in order to aid foreign powers occupying Istanbul during the ceasefire (*mütareke*) period. Though the series does not overtly

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<sup>62</sup> Turgut. *Perili Ev*, 11. Translation is mine.

<sup>63</sup> Ibid., 26.

discuss the foreign mission or the threat foreign powers hold for Turkey, the characterisations of Pire Necmi make evident the underlying danger of foreign powers.

In his Cemal Doğan series, Oğuz Turgut makes his case against foreign powers and promotes xenophobia, or fear of foreigners. His argument is buoyed by the fact that foreign interference in the Ottoman Empire over the preceding half century had been largely negative. In addition to the occupation of the post-WWI ceasefire period, the European-operated Ottoman Public Debt Administration (OPDA),<sup>64</sup> which was established in 1881 and whose “*raison d’être*...was to provide greater security for foreign capital than that afforded by Ottoman institutions,”<sup>65</sup> for example, has been referred to as both a tool for European capitalism and even that it has been generally accepted that it “was a partner in [European] imperialistic enterprise.”<sup>66</sup>

Moreover, upon adopting a role in the collection of a surtax consistent with the 1907 customs convention, the OPDA was now viewed “in both European and Turkish circles” as “the agent of the [European] powers.”<sup>67</sup> The accuracy of this opinion is demonstrated by the fact that “the primary effect of the activities of the Public Debt was the furtherance of European imperialism.”<sup>68</sup>

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<sup>64</sup> For further reading on the Ottoman Public Debt Administration, please refer to Şevket Pamuk. *The Ottoman Empire and European Capitalism, 1820-1913: Trade, Investment and Production*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010); Erik Jan Zürcher. *Turkey: a Modern History*. (London; New York: I.B. Tauris, 2004); Halil İnalcık and Donald Quataert. *An economic and social history of the Ottoman Empire, 1300-1914*. (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994), and Marian Kent (ed.). *The Great powers and the end of the Ottoman Empire*. (London; Portland, Or.: Frank Cass, 1996).

<sup>65</sup> Donald C. Blaisdell. *European Financial Control in The Ottoman Empire*. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1929), 234.

<sup>66</sup> Ibid., 4.

<sup>67</sup> Ibid., 235.

<sup>68</sup> Ibid.

As a factor limiting Turkish sovereignty, the capitulations that had begun during the reign of Suleiman the Magnificent (r. 1520-1566), had been abolished by the Committee of Union and Progress (CUP) just after the beginning of the First World War in 1914, revived by the Treaty of Sèvres in 1920, and ineradicably abolished by the Treaty of Lausanne in 1923.<sup>69</sup> This act was followed by another act with the aim of strengthening Turkish sovereignty: the abolition of the OPDA. This was also accomplished during the negotiations that led to the signing of the Treaty of Lausanne. With these definitive acts, the Kemalist administration clearly stated that Turkish sovereignty belonged solely to Turks. These were hard-fought victories<sup>70</sup> and demonstrate the level of importance Turkish sovereignty held for Atatürk.

For this series, Turgut has chosen his subject carefully: an international spy ring active in Istanbul and operated through the Istanbul branch of the International Bank. This enables him to explore the concept of foreign desires to limit Turkish sovereignty. Turgut proceeds to characterise the foreigners involved individually in a negative light, and to convey the threat foreigners and foreign powers hold for Turkey. Our analysis of Turgut's portrayal of xenophobia will begin with a look at characteristics of individual foreign spies in S.O.S: 13, who all use a number and a fake Turkish name to conceal their true identities. This will be followed by a treatment of the greater threat posed by this spy

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<sup>69</sup> Halil İnalcık with Donald Quataert, eds. *An economic and social history of the Ottoman Empire, 1300-1914*. (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 188-195, İlber Ortaylı. *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Alman Nüfuzu*. (İstanbul: Alkım Yayınevi, 2005), 43, 54, Lucius E. Thayer. "The Capitulations of the Ottoman Empire and the Question of their Abrogation as it Affects the United States." *The American Journal of International Law*, Vol. 17, No. 2 (Apr. 1923), 228-230, and Osmanlı Kapitülasyonları. [http://tr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Osmanl%C4%B1\\_Kapit%C3%BClasyonlar%C4%B1](http://tr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Osmanl%C4%B1_Kapit%C3%BClasyonlar%C4%B1) (accessed 16 July 2010).

<sup>70</sup> Metin Heper. *İsmet İnönü: the making of a Turkish statesman*. (New York: Brill, 1998), 50-53.

ring. By encouraging the reader to question the motives of this foreign spy ring, Turgut is able to, by extension, stoke this fear of foreigners and foreign agencies working in Turkey.

The individual spies are portrayed by Turgut as liars and manipulators. This nature is initially touched upon by Turgut in *The Bloody Document*. In this story, Betül/agent number 3 shows how easily she is able to lie to Cemal. She realises that Cemal has understood her plan so she quickly moves to her back-up plan in which she pretends to be injured. Cemal, being the gentleman that he is, sees a woman in distress and tries to help her. In the process, he drops his gun. Somehow—Turgut later writes that Betül did quite closely resemble Selma and that, in all the excitement, Cemal had not had the opportunity to really look at Selma’s face—Betül has convinced Cemal that she is Selma. Turgut attempts to explain this by informing the reader of Betül’s mixed feelings—on one hand she is in love with one of the other “terrible” agents, but on the other hand, she has witnessed Cemal’s bravery and fidelity toward Selma and finds “traces of humanity left in her heart”<sup>71</sup> and admits to herself that she has feelings for Cemal. Yet, she goes on to lie with ease to Cemal by changing her voice and telling him that her name is Selma. She tells Cemal of how “her” (actually Selma’s) father had been killed by S.O.S: 13. But Cemal is not fooled. He notices Betül put his gun under her pillow and begins to suspect the truth. When Betül turns the gun on him he is ready. Cemal forcibly removes the gun from her. Betül struggles, retrieves the gun and attempts to shoot Cemal, but he, too quick for her, knocks her arm away and she ends up shooting and killing herself.<sup>72</sup> Finally, in *Among the Ghosts*, Turgut sums up the deceitfulness of

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<sup>71</sup> Turgut. *Kanlı Vesika*, 8. Translation is mine.

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*, 5-18.

which members of this international spy ring are capable. He tells the story of the very handsome young man who tries to gain the trust and love of Semiramis as he aims to steal the document from her father. The handsome young man disguises himself as a ghost and speaks to Semiramis. He declares his love for her and asks for her hand in marriage stating that the marriage would be beneficial for both of their countries. To this point the story sounds quite possible, but Turgut makes the youth's attempted deception of Semiramis very clear by adding that as he says this "a demonic grin appeared on his lips."<sup>73</sup>

In addition, the foreign spies are also depicted as merciless. In one startling example from the very first story, we read about how two spies (a woman and a man), while riding in the back of a car, cut the body of one of their victims into pieces and both she and the man are quite blasé about the event. Turgut explains that the pair does this with a very high degree of "skill and cold-bloodedness."<sup>74</sup> Turgut provides another example of callousness when he has the leader of S.O.S: 13 say, "'don't forget that only the dead don't talk'"<sup>75</sup> in order to prescribe the murder of another witness. In the third story, *The Mysterious Automobile*, spies numbered 11 (a.k.a. Kamil) and 3 (a.k.a. Betül), are in love. But it is a strange mix of love, torture, and killing. Betül explains her love for Kamil as follows: "I only met you a month ago and we haven't seen each other since. But you were so handsome...I fell crazily in love with you...then I got your letter that instructed me to kill and cut Mr. Şerif into pieces...you wanted me to have blood on my

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<sup>73</sup> Turgut. *Hayaletler Arasında*, 10. Translation is mine. (Original reads: "dudaklarında iblisçe bir tebessüm görünüyordu").

<sup>74</sup> Turgut. *Esrar İçinde*, 21-22.

<sup>75</sup> Turgut. *Canlı İskelet*, 28. Translation is mine. (Original reads: "unutmayın ki yalnız ölümler konuşmaz").



hands and I did it. I love you. I still love you like crazy.’’<sup>76</sup> This helps to characterise these foreign spies as inhuman. To continue this portrayal of inhumanity, Turgut writes in the next story that when two beat police officers blow their whistles and try to stop the car, the S.O.S: 13 agents drive the car over them and kill them.<sup>77</sup> Immediately following this double murder, the men in the car abuse the “half naked” Selma, then number 12 tries to undress her completely, Selma tries to fight, but faints from pain and exhaustion. They then throw the near-dead Selma into a well.<sup>78</sup> The reader later learns that the agents are keenly aware of who they are and what they are doing. One even says of himself, “‘be careful, I am very cruel.’’<sup>79</sup> Finally, Turgut uses the same technique as previously to show the evil intent: “‘An awful and hellish smile appeared on Mr. Selim’s face.’’<sup>80</sup>

Finally, having established the negative qualities of the foreign spies, Turgut proceeds to establish the reasons that this spy ring is a threat to the Republic of Turkey. With this, Turgut adds the threatening aspect of foreign groups to the already established negative character traits of individual foreigners. In so doing, he effectively enumerates the main arguments for holding a fear of foreigners (xenophobia). The occupation of Anatolia following the First World War by Western powers, would have, as it ended just a decade before the Cemal Doğan series was published, been fresh in the minds of Turks in the 1930s. Thus, the idea put forth here, i.e. that international spies are working to destabilise the Republic of Turkey would have been viewed as plausible at least. We learn that the spy network, S.O.S: 13, is after top secret documents brought to Turkey

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<sup>76</sup> Turgut. *Esrarengiz Otomobil*, 6-7.

<sup>77</sup> Turgut. *Ölüm Kuyusu*, 29-30.

<sup>78</sup> Ibid., 30-32.

<sup>79</sup> Turgut. *Kanlı Vesika*, 25.

<sup>80</sup> Turgut. *Kesik kafa*, 30.

from London.<sup>81</sup> This stresses the idea that Turks must beware of foreign enemies. Next, police officer Affan Bey knows that ““In Istanbul today there is a huge international spy organisation”” and that those involved are merciless.<sup>82</sup> So, Cemal is up against an international spy ring within the International Bank and he knows it: ““I know’ he says ‘all about how the place referred to as the International Bank is a terrible den of spies.’”<sup>83</sup> He also knows that all the spies in S.O.S: 13 are European, use numbers for identification and periodically, albeit unwillingly, aliases—agent number 3 tells another agent who has used her adopted Turkish name: ““don’t call me by name! How would you like it if I called you by name?””<sup>84</sup>—and are based in Vienna.<sup>85</sup> The lingering idea is that constant vigilance and a healthy sense of fear of foreigners is required in order to foil the always-active foreign powers who aim to circumscribe Turkish sovereignty.

Our analysis of Turgut’s Cemal Doğan series began by establishing through the tool of reader address that the author did aim to communicate directly with his reader. The three main messages he attempted to communicate were: first, an account of some of the positive character traits Turks should hold. The traits that define Cemal are intelligence, a desire for justice, bravery, being hard-working, confidence, and physical fitness. We also saw how the first positive trait of intelligence was expanded to form the foundation of the author’s second main message: a promotion of rationalism. Turgut very clearly held with Mustafa Kemal (Atatürk) in the idea that belief in the supernatural holds the population of a country back and allows the country to be exploited by foreign skeptics. This is a concept that author A. Samancıgil develops further in his detective

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<sup>81</sup> Turgut. *Canlı İskelet*, 13.

<sup>82</sup> Turgut. *Perili Ev*, 30. Translation is mine.

<sup>83</sup> Turgut. *Parmak izi*, 12. Translation is mine.

<sup>84</sup> Turgut. *Esrarengiz Otomobil*, 5. Translation is mine.

<sup>85</sup> Turgut. *Parmak izi*, 12.

series written in the 1940s. Finally, we also addressed Turgut's promotion of a healthy fear of foreigners (xenophobia), especially Western ones. Playing off the recent history of European interference in the Ottoman Empire and the Republic of Turkey, Turgut shows that an international spy ring is operative in Istanbul and has the aim of, once again, circumscribing Turkish sovereignty. As such, this series can be seen as a clear warning to Turks to develop their character traits and refuse to believe in the supernatural in order to prevent the always active European powers from restricting Turkish sovereignty.

***Turkish and non-Turkish character traits developed in Murat Akdoğan's detective fiction series, 1941-1944***

In his encyclopaedic work on detective fiction in Turkey Erol Üyepazarcı calls Murat Akdoğan's Orhan Çakıroğlu series "the most interesting dime novel series" of the 'Golden Age' (1940-1950) of such novels in Turkey.<sup>1</sup> As the first series we will analyse from the 1940s, we will see the ways in which Murat Akdoğan further develops the character traits Cem had explored in his two series of the 1930s, but we will also note that he avoids direct xenophobia when discussing the negative character traits of the villains. The series describes the exploits of detective hero Orhan Çakıroğlu and his team of assistants. In total 32 novels<sup>2</sup> of lengths between 27 and 32 pages were published between 1941 and 1942 and then republished between 1944 and 1945.<sup>3</sup> The author, about whom nothing is known and by whom no other works were found,<sup>4</sup> making this author think that he or she was using a pen name, published these works under the following variations of the name: M.A.D., Murat Ak Doğan, Murat Akdoğan, and Murad Akdoğan. These variations seem to follow no specific progression aside from the fact that the author appears not to use M.A.D. after the twelfth story. The multitude of spellings also makes this author think that M.A.D. and its variations were, in fact, a pen name. The titles of the 32 dime novels are:

1. *Öldüren Kim? (Who is the Killer?)*

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<sup>1</sup> Erol Üyepazarcı, *Korkmayınız Mister Sherlock Holmes: Türkiye'de Polisiye Romanın 125 Yıllık Öyküsü (1881-2006)* (İstanbul: Oğlak Yayınları, 2008), 214.

<sup>2</sup> Üyepazarcı lists 31 stories, but two stories, *Çocuk Hırsızı (Child Thief)* and *Çalınan Çocuklar (Kidnapped Children)*, are listed as story number 16. Therefore, there are actually 32 stories in the series.

<sup>3</sup> Üyepazarcı, 214.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., 214.

2. *Soyulan Vapur* (*The Ferry that was Robbed*)
3. *Irmaktan Çıkan Kol* (*The Amputated Arm that came out of the River*)
4. *Sarışın Adam* (*Blonde Man*)
5. *Bu Ceset Kimin?* (*Whose Body is This?*)
6. *Öldüren Kadın* (*Woman Killer*)
7. *Güzel Eliza* (*Beautiful Eliza*)
8. *Kaynar Suyla Yakılan Polis* (*Officer Burned with Boiling Water*)
9. *Beykoz Açıklarında Hırsız Avı* (*Hunt for the Thief in the Waters of Beykoz*)
10. *Hedefini Şaşıran Kama* (*Off-target Dagger*)
11. *Bursadaki Yıkık Minarenin Esrarı* (*The Secret of the Broken Minaret of Bursa*)
12. *Şeh Hasanın Kızı* (*Shaikh Hasan's Daughter*)
13. *Haramiler Çetesi* (*Gang of Thieves*)
14. *Garip Bir Mektup* (*A Strange Letter*)
15. *Hüküm Günü* (*Judgment Day*)
16. a) *Çocuk Hırsızı* (*Thief of Children*)
16. b) *Çalınan Çocuklar* (*Kidnapped Children*)
17. *Ölüm Tuzağı* (*Death Trap*)
18. *Uludağdaki Otomobil Kazası* (*Car Crash in Uludağ*)
19. *Dirilen Ölü* (*Revived Dead*)
20. *Çakıroğlu İzmir Fuarında* (*Çakıroğlu at the Izmir Fair*)
21. *Bankayı Soyan Veznedar* (*The Teller Who Robbed the Bank*)
22. *Kırk Haramiler İninde* (*In the Cave of the Forty Thieves*)

23. *Kalpazanın İntikamı (Revenge of the Forger)*
24. *Katil Baba Katil Evlat (Killer Father Killer Son)*
25. *Okmeydanı Cinayeti (Murder in Okmeydanı)*
26. *Kesik Bir Çocuk Başı (Severed Head of a Child)*
27. *Kar Üstündeki İzler (Tracks in the Snow)*
28. *Bebek Faciası (The Disaster in Bebek)*
29. *Çakıroğlu'nun Korkunç Akibeti (Çakıroğlu's Doom)*
30. *Cinnet mi? Cinayet mi? (Temporary Insanity or Murder?)*
31. *Kuyumcunun Köpeği (The Goldsmith's Dog)*

As we know nothing about the author, it will not be possible to analyse memoirs, diaries, personal letters and other literary works or essays to assess Akdoğan's personal political views. That said there is high level of coherence in the characterisations of the heroes and the villains in these stories, which will enable us to gain significant insight into the author's intent. In addition to coherence of message, Akdoğan uses three techniques to show that he wishes for the reader to see these stories as written with the intent to speak directly to them: first, the clear statement of character traits on numerous occasions throughout the works; second, the complete lack of any contradictions, and third, the fact that Murat Akdoğan directly addresses the reader on a number of occasions. We will be analysing the characterisations of the heroes and the villains by the author to illustrate the concept of what characteristics a proper Turk has/should have and does not/should not have and will show that while religion plays no role in the portrayal of positive Turkish character traits, it plays a significant role in the discussion of

undesirable character traits for Turks. Here, we will see that the large majority of the villains in the series are non-Turks and non-Muslims.

This high degree of intentionality in the character traits of Orhan is made obvious by both the repetition of the traits throughout the works and the level to which these traits corresponded to contemporary concepts of Turkism. In addition to the clear intentionality of the characterisations of these works, the fact that Akdoğan regularly addresses the reader directly also demonstrates his desire to educate, enlighten, and improve his Turkish audience. From drawing the reader into the story and encouraging him or her to identify with the Turkish detective hero as Akdoğan does in *In the Cave of the Forty Thieves* as follows: “*Our police officer*, one of the most intrepid men in the world and able to endure anything, was unable to calmly and impassively witness this violation of a *Turk*.”<sup>5</sup> To using rhetorical questions to oblige the reader to interact with the story as he does later in the same story as follows: “Or was the police detective whose steadiness and composure the whole of Turkey admired losing his mind? In the midst of hopelessness and fear of death when a natural reaction would be to freeze, what meaning could be given to his looking at his shoes and smiling?”<sup>6</sup> Akdoğan’s personal address may also on occasion take the form of an aside reminding the reader of a previous event sometimes from a previous story as in *Officer Burned with Boiling Water* when he reminds the reader of “...the event *we wrote about in the first section* from Mrs. Gülseren;”<sup>7</sup> another

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<sup>5</sup> Murat Akdoğan, *Kırk Haramiler İninde*, 22. Translation and italics are mine. (Original reads: “Dünyanın en soğukkanlı adamlarından olan bu polisimiz her şeye tahammül eder ve fakat bir Türke yapılan tecavüze karşı sakın ve kayıtsız kalamazdı.”).

<sup>6</sup> Murat Akdoğan, *Kırk Haramiler İninde*, 28. Translation is mine. (Original reads: “Yoksa bütün Türk yurdunun metanet ve itidaline hayran olduğu bu polis hafiyesi aklını mı kaçıırıyordu? Ümitsizlik ve ölüm korkusu içinde dona kalmak varken ayakkabıya bakarak gülümsemek ne mana ifade ederdi?”).

<sup>7</sup> Murat Akdoğan, *Kaynar Suyla Yakılan Polis*, 13. Translation and italics are mine.

example of this comes in *Revived Dead*: “Our dear readers undoubtedly have not forgotten Miss Suna, the charming young woman from *The Amputated Arm that came out of the River*,”<sup>8</sup> or again in *Revenge of the Forger* Akdoğan informs the reader that “the protagonist of the novel *Off-Target Dagger*, Hüseyin, had come to spend the summer in Istanbul with the detective.”<sup>9</sup> In all these ways Murat Akdoğan is clearly attempting to confirm in the reader’s mind that he or she should pay close attention to the occurrences in the story.

Akdoğan also used this technique simply to get the reader to feel the way the characters in the story do. For example: “Think of the excitement felt at that moment by those awaiting the traveller.”<sup>10</sup> Akdoğan even uses the direct reader address to confirm, though admittedly not needed as his clever readers would have already arrived at the same conclusion, the identity of Orhan who was in disguise: “Certainly our readers have understood that this man is none other than Çakıroğlu,”<sup>11</sup> or again the identity of one of Orhan’s assistants also in disguise.<sup>12</sup> In using the reader address in this specific way, Akdoğan is able to accomplish a number of aims: first, he reiterates that these stories are written for his readers and, as such, the messages found within are intended for him or her; second, he is able to use it as a literary device to move the story forward, and finally, he confirms a point that the character of Orhan Çakıroğlu embodies on a number of occasions and we will discuss at length later through an external voice: the superiority of the Turkish individual.

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<sup>8</sup> Murat Akdoğan, *Dirilen Ölü*, 24. Translation is mine.

<sup>9</sup> Murat Akdoğan, *Kalpazanın İntikamı*, 3. Translation is mine.

<sup>10</sup> Murat Akdoğan, *Kaynar Suyla Yakılan Polis*, 4. Translation and italics are mine.

<sup>11</sup> Murat Akdoğan, *Kaynar Suyla Yakılan Polis*, 24. Translation is mine.

<sup>12</sup> Murat Akdoğan, *Katil Baba Katil Evlat*, 32.



Now, let us analyse the character traits Murat Akdoğan deems fit for Orhan Çakıroğlu. In the introduction of the first story, *Who is the Killer?*, Murat Akdoğan establishes Orhan Çakıroğlu's background in a clear attempt—like so many detective novel authors in the past but most successfully realised in the character of Sherlock Holmes, whom many still believe to be a real individual—to create a character that can be believed to be a real human being. It is also clear that, as this introduction is repeated verbatim in the second and third stories of the series, *The Ferry that was Robbed* and *The Amputated Arm that came out of the River*, Murat Akdoğan wanted his readers to be aware of this background; thus, its repetition demonstrates a high level of intentionality. This introduction imparts the following details about Orhan's pre-detective life: 1) he was born in Elazığ in 1902 to one of the period's well-known, wealthy notables (*bey*), Çakıroğlu Durmuş Ağa; 2) he graduated from a high school in Ankara in 1920 and, following his education at the Ankara military training centre (*talimgah*) between 1921 and 1922, he worked as a spy in occupied western Anatolia bringing vital documents and information to the Turkish army; 3) he went to Italy in 1923 and in 1927 he graduated first in his class from the Law Faculty at the University of Rome; 4) while studying law in Italy, he became friends with Françesko, the son of the owner of a large circus, and in his free time he would do acrobatics in the circus that would surprise and earn the respect of the acrobats who worked there; 5) in 1926, he won a grand automobile race held in Italy driving a Fiat; 6) from 1927 to 1929, due to his love of flying (*uçmanlık*), he left Italy to complete an apprenticeship in electricity, motors, and aviation in the United States of America; 7) on his return to Turkey in 1929, he began working as a lawyer and quickly earned respect for his breadth of knowledge and excellent use of language

(*uzdili*); 8) in order to know definitively whether or not his client was innocent, he began the practice of disguising himself and carrying out his own investigations and would, as a result, save many innocent victims from wrongful punishment and ensure that the guilty received their punishment. It was in this way that he met his later assistant Durgut Tansü, and 9) after two years of this secretive detective work, Orhan applied to the government to allow him to do honorary detective work; from 1931 he has worked as a head detective (*başaraman*) and with his intelligence and courage has succeeded in solving many important and mysterious cases in Turkey, the Near East, Egypt, and throughout the Balkans. At the time of writing, there was no one in any of these countries who did not know of Çakıroğlu or did not follow his astonishing successes in the newspapers.

We also learn from the introduction to this story that the stories have been made available to us through the subterfuge of one Sümer Dilek, who worked as Orhan's typist from 1932 to 1938, when she left her position to get married. During these six years of employment, she had been in the habit of making an extra copy of Orhan's case notes and took them with her on leaving her post. Later, feeling that they would make a good example—the constant emphasis on teaching and the good of the country bears out the high level of intentionality in Akdoğan's work—she wrote Orhan asking permission “to present them to the Turkish youth,”<sup>13</sup> which also speaks to Akdoğan's intent. Orhan gave permission for this, but as I feel his response to be quite telling of his general character, I would like to quote it at length:

My sister Dilek;

I received your letter and was pleased to hear you are well. However, I was hurt by your action [making an extra copy of case notes], which I view as a great crime against me. But since I believe with all my heart that it was done out

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<sup>13</sup> Murat Akdoğan, *Öldüren Kim?*, 4. Translation is mine. (Original reads: “Türk gençliğine sunulması için müsaadesini istemiştir.”).

of your immeasurable love and devotion to me, I forgive you. And due to my great respect for you, I am giving you permission to publish them.

However, if you, in the process of arranging my notes, attempt to portray me as greater than I am out of the love I know you feel for me, I will be truly hurt and will not forgive you.

I send my love to both you and your dear husband Tamer and wish you both unbounded happiness.

Your uncle,  
Orhan Ç.<sup>14</sup>

So, in short, from this two-page introduction to the dime novel series, we learn that Orhan Çakıroğlu is a highly educated, physically able-bodied man who has lived, worked and achieved high levels of success in the West and has returned to his native country to ensure that justice is served. We also learn that the following stories have not been, in any way, exaggerated to make him to appear greater or more special than he is. Let us now turn to the stories and what else they tell us about his character.

The first trait I will consider is language ability. This is an intriguing characteristic because none of the Western detective heroes are polyglots<sup>15</sup> or at least if they are, it is not seen as important. Yet this is a characteristic that appeared with the very first indigenous detective hero, Amanvermez Avni,<sup>16</sup> and carries through to Orhan. This demonstrates that language was a continued important consideration for Turkish authors of detective fiction. Right from the introduction of the very first story, *Öldüren Kim?*, Orhan is presented as a polyglot. First we learn that he had lived in Italy for four years

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<sup>14</sup> Ibid., 4. Translation is mine.

<sup>15</sup> Of course, Sherlock Holmes has the tendency to quote famous authors who write in foreign languages (even including the great Persian poet, Hafez). But, aside from a brief digression, nothing is made of his language abilities whether they exist or not, and they play no role in his solving of cases.

<sup>16</sup> David Mason. "The Role of *Amanvermez Avni* (*No Quarter Avni*), the 'Turkish Sherlock Holmes,' in the Construction of Turkish Identity." *University of Toronto Art Journal*, vol. 1, 2008. <http://jps.library.utoronto.ca/index.php/UTAJ/issue/view/333> (accessed July 2010).

and that he had completed his Law degree at the University of Rome graduating first in his class. That is to say that he obviously speaks, reads, and writes Italian at an extremely high level. Following that, in the same two-page introduction, we learn that Orhan left Italy to complete an apprenticeship in electricity, motors, and aviation in the United States of America between 1927 and 1929. This does not necessarily mean that his knowledge of English equals his knowledge of Italian, as one needs an extremely high level of ability in a language to practice law, but it does mean that he knows English quite well. Further, in the tenth story, *Off-target Dagger*, Orhan is able to find a key clue in a case due to his ability to read Ottoman Turkish—a language that fell out of usage in 1928, roughly thirteen years before writing, and which only approximately ten percent of the population had ever been able to read. Orhan discovers that the name on the ID in the wallet written in the old script was not Hasan, as previously thought, but Huseyin.<sup>17</sup> Orhan also makes his knowledge of Ottoman Turkish (and his idea of the importance of language education) clear in *Thief of Children*, when the reader sees that Orhan's son, Orhun, is able to write Ottoman Turkish because Orhan had taught him.<sup>18</sup> In the final story, *The Goldsmith's Dog*, we learn that Orhan speaks excellent Greek and he does so with a woman who lives in the building where the criminals were hiding, and in so doing, gets some important information.<sup>19</sup> This ability to speak Greek is quite important in many of Orhan's cases as in a high percentage of the stories the criminals are Greek, but more on that later. Another example of Orhan's language abilities comes in *A Strange Letter* when he answers the phone and then says, with a telling level of confidence in his own

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<sup>17</sup> Murat Akdoğan, *Hedefini Şaşırın Kama*, 9.

<sup>18</sup> Murat Akdoğan, *Çocuk Hırsızı*, 23.

<sup>19</sup> Murat Akdoğan, *Kuyumcunun Köpeği*, 21.

abilities, “Ah! You don’t understand Turkish? Fine, fine, let’s speak your language.”<sup>20</sup>

This is very interesting as Orhan is immediately able to say, without having the opportunity to first inquire as to what this woman’s native language was, that they could communicate in her language. Likely, she had tried to say a word or two in Turkish from which he may have been able to sense her native language from her accent. However, it all transpired so quickly that I am of the opinion that since we know that this case had links to the Balkans, he may have simply assumed that she spoke one of the Balkan languages of which, apparently, he is fluent in each. The twelfth story, *Sheikh Hasan’s Daughter*, gives us evidence of Orhan’s knowledge of French, Arabic, and Italian. We already knew from the introduction to the series that he spoke Italian, but as this story takes place in Mandate Syria, it is the perfect opportunity for Orhan to demonstrate his knowledge of both French and Arabic and how he uses knowledge of languages as a tool. At the very beginning of the story, Orhan greets two visitors to his office in French. He does this suspecting that they are Arabs but, since he does not have his trustworthy Turkish police force to back him up in this foreign land, he needs to be extra careful about how he handles cases and about whom he can and cannot trust. After speaking with the two for a short time, he learns that they are nominally here as aids of the sheikh and ask for his assistance in a case. At this point, they converse among themselves in Arabic saying things that show they do not have the sheikh’s best interests at heart. Upon deciding on a value of money to offer Orhan for his services, they begin to translate for him at which point Orhan says, “I know Arabic. I understood what you said.”<sup>21</sup> In this way, we learn of his language abilities and Orhan shows how these abilities can be of

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<sup>20</sup> Murat Akdoğan, *Garip Bir Mektup*, 19. Translation is mine.

<sup>21</sup> Murat Akdoğan, *Şeh Hasanın Kızı*, 4-6. Translation is mine.

practical use both in detective work—he was also able to learn some vital information that will help him solve the case—and in negotiating. But, the same story also emphasises the ability of Orhan’s two assistants, Turgut Tansü and Mehmet Parser, who speak perfect Arabic like Orhan himself.<sup>22</sup> Thus, the situation at present has Orhan fluent in Turkish, Italian, English, Greek and the other languages of the Balkan region, and Arabic in addition to the ability to read and write Ottoman Turkish.

While on the subject of language, I would like to address two other related aspects of language that Murat Akdoğan addresses in his stories: 1) use of pure Turkish (*öztürkçe*), and 2) speaking properly. In terms of *öztürkçe*, the idea of “pure Turkish” aimed at by the language reformers of the Turkish Language Association (*Türk Dil Kurumu* – TDK), Murat Akdoğan makes a visibly conscious effort to use TDK-approved vocabulary whenever possible to the extent that many Turks reading the stories today would not recognise a number of words.<sup>23</sup> Examples of *öztürkçe* are legion within the Orhan Çakıroğlu corpus. The first example of this, in fact, comes on the front cover of the very first story, *Who is the Killer?*, when the cast of characters are listed with Akdoğan’s preferred TDK-approved term followed by the more common term in parentheses. So, the list is as follows; “O. Çakıroğlu: Başaraman (Polis hafiye şefi),” followed by “Durgut Tansü: Yararaman (P. Hafiye muavini)... Yararaman (Araman: Polis hafiyesi).”<sup>24</sup> In this way, Akdoğan introduces readers to new, “approved” terms and gives their translations in parentheses beside it; he also seems to be sending a message to all

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<sup>22</sup> Ibid., 3.

<sup>23</sup> Of course, not every TDK-approved term found its way into the lexicon—these changes in vocabulary really cannot be forced. The TDK made hundreds of recommendations and some of them held while many did not. For more on this, see Geoffrey Lewis’ *The Turkish Language Reform: a catastrophic success*. (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 1999).

<sup>24</sup> Murat Akdoğan, *Öldüren Kim?*, coverpage.

readers that he intends to use neologisms whenever and wherever possible. While the terms *müstantik*, *hafiye*, and *dedektif* are all used in these stories, Akdoğan uses *araman*, which was a newly-coined Turkish neologism from the Turkish verb *aramak* (to find), most often and he opts for *araman* in places in which it would be most visible, for instance cover pages and chapter titles. Also, as there are many references to telephones and telephone conversations in these stories, these are the first areas in which examples of *öztürkçe* stand out. For example, Murat Akdoğan regularly uses the neologisms *söylemeç*, *dinlemeç*, and *bulmaç* for telephone receiver, but in *Gang of Thieves*, he uses the first two aforementioned neologisms, then uses the Arabic term—the term still most commonly used in Turkey today, *ahize*, and then returns to use of the neologisms.<sup>25</sup>

Examples of use of *öztürkçe* are so plentiful that I will just make a brief list to give examples of some of the terms used. I will include the term currently used beside it and the English definition in parentheses:

eldeş - ortak (partner), uzdil - güzel konuşmak (to speak well), celemek - cebine indirmek/koymak (put in pocket), çalışak - ofis (office), beni ilgiliyor - beni ilgilendiriyor (of interest to me), başarılı - başarı (success), çıkak - çıkış (exit), binit - araç (vehicle), ısıtmaç - el feneri (torch), dayantı - yük (weight), suçdaş - suç ortağı (partner in crime).

Still on the subject of language, Murat Akdoğan also made recommendations to his readers about how the language should be spoken. For example, in *Çakıroğlu at the İzmir Fair*, Akdoğan writes about how the assistant commissioner makes his point with maximum effectiveness without being wordy: “The assistant commissioner using brief sentences described the event without neglecting a single point.”<sup>26</sup> This quality of speech

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<sup>25</sup> Murat Akdoğan, *Haramiler Çetesi*, 12, 19.

<sup>26</sup> Murat Akdoğan, *Çakıroğlu İzmir Fuarında*, 17. Translation is mine.

is praised once again in *Murder in Okmeydanı* when Orhan asks a police officer who was among the first on the scene for a report. Akdoğan writes that the officer “described the event and his thoughts briefly but in a beneficial manner.”<sup>27</sup>

The next trait to analyse is intelligence. This trait is almost a given—it would be difficult to imagine any detective hero without this trait—but it is important to address the nature and degree of Orhan’s intelligence. We see one aspect of Orhan’s intelligence, i.e. his ability to predict events and actions before they come to pass, in the first story, *Who is the Killer?*: “Orhan Çakıroğlu is waiting for you like the reaper. At this moment, he knows with proof and witnesses exactly what you and I know.”<sup>28</sup> Murat Akdoğan, in *Severed Head of a Child*, shows the general extraordinary nature of Orhan’s intelligence when, after explaining to the gendarme officer who is aiding him that they must keep cool and collect more evidence without spooking the suspect, the officer says, “[w]hat a perfect, what an intelligent man you are! It would never have occurred to us to do what you did!”<sup>29</sup> The fact that this comment is issued by a police officer is important as it shows that even within the field of detective work, not his actual field of study, he has an intelligence that awes his colleagues. This awe at his intelligence is a common reaction from those who witness Orhan’s feats. Another example comes in the twenty-seventh story, *Tracks in the Snow*, when after dismantling a seemingly open-and-shut case with his analysis of footprints in snow, the public prosecutor says, “Today I am once again in awe of your incomparable mind.”<sup>30</sup> Another aspect of Orhan’s outstanding abilities is his craftiness. In the final story, *The Goldsmith’s Dog*, after being blindsided and hit on the

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<sup>27</sup> Murat Akdoğan, *Okmeydanı Cinayet*,. 24.

<sup>28</sup> Murat Akdoğan, *Öldüren Kim?*, 24-5. Translation is mine.

<sup>29</sup> Murat Akdoğan, *Kesik Bir Çocuk Başı*, 25. Translation is mine.

<sup>30</sup> Murat Akdoğan, *Kar Üstündeki İzler*, 23-4. Translation is mine.



head by one of the criminals he was tracking, Orhan pretends to be unconscious and listens to their conversation during which they come to think he is a common thief (after initially thinking that he was a police officer). Orhan “awakes” and is able to convince them that he is, in fact, a common thief. After which they release him and he leaves the building.<sup>31</sup>

Another aspect to Orhan’s intelligence that appears in the stories is an understanding of events and surroundings that borders on omniscience. One example of this occurs in the nineteenth story, *Revived Dead*, when Orhan speaks with the doctor who had just completed an autopsy related to his case and asks: ““Did you encounter any abnormalities in his heart region?”” This question so surprises the doctor that he responds, ““Yes, but how do you know this Mr. Çakıroğlu? What a peculiar man you are. We are speaking as though we had performed the autopsy together.””<sup>32</sup> As it turns out, Orhan had made observations at the original crime scene that no one else had made which enabled him to make such a claim. Yet it still reads as an almost otherworldly awareness on Orhan’s part.

In part due to his intelligence, in part due to his general level of success Orhan Çakıroğlu is respected by the public and his peers and feared by criminals. We see clear examples of both respect and fear in *Off-target Dagger*. In this story, Orhan is in Trabzon when there is a murder at the cinema. He decides to go to the police station and introduce himself to the commissioner, about whom we are told “felt immeasurable happiness and pleasure in meeting the great detective.”<sup>33</sup> Later in the same story we see the effect simply hearing Orhan’s name has on the criminals: “Shifty Mustafa, who was listening to

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<sup>31</sup> Murat Akdoğan, *Kuyumcunun Köpeği*, 19.

<sup>32</sup> Murat Akdoğan, *Dirilen Ölü*, 25. Translation is mine.

<sup>33</sup> Murat Akdoğan, *Hedefini Şaşıran Kama*, 8. Translation is mine.

these words with fear and horror, turned purple on hearing Çakıroğlu's name, and knowing in that moment that all was lost, dropped to his knees in defeat."<sup>34</sup> So, depending on what side of the law you are on, meeting or hearing of Orhan Çakıroğlu will bring about feelings either of "immeasurable joy" or great fear. We see this again in *Car Crash in Uludağ*, which is set in Bursa—the police officers of Ankara and Istanbul see Orhan more regularly so these expressions of surprise are more common when he is outside those two cities. An officer shows great respect on meeting Orhan by saluting when hearing Orhan's name.<sup>35</sup> When Orhan travels to a case in a village near İnegöl in *Severed Head of a Child* he meets the public prosecutor, who has followed Orhan's success and says, "“What a curious fame you have, Orhan. Ultimately, you are a not a genie! You are clever, brave, resolute and composed. Hearing the name Çakıroğlu brings us an unexpected calm.”"<sup>36</sup> Later in the same story the older man Orhan is driving with when their car is attacked says, after Orhan's impressive driving saves the day, "“What an excellent man! What a great man! You aren't even trembling. Don't you fear death, son?”"<sup>37</sup> Of course, the criminals do not show the same respect for the same qualities of character Orhan exhibits on a regular basis. His success so respected by the public and his peers brings the exact opposite reaction from criminals as seen by the criminals in the same story: "He understood that he was caught, that escape from that man [Orhan] was not possible."<sup>38</sup>

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<sup>34</sup> Murat Akdoğan, *Hedefini Şaşıran Kama*, 26. Translation is mine. (Original reads: "Bu sözleri korku ve dehşetle dinliyen Kalles Mustafa, Çakıroğlunun adını duyunca mosmor oldu, bir anda herseyin mahvolduğunu anladı ve baygın bir şekilde olduğu yere çöktü.")

<sup>35</sup> Murat Akdoğan, *Uludağdaki Otomobil Kazası*, 14.

<sup>36</sup> Murat Akdoğan, *Kesik Bir Çocuk Başı*, 12. Translation is mine.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid., 15. Translation is mine.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid., 32. Translation is mine.

Again while Orhan is preparing to leave Syria, the French Police Commissioner, Dantes, comes to his hotel to see him off saying: “I didn’t want to leave Mr. Çakıroğlu, who had gained the admiration of all, without being introduced to and honouring him.”<sup>39</sup> Also while in Syria comes a point about Orhan’s intelligence that will lead into a discussion of our major point, Turkishness, we learn in *Shaikh Hasan’s Daughter* that Orhan solved a case in four or five days that the full contingent of both the local and the French Police Force in Syria was not only unable to solve but even unable to find a trace (*en ufak bir iz*) after a period of months.<sup>40</sup> In *Revived Dead* after his wife was murdered, Cevat Adison, comes to Orhan’s office to plead for his help in the case in the following heartfelt manner: “Help me, run to my aid Mr. Çakıroğlu! I will give you whatever you want. All my means are at your disposal. Find the killers and avenge my wife. I am begging you.”<sup>41</sup> Orhan shows his confidence in the Turkish police force saying that he is confident that they will capture the killer (“Your wife’s killers will fall into the steel claws of the police”) but, seeing that Cevat really wants him to take the case, Orhan accepts. At this point Cevat, confident that Orhan will capture the killer is relieved and says: “Now I can relax. Knowing that you are involved means that I can be certain that my wife will be avenged.”<sup>42</sup> This demonstrates further that Orhan’s fame is known by all and that when he takes a case the victims will be pleased while the criminals will be afraid. On one of Orhan’s trips to Izmir in *Çakıroğlu at the Izmir Fair*, Necmi Senüstol, who is one of Izmir’s finest, on learning that Orhan Çakıroğlu is there becomes so excited to see him that he sheds tears of joy: “his eyes shone with delight. He was going to both

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<sup>39</sup> Murat Akdoğan, *Haramiler Çetesi*, 11. Translation is mine.

<sup>40</sup> Murat Akdoğan, *Şeh Hasanın Kızı*, 3.

<sup>41</sup> Murat Akdoğan, *Dirilen Ölü*, 14. Translation is mine.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid., 14. Translation is mine.

meet the master and be able to take advantage of his help.”<sup>43</sup> Sometimes the respect for Orhan reaches an even higher level. This is particularly true of people whom Orhan had helped previously. We see a good example of this in *Revenge of the Forger* in which we are reintroduced to Hüseyin, the man Orhan helped in *Off-target Dagger* by showing that while he did kill a man, he did so out of self-defense. Hüseyin, who has since left Trabzon and come to Istanbul, would do anything to help Orhan. Akdoğan describes Hüseyin as follows: “This naïve, pure and reliable child of the Black Sea (*Karadeniz çocuğu*) had bound himself to Orhan Çakıroğlu with an unrivalled fidelity. Having been saved from his enemy’s bullet, he had given himself to the detective’s bidding. He was eager to die at his request.”<sup>44</sup> Respect for and fear of Orhan’s ability drive the criminals later in the same story to decide to kill him:

It was you who caught us and sent us to prison fifteen years ago! It is your treasonous intellect that extinguishes our hopes, upsets our plans, closes the door on our fortune and happiness! Finally the hour for revenge has arrived. You are going to die! You must die in order for our future, our happiness, and our fortune to live. As long as the man named Çakıroğlu lives, we will have no rest, peace or hope.<sup>45</sup>

Of course there are a number of other examples of respect and fear in the stories, but I have demonstrated a clear pattern that speaks to Murat Akdoğan’s intent as a writer. The overall message with this point is that one who does his job successfully will be respected (if the person in question happens to be a police officer then he or she will also be feared).

Next, we shall address Orhan’s generosity. Let us not forget that, as mentioned above, he does all his detective work on an honorary basis with the simple desire to see

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<sup>43</sup> Murat Akdoğan, *Çakıroğlu İzmir Fuarında*, 10. Translation is mine.

<sup>44</sup> Murat Akdoğan, *Kalpazanın İntikamı*, 3. Translation is mine.

<sup>45</sup> Murat Akdoğan, *Kalpazanın İntikamı*, 23. Translation is mine.

justice realised. When he was left money by one of the people he had helped in a will, he did not keep the money, but instead donated it to the Child Defense Association of Ankara (*Ankara Çocuk Esirgeme Kurumu*).<sup>46</sup> Again in the fourteenth story, *A Strange Letter*, we see that he is famous for his detective work but that he is also famous for the generosity of his character. While in a coffeeshop, a young man is telling his uncle that his son had been captured by bandits on his return from Yugoslavia. The old man becomes extremely troubled about the kidnapping of his son, but doesn't know what to do. As it turns out, there is a man sitting at the next table who has overheard the story and tells the old man to not give up hope because he had just read in the paper that Orhan Çakıroğlu had been invited to Belgrade and would be heading there within the week. He then advised the old man to write a brief letter to Orhan describing the problem because he says that Orhan is ““a very kind-hearted man”” and will ““definitely accept your request [to investigate the case],”” and that contacting Orhan would be the best way to obtain information about and learn the conclusion of the case.<sup>47</sup>

Murat Akdoğan also writes a considerable amount to demonstrate Orhan Çakıroğlu's humility. The first example of this, to which I have hitherto referred, comes in the introduction of the very first story. Upon reading his former secretary's letter asking permission to publish his case notes to act as a positive example for the nation's youth, Orhan gives permission on the condition that she not make him appear greater than he really is. This sets the stage and tells us what type of humility we can expect from Orhan and the later stories do nothing to change the reader's initial opinion. Orhan is quite aware of his fame both within and outside of Turkey, but he only ever sees himself

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<sup>46</sup> Murat Akdoğan, *Öldüren Kim?*, 27.

<sup>47</sup> Murat Akdoğan, *Garip Bir Mektup*, 12. Translation is mine.

as a representative of the Turkish people. In a number of places, which we will address later, he takes pride in the quality of Turkish products or the admirable nature of Turks, but he never takes personal pride in his own achievements. For example, while he is in Syria, in *Gang of Thieves*, after he had captured the terrible gang with minimal effort and time that the local and French police had been unable to capture after months of effort, he still refers to himself simply as “a Turkish Police Officer.”<sup>48</sup> He refers to himself in the same humble fashion again in some of the other stories. Not only does he not feel pride in his accomplishments, he even downplays his successes. We see an example of this in *Severed Head of a Child* in which he is discussing the aforementioned famous European car race that he won in a Fiat. In his telling of the story, Orhan credits the car, not himself: “My car was like an arrow. It came in first place by a wide margin over all the other makes of car.” Orhan then goes on to claim that the Italian press had blown it out of proportion and subsequently the Turkish press had done so also.<sup>49</sup>

In contrast to many of the famous Western detective heroes, especially Sherlock Holmes, who attend most to their mental side often to the expense of their physical bodies, Murat Akdoğan clearly feels that a proper Turkish hero should be in good physical condition. This is also a concept that Atatürk clearly held to be true as evidenced by his famous saying “A sound mind is found in a sound body.”<sup>50</sup> Accordingly, Akdoğan spills a good deal of ink in articulating the physical condition of both Orhan Çakıroğlu and his assistants. In the final story, *The Goldsmith’s Dog*, Akdoğan describes the physical appearance of Orhan, Durgut, Mehmet, and Kartal, who are playing soccer on the beach, as four “handsome, healthy, and agile” young men between the ages of

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<sup>48</sup> Murat Akdoğan, *Haramiler Çetesi*, 32. Translation is mine.

<sup>49</sup> Murat Akdoğan. *Kesik Bir Çocuk Başı*, 13. Translation is mine.

<sup>50</sup> Translation is mine. (Original reads: “Sağlam kafa sağlam vücutta bulunur.”)

twenty-six and thirty-five.<sup>51</sup> Yet, there are many other indications of Orhan's physical condition in the earlier works as well. Other examples that show how his being in good physical condition aids in his work come in various stories of the series. Some examples include: "With unexpected agility, Orhan Çakıroğlu grasped his gun, aimed, and fired three shots at the lamp in the centre of the room,"<sup>52</sup> or "Çakıroğlu, who is agile like a tiger,"<sup>53</sup> or again we read of Orhan's "unexpected agility."<sup>54</sup> Akdoğan also gives a specific physical description of Turgut Tansü, Orhan's first (and favourite) assistant, in *Tracks in the Snow* as a "muscular, well-built detective."<sup>55</sup> The message is clear: a proper Turk should care for his or her physical condition.

In the early detective fiction novels in Europe, the authors made an effort to make the police appear strong, confident, successful, and helpful not towards only the haves but the have-nots as well.<sup>56</sup> This effort was made in order to sway the popular opinion of the day toward the newly established police forces from one of dislike and distrust, to one of trust. We see a strong pro-police message in Murat Akdoğan's works also. While this may have had the intent to venerate the police force, this author is of the opinion that the fact that almost a century had passed since the establishment of the new police force in Turkey (1845),<sup>57</sup> that this would not have been the pressing point. Instead, it has the dual function of: 1) raising support for the new Turkish Police Force and the much newer government administration, and 2) allowing Akdoğan to extend his characterisation of

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<sup>51</sup> Murat Akdoğan. *Kuyumcunun Köpeği*, 8.

<sup>52</sup> Murat Akdoğan. *Kirk Haramiler İninde*, 24. Translation is mine.

<sup>53</sup> Murat Akdoğan. *Kaynar Suyla Yakılan Polis*, 26. Translation is mine.

<sup>54</sup> Murat Akdoğan. *Ölüm Tuzağı*, 29. Translation is mine.

<sup>55</sup> Murat Akdoğan. *Kar Üstündeki İzler*, 29. Translation is mine.

<sup>56</sup> Reitz, *Detecting the Empire*, 20.

<sup>57</sup> Ferdan Ergut. *Modern Devlet ve Polis: Osmanlı'dan Cumhuriyet'e Toplumsal Denetimin Diyalektiği*. (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2004), 106.

Orhan Çakıroğlu to Turks in the general population. In his three-pronged approach that points to: 1) a positive view of the Turkish police force, 2) Turkish quality (often juxtaposed to foreign inferiority), and 3) Turkish cooperation, Murat Akdoğan expands the previously discussed positive character traits of Orhan Çakıroğlu to Turks in general.

As previously mentioned, Orhan Çakıroğlu often refers to himself as “a Turkish Police Detective.” This is an indication of his modesty, but it is also a way of saying “I am simply one member of the Turkish police force” and in so doing, he implies that the other members of the police force are equal to him. One instance of supporting the police comes in a rather backhanded manner in *Child Thief* when a man whose daughter has been kidnapped comes to Orhan for help. Despite his faith and trust in the police force, he requests the more subtle assistance that Çakıroğlu is able to provide: “As you know well, Mr. Çakıroğlu, our police organisation is very valuable and very efficient. It has the full and absolute confidence of the nation. However, you can respect the thief’s finesse. The criminals who understand that they are being chased will think about ending the lives of the poor young children.”<sup>58</sup> It turns out that, in order to maintain the low profile expected of him, Orhan disguises himself in this story much more than any of the others.<sup>59</sup> In *Çakıroğlu at the Izmir Fair* when hotel guests become aware of a crime being committed at the hotel, one of them runs to the telephone and “inform[s] Izmir’s *agile and unrelenting police*,”<sup>60</sup> who, of course, arrived with great speed. Orhan later makes his

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<sup>58</sup> Murat Akdoğan. *Çocuk Hırsız*, 6-7. Translation is mine.

<sup>59</sup> Disguise was a detective tactic used regularly, almost comically, by the first indigenous detective hero *Amanvermez Avni*, but it really is not used very often by Orhan Çakıroğlu.

<sup>60</sup> Murat Akdoğan. *Çakıroğlu İzmir Fuarında*, 9. Translation and italics are mine.



feelings towards Turkish police officers when he says ““I know you care for me. I too love all my police colleagues dearly.””<sup>61</sup>

In *Officer Burned with Boiling Water*, people are terrified of a terrible gang of criminals terrorising Ankara, but in the end they know that the police will be successful in bringing these criminals to justice and saving the city: “On this night police whistles were heard more than any other night. Ah! These police! For all these years they haven’t allowed a thief or a bandit a breath. For certain Ankara will be saved from this gang.”<sup>62</sup> As previously mentioned, Orhan Çakıroğlu expresses his confidence in the ability of the Turkish police when he tells a man whose wife has been murdered that the killers will ““fall into the steel claws of the police.””<sup>63</sup> Orhan reiterates this sentiment in *Revenge of the Forger* when he discusses a suspect: ““No matter what he will not escape the steel hand of the Turkish police!””<sup>64</sup> This support of Turkish police will serve to raise the reader’s confidence in the Turkish Police Force.

Police are also presented as physically fit and able as in *Death Trap* when an officer is described as follows: “The officer looked like an agile and excellent youth.”<sup>65</sup>

Turkish police are also hardworking and ready to defend justice whenever called upon. This aspect of their character is shown in *Death Trap* as follows: “The victim was awakened and his statement was taken by the young police officers. Even at this late hour, the Pangaltı police began a feverish investigation.”<sup>66</sup> This demonstrates confidence in the relatively new government administration by showing that the administration

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<sup>61</sup> Ibid., 11. Translation is mine.

<sup>62</sup> Murat Akdoğan. *Kaynar Suyla Yakılan Polis*, 7. Translation is mine.

<sup>63</sup> Murat Akdoğan. *Dirilen Ölü*, 14. Translation is mine.

<sup>64</sup> Akdoğan. *Kalpazanın İntikamı*, 11. Translation is mine.

<sup>65</sup> Akdoğan. *Ölüm Tuzağı*, 8. Translation is mine.

<sup>66</sup> Ibid., 9. Translation is mine.

supports quick and effective police action at any time of the day or night. This hardworking nature of Turkish police is repeated in *Killer Father Killer Son* when Orhan says of the police of Istanbul, ““Every one of Istanbul’s police officers has the ability to flawlessly solve any case that may fall to him or her.””<sup>67</sup>

Thus, the positive view of the Turkish police force presented here already begins the process of extending the positive traits of Orhan to the larger population. The next two points, that is Turkish superiority and Turkish cooperation, really work in tandem along with the previous point to extrapolate the qualities given to Orhan Çakıroğlu onto Turks in general. It is with these points that Akdoğan really demonstrates his desire to raise and unify Turks.

Murat Akdoğan uses two tools with which to demonstrate the pre-eminence of the Republic of Turkey: first, he bestows the virtues of the country, its people, and its products; second, he rarely misses an opportunity to deride a foreign country in relation to Turkey. Orhan Çakıroğlu is, of course, ready and able to be an exemplary representative for Turks when he is abroad, and it is at those times when he is in a foreign country that we see a mingling of the two aforementioned tools. We see an example of Orhan’s positive impression in *Shaikh Hasan’s Daughter* while he is in Beirut, Akdoğan describes Orhan’s nature as follows: “While in foreign countries, Çakıroğlu was a man who worked not for money but to show the strength and perfection of the Turkish police.”<sup>68</sup> This is demonstrated by the fact that this same story tells us about how, in four days, Orhan was able to solve a case that local and French police had been working on unsuccessfully for months. This is closely followed, in order to really drive the point

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<sup>67</sup> Akdoğan. *Katil Baba Katil Evlat*, 18. Translation is mine.

<sup>68</sup> Akdoğan, *Şeh Hasanın Kızı*, 3. Translation is mine.

home, by a comment on the inferior nature of the country in general: "...the city didn't resemble any Turkish city. Here the only way to get anything done was with money. With money one could do anything. As a result, it is very difficult to find a trustworthy person."<sup>69</sup> So by using his technique of juxtaposition, Akdoğan has very quickly revealed to his reader that: 1) Turkish police are excellent; 2) Syria is corrupt, and by comparison, Turkey is not. The very next story, *Gang of Thieves*, reinforces the point about the inferiority of Syria as follows: "They say half an hour and make you wait two hours, my friend! In Syria communication is not very disciplined!"<sup>70</sup> So again, the idea of Syrian inferiority, in this case the laziness of its workers, is put forth. This laziness of Syrian Arabs is juxtaposed to the previous statements about the hardworking nature of Turks to paint a clear picture of Turkish superiority. The goodness of Turks is, in fact, recognisable from a distance. In *In the Cave of the Forty Thieves*, Orhan instantly recognises a Turk among the Arabs because "[t]here was a trustworthy aspect on his face as with all who carry Turkish blood."<sup>71</sup> The Turkish man who has come to see Orhan is also exceedingly pleased to see another trustworthy Turk in this foreign land: "Mr. Çakıroğlu please forgive the tears that I shed out of the joy of seeing a man who represents all the incomparable virtues of my Turkishness here in this land far from home among these foreigners who speak a thousand and one languages that I don't understand."<sup>72</sup> It is important to note that he is not simply pleased to see our famous

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<sup>69</sup> Ibid. Translation is mine. (Original reads: "bu şehir, hiç Türk memleketine benzemiyordu. Burada iş gören yegane şey para idi. Para ile her şey yapmak kabildi. Sonra güvenilir insan bulmak da zordu.").

<sup>70</sup> Akdoğan. *Haramiler Çetesi*, 18. Translation is mine.

<sup>71</sup> Akdoğan. *Kırk Haramiler İnde*, 7. Translation is mine.

<sup>72</sup> Ibid., 8. Translation is mine. (Original reads: "Yurdumuzdan uzakta, anlamadığım bin bir dille konuşan yabancı insanlar arasında Türklüğümün bütün eşsiz meziyetlerini temsil

detective, but he is glad to see a man (of which there are presumably many) who represents the unrivalled virtues of Turkishness.

This excellence carries into the products made by Turks in Turkey. In *Çakıroğlu at the Izmir Fair*, the excellence of Turkish spirits is bestowed. Twice in the space of one page Akdoğan writes enthusiastically about Turkish liquor. First, he writes that the liquor being served at a special ball was greatly appreciated even by foreign guests. Then again on the same page he writes about how these foreigners had been drinking the unequalled Turkish spirits for years.<sup>73</sup>

The final point regarding this extension of traits to the population that I will analyse is Murat Akdoğan's clear recommendation to his readers that Turks should cooperate with each other both within Turkey and outside of it. Let us consider some specific examples of cooperation in the Orhan Çakıroğlu stories. An excellent example of cooperation comes in the eighth story, *Shaikh Hasan's Daughter*, in which Cemil, a Turkish taxi driver who now works in Beirut, offers to assist Orhan in solving the case. Orhan, happy to find help from a trustworthy person in this foreign land full of dishonest people, asks Cemil to work for him that day and that he would pay his usual salary. To which Cemil replies that he wants no money as assisting Orhan Çakıroğlu is a rare pleasure in itself. Cemil goes on to be an excellent aid to Orhan in this case.<sup>74</sup>

Now with the efforts Mustafa Kemal Atatürk and his administration put into secularising Turkey in the 1920s, a shift in conceptualisation of "Turkishness" from that of early Turkists, namely Ziya Gökalp, who held Islam to be an important component in

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eden bir adamla karşı karşıya bulunmak haz ve lezzetile döktüğüm göz yaşlarımı affedininiz Bay Çakıroğlu."").

<sup>73</sup> Akdoğan. *Çakıroğlu İzmir Fuarında*, 5.

<sup>74</sup> Akdoğan. *Şeh Hasanın Kızı*, 23.

the identity of Turks, was required. Kemal was never anti-Islam,<sup>75</sup> he simply did not want Turks to allow superstition and irrational thought to sway them. In effect, he was a supporter of the educated believer. Yet, in the midst of a strong secular movement, it would have been virtually impossible to make Islam a central aspect of Turkishness. This would have been tantamount to saying: this is secular Turkey, but to be a Turk, you must be Muslim. In the High Kemalist period beginning in the 1930s, policies were developed by the government to promote Turkishness through culture and language, but no policies, strictly speaking, promoted Turkish identity via Islam.<sup>76</sup>

As shown above, Murat Akdoğan characterises Turks through the character of Orhan Çakıroğlu in a number of ways, but religious affiliation plays absolutely no role in his positive definition of Turkishness. This changes when we analyse his characterisation of the criminals in these stories. Üyepazarcı notes that the majority of the criminals are not Turks.<sup>77</sup> In fact, religious affiliation plays the paramount role in the negative definition of Turkishness, i.e. what Turks are not. Most of the criminals are Greeks, Armenians, Jews, and there are even Westerners (examples include a German thief and a swindling, French police chief). There are bad Muslims in the stories, but very few of these are of Turkish decent. In the cases in which Muslims and Muslim Turks are the criminals, their characters are so obviously bad that the reader would likely not accept them as fellow Muslims anyway.

The numbers of criminals alone show a fairly clear pattern of what Akdoğan is presenting, but he really clarifies his thoughts on the issue through his characterisations

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<sup>75</sup> Kerem Yılmaz. *Dindar Atatürk*, 3-5.

<sup>76</sup> Soner Çağaptay. *Islam, secularism, and nationalism in modern Turkey: who is a Turk?* (London and New York: Routledge, 2006), 85.

<sup>77</sup> Üyepazarcı, 216.

of said criminals. We will analyse these traits after establishing the contemporary backdrop.

One of the questions to receive significant government attention during the early-1940s was the question of merchants. Many felt that merchants were artificially raising prices during the Second World War in order to make great private profit. That is to say that these merchants were willing to enact policies to the detriment of Turkey for personal gain. To penalise “the hoarding landowner,” “the speculating merchant,” and “a few politicians” who were all “attempting to destroy a great nation’s entire life”<sup>78</sup> simply to enrich themselves, the government enacted the infamous Wealth Tax<sup>79</sup> (*Varlık Vergisi*) on 11 November 1942. This was to be a one-time levy that was widely supported against the so-called “war millionaires.”<sup>80</sup> One of the problems with this tax was that it was left to local authorities to assess and collect the tax based on the “presumed wealth” of the individual in question. The assessment was not up for appeal and had to be paid in cash within two weeks. Failure to do so would mean exile to a labour camp in Aşkale.<sup>81</sup> Populations that suffered the most as a result of this tax were Jews and Christians as of the 1400 people who were sent to Aşkale, none were Turkish Muslims. Eventually, in February 1944, the government forgave outstanding debts and cancelled the tax.<sup>82</sup> But, as

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<sup>78</sup> John M. VanderLippe, *The Politics of Turkish Democracy: İsmet İnönü and the Formation of the Multi-Party System, 1938-1950*. (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 2005), 82.

<sup>79</sup> For more on this tax see Ayhan Aktar. *Varlık Vergisi ve ‘Türkleştirme’ Politikaları*. (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2000), and Faik Ökte. *Varlık Vergisi Faciası*. (İstanbul; Nebioğlu Yayınevi, 1951).

<sup>80</sup> VanderLippe, 84.

<sup>81</sup> VanderLippe, 84.

<sup>82</sup> VanderLippe, 85.

Çağaptay states, “[s]ince the 1930s, Ankara’s understanding of what constitutes Turkishness...has dominated.”<sup>83</sup>

Following our discussion of this series, it will be clear that Muslim villains appear in a more positive light than non-Muslim villains. There are two reasons for this: first, the number of Muslim villains in the stories is proportionally much lower than the population of Muslims in Turkey at the time, and conversely the rates of non-Muslim villains are much higher; second, the most depraved of the villains are the non-Muslim ones. To demonstrate this, I will begin by comparing the numbers of the villains in the stories to the rates at which they were actually found in the actual population of the period. I will follow this with an analysis of depravity to demonstrate that, in these stories, the non-Muslim villains are more depraved than the Muslim ones.

There are a total of 70 identifiable villains in these stories. Census data at this time used religious denomination and/or language as determinants. As a result the figures for Turks, Arabs and other non-Turk Muslims are listed together. I will follow this and conflate the totals for Turks, Arabs, and other Muslims together for a total of 38% of the 70 villains. Greeks follow closely at 37%. Following these top two groups are Armenian villains (12%), Jews and Europeans (5%), and finally gypsies (4%). According to census data of the 1920s, these groups actually appear in the population at the following rates: Muslims (13 721 854 or 80.8%), Greeks (1 555 936 or 9.2%), Armenians (1 449 431 or 8.5%), Jews (130 592 or 0.8%).<sup>84</sup> Figures for Europeans and gypsies<sup>85</sup> were not listed. I do not plan to discuss Europeans here because the few crimes committed by Europeans

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<sup>83</sup> Çağaptay, 100.

<sup>84</sup> Daniel Panzac. *Population et Santé dans L’Empire Ottoman (XVIIIe-XXe siècles)*. (Istanbul: Les Éditions Isis, 1996), 190.

<sup>85</sup> Being a largely transient population, it is difficult to get accurate figures for the population of gypsies.

(here I am referring to French and German villains) are generally cases of theft with no violence. As for gypsies, they only appear in one story, so their numbers have not been exaggerated; however, the gypsy villains are quite ghastly and warrant our attention. Overall, we can clearly see that the percentages of villains in the stories do not correspond to the actual percentage of each group in the population (see Figure 1).

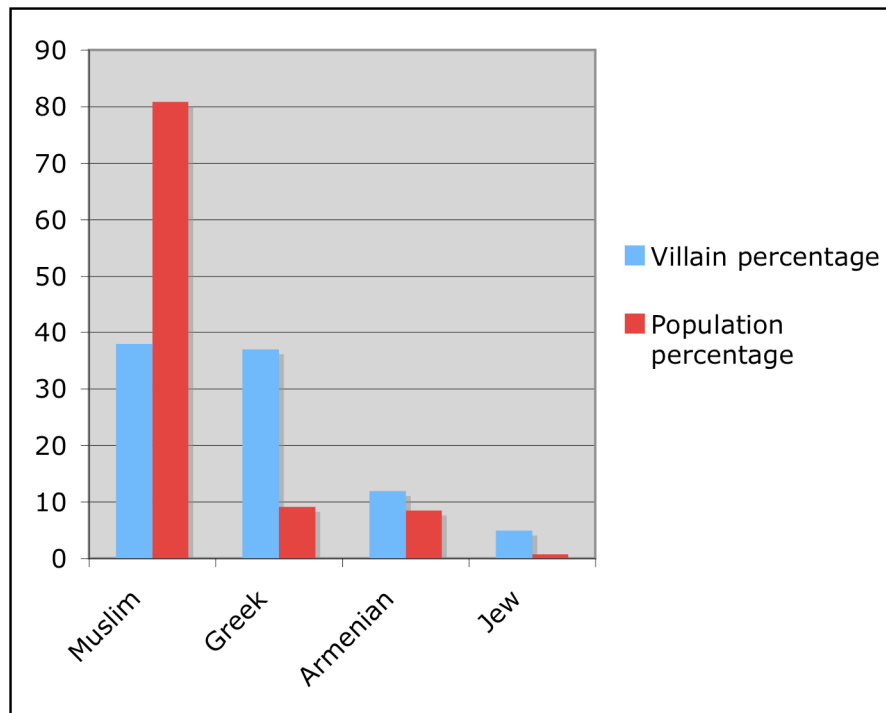


Figure 1

Now that I have shown Akdoğan's bias for using non-Muslim characters as villains, let us address the level of depravity of these villains. For this analysis, I have selected the stories that portray the most depraved characters of each group. Now, clearly there is no objective measure of depravity, but I will suggest a framework through which to view these crimes. As these novels were written during a period of great attention to national spirit, and as these detective novels very specifically promoted concepts of



Turkish nationalism, crimes involving injury to family or race are judged harshly in these stories. Other deplorable themes are defiling of bodies and crimes against police.

Following a description of the motives and crimes of each group and with attention to the type of crime and the victim(s) of said crime, it will be clear that non-Muslims are characterised to be more depraved than the Muslim villains.

The first story we will analyse, *The Arm that came out of the River*, develops the character traits of a greedy, merciless Arab couple. A Syrian couple—Hacı Ömer and his wife, described as “two Syrian monsters,”<sup>86</sup> and the wife, who remains nameless is depicted as follows: “This fat, bow-legged woman was the Arab’s wife”<sup>87</sup>—have opened a tea garden near a river in Eskişehir. They target wealthy people and serve them poisoned coffee. At this point they steal all valuables, then cut up and dump the bodies in the deepest part of the river. We see a further aspect of Ömer’s character when he tries to help a friend who has just escaped from prison (actually Orhan in disguise) by informing him that ““the cursed, wicked Çakıroğlu will be on [his] tail the whole way.””<sup>88</sup> We can see from this attitude that he is a hardened criminal. This is a disgusting crime in which bodies are defiled that reveals a serious lack of respect for human life and was committed simply out of greed.

The story *Whose Body is This?* develops the story of a depraved Turkish villain. Osman commits adultery with his brother’s wife. When he sees that the shepherd resembles him he puts a devious plan in motion: he kidnaps his brother (whom he also resembles), kills the shepherd and leaves his clothes and ID on the shepherd so that the police think he is dead, then takes over his brother’s identity. He is keeping his brother

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<sup>86</sup> Akdoğan, *Irmaktan Çıkan Kol*, 27. Translation is mine.

<sup>87</sup> Ibid., 18. Translation is mine.

<sup>88</sup> Ibid., 23. Translation is mine.

bound and gagged in a secret room in the basement trying to get complete information from him about all his hidden wealth. The clear assumption is that Osman plans to kill his brother once he gets this information. Apparently, the only one who can tell the two brothers apart is the mother, who doesn't like or trust Osman at all.<sup>89</sup> Knowing this, Osman attempts to kill his mother in her bed. Luckily, Orhan, fearing for her safety, had arranged for the mother to spend the night at a neighbour's house. During the police investigation, Osman as Ömer says of himself: "He is a man who has collected all of humanity's evil traits within himself."<sup>90</sup> With this the reader knows that Osman understands his evil nature, thus making his crimes even more reprehensible than if they had been committed by one with no sense of morality. Binnaz, Ömer's wife, is completely complicit in the crimes from adultery to kidnapping to murder. In this example, we have villains who are committing crimes against their own family, which is a reprehensible crime.

*Car Crash in Uludağ* tells the story of another depraved Turkish villain. Orhan's friend, Nazmi Ando, is a rich contractor in Bursa, who is married to a very young and beautiful girl named Cemile. The day after Orhan arrives in Bursa for an unrelated reason, Nazmi is in a car accident and dies. The 'accident' was not an accident, he had been murdered by Cemile's half-brother, whose father had been killed by a gendarme while committing a crime while he was still a young boy. He is terribly abusive and has tortured and cut Cemile on many occasions to force her to marry Nazmi—a marriage she didn't want, but her brother saw as a chance to become rich.<sup>91</sup> After causing the 'accident' that killed Nazmi, Cemile's half-brother, who is never named, tries to get his

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<sup>89</sup> Akdoğan, *Bu Ceset Kimin?*, 8.

<sup>90</sup> Ibid., 11. Translation is mine.

<sup>91</sup> Akdoğan, *Uludağdaki Otomobil Kazası*, 25-26.

hand on all the money by forcing Cemile to write a suicide note and kill herself (thereby leaving him all the money), but she understands his plan and refuses.<sup>92</sup> Clearly, this villain is truly evil. His evil seems to be along three lines: first, he is greedy as demonstrated by the fact that he would force his sister to marry a man she does not know or love just so he can be rich. Second, he is dominating. Cemile describes this trait as follows: ““At home, what he says goes. He punishes disobedience with insults, beatings and even death. My ageing father, my sick mother and I all trembled in fear of him.””<sup>93</sup> His third evil trait was insensitiveness. Cemile claims that ““he has no understanding of pity.””<sup>94</sup> As a crime against family, this crime is deplorable and the reader can see this by the judgment of Orhan, who says, ““In all my days as a detective I have never seen the equal of this murderer.””<sup>95</sup>

*Murder in Okmeydanı* develops the characters of two depraved Greeks, Nikola and Mavro. Nikola has gambling debts and decides, with the help of Mavro, to kill his father, İlyada, and steal the money from his safe. İlyada is set to travel to Greece, but just after the train departs Mavro enters his cabin, knocks him out, and throws him out the window. Worse is that he seems to take pleasure in this evil act: “On seeing the body of the man he had just forcibly shoved through the window land on a low mound of coal, a satanic grin appeared on his lips.”<sup>96</sup> He jumps off the train and together with Nikola, they load the body into a car, drive it a distance from the tracks and dump it in a well. So, not only is Nikola responsible for his father’s death, he has deprived him of the honour of a proper burial, instead dumping him in a well like trash. A witness reports the body

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<sup>92</sup> Ibid., 28.

<sup>93</sup> Ibid., 25. Translation is mine.

<sup>94</sup> Ibid. Translation is mine.

<sup>95</sup> Ibid., 30. Translation is mine.

<sup>96</sup> Akdoğan, *Okmeydanı Cinayeti*, 4. Translation is mine.

dumping. The police retrieve the body and find that there is no money and that the key to the safe is missing. There are two keys required to open the safe and the other is with İlyada's brother Mihal. However, on being asked about the key, Mihal shows it to the officers but realises that it is a fake at that moment.<sup>97</sup> The attorney general, Vedat, weighs in on these criminals with the following judgment: "We are on the trail of seriously bloody and fearsome villains."<sup>98</sup> Of course, Orhan solves the case and captures the pair. Murat Akdoğan provides the final judgment on the depravity of the criminals: "They confessed to their murder with a disgusting and inconceivable calm. They were given the death penalty for their premeditated murder committed for the desire for money. They gave their lives at the gallows."<sup>99</sup>

In *Revenge of the Forger* we have the story of two Armenians, Avram and Artin. Artin, Avram's partner, had been caught by Orhan five years earlier for fraud. Upon his release, he and Avram design a plan to kill Orhan. Avram goes to Orhan's office to tell him the terrible story of how during the Turkish War of Independence, some of his relatives had committed treason by aiding foreign powers, how he had tried unsuccessfully to stop them and how he had later moved to the outskirts of Istanbul (Bakırköy) to live quietly as a dentist. Now his relatives are seeking revenge against him. Orhan agrees to go with Avram to his apartment to investigate. When they get to the building, Orhan steps into the elevator and Avram locks it and knocks him out with chloroform. Back at the office, Orhan's assistant, Hüseyin, tells another assistant, Davut, that Orhan had gone off with Avram and that he had noticed Avram's facial expression on learning that Orhan was alone: "I can still see his devilish grin on learning that

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<sup>97</sup> Ibid., 22.

<sup>98</sup> Ibid., 25. Translation is mine.

<sup>99</sup> Ibid., 31. Translation is mine.

[Orhan] was alone.”<sup>100</sup> Back at the apartment, Artin enters to promise death to Orhan: ““You’re going to die! For our future, our happiness and for our fortune, you must die. As long as the man named Çakıroğlu is alive it means we will have no rest, peace of mind, or hope.”<sup>101</sup> In the meantime, Davut has found the building and comes to save Orhan, but Avram and Artin capture and beat him. Orhan is able to loosen the knots and escape. After capturing Artin and Avram, and much searching, he finds Davut bound, beaten and bleeding in a hidden room in the basement. If they had been successful, the two would have killed two police detectives.

The next story, *Killer Father Killer Son*, hitches a ride on the classic refrain of the Jew as moneygrubber. However, the villain in this story, Jak, is truly evil and bloodthirsty. Jak kills his employer and pharmacy owner, Abraham, in his bed by stabbing him “four or five times.”<sup>102</sup> The police receive a letter from Abraham in which he claims that the person planning to kill him is his son, Samuel, that he has poisoned his house to get revenge on him, and that, if his revenge is unsuccessful, he wishes for Samuel to hang: ““If my poison doesn’t kill him, he must give his life at the gallows.”<sup>103</sup> The police go to Samuel’s house only to find him, his wife and their seven-year-old daughter dead. Murat Akdoğan gives an initial judgment on Abraham that once again reaffirms the deplorable nature of crimes against the family: “This means that old Abraham has become the agent of a disaster rarely seen in human history.”<sup>104</sup> But this is incorrect as Orhan and his assistants realise that the murders were actually committed by

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<sup>100</sup> Akdoğan, *Kalpazanın İntikamı*, 17. Translation is mine.

<sup>101</sup> Ibid., 23. Translation is mine.

<sup>102</sup> Akdoğan, *Katil Baba Katil Evlat*, 9. Translation is mine.

<sup>103</sup> Ibid., 11. Translation is mine.

<sup>104</sup> Ibid., 13. Translation is mine.

“a killer as frightful as Fantoma.”<sup>105</sup> [Fantômas, created by French writers Marcel Allain (1885–1969) and Pierre Souvestre (1874–1914) was a sociopath who enjoyed killing in a sadistic fashion].<sup>106</sup> Orhan learns that Abraham had a distant relative, Salvador, who would inherit everything in the case of the death of both Abraham and Samuel’s family. Orhan begins to suspect Jak, an employee of Abraham’s pharmacy who had the key to the stock room and, therefore, access to the poison. Orhan suspects a partnership between the two and poses as a lawyer to trick Salvador by telling him that Abraham had had a mistress with whom he had had a child and that this child is the proper heir. He follows Salvador and sees that he meets directly with Jak. Listening to the conversation, Orhan hears that Jak, who is often referred to as Jak the Jew, now plans to kill the child! Jak has already killed four people and clearly has no plans of stopping until he gets his money. Orhan sets up a room with two actors: a woman and a child with the expectation that Jak will come. He does. But, before entering the room, he disperses a knockout gas into the room through the keyhole. Orhan, who had been prepared for chloroform, was not prepared for this gas and loses consciousness. Davut is there to capture Jak. This is a disturbing story of bloodthirsty violence committed by Jews against Jews simply for money so it is one of the truly deplorable crimes.

In the last story we will analyse, *Çakıroğlu’s Doom*, Hüseyin the gypsy and his partner Halil lure a couple of drunken men back to their hideout with claims of fun, drinking and dancing. They order their partner, Ayşe, to prepare appetizers and bring out

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<sup>105</sup> Ibid., 14. Translation is mine.

<sup>106</sup> Phil Hardy. *The BFI companion to crime, Volume 1997, Part 2*. (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1997), 125-126, Martin Priestman, ed. *The Cambridge Companion to Crime Fiction*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 71-72, and Fantômas. <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fantômas> (accessed 23 May 2010).

the liquor. When the two men are falling-down drunk, Hüseyin gives them the bill, which is inflated beyond anything imaginable. When the men complain, Hüseyin and Halil kill them both. With no remorse, they go on to count and share the money. They then decide to strip them down and, to make identification more difficult, gouge out their eyes and cut off their noses.<sup>107</sup> They even refer to the dead bodies as carcasses (*leş*), thereby removing any humanity that had existed, and dump them in the garbage. Initially the garbageman is blamed, but Orhan is quickly on their trail. We see Hüseyin's willingness to kill police when he says of Orhan, "If I could just get him into a dark alley, I'd bash his head with a log. If he is a police officer, then by God, I'll cut him up into little pieces!"<sup>108</sup> This villain even unnerves Orhan for the only time in the series: "Çakıroğlu, who had faced the bloodiest villains and the bloodiest dangers without so much as a tremble, shuddered for the first time in his life at the cursed face of Hüseyin the gypsy."<sup>109</sup> Orhan follows Hüseyin, but he is aware of it and is able to trick Orhan and knock him out. He drags him into his hideout and when Halil arrives, they bind and gag him, toss him into a chest and lock and bind the chest. Later, without knowing that Orhan had escaped, toss the chest into the Bosphorus. So, after killing two innocent men and defiling their bodies in gruesome fashion, these gypsies "kill"<sup>110</sup> a police officer.

So under the rubric of crimes against the family, we have Turkish and Greek villains. The Jewish villains committed both crimes against the family and the race. The Greek villains also fall into the two categories of crimes against family and defiling of bodies, a crime also committed by the Arab and gypsy villains. Though unsuccessful,

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<sup>107</sup> Akdoğan, *Çakıroğlu'nun Korkunç Akibeti*, 8, 11.

<sup>108</sup> Ibid., 21. Translation is mine.

<sup>109</sup> Ibid. Translation is mine.

<sup>110</sup> Of course, Orhan had escaped so they did not actually kill him. However, the intent was clear and should be assessed accordingly.

both Armenian and gypsy villains tried to kill police officers. According to this rough sketch, Jewish, Greek, and gypsy villains are the most depraved as they commit two of the deplorable crimes while the most depraved of the Muslim villains only commit one of the deplorable crimes.

As a result, both in terms of the depravity of the crimes and the exaggeration of the numbers of non-Muslim criminals in these stories, the reader is left with a clear picture of greater depravity among non-Muslims.

Overall, I have demonstrated a clear intent on Murat Akdoğan's part to follow and promote Kemalist concepts to the population at large. Initially, I illustrate the way Akdoğan uses reader address within his stories both to draw the reader into the story and to confirm that this story was written to send a message to the reader. My argument proceeded from there to analyse the positive character traits of Orhan Çakıroğlu and his team of assistants. Included in this argument, I discussed the way that Akdoğan adopts the Kemalist project of reforming the language by replacing foreign loan words with neologisms created with Turkish roots. I then go on to argue that Akdoğan extends the positive characterisations of Orhan and his team first to Turkish police officers, then through an exposition on the superiority of Turkish products and his call for Turkish cooperation he extends these positive character traits to the larger population. Finally, I analyse the villains of the stories. The villains work to circumscribe "Turkishness" in two ways. First, of the 70 villains in the stories, Muslims appear at a much lower rate than that they are found in the population. Greeks fare the worst as they both appear as villains at a much greater rate than their percentage of the population and they are often portrayed



as terribly depraved. While Armenians, Jews, and gypsies appear as villains at a rate much closer to their actual population rate, they are also often portrayed as depraved.

In this way, Akdoğan paints a very clear, pro-Kemalist picture of the qualities of “Turkishness” and prohibits actions not becoming of Turks.

### ***Samancıgil's Famous Turkish Detective Hızır Kaplan and the Introduction of Rationalism to Turkish Youth***

In his study of Turkish detective fiction, Erol Üyepazarcı makes four significant statements about A. Samancıgil's *The Secret and Terrible Case Files of Famous Turkish Detective Hızır Kaplan* (*Meşhur Türk Polis Haftiyesi Hızır Kaplan'ın Gizli ve Korkunç Dosyaları*) series. First, he states that the series began in 1943 and was published every fifteen days. This statement is incorrect as the dime novels were published every ten days; there is even a discussion in the novels about whether it should continue to be published at its once-every-ten-day pace or become a weekly publication, with the request that readers write in to vote on the issue, but this will be discussed below as it falls under the purview of one of the points regarding the targeted audience. Second, he states that no information about the author is available, which corroborates what this author found. Third, Üyepazarcı states that due to the “various school materials” (*çeşitli okul malzemeleri*) that were distributed with each story, it is clear that Samancıgil's target audience was the very young reader (*çok genç okurlar*). This is definitely true and we will discuss further evidence and the significance of this below. Last, Üyepazarcı states that the Hızır Kaplan series is “one of the least successful and most childish in plot” of Turkish detective fiction<sup>1</sup> and this author both concurs completely with this statement and feels that the comment about it being “childish” is fitting in the sense that children clearly were the target audience.

There are a total of nine dime novels in the series:

1. *Mezar İnsanları Arasında* (*Among the People of the Graveyard*)

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<sup>1</sup> Erol Üyepazarcı, *Korkmayınız Mister Sherlock Holmes!*, 222. Translation is mine. (Original reads: “en başarısız, kurgu ve entrikaları çocuksu olanlarından biridir”).

2. *Sihirbaz Peşinde (On the Trail of the Magician)*
3. *Bir İnin Esrarı (The Mystery of the Cave)*
4. *Haydut Şebekesi (Network of Thieves)*
5. *Kesikbaş Cinayeti (Murder by Decapitation)*
6. *Hortlayan Ölü (The Undead)*
7. *Baskın (Raid)*
8. *Odaya Konulan Ceset (The Body that was put in the Room)*
9. *Gezen İskelet (The Walking Skeleton)*

As I was unable to locate the novel *Murder by Decapitation*, this study will analyse the other eight novels of the series. Despite having only eight of the nine total novels, our discussion of the Hızır Kaplan series, will go into much greater depth than Üyepazarcı's. He covers the Hızır Kaplan series in a total of two paragraphs while we intend to analyse the series in detail covering the three main areas of interest in the series for this study: first, the target audience; second, Turkish traits as embodied by Hızır Kaplan, and third, the teaching of rationalism. Following this discussion it will be clear that Samancıgil was writing for young readers in order to endorse a number of positive qualities and, most significantly, to dissuade the youth of Turkey from holding on to superstitions and old wives' tales through the promotion of rationalism in the stories.

The fact that Samancıgil was writing to and for a specific readership is made clear by the frequency with which he addresses said readership. Beginning early on, in fact on the second page of the first novel, Samancıgil writes: “*Our* brave police officer had given a new command.”<sup>2</sup> *Our* police officer? Samancıgil is obviously writing this story for

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<sup>2</sup> A. Samancıgil, *Mezar İnsanları Arasında*, 3. Italics and translation are mine. (Original reads: “Cesur polisimiz yeni bir emir vermişti.”).

Turks. Samancıgil goes on to emphasise this by referring to Hızır Kaplan as “*our* police officer” or “*our* detective” regularly throughout the novels.<sup>3</sup> Samancıgil also utilises a technique used by other writers of crime fiction to draw the reader into the story: he carries out a separate dialogue with the reader. For example, in *The Mystery of the Cave*, he writes about the failure of a character to return when he said he would. But, with a nudge and a wink to his presumably attentive reader, he states “the one *we know* to be a bandit”<sup>4</sup> because his clever and attentive readers would have understood that the man was a bandit. This technique has the dual purpose of drawing the reader into the story and reaffirming the fact that Samancıgil is targeting a specific readership.

But who was this readership? Üyepazarcı has already given us a sense that it was Turkish children but he only briefly mentions two reasons for thinking this: first was the fact that “various school materials” were to be found in the novels, and second that the plots of the stories are “childish.” Leaving the childishness of the plots aside, as this author does not believe that a childish plot necessarily presumes a young readership, let us look more closely at what Üyepazarcı refers to as “various school materials:” 1) the comics that are found interspersed within the dime novels, and 2) the coupons, contests and happenings involving reader participation. First, we begin with the comics. Now comics are not necessarily directed at children, but the ones found in these stories clearly are. The first comic, covering two full pages, appears in the middle of the second dime novel. It is a short, continuing Mickey and Minnie Mouse comic in which they are on an adventure to Hell’s Valley to find gold. As such it is very clearly a comic intended for children. In addition, in a small note preceding the actual comic strip, the reader is

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<sup>3</sup> See A. Samancıgil, *Sihirbaz Peşinde*, 15, *Bir İnin Esrarı*, 10, *Gezen İskelet* 7, etc. for other examples of this.

<sup>4</sup> A. Samancıgil, *Bir İnin Esrarı*, 10. Translation is mine.

notified that this is the newest Mickey Mouse comic, that in future volumes the comic will continue at the end of the dime novel,<sup>5</sup> that in its place in the middle of the volume a “colourful, exciting” continuing story about a man mounted on a red horse (*Kızıl Atlı*) would be published, and that “in order to read it buying the Hızır Kaplan dime novel is sufficient.”<sup>6</sup> All are further indicators of it being directed toward children.

The comic that tells the story of a man mounted on a red horse is also directed toward a youthful readership. In the first comic found in the middle of the third story, *The Mystery of the Cave*, the reader learns that it is the story of a brave, strong, seventeen- or eighteen-year-old traveller named Güleç who acutely feels the loss of his father in war.<sup>7</sup> In the following volume, *Network of Thieves*, Güleç continues his travels and this comic illustrates his encounter and courageous defeat of three bandits.<sup>8</sup> The next edition of this comic shows Güleç wrestling a wrestler (*pehlivan*).<sup>9</sup> The wrestling plot continues after skipping one volume in *The Body that was Put in the Room*, when we see Güleç, to the surprise of the spectators, defeat the professional wrestler. Foreshadowing our discussion of Turkishness below, this comic makes its first reference to “Turkish power” (*Türk gücü*).<sup>10</sup> This is the last appearance of this comic in the Hızır Kaplan series. Due to its simplistic plot in which Güleç simply travels from adventure to adventure with virtually no character development, it is clear that this comic was also directed toward children.

The final aspect of this series making this author believe that Samancıgil’s target readership was children is the coupons, contests and happenings involving reader

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<sup>5</sup> This author did not find any more Mickey Mouse comics in the series.

<sup>6</sup> A. Samancıgil, *Sihirbaz Peşinde*, 8-9. Translation is mine.

<sup>7</sup> A. Samancıgil, *Bir İnin Esrarı*, 8-9.

<sup>8</sup> A. Samancıgil, *Haydut Şebekesi*, 8-9.

<sup>9</sup> A. Samancıgil, *Hortlayan Ölü*, 12.

<sup>10</sup> A. Samancıgil, *Odaya Konulan Ceset*, 12.

participation. The final page of the first volume in the series makes two statements about the forthcoming volume: 1) “You will encounter an even more exciting adventure in the forthcoming volume,” and 2) “The forthcoming volume will have more pictures and will be printed in colour.”<sup>11</sup> It goes on to instruct the reader to cut out the coupon found below and send it in because “You will be blown away (*hayretten hayrete düşeceksiniz*) by the valuable surprise.”<sup>12</sup> No coupons or contest announcements were found in the second volume, but in the third volume, *Network of Thieves*, the winners are announced including the name of the winner, his or her address, and what he or she had won. The prizes for first, second, and third—presumably decided by the order the mailed-in coupons were received—were a camera, a wristwatch, and a yellow handbag respectively. This is followed by the announcement of ten contestants who will each win a pair of socks. The final page also includes another coupon to be cut out and mailed in with the promise once again of grand prizes. The reader is also informed that the next volume will be entitled *Murder by Decapitation* and would be published on 15 September 1943.<sup>13</sup> Unfortunately, we were unable to locate this volume so no comments can be made about any supplementary material it may have.

The following volume, however, publishes the winners of the latest contest once again with the winners’ names, addresses and prizes (a wristwatch, a watercolour painting set, and a box of pens respectively). The contestants in fourth through twenty-fifth places each won an unnamed book. The contest announced in this volume adds a level of complexity: a riddle. But, this riddle is hardly complex: the contestant is provided with one letter (K) and instructed to add two letters to it to form the name of a season.

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<sup>11</sup> A. Samancıgil, *Mezar İnsanları Arasında*, 16. Translation is mine.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid., 16. Translation is mine.

<sup>13</sup> A. Samancıgil, *Haydut Şebekesi*, 15.

Obvious to even the youngest of readers, the season is *kış* or winter. The reader is then instructed to send the solution in with the coupon in order to win watches, handbags, pens, socks, or shoes.<sup>14</sup> On the final page of the next volume, *Raid*, those winners are announced. More interesting than that, however, is the announcement of a new contest, which, instead of asking the reader to solve a riddle, asks the reader to vote on whether the Hızır Kaplan series should be published weekly or continue at its current once-every-ten-day pace with the promise that those who vote for the option that wins the most votes will receive wonderful gifts. The next page, though, is interesting as the reader is informed, in large print, of the title of the forthcoming volume and its publication date, and some of the prizes for the next contest.

But more intriguing than that is the following quotation: “If you read this constantly improving National police (*Milli zabıta*) novel, you will see unbelievable bravery and heroism.”<sup>15</sup> This, aside from its advertising function, also makes reference to “national police” which, along with the previously mentioned reference to Turkish power, adds intellectual force to the idea that Samancıgil intended these volumes to be communicating some national awareness and some Turkish pride to the young readers, an idea we will explore further below. The penultimate page of the following volume, *The Body that was put in the Room*, also refers to Hızır Kaplan as a “national police novel” reinforcing the previous comment. On the final page of this volume, once again, the contest winners, a reminder that voting on the frequency of publication is continuing, and a new riddle are announced.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> A. Samancıgil, *Hortlaya Ölü*, 11.

<sup>15</sup> A. Samancıgil, *Baskın*, 11-12. Translation is mine.

<sup>16</sup> A. Samancıgil, *Odaya Konulan Ceset*, 10-11.

In the final volume of the series, *The Walking Skeleton*, in addition to announcements at the end are notices interspersed throughout the text. The first notice, destined to come to naught as this is the final volume, promises explanations of an exciting contest to appear in the tenth volume of the Hızır Kaplan series.<sup>17</sup> On the following page a notice of a new work with the promise that “Every *child* and every *young person* will joyfully read the ideas of these adventure stories that will have many colourful pictures.”<sup>18</sup> Another advertisement for this new series of adventure stories is found on page seven. The most interesting to be found on the final page of this final volume of the series is the result of the voting: of 3736 votes tabulated, 2150 favoured the once-a-week option.<sup>19</sup> This shows both that the series had a large readership (greater than 3736 as not every reader would have voted) and that they enjoyed the series enough to want to read the stories more often.

Yet, surprisingly due to its obvious popularity, for some reason the series was discontinued after this volume. The comics directed at children plus the contests that were clearly designed for children and the ease of the riddles in addition to the advertisement stating that children and young people would be interested in a new adventure series all unavoidably point to the fact that the Hızır Kaplan series was written for children.

Having established the fact that Samancıgil was writing for the youth of the country, we must now consider just what messages he had for them. There are two main concepts that the author is attempting to impart to his readership. The first category is the traits a Turk should embody. These traits, including national pride, industriousness,

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<sup>17</sup> A. Samancıgil, *Gezen İskelet*, 4.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, 5. Translation and italics are mine.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, 11.



strength and athleticism, and confidence are exemplified by Hızır Kaplan himself. Our discussion of these traits will be followed by an analysis of the second concept Samancıgil wishes to teach the young readers: rationalism.

Samancıgil creates his character, Hızır Kaplan, to be an impressive figure and one that children would want to emulate. He does this by showing the level to which Hızır Kaplan is feared by criminals and respected by regular citizens. The reader learns early on in the series about what a hero Hızır Kaplan is because the author makes a concerted effort to show the fear Hızır strikes into the hearts of criminals. In the third story, *The Mystery of the Cave*, the criminals are concerned because they hear that Hızır Kaplan, whom they say is “an excellent man” (*yaman bir adam*), is being sent to solve their case.<sup>20</sup> Again in the seventh story, *Raid*, the criminals are worried about Hızır Kaplan and say “[t]hat excellent detective named Hızır Kaplan is on our tail, we can’t be late, we must get back [to our hideout] immediately.”<sup>21</sup> Finally, of the numerous examples to choose from, we will end with the criminals in the eighth story, *The Body that was Put in the Room*. These criminals had killed the person whom they had mugged for fear that he could recognise them but then they thought of Hızır Kaplan and one of them says: “Well, we’ve finished the job, but tomorrow Hızır Kaplan will be onto us!”<sup>22</sup> Thus, by having Hızır strike fear into the hearts of criminals even when he is not present, Samancıgil creates a hero that children would respect and want to emulate.

Let us turn now to some of the traits Samancıgil wishes the children to emulate. Of the many character traits Hızır Kaplan exhibits, there are four traits upon which we will focus: national pride, industriousness, strength and athleticism, and confidence. On a

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<sup>20</sup> A. Samancıgil, *Bir İnin Esrarı*, 6.

<sup>21</sup> A. Samancıgil, *Baskın*, 8. Translation is mine.

<sup>22</sup> A. Samancıgil, *Odaya Konulan Ceset*, 2. Translation is mine.

number of occasions Hızır Kaplan takes the opportunity to demonstrate his national pride by announcing, like Orhan Çakıroğlu did previously, that he is a “Turkish police detective”<sup>23</sup> even though simply stating that he is a detective would suffice and the addition of Turkish seems both forced and redundant. For this reason the reader can clearly see that this hero is proud to be a Turk. Yet, as if this alone was insufficient, Samancıgil reinforces this message in the novel *Raid* by having Hızır, a trained pilot, fly a “plane carrying the Turkish flag” (*Türk bayrağını taşıyan bir tayyare*)<sup>24</sup> to intercept the ferry that is making its way toward the Greek coast and also by having the bystanders, who are largely wealthy Greeks and Italians, cheer: ““Long live the Turk! Long live Turkish Police!””<sup>25</sup> In this clever way, Samancıgil not only shows the children that a heroic figure like Hızır Kaplan is proud of his Turkishness, but he also has Europeans, whom some misguided Turks wish to emulate,<sup>26</sup> extolling the virtues of Turkishness.

The next trait we will address is Hızır’s industriousness. We have already discussed the importance Atatürk placed on industriousness/being hardworking (*çalışkanlık*). Hızır’s industriousness is relentless—a point that leads this reader to feel that he probably did not even have time to sleep. His dedication to his job is clear in each and every story and he simply does not take time off from a case. In the very first novel, *Among the People of the Graveyard*, Samancıgil describes Hızır Kaplan’s industriousness as follows: “...he never rests in his free time. His passion for his work would cause him to regularly explore Istanbul in order to cast himself into a new event.”<sup>27</sup> This unceasing effort pays off in many cases because by constantly seeking out crime, Hızır Kaplan

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<sup>23</sup> A. Samancıgil, *Bir İnin Esrarı*, 12; *Baskın*, 9.

<sup>24</sup> A. Samancıgil, *Baskın*, 9. Translation is mine.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid., 10. Translation is mine.

<sup>26</sup> For more on this, see the first chapter about Pire Necmi.

<sup>27</sup> A. Samancıgil. *Mezar İnsanları Arasında*, 2. Translation is mine.

would discover new cases and sometimes solve cases he was currently working on. Thus, the reader sees a proud Turkish hero who, through hard work, is very successful.

Following this, Samancıgil characterises Hızır's strength and agility. The reader sees Hızır as an excellent fighter who regularly takes on and defeats a number of criminals at the same time. Hızır Kaplan also shows his strength when he kicks a door down, an event described hyperbolically by Samancıgil: "...he knocked the door down with a tremendous kick. The door toppled into the room."<sup>28</sup> With continued hyperbole, Samancıgil gives us the *coup de grâce*: he has Hızır defeat a bear with only a pocketknife as a weapon. In the process of searching the caves for criminals, Hızır comes across a cave with an angry bear in it. The bear attacks Hızır so quickly that he is unable to grasp his gun. The bear has Hızır by the shoulders and it feels like they will break, but Hızır, not giving in to pain or fear, manages to reach a small knife. Then, with his free hand, he grabs the bear by the throat and pushes it over, Hızır subsequently drives the knife into the bear's brain.<sup>29</sup> Matching his strength is his agility. On a number of occasions Samancıgil describes Hızır's movements as "tiger-like" for their speed and agility.<sup>30</sup> So now we have a character who is like a tiger in terms of agility and is strong enough to kill a bear with his bare hands.

Not surprisingly, being a character with such formidable physical traits, Hızır Kaplan is confident. This confidence is the last trait we will address and it is quite important. We have previously seen examples of Turks who lacked confidence and even

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<sup>28</sup> A. Samancıgil, *Haydut Şebekesi*, 7. Translation is mine.

<sup>29</sup> A. Samancıgil, *Bir İnin Esrarı*, 14.

<sup>30</sup> A. Samancıgil, *Mezar İnsanları Arasında*, 10, and *Haydut Şebekesi*, 7. Note that the comparison may have been possible with a different agile animal, but the author is playing off the detective's last name, Kaplan, which is the Turkish for "tiger."

wished for help from the West driven by a feeling of inadequacy.<sup>31</sup> Hızır Kaplan certainly does not feel inadequate. In fact, he is brimming with confidence as demonstrated in the very first story when he guarantees the return of the money stolen from his client.<sup>32</sup> In the second story in a similar case of stolen money, Hızır promises his client that he will find his money. The client disbelievingly asks Hızır if he means what he says and Hızır responds curtly by saying ““I told you not to trouble yourself over it.””<sup>33</sup> Hızır shows his confidence again when he tells another client that he will recuperate his loss.<sup>34</sup> These instances show Hızır’s confidence in his ability to capture criminals and return stolen objects to their rightful owner. Hızır shows a different type of confidence when he loudly introduces himself while in a bar well known for being frequented by the criminal element: ““They call me Hızır! I’ll cut the throat of anyone who crosses my path!””<sup>35</sup> Finally, after hearing an account of ghosts in a family’s home, Hızır tells the family not to worry and that he ““...will take care of it.””<sup>36</sup> Thus, faced with cases of stolen property, people who intend to obstruct his work, and even ghosts, Hızır Kaplan is confident in his ability to solve all problems.

In exemplifying these four traits—national pride, industriousness, strength and athleticism, and confidence—Hızır Kaplan portrays a proper Turk in the Kemalist conception. He is also heroic enough to make children want to emulate him.

Now we move to the last segment of our discussion of the Hızır Kaplan series: the explicit promotion of rationalism. In this discussion, rationalism denotes an unwillingness

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<sup>31</sup> See the chapter on Pire Necmi.

<sup>32</sup> A. Samancıgil, *Mezar İnsanları Arasında*, 6.

<sup>33</sup> A. Samancıgil, *Sihirbaz Peşinde*, 4. Translation is mine.

<sup>34</sup> A. Samancıgil, *Haydut Şebekesi*, 3.

<sup>35</sup> A. Samancıgil, *Bir İnin Esrarı*, 12. Translation is mine.

<sup>36</sup> A. Samancıgil, *Hortlayan Ölü*, 6. Translation is mine.

to accept the irrational or supernatural explanation for an event occurring in the natural world, this is to include all forms of superstitions. Mustafa Kemal Atatürk saw as one of his most important duties in the establishment of the Republic of Turkey the need to rid Turks of their dogmatic adherence to religion and the purveyors of religion to the people,<sup>37</sup> whom he believed were preventing Turks from entering and competing in the modern age. Atatürk, himself, sums up his conviction on this issue as follows: “‘For everything in this world: civilisation, life, and success, the most genuine guide is knowledge and science. To search for guidance outside of knowledge and science is blindness, ignorance, and error.’”<sup>38</sup> This conviction—not as held by some any type of anti-religious sentiment on his part—led Atatürk to secularise Turkey.

The belief among intellectuals in fifteenth-century Europe that the Church was a force dedicated to veiling the truth led them to usher in a “rebirth.” This intellectual awakening that rejected superstition and faith in favour of knowledge and science, led to secularisation in Europe. In the case of Islam, the institutions of the religion did not have the same confrontation with scientists as that of the Church in Europe. But, the Ottomans were very aware of the growing knowledge gap between them and the Europeans from the end of the eighteenth century and began to make efforts to reform their institutions and education system in particular. Yet, by the end of the Caliphate (abrogated by

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<sup>37</sup> Turhan Feyzioğlu. “Atatürk ve Milli Eğitim,” *Atatürkçü Düşünce*. (İstanbul: Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi, 1992), 674.

<sup>38</sup> Akil Aksan, *Atatürk Der ki*. (Ankara: Aslımlar Matbaası, 1986), 79. Translation is mine. (Original reads: “Dünyada her şey için, medeniyet için, hayat için, muvaffakiyet için en hakiki mürşit ilimdir, fendir. İlim ve fennin haricinde mürşit aramak gaflettir, celalettir, dalalettir.”).

Mustafa Kemal (Atatürk) on 3 March 1924), the education system still was not teaching about modern science and technology.<sup>39</sup>

Stephen Kern in his study of changing perceptions of causality reflected in murder novels offers a practical example of an implication of falling behind scientific advancements: “Today” Kern asserts “anyone practicing Victorian science would be incompetent, and anyone practicing Victorian medicine would be subject to malpractice suits. If a contemporary physician treated a tubercular patient 1830s-style by opening a vein in the neck, he or she would be indicted for assault.”<sup>40</sup>

Making this more significant was the sheer depth and breadth of scientific discovery during the second half of the nineteenth century. The examples are too numerous to count here, but in the field of natural sciences alone there were three paradigm-shifting discoveries: Darwin’s theory of evolution, Mendel’s study of inheritance that gave birth to the field of genetics, and Pasteur’s work on germ theory. In terms of technology, Atatürk would have witnessed first hand the cost Germany paid in the First World War by falling behind the Allies in tank development and production. John Keegan explains: “Germany’s failure to match the Allies in tank development must be judged one of their worst military miscalculations of the war.”<sup>41</sup> It is one of the factors that led to ultimate German defeat. Thus, a country must educate its youth in order to stay abreast of new theories and technological development so as to avoid defeat at the hands of an enemy.

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<sup>39</sup> Andrew Mango, *Atatürk: The Biography of the Founder of Modern Turkey*. (New York: The Overlook Press, 2002), 368-69.

<sup>40</sup> Stephen Kern, *A Cultural History of Causality: Science, Murder Novels, and Systems of Thought*. (Princeton University Press: Princeton, New Jersey, 2004), 16.

<sup>41</sup> John Keegan, *The First World War*. (New York: Random House, Inc., 1998), 410.

Turkish parents, wanting to give their children all the possible advantages in life, were sending their children to schools established in the Ottoman Empire by foreign powers that did teach about modern technology. At this point one can see the tension: on one hand, people want their children to be educated into the society into which they are born; in this case Turkish schools would fill this requirement. However, parents also want their children to receive an education that would allow them to compete on all levels both within their society and outside on the world stage—this education was not being provided by Turkish schools.

The *mektep* was the traditional school for Muslims in the Ottoman Empire, and its aims were specific:

The mektebs constituted one of the most important avenues through which the values of Ottoman Islamic society were transmitted to the young. They lubricated, so to speak, the machinery for maintaining Ottoman Islamic ideology among the masses, and they formed the basis of a religious educational stratification under the control and direction of the sultan as caliph and of his highest-ranking religious dignitary, the *Sheyhulislam*. Above the mektebs were the medreses, and at the top, the higher medreses or law schools, which were more of university rank.<sup>42</sup>

Despite the educational reform efforts that began in the nineteenth century,<sup>43</sup> this was still largely the case during the last days of the Ottoman Empire. As a result, parents who could afford to were opting to send their children to foreign schools both within and outside the empire.<sup>44</sup> This resulted, in many cases, in the phenomenon addressed in the

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<sup>42</sup> Andreas M. Kazamias. *Education and the Quest for Modernity in Turkey*. (London: Allen & Unwin, 1966), 32.

<sup>43</sup> For a discussion of this, see Kazamias, *Education and the Quest for Modernity in Turkey*, 42-47.

<sup>44</sup> This in itself is a significant shift because historically advancement in society was based on the quality of education the student received in the Ottoman *mektep-medrese* system. For more on this, see Kazamias, 25-42.

chapter on the Pire Necmi stories of the self-hating Turk—the Turk who, after learning about all the advancements made in the West, wishes that he himself was a Westerner.

Mustafa Kemal, attempting the virtually impossible task of establishing the Republic of Turkey against the aims and wishes of the European powers, knew that a necessary precursor to protecting and defending the country against such powerful enemies was a strong feeling of nationalism. The desire to fight for and defend one's nation is a need more basic than even the supply of weapons. Kemal was well aware of this because in his famous defence of Gallipoli from invading Western armies in 1915, he recruited inhabitants of the region to defend it. This they did successfully against a more powerful, better-supplied enemy. This, however, is a natural attachment to a birthplace and does not include a political element. Islam, as Karpas states, does not sanction the attachment to a territory as that would conflict with the “full attachment given to [God].”<sup>45</sup> Fortunately for Mustafa Kemal's project, the concept of *vatan*, or territorial fatherland, was one that Ottoman literature began to develop in the 1870s and Namık Kemal's play, *Vatan Yahut Silistre*, is “even today considered to be one of the founding stories of Turkish nationalism.”<sup>46</sup> A strong feeling of nationalism simply takes this desire to defend one's own land or neighbourhood or region and extends it to include all the territory within a country's borders, i.e. the *vatan*. An army composed of men who feel this desire to defend their fatherland will be formidable. But, in order to establish that feeling in the population, Mustafa Kemal needed to solve the education dilemma explained above. He needed to, in a nutshell, establish an education system that would,

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<sup>45</sup> Kemal Karpas, “Nation and Nationalism in the Late Ottoman Empire.” *Studies on Ottoman Social and Political History: Selected Articles and Essays*, edited by Kemal Karpas, 544-555. (Leiden, The Netherlands; Boston: Brill, 2002), 548.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, 548.



on one hand, socialise the students into Turkish society and hopefully inspire strong nationalistic sentiment. On the other hand, he needed to ensure that this education system taught modern sciences that would prepare Turks for the challenges of the modern world.

Kazamias describes the three main concepts that Atatürk wanted Turks to grasp in his modernisation projects as follows: "...knowledge and a scientific way of thinking rather than ignorance and superstition; loyalty to a clearly defined Turkish state rather than to an amorphous Ottoman Empire...and generally the adoption of new, mostly Western, ways of thinking and behaving."<sup>47</sup>

Samancıgil is clearly on the same wavelength as Atatürk on the subject of knowledge and science. He very clearly promotes the certainty that there is a rational scientific explanation for all events occurring in the world, even in cases in which the event appears to be supernatural—as all three cases in the Hızır Kaplan series are. Three of the eight novels analysed carry this message. More than one third of the series is dedicated to reinforcing the scientific certainty that all worldly events can be explained rationally. This cannot be coincidence. Samancıgil is very clearly promoting rationalism just as he very clearly targeted his audience. Let us examine the three cases individually.

In the first novel that addresses the subject of the supernatural, *Network of Thieves*, Hızır Kaplan, while in the process of trying to solve the case of the shoe factory robbery, is confronted by ghosts (*hortlaks*) threatening to take him to the graveyard if he does not leave. Samancıgil describes Hızır's initial reaction as fright (*ürktü*), but he quickly recovers his composure when he realises that there was some type of scheme behind these events.<sup>48</sup> Returning to the same location the next evening, Hızır Kaplan once

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<sup>47</sup> Kazamias, 18.

<sup>48</sup> A. Samancıgil, *Haydut Şebekesi*, 6.

again encounters the ghosts and pulls his gun on them. They go on to make frightening sounds, but Hızır is undaunted (*Hızır da korkmadı.*) and in a quick motion binds and gags the two ghosts. The reader can see that Hızır is completely unafraid in this situation because he does not even use his gun—one who was afraid of ghosts would surely want to remain at a distance—instead he engages them in hand-to-hand combat. It turns out that the ghosts were really different members of the network of thieves who were simply disguising themselves so as to scare away anyone who got close to solving their crimes. This first example is intriguing because, unlike the following two cases, Hızır Kaplan initially shows fear. He very quickly recovers from this and, by logically discounting the possible existence of ghosts, he mentally annihilates the source of fear. This is a very valuable lesson about perception and is an attempt to guide the reader from a state of apprehension and fear to one of knowledge and power. His young audience would surely have been intrigued by it.

The second dime novel to broach the subject of the supernatural is *The Undead*. After being terrified by the ghost in their new home, and hearing from their neighbour that the ghost was the previous owner and he meant no harm to them, Sadri, his wife Sadiye, and their daughter Şengün go to Hızır Kaplan's office. Hızır, after hearing about the ghost, asks his first question: ““Are any of your possessions missing from your home?””<sup>49</sup> This question really confuses the family members who, unable to see any connection between the ghost and Hızır's question, look stunned at each other.<sup>50</sup>

This is the key to the difference in how the family, on one hand, and Hızır, on the other, perceive the event. The family saw a ghost and, supernatural or not, simply

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<sup>49</sup> A. Samancıgil, *Hortlayan Ölü*, 6. Translation is mine.

<sup>50</sup> Ibid., 6.

accepted it as reality. Hızır, however, is unwilling to accept the existence of ghosts, as it is irrational. Instead, he seeks a rational explanation: was the ghost simply a thief in disguise?

Hızır, of course, is correct. In the end it turns out that there were three thieves who would disguise themselves as ghosts and terrify and rob passers-by. They had been using the house, which had been empty until Sadri and his family moved in, as a hideout.

The third and final example of Hızır Kaplan's rationalism comes in the final novel of the series: *The Walking Skeleton*. Following an evening at the home of his friends (Adnan, his wife—never named in the story, and their daughter Müjgan), Hızır Kaplan gets ready to go home when they ask him, nay beg him, to spend the night as they are terrified that the walking skeleton will return. Hızır vacillates. He claims that he has a lot of work to do, but on their insistence he grudgingly accepts their invitation. His friends begin to tell him more about the skeleton, but Hızır is uninterested in hearing it and brushes the subject aside by saying: “‘Everything will be solved this evening, now come and sit beside me and let's chat.’”<sup>51</sup> This blasé attitude shocks and surprises his hosts. Yet, in the end the reader learns that the walking skeleton is actually the neighbour boy who is in love with Müjgan, but as Adnan did not give his permission to the relationship, the boy is using the skeleton as a diversion to allow him to spend time with her.

The similarities between the previous three examples speak to the message that is being conveyed. First, the witnesses of the supernatural event accept it at face value. Second, they are surprised and shocked when they explain it to Hızır Kaplan and he listens to the account in a detached manner. Third, Hızır seeks a rational explanation for the supernatural event, for example a thief disguised as a ghost to facilitate his thievery.

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<sup>51</sup> A. Samancıgil, *Gezen İskelet*, 2. Translation is mine.

Finally, in the end the reader sees that Hızır was right all along. Taking the ratio of dime novels in this series with this message (three of the eight) into consideration, it is clear that his positive reinforcement of the concept of rationalism was a clear objective of Samancıgil.

We have discussed Samancıgil's novel series in terms of three main points: 1) its target audience, 2) Turkish traits as embodied by Hızır Kaplan, and 3) the teaching of rationalism. In our discussion and analysis of the comics and weekly contests with prizes that were undoubtedly directed at a young readership, we demonstrated that Samancıgil's target audience was clearly the youth of the country.

Upon establishing the fact that children were Samancıgil's target readership, we moved on to a discussion of what he attempted to teach them. These lessons fall into two main categories. The first category is the traits a Turk should embody. These traits, including national pride, industriousness, strength and athleticism, and confidence are exemplified by Hızır Kaplan himself. The other lesson Samancıgil wanted to teach his readership was the ability to understand the world and worldly events not through folksy old wives' tales or superstition, but through reason. In three of the eight novels I analysed, Hızır Kaplan sought rational explanations for seemingly supernatural events, such as the appearance of ghosts. In the first, the readers see how Hızır Kaplan overcomes his own fear through rationalism. In each of the three cases, Hızır Kaplan was able to solve the case, demonstrate the fact that the supernatural "beings" were really normal human beings who were pursuing underhanded aims. In this way, Samancıgil's detective hero Hızır Kaplan helps to spread the idea that Atatürk firmly held, that is that there is a rational scientific explanation for all events occurring in the world.



*Ziya Çalıkoğlu's Feminist Detective Hero Vefa Polad*

““Oh, heroic Turkish woman you deserve not to crawl on the ground, but to be raised on shoulders up to the skies!””

-Atatürk<sup>1</sup>

On the subject of women, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk never wavered. Beginning even before the Republic of Turkey was established in February 1923, Kemal was quoted as saying, ““The reason for the lack of success of our society is a result of the lack of interest we show our women. To live is to be active (*faaliyet demek*). As a result of this, if one organ of a society is active while another is not working, that society is paralysed.””<sup>2</sup> Once again a year later, in *Vakit* newspaper, Kemal states that ““Human society is made up of people of two genders, men and women. Is it possible?”” he goes on to ask ““to develop one half of this mass, neglect the other half and expect the whole mass to develop? Is it possible, while one half is tied to the earth, to elevate the other half to the skies?””<sup>3</sup> One can see with these comments that Atatürk clearly saw the need for equality—or in Browning’s terms “women’s intrinsic equality with men”<sup>4</sup>—between men and women. To exemplify this, Browning offers an example of marginalia made by Atatürk in the play “Taş Bebek” in which he crossed out the line expressing the idea that women “should be loved at a distance, like ornaments” and writes, ““We cannot think of women in this way! The presence of women is fundamental to the nation on a thousand

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<sup>1</sup> Kerem Yılmaz. *Dindar Atatürk*. (İstanbul: Çınar Matbaacılık, 2004), 90. Translation is mine. (Original reads: “Ey kahraman Türk kadını, sen yerde sürünmeye değil, omuzlar üzerinde göklere yükselmeye layıksın.”)

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., 89. Translation is mine.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., 89-90. Translation is mine.

<sup>4</sup> Janet Browning. *Atatürk's Legacy to the Women of Turkey*. (Durham, England; Centre for Middle Eastern & Islamic Studies, University of Durham, 1985), 2.

and one points. It is not right to go on renewing the idea that woman is an ornament...’’<sup>5</sup>

In this way, Atatürk makes it clear that he saw women as both equal to men and as vital to the development and improvement of the country as a whole.

Atatürk was also very clear about one major function women have in society: properly raising the youth. “‘The people of this nation get their foundational upbringing at home’’ in a manner partly descriptive, partly prescriptive, Atatürk continues, “‘the Turkish nation protects its mothers and it is these mothers that raise the great men of every era. Turkish women are capable of raising even greater generations.’’’<sup>6</sup> With this Atatürk summarises his view that it is the women who raise the great figures who go on to elevate the nation. Hence, women are the first teachers and have a vital role in society. Along with being the first teachers of the youth, Turkish women also made great contributions to the war efforts in the three major wars Turks were embroiled in during the decade before the establishment of the Republic of Turkey (the Balkan Wars, the First World War, and the War of Independence). Atatürk trumpeted these contributions in many speeches in an effort “‘to instill the idea that women were of proven equal worth as citizens of the new Republic.’’’<sup>7</sup>

Atatürk backed up his words with deeds. Abadan-Unat notes, “‘almost all major progressive measures benefiting Turkish women were granted rather than fought for.’’’<sup>8</sup> It is well known that the Republic of Turkey had significant domestic and international political problems along with a substantial debt left from more than a decade of wars, so for the remainder of the 1920s much attention was focused on those issues. But, by the

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<sup>5</sup> Ibid., 2.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., 90-91.

<sup>7</sup> Browning, 1.

<sup>8</sup> Nermin Abadan-Unat. “The Legal Status of Turkish Women,” *Women, Family, and Social Change in Turkey*. Edited by Ferhunde Ozbay. (Bangkok: UNESCO, 1990), 13.

turn of the 1930s, these issues had been addressed and Atatürk was able to turn to the pressing social issues he wanted to address. It was during this period that Makal refers to as “Kemalism par excellence,”<sup>9</sup> and Çağaptay has coined “High Kemalism,”<sup>10</sup> that Atatürk’s views on women were actualised. Browning calls the Turkish Civil Code of 1926 “the most important formal step” in this realisation of women’s rights as it stated that women and men should earn equal pay for equal work.<sup>11</sup> Then, on 3 April 1930, Turkish parliament gave women the right to enter (*katılma*) municipal elections.<sup>12</sup> Then on 26 October 1932, Turkish parliament passed a law allowing women to vote or be elected in elections to determine the village head (*muhtar*) and to be members of the Village Councils.<sup>13</sup> Ahead of “modern” nations such as France (1944), Italy (1948), Japan (1950), and Switzerland (1971), Turkey established universal suffrage in 1935.

In this positive environment Turkish women thrived and Süreyya Ağaoğlu became the first female Turkish lawyer on 25 December 1927; Dr. Suat became the first female Turkish surgeon on 16 March 1931; Keriman Halis Ece was crowned Miss Universe on 31 July 1932; on 13 November of the same year Dr. Müfide Kazım became the first female Turkish government physician; less than one month later, on December 12, Adile Ayda became the first female Turkish civil servant in the Ministry of Foreign

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<sup>9</sup> Ahmet Makal. *Türkiye’de tek partili dönemde çalışma ilişkileri, 1920-1946*. (İstanbul: İmge Kitabevi, 1999), 169-178.

<sup>10</sup> Soner Çağaptay. *Islam, secularism, and nationalism in modern Turkey: who is a Turk?* (London; New York: Routledge, 2006), 43.

<sup>11</sup> Browning, 10.

<sup>12</sup> Yılmaz, 88.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid., 88.



Affairs,<sup>14</sup> and Sabiha Gökçen, with the personal encouragement of Atatürk, became the first female combat pilot in the world in 1937.<sup>15</sup>

This, unfortunately, is not the whole story, though. Kazgan, in her study of female labour force participation in Turkey, argues that the Kemalist reforms, while well-intentioned, “brought no immediate betterment in the work opportunities for women” because the reforms had not prepared “the necessary economic foundations.”<sup>16</sup> Kazgan notes that in 1950 the total labour force participation of women aged 15 and older as 88.4%, but hastens to point out that only 3.5% of the females active in the labour force were employed in non-agricultural positions.<sup>17</sup> These figures are significant because the overwhelming majority of women “employed” in agriculture “toil under the status of ‘unpaid family member.’”<sup>18</sup> Yet, even when employed in non-agricultural positions and despite the aforementioned pay equity dictated by the civil code, women were still receiving a lower hourly wage than men.<sup>19</sup> As such, women had no economic freedom.<sup>20</sup> A reality that leads Taner Timur to draw parallels between marriage and slavery: “‘Under the guise of ‘marriage’ Turkish women are bought and sold. The ‘brideprice’ is the

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<sup>14</sup> Timeline of Turkey. [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Timeline\\_of\\_Turkey](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Timeline_of_Turkey) (accessed on 8 June 2010).

<sup>15</sup> Sibel Bozdoğan and Reşat Kasaba. *Rethinking modernity and national identity in Turkey*. (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1997), 98-99, and Sabiha Gökçen. [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sabiha\\_G%C3%B6k%C3%A7en](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sabiha_G%C3%B6k%C3%A7en) (accessed 28 June 2010).

<sup>16</sup> Gülten Kazgan. “Labour Force Participation, Occupational Distribution, Educational Attainment and the Socio-economic Status of Women in the Turkish Economy,” in *Women in Turkish Society*, edited by Nermin Abadan-Unat. (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1981), 132, and Janet Browning, 3, 7.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid., 134.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid., 143, Browning, 6.

<sup>19</sup> Browning, 10.

<sup>20</sup> Browning, 2-3.

exchange value agreed upon in this sale. Indeed, in some areas a woman's being 'married' or 'sold' are used synonymously.<sup>21</sup>

This was the situation women found themselves in during the period in which Ziya Çalıkoğlu wrote the Vefa Polad series. Information provided by the census of 1945 confirms this by showing the numbers of women employed in agriculture as 1 923 431, while numbers for industrial workers and artisans (82 303), commercial workers (3 298), administration and public service professions (31 680), personel in the service industry (15 023) shows the number of women employed in non-agricultural positions to be much lower than the number employed in agriculture. The figure for females who were unemployed or in unrecognised professions was 9 343 594. As a percentage, women made up 30.9% of agricultural workers, 3.7% of industrial workers and artisans, 1.5% of employees in commerce, 3.7% of administration and public service professions, and 0.1% of personel in the service industry.<sup>22</sup>

Kazgan suggests that limited access to education for women is a major contributing factor to this discrepancy.<sup>23</sup> There are a number of social and economic factors that lead to this unequal access to education. One of the significant contributing factors stems from the low value—usually unpaid—of women's manual labour: families are unwilling to invest in a daughter's education due to a perception of low monetary returns.<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>21</sup> Ibid., 6, and Taner Timur. *Türk Devrimi ve Sonrası*. (İstanbul: İmge Kitabevi, 1971), 197.

<sup>22</sup> T.C. Başbakanlık İstatistik Genel Müdürlüğü. *21 Ekim 1945 Genel Nüfus Sayımı*. (Ankara, 1950), 232-240.

<sup>23</sup> Kazgan, 148.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid., 150.

Without the economic foundation necessary, fundamental social change is impossible.<sup>25</sup> Legal and economic changes of the 1920s and 1930s began the process of reform, yet “despite all efforts, capitalist relations did not develop as expected in agriculture because of the prevalence of primitive and patriarchal relations of production in Anatolia at the time.”<sup>26</sup> So these changes were ongoing, however, the reforms required some ideological support and this is exactly what Ziya Çalıkoğlu provided with Vefa Polad.

Women had played important roles in conceptualisations of Turkish nationalism in the works of Ziya Gökalp (1876-1924), and Atatürk has often been quoted as saying, “the father of my feelings is Namık Kemal, the father of my ideas is Ziya Gökalp.”<sup>27</sup> He has also been called “the father of Turkish nationalism”<sup>28</sup> and “the Grand Master of Turkism.”<sup>29</sup> According to Gökalp, women are important for the societal function they serve, that is as the first teachers of the nation’s youth. This is an idea that Atatürk clearly supported as evidenced when he stated in a speech in Izmir in 1923: “The highest duty of women is motherhood. If one realises fully that education of both boys and girls starts in infancy, the importance of motherhood becomes evident.”<sup>30</sup> As such, Gökalp was not concerned about whether or not women were important in and of themselves, but instead he focuses on their practical function in society. Gökalp goes on in *Principles of Turkism* to name feminism as one of the bases for Turkish ethics. “In the future,” states Gökalp

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<sup>25</sup> Browning, 7.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid., 6.

<sup>27</sup> Hasan Aksakal. “Atatürk’ün fikir babası.” <http://www.acikgazete.com/yazarlar/hasan-aksakal/2010/06/07/ataturk-un-fikir-babasi.htm> (accessed 20 June 2010).

<sup>28</sup> Robert Melson. *Revolution & Genocide: on the origins of the Armenian genocide and the Holocaust*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 164.

<sup>29</sup> İbrahim Kaya. *Social theory and later modernities: the Turkish experience*. (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2004), 61.

<sup>30</sup> Browning, 11.

“‘Turkish ethics must be founded upon democracy and *feminism* as well as nationalism, patriotism, work, and the strength of the family.’”<sup>31</sup> We have already seen that Atatürk expands this vision to include equality between men and women. Ziya Çalıkoğlu also holds women to be important and works to spread the message of feminism. The emphasis Çalıkoğlu places on women is clearly seen by the fact that both women and the importance of protecting women are main themes of three of the five novels of the Vefa Polad series.

The five novels of Ziya Çalıkoğlu’s detective series *The Adventures of Turkish detective Vefa Polad* (*Türk Detektifi Vefa Polad’ın Maceraları*), listed below, were published together in one volume in 1944. In addition to detective fiction, Ziya Çalıkoğlu (1893-1953) wrote romantic, satirical, and historical novels.<sup>32</sup> The five novels of the Vefa Polat series are:

1. *6 Numaradaki Kadın* (*The Woman in Apartment Number Six*)
2. *Şark Yıldızı* (*Star of the East*)
3. *Hacı Ağa batakhaneşi* (*Hacı Ağa’s Gambling Den*)
4. *Bankerin kasası nerede?* (*Where is the Banker’s Safe?*)
5. *Para kaçakçıları* (*Money Smugglers*)

Vefa Polad, who speaks “four or five languages like his mother tongue,”<sup>33</sup> and is referred to as the “Turkish Sherlock Holmes,”<sup>34</sup> is a retired police detective who now spends his time cultivating roses in his rose garden (reminiscent of Sergeant Cuff in Wilkie Collins’ *Moonstone*). This relaxing situation for Vefa lasts only until his former

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<sup>31</sup> Tezer Taşkıran. *Women in Turkey*. (Istanbul: Redhouse Press, 1976), 45, and Ziya Gökalp. *Türkçülüğün Esasları*, 156. Italics are mine.

<sup>32</sup> Üyepazarcı, 226.

<sup>33</sup> Ziya Çalıkoğlu, *6 Numaradaki Kadın*, 37. Translation is mine.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid. Translation is mine.

police chief, Pertev Şimşek, is pressured on an unsolved case, at which point he calls in the fabulously successful Vefa Polad to solve it. Polad, not surprisingly, is successful on each and every occasion no matter how difficult the case or how many detectives had already failed to solve it. Polad has two assistants, Nuri and Halil, who are also talented police officers.

This series does reinforce the characterisations of the “proper” Turk that we have seen in the previous series and will analyse here in the characterisations of Vefa Polad and his two assistants. The important addition to conceptualisation of Turkish nationalism offered by the Vefa Polad series is the importance it places on women. Hitherto, women had played predominantly minor roles as damsels in distress to be rescued in the other detective novels we have examined, but in this series women see their role expanded in both scope and importance.

I will begin with a look at the qualities Ziya Çalıkoğlu stresses in his characterisations of proper Turks, in which we will see a high level of correspondence with Murat Akdoğan’s characterisations of Orhan Çakıroğlu. Then I will proceed to conclude with a detailed study of the unique addition Çalıkoğlu makes to the conceptualisation of Turkish nationalism: the idea that women are intrinsically important and that any proper Turk should be both a feminist in Gökalp’s conception, and proud to protect and defend women when they are in danger.

Ziya Çalıkoğlu, like Murat Akdoğan did with Orhan Çakıroğlu, stresses that Polad is 1) loved by citizens and feared by criminals 2) successful, 3) intelligent, 4) athletic, and 5) proud to be a Turk. The reader quickly understands that Vefa Polad is loved by both the police and the general public. One example of this occurs when Vefa

Polad arrives at the police station to begin a new case and Çalıkoğlu writes that his voice “rang pleasantly in [Police Chief] Pertev Şimşek’s ears.”<sup>35</sup> Later, when Vefa encounters a young boy, the reader understands that not just the police, but the whole population loves Vefa Polad. Vefa attempts to reward the young boy because he had answered all his questions thoroughly, but the boy refuses the money saying, “I can’t take money from you” and when Polad asks him his reason, the boy replies, “Because the one giving the money is Vefa Polad. He is the man we love the most.”<sup>36</sup> Çalıkoğlu also informs his readers that many coffeeshop (*kahve*) and tavern (*meyhane*) owners had given feasts (*ziyafet*) for Vefa out of love for him.<sup>37</sup>

This love is reciprocated in an equal and opposite measure of fear from the villains in the stories. The dregs of society, Çalıkoğlu tells us, had given the name “the Turkish Sherlock Holmes” to Vefa to represent their foreboding,<sup>38</sup> and this fear of Vefa Polad is palpable in the case of the owners of the gambling den in *Hacı Ağa’s Gambling Den* when they encounter Vefa for the first time. “I am your old friend Vefa Polad in the flesh” Vefa replies in answer to the owner’s question and Çalıkoğlu gives their response: “Shrieks of ‘Vefa Polad’ erupted from all four mouths.”<sup>39</sup> This reaction comes as no surprise to the reader as he or she has already been told that “the name Vefa Polad was sufficient to start guilty suspects trembling.”<sup>40</sup> The villains of Istanbul had celebrated the retirement of Vefa Polad thinking that they would now have much less to worry about.

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<sup>35</sup> Çalıkoğlu, *Hacı Ağa Batakhanesi*, 66.

<sup>36</sup> Çalıkoğlu, *Para Kaçakçıları*, 116. Translation is mine.

<sup>37</sup> Çalıkoğlu, *Şark Yıldızı*, 37.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid.

<sup>39</sup> Çalıkoğlu, *Hacı Ağa Batakhanesi*, 78. Translation is mine.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid., 78. Translation is mine.

Unfortunately for them Vefa is happy to answer police chief Pertev Şimşek's call whenever he requires Vefa for a case.

It is really Vefa Polad's next quality, success, that has the villains so concerned. This is as it should be because Vefa is remarkably successful. The reader understands that Vefa Polad must be a successful detective before he or she reads about any of his actual accomplishments or cases simply because the police chief calls on him for the most difficult cases. With this the reader understands that Vefa is the last line of defence, as it were, so he must be a successful detective. This impression of Vefa does not change on the telling of his cases. If anything, this impression is strengthened as we read about how Vefa is able to close the most difficult of cases: those that the police were unable to solve. The astute reader picks up on all of this, but Çalıkoğlu does not want to be vague about this character trait. In one instance, Çalıkoğlu writes, "esteemed detective Vefa Polad was able to solve the most complex and mysterious cases and, in a short period of time, to bring the guilty to justice."<sup>41</sup> In a different story, we read about how Vefa's fascinating success saves Istanbul from further worrying about a terrible villain: "these thieves, who had whipped Istanbul into worry and excitement for weeks, were captured by the esteemed detective Vefa Polad and the stolen diamond was passed once again into the hands of its rightful owner."<sup>42</sup>

Vefa's success leads us to a discussion of another character trait: his intelligence as it is his intelligence that is one of the reasons for his success. In the *Star of the East*, Çalıkoğlu refers to Vefa as both "smart like a genie," and "a cultured person."<sup>43</sup> Clearly this intelligence shows itself in a myriad of ways throughout the stories, but again,

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<sup>41</sup> Çalıkoğlu. *Bankerin Kasası Nerede?*, 99. Translation is mine.

<sup>42</sup> Çalıkoğlu. *Şark Yıldızı*, 57. Translation is mine.

<sup>43</sup> Ibid., 37. Translation is mine.

Çalikoğlu does not want to leave the transmission of this message to chance, so he quite deliberately has Pertev Şimşek say of his habit of calling Vefa in on difficult cases, “‘What can I do, son? If you weren’t so clever, shrewd, capable, able to see what others cannot, and able to find what others cannot, you would be at home tending to your flowers.’”<sup>44</sup> This, of course, is merely gentle ribbing by Pertev as everyone knows that Vefa Polad is quite pleased and eager to help.

As previously mentioned,<sup>45</sup> European detective fiction writers tended to highlight the intellectual aspect of their detective heroes while neglecting the physical aspect. Thus, we see highly intelligent characters like Sir Arthur Conan Doyle’s Sherlock Holmes, who has a brilliant mind, but is addicted to cocaine and habitually neglects eating proper meals, or Wilkie Collins’ Sergeant Cuff, who, like Holmes, is brilliant but is also addicted to drugs and emaciated.<sup>46</sup> Turkish writers of detective fiction do not do this. Instead, as exemplified by heroes Orhan Çakıroğlu or Hızır Kaplan, athleticism is a very important character trait.<sup>47</sup> The same goes for Vefa Polad. In the second story, *Star of the East*, Çalikoğlu informs the readers not only that Vefa is both a boxer and a sumo wrestler, but also that he is as “agile as a cat.”<sup>48</sup> In a later story, *Where is the Banker’s Safe?*, the reader reads about Vefa’s sleight-of-hand with which he is able to take an object from a desk with nobody present noticing. It is clear that Çalikoğlu wants to emphasise two aspects of Vefa’s athleticism; on one hand he draws attention to Vefa’s power when he informs us that he is both a boxer and a sumo wrestler as both sports

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<sup>44</sup> Çalikoğlu. *Hacı Ağa Batakhanesi*, 66. Translation is mine.

<sup>45</sup> Refer to the chapter on the character traits of Orhan Çakıroğlu.

<sup>46</sup> Wilkie Collins. *The Moonstone*. (New York: Dutton, 1967).

<sup>47</sup> Refer to the chapters that discuss detective heroes Orhan Çakıroğlu and Hızır Kaplan.

<sup>48</sup> Çalikoğlu. *Şark Yıldızı*, 37, 49. Translation is mine.



require strength, on the other hand, he stresses Vefa's agility with reference to the cat and his sleight-of-hand.

This brings us to the final character trait I will analyse: Vefa's Turkish pride. This trait really draws the other traits together as the aforementioned traits are commonly seen in the famous Turkish detectives of this period. Here Çalıkoğlu is further clarifying his intent to develop nationalism amongst his readers. He informs his readers of the duty to the nation that Vefa shows he holds with pride when he says, "I'll come, captain. In my opinion this [saving an innocent person from wrongful judgment] is a duty to the fatherland (*vatan*). It is our binding duty (*boynumuzun borcudur*) to protect those who are found guilty out of ignorance."<sup>49</sup> The use of the word 'fatherland' (*vatan*), which was coined by Namık Kemal and becomes the word of choice for Turkists, and the upcoming use of the word 'citizen,' *vatandaş* in Turkish, also speaks to the national aspect of this message. In *Hacı Ağa's Gambling Den*, we read of Vefa's desire to capture and punish "those who rob innocent citizens (*vatandaşlar*),"<sup>50</sup> which also emphasises his drive to protect his fellow Turks and speaks to a high level of national pride. Next, in a sentence that both emphasises Vefa's and other Turkish police officers' abilities by comparing him to Sherlock Holmes and stresses the Turkish national pride that exudes from these stories, police chief Pertev tells the bank manager, Goldberg, who had demanded that Sherlock Holmes work his case, "apologies Mr. Goldberg instead of your mythical Sherlock Holmes, we have a number of Turkish police who take his place and surpass him."<sup>51</sup> In this way, like Murat Akdoğan, Ziya Çalıkoğlu extends the positive qualities of Vefa Polad to the Turkish police force in general. This extension of qualities from the detective

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<sup>49</sup> Çalıkoğlu. *Hacı Ağa Batakhanesi*, 67. Translation and italics are mine.

<sup>50</sup> Ibid., 79. Translation is mine.

<sup>51</sup> Çalıkoğlu. *Bankerin Kasası Nerede?*, 84. Translation is mine.

hero to the Turkish police force in general and, in the case of Akdoğan, to Turks in general, is a metaphor for the extension of Turkish pride from the educated Turkish elite to Turks in general that these stories themselves are working to accomplish. Once again, in the same story, *Where is the Banker's Safe?*, Vefa agrees to return to Istanbul right away when Pertev informs him that the case involves the honour (*şeref*) of a Turkish police officer; then, on his return, Vefa says, ““When you told me it was a matter of a Turkish police officer’s honour. I didn’t delay for a second, did I?””<sup>52</sup> This clearly demonstrates Vefa’s desire to help Turks, which is simply an extension of his Turkish pride. Then, on solving bank manager Goldberg’s case, Vefa says, ““Well, Sir Samuel, Turkish police don’t make one long for Sherlock Holmes, do they?””<sup>53</sup> Goldberg, of course, agrees. Another example of this extension of traits can be seen when Pertev thanks Vefa for giving another example of Turkish police qualities: ““Thank you, Vefa. [With this act] you have given another example of *our* police officers’ intelligence and success.””<sup>54</sup>

So, in terms of character traits, Ziya Çalıkoğlu has so far underscored traits that Murat Akdoğan had previously stressed in his Orhan Çakıroğlu series. Having established Vefa Polad as an admirable Turk with admirable character traits, Çalıkoğlu proceeds to his critical point: he establishes feminism as one of the positive Turkish qualities embodied by Vefa Polad. This is the truly new aspect that Ziya Çalıkoğlu brings to the portrayal of Kemalist ideas in Turkish detective fiction. As previously mentioned, Atatürk’s reforms regarding the status and role of women in society opened the doors for many firsts (examples include the first female Turkish doctor and the first female combat

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<sup>52</sup> Çalıkoğlu. *Bankerin Kasası Nerede?*, 88. Translation is mine.

<sup>53</sup> Ibid., 95. Translation is mine.

<sup>54</sup> Ibid., 99. Translation and italics are mine.

pilot in the world). It is clear that Çalıkoğlu wanted to popularise the idea of male and female equality amongst the general population. But not only the general population. In characterising a retired (that is, older) detective as a feminist, Çalıkoğlu is sending a further message that even members of older generations are capable of seeing this flaw in their tradition<sup>55</sup> and becoming a feminist. This is immediately apparent by simply noting that the position, status, and/or role of women in society play an important part of the plots of three of the five stories (*The Woman in Apartment Number Six*, *Hacı Ağa Gambling Den*, and *Money Smugglers*).

The first story, *The Woman in Apartment Number Six*, tells the story of Zehra, a young woman who is forced into a life of thievery by her adoptive father and his son. Zehra does not have control over her own choices and is forced to commit crimes against her will. In the process of investigating this case, Vefa is disturbed to hear about the situation that Zehra, through no fault of her own, finds herself in and he promises Zehra that he will save her from this life.<sup>56</sup> After solving this case, Vefa decides that all Zehra needs is a positive influence and stability in her life. He solves this problem by setting Zehra up with his assistant, Halil, who had fallen in love with her during the course of the investigation. “If the all-seeing eyes and all-knowing brain of justice does offer [Zehra] a pardon,” explains Vefa “I will give Zehra, whom I count as my daughter, to my son Halil and together they will reinvigorate a dead home. In so doing, I will gladden the spirit of the mother of Zehra, whom I have learned is an exceptionally good woman.”<sup>57</sup>

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<sup>55</sup> Ziya Gökalp consistently argued that traditional Turkish society very clearly viewed women and men as equals and that it was only after the mistaken idea that Islam viewed women as lesser beings that Turks adopted this view. For more see Ziya Gökalp.

*Türkçülüğün esasları*. (İstanbul: Varlık Yayınevi, 1968), 147-48.

<sup>56</sup> Çalıkoğlu. *6 Numaradaki Kadın*, 21.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, 24. Translation is mine.

In this way, Vefa Polad exemplifies both empathy and a desire to see women treated properly.

Now, nobody would assume that the situation of a young girl being adopted into a family and then trained to be a master thief would have been a common occurrence at the time. It was, however, Ziya Çalıkoğlu's first step. In the first story, he presents an unusual case of a woman being forced to steal, then shows how Vefa empathises with her, and presumably his readership would have felt the same way. With this initial feeling of empathy established, Çalıkoğlu moves on in the third story to present a much more common situation in which women are essentially forced to work in jobs they do not want to do. Of course "[b]y the end of the Balkan and First World Wars, women had penetrated the social and economic life of the country and had become an indispensable part of it."<sup>58</sup> The problem was that, despite the fact that women had entered the economic life of the country, the jobs that were open to them were still quite restricted. Taşkıran lists some of the employment opportunities for women as nurses, factory workers, and street cleaners,<sup>59</sup> and promptly mentions that "all women who worked outside their homes wore the *çarşaf*, and always covered their heads."<sup>60</sup> In *Hacı Ağa's Gambling Den*, Çalıkoğlu presents the story of a gambling den that has more than its fair share of unsavoury characters. Included among this cast of characters are a number of women. The difference between the men and the women who work in the gambling den is simple:

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<sup>58</sup> Taşkıran, 39.

<sup>59</sup> Despite the Ottoman Family Law of 1917, which prohibited arranged marriages, but maintained divorce as a right held only by the man, and the Turkish Civil Code of 1926, which proclaims equality between men and women, practical equality had not been reached yet and it has been argued that women still had problems obtaining an education equal to that of men, and for that reason, their access to the workforce was accordingly limited. See Taşkıran, 39-42.

<sup>60</sup> Ibid., 39.

the uneducated village women have no other viable option to earn money in the contemporary economy. Vefa Polad is clearly distressed by what he finds in this gambling den as seen when he clenches his fists and thinks, ““Stupid jerks! Leaving behind your rose-like wives and falling into a place like this. You’re giving away your money to these dirty people.””<sup>61</sup> He goes on thinking that they should stay in their villages and avoid getting mixed up in places like this.

Vefa quickly learns something that angers him further. These women who have been forced to find work in the city because their husbands have gone and gambled their money away, do not have the education and training that would allow them to work in a proper job with a proper employer. Instead, they are stuck with the option of working in a gambling den like this with an employer who threatens them with violence if they leave the building.<sup>62</sup>

Ayşe, who is one of these unfortunate women, knows that what occurs in the gambling den is illegal and immoral and she readily volunteers to be a witness for the prosecution telling Vefa, ““I will tell all that I know. I will explain each and every act of these criminal jerks. This includes how I and the other girls here were tortured by the hands of these three jerks.””<sup>63</sup> In this way, *Hacı Ağa’s Gambling Den*, sets forth two very clear dictates for male Turks: first, male Turks should not leave their wives behind to go and gamble away or spend their money on prostitutes, and second, it is a duty to treat women equally and give them the opportunity to choose for themselves.

This is the situation in the third story in which women are forced to work in a gambling den because of the “stupid” actions of their husbands. Ziya Çalikoğlu is

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<sup>61</sup> Çalikoğlu. *Hacı Ağa Batakhanesi*, 73.

<sup>62</sup> Ibid., 78.

<sup>63</sup> Ibid., 78. Translation is mine.

interested in making the case for the need of economic equality—the equality that exists when men and women have equal access to both education and employment.

Ziya Gökalp, who like our authors of detective fiction who utilise detective fiction to spread ideas “used poetry as a vehicle for spreading his ideas among the public,”<sup>64</sup> warned Turkish men of the need to solve this economic problem in the following poem:

If a woman does not work, her ideas will not rise.  
Of course then she shall never become equal to you.  
You say her mind is inadequate.  
She wants to improve, isn't she right?  
If women do not rise up, the fatherland will fall.  
Knowledge without her will not be sincere.<sup>65</sup>

This expresses Gökalp's desire for equality: with the two sexes contributing equally, the nation will rise. It is for this reason that Tütengil writes that, for Gökalp, feminism is the foundation of Turkish morals<sup>66</sup> and the reason that Heyd writes, “[Gökalp] regards a reform in the position of the Turkish woman as one of the most urgent necessities for the progress of his people.”<sup>67</sup>

Ziya Çalıkoğlu very clearly agrees with Gökalp on this question as he focuses on the question of Turkish women in three of the five stories. He addressed the need for economic equality in the third story by showing the depths to which women had to sink to find employment. In the final story, he shows how lack of economic equality impacts on a woman's equal right to divorce. Unlike in the past when women had only limited access to divorce, now with the Turkish Civil Code, they theoretically had equal access to

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<sup>64</sup> Cavit Tütengil. “Ziya Gökalp ve Kadın Hakları,” *Ziya Gökalp: Ziya Gökalp Derneği'nce Yayınlanır Kültür Dergisi*. Sayı 2, (Nisan 1975, Cilt 1), 313, and Heyd. *Foundations of Turkish Nationalism: The Life and Teachings of Ziya Gökalp*. (London: Luzac & Company Ltd and Harvill Press Ltd, 1950), 95. See also Taşkıran, 45.

<sup>65</sup> Tütengil, 95. Please note that I translated this with attention to the sense, not the rhyme.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, 312.

<sup>67</sup> Heyd, 94.

the process. The problem is that this theoretical access does not equal a practical access to divorce in 1940s Turkey. This right is not a practical right yet because the theory of equality, including equal access to education and employment, had not yet traversed the distance between theory and practice. Gökalp, in a letter to his daughter written while he was in exile in Malta (1919-1922) foresaw the challenge and stressed the need to establish equality in order to begin living what he called “the new life” (*yeni hayat*). ““The new life will begin,”” writes Gökalp ““when women have the same education as men and are allowed to occupy leading positions in public life.””<sup>68</sup> Ozbay summarises this ideal as an important aspect of Turkish identity: “Thus, gender equality as a goal was seen as an aspect of the new national identity, and blame for women’s subordinate position was placed solely on Ottoman political and religious ideology.”<sup>69</sup>

In the final story, *Money Smugglers*, Ziya Çalıkoğlu paints the picture for his readers of Suzan, who knows that her rich husband, Necdet, is both a criminal and an adulterer. As if her fear of leaving him resulting from concern about how she will support herself was not enough, Necdet keeps her locked inside his house so that she cannot leave. He also has his men guarding her; if she was able to get out of the house, they would follow her. Suzan is distraught and contemplates suicide.<sup>70</sup> She understands that Necdet does not love her and she wants to leave him saying that going back to being a cleaning lady is better than being a rich prisoner or dying.<sup>71</sup> This leaves this reader to assume that by this, Çalıkoğlu is suggesting that it is only under these dramatic

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<sup>68</sup> Heyd, 95.

<sup>69</sup> Ferhunde Ozbay. “The Development of Studies on Women in Turkey,” *Women, Family, and Social Change in Turkey*. Edited by Ferhunde Ozbay. (Bangkok: UNESCO, 1990), 2.

<sup>70</sup> Çalıkoğlu. *Para Kaçakçıları*, 111.

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*, 112.

circumstances (i.e. being a prisoner or dying), that Suzan would rather be a cleaning lady, presumably one of the few positions open to her at the time. This also leads the reader to assume that there are many women who would like to leave their husbands for various other reasons, but choose not to because they do not enjoy economic equality. For this reason, these women opt to remain in a loveless marriage simply to ensure they can meet their basic needs. This is truly a sad situation and it really brings feminism to the forefront of the qualities proper Turks should have or to which they should aspire.

In this series of detective stories, Ziya Çalıkoğlu begins by reiterating some of the now-common character traits expected of proper Turks. These traits embodied by detective hero Vefa Polad are being: 1) feared by criminals and loved by others, 2) successful, 3) intelligent, 4) athletic, and 5) proud to be a Turk. Through this repetition of some of the common traits emphasised by Kemalist Turkism further strengthens these ideas in the minds of contemporary detective fiction readers. Çalıkoğlu goes on to include a discussion of the issue of women. This was an issue seen as holding great import in the development of the Republic of Turkey by both Atatürk and “the father of Turkish nationalism” himself, Ziya Gökalp. In fact, not only does Çalıkoğlu discuss the subject of the treatment of women, he upholds Gökalp’s ideals and promotes feminism as a positive character trait for Turks.



### *Conclusion*

By accepting literary works as historical ‘events,’ as suggested by the work of Valdés and Hutcheon, we were able to read the five detective fiction series with an eye to authorial intent. In concluding that through direct address to the reader, the uniformity of message found within the series, the conformity to Kemalist concepts of Turkism, and the simple fact that these series were published during a period of strict media censorship, it is clear that the authors were, indeed, working to provide positive Turkish heroes who embodied the spirit of Kemalist Turkism in order to help these ideas find currency within the greater population.

We began this study with a discussion of the development of detective fiction as a genre. What was obvious from this discussion was the level to which propaganda—guided in this case by the desire of European states to bring the public from a feeling of support for rogue heroes and opposition to the new police forces being established in the continent in the first half of the nineteenth century, to the opposite—played a significant vitalising force in the origin and development of detective fiction. Hitherto having no stake in public order, a new group—the middle class—arose. The middle class along with the *nouveau riche*, the industrialists, now had possessions and a stake in public order. This realisation along with the effective propaganda of the detective fiction of the period gradually led the public from an initial stance of opposition or indifference toward the new police forces to one of support for them.

As was made clear in the introduction, the aim of propaganda shifted with the Turkish detective fiction during the 1930s and 1940s. The stories did, at times, make

statements of support for the police. However, the focus in these stories was, as it was in the political arena in this period, the development and spread of the concepts of Kemalist Turkism to the population at large.

We have demonstrated that the messages found within the five series of detective fiction adhered very closely to Kemalist concepts of Turkism. Here, some specific examples include: 1) being hardworking/industrious, 2) being physically fit—Atatürk himself often said that ““a sound mind is found in a sound body”” (*sağlam kafa sağlam vücutta bulunur*), 3) feminism—Atatürk promoted this concept as part of his foundational principles: populism, with which he aimed to mobilise the *entire* country, not just the men, 4) rationalism was a concept that Atatürk himself purported, not because he was against religion, but because he believed that the wives’ tales and superstitions that had crept into the folk religion were preventing Turks from moving forward and claiming their rightful place in the world, and 5) patriotism. All of these concepts were developed in the five series of detective fiction that we analysed.

In our first series, Behçet Rıza’s Pire Necmi series, we saw a clear portrayal of the self-hating Turk. By this, I am referring to those Turks who would prefer to see themselves as Westerners and who, during the ceasefire (*mütareke*) period, supported foreign powers against an indigenous, Turkish government. This was a serious breach of the commandment of patriotism. In this series, the title character is the super villain and self-hating Turk, Pire Necmi. Necmi may be the title character, but the protagonist and the one for whom everyone cheers, is the detective hero, Mehmet Ali. These two characters are clearly shown to be metaphors for self-hating Turks, on one hand, and proper, patriotic Turks, on the other.

Mehmet Ali is a skilled, intelligent, dedicated/hardworking, and respectful detective. These are all qualities that Atatürk supported. Yet, he is only able to capture Pire Necmi in one fleeting instance. This is the case because of Mehmet Ali's naïveté. In every case of escape, Pire Necmi appeals to a trick he knows will work each and every time against Mehmet Ali: he lies. Each and every time Mehmet Ali believes Pire Necmi and, in so doing, allows him to escape.

With this Rıza is actually making two specific points. First, by setting the series in the ceasefire period when Istanbul was occupied by Great Britain, he ensures that foreigners will be at the forefront of the imagination of his readers. As such, the misleading way in which these European powers had dealt with and negotiated with them in the past was also in their minds. Turkish historiography writes of Europeans as hungry “vultures” who are eager to take everything they could imagine. This they did by any subterfuge available. Some examples of instances in which Turks felt misled—or lied to—by Europeans include the Ottoman Public Debt Administration (OPDA), the European incitement of the Arabs to revolt only to claim Arab lands as mandates, and the physical occupation of Istanbul. With these points in mind, it is clear that Rıza is showing Turks that foreigners (especially Europeans) are dishonest and, as such, Turks in positions to deal with foreigners, be they detectives, ambassadors, or businessmen, had better be prepared to be lied to.

But Rıza also speaks to the vast majority of Turks who do not have direct dealings with foreigners and encourages them to maintain this naïveté exemplified by Mehmet Ali because, in actuality, naïveté simply indicates that one is an honest person and, as an honest person, one expects everyone to be honest. This is a positive trait to be embodied

by Turks in dealings with other Turks. Ultimately, Rıza is encouraging Turks to continue to progress while never abandoning the moral fibre they have within themselves.

The second detective series we analysed revolved around Oğuz Turgut's hero Cemal Doğan. Cemal Doğan was not, in fact, a detective, but he demonstrated many positive character traits that a detective would require. In this series, Turgut promotes positive character traits and raises the spectre of xenophobia, dislike and/or distrust of foreigners, which he indicates will provide a blueprint to Turks on how to protect Turkish sovereignty.

This is a slippery slope on which Kemal himself was not entirely sure-footed. We demonstrated this through examples in one of his speeches where, in the space of a few short paragraphs, he shows significant vacillation on the subject of foreigners. Initially, he indicates the line he intended for Turkey and Turks to take in relations with foreigners: one of friendship and trust. But shortly thereafter he laments the problems brought on Turkey by the Europeans powers and even goes as far as to state that Turks can be considered xenophobes. This foreshadows the swing of the pendulum toward xenophobia during the 1930s.

Despite his not being a detective, Cemal Doğan demonstrates cleverness and reasoning ability and is also just, brave, hardworking, confident, and physically fit. Once again, these are all traits that Atatürk vocally supported on many occasions. It is in this way that Turgut paints the picture of a 'regular'—that is, not a detective—Turkish man who is clever, has the ability to reason logically, is just, brave and confident, handsome, athletic and has the ability to move with the agility of a leopard.

The next theme Turgut addresses is that of rationalism. Now rationalism was the goal Mustafa Kemal (Atatürk) held for the people of Turkey when he abolished the Caliphate and secularised the country. Atatürk was very concerned about how the dogmatic adherence to religion and the purveyors of religion by Turks would bode for the future of the country. Atatürk's aim was to save Turks from ignorance and error and help them to elevate themselves to their deserved place among the nations of the world.

Turgut begins his treatment of rationalism by dismissing the story of a haunted house as ignorance. Later, he has the lack of rationalism among Turks portrayed by the Russian leader of the international spy ring, S.O.S: 13, as a major weakness. The leader of this spy ring goes on to say that the spy ring has played on these fears and has, accordingly, become well-entrenched in Turkey. S.O.S: 13 is foiled in the end by Cemal, who is noticeably a skeptic. Turgut's portrayal of rationalism deems belief in the supernatural to be a) laughable, and b) an idea that should have been left behind long ago. Moreover, Turgut deems reason to be less fallible than the senses, and as such one should disregard any sensory perceptions that contravene logic. Moreover, with this Turgut is promoting the idea that a properly prepared Turk who is a skeptic can help to protect Turkey from foreigners harbouring ill will toward it. For this series, Turgut has chosen his subject carefully—an international spy ring active in Istanbul and operated through the Istanbul branch of the International Bank. This enables him to explore the concept of foreign desires to limit Turkish sovereignty.

Our analysis of Turgut's Cemal Doğan series began by establishing that the author did aim to communicate directly with his reader through the tool of reader address. The three main messages he attempted to communicate were: first, an account of some of

the positive character traits Turks should hold. The traits that define Cemal are intelligence, a desire for justice, bravery, industriousness, confidence, and being physically fit. We also saw how the first positive trait of intelligence was expanded to form the foundation of the author's second main message: a promotion of rationalism. Turgut very clearly held with Mustafa Kemal (Atatürk) in the idea that belief in the supernatural holds the population of a country back and allows the country to be exploited by foreign rationalists. Finally, we also addressed Turgut's promotion of a healthy fear of foreigners (xenophobia), especially Western ones. Playing off the recent history of European interference in the Ottoman Empire and the Republic of Turkey, Turgut shows that an international spy ring is operative in Istanbul and has the aim of, once again, constricting Turkish sovereignty. As such, this series can be seen as a clear warning to Turks to develop their character traits and refuse to believe in the supernatural in order to prevent the always active European powers from restricting Turkish sovereignty.

With these two detective series written and published in the 1930s thus analysed, we proceeded to the 1940s. Notable on a general level is the fact that the detective fiction of the 1940s explored many of the same ideas, but did so with more subtlety and nuance.

Our first detective hero of this period is, in my opinion, the most engaging of the whole group of detective heroes: Orhan Çakıroğlu. In this series, Murat Akdoğan illustrates the concept of what characteristics a proper Turk has/should have and does not/should not have both in his detective heroes, Orhan and his assistants, and his villains. While religion plays no role in the portrayal of positive Turkish character traits,

it plays a significant role in the discussion of undesirable character traits for Turks. We saw that the large majority of the villains in the series are non-Turks and non-Muslims.

We also saw a strong pro-police message in Murat Akdoğan's works. This had the dual function of raising support for the Turkish police force and the new government administration, and allowing Akdoğan to extend his characterisation of Orhan Çakıroğlu to Turks in the general population. In his three-pronged approach that points to: 1) a positive view of the Turkish police force, 2) Turkish quality (often juxtaposed to foreign inferiority), and 3) Turkish cooperation, Murat Akdoğan expands the previously discussed positive character traits of Orhan Çakıroğlu to Turks in general.

As shown above, Murat Akdoğan characterises Turks through the character of Orhan Çakıroğlu in a number of ways, including intelligence, the level to which Orhan is respected by the public and his peers and feared by criminals, Orhan's generosity, humility, and good physical condition—once again, all traits Atatürk regularly promoted. Moreover, we saw that religious affiliation plays absolutely no role in Akdoğan's positive definition of Turkishness. This changes when we analyse his characterisation of the criminals in these stories. Most of the criminals are Greeks, Armenians, Jews, and there are even Westerners (egs. a German thief and a swindling, French police chief). There are bad Muslims in the stories, but very few of these are of Turkish decent. In the cases in which Muslims and Muslim Turks are the criminals, their characters are so obviously bad that the reader would likely not accept them as fellow Muslims anyway.

Next, we analysed A. Samancıgil's Hızır Kaplan series. In it we clearly saw that Samancıgil's target audience was Turkish youth as evidenced by the child-oriented cartoons and contests found within the series. It was also clear that Samancıgil had two

main messages for his young readers. The first message was the usual promotion of positive character traits as embodied by Hızır Kaplan. The second message was his attempt to teach rationalism to Turkish youth. Samancıgil, like Atatürk, saw all forms of superstitions as having a role in preventing Turkey from progressing. As such, Samancıgil was writing for young readers in order to endorse a number of positive qualities and, most significantly, to dissuade the youth of Turkey from holding on to superstitions through the promotion of rationalism in the stories.

Samancıgil attributed the following qualities of character to Hızır Kaplan: first, he was feared by criminals and respected by regular citizens; second, he was patriotic/embodied national pride; third, he was industriousness/hardworking; Hızır Kaplan was also strong and athletic, and finally, he was confident. In exemplifying these five traits Hızır Kaplan portrays a proper Kemalist Turk. He is also heroic enough to make children want to be like him.

The next message was rationalism. Three of the eight novels analysed carry this message. More than one third of the series is dedicated to reinforcing the scientific certainty that all worldly events can be explained rationally—a viewpoint Atatürk held dearly. Samancıgil is very clearly promoting rationalism just as he very clearly targeted his audience.

In the stories, we noted similarities between the three examples that promote rationalism. First, the witnesses of the supernatural event accept it at face value. Second, they are surprised and shocked when they explain it to Hızır Kaplan and he listens to the account in a detached manner. Third, Hızır seeks a rational explanation for the supernatural event, for example a thief disguised as a ghost to facilitate his thievery.



Finally, in the end the reader sees that Hızır was right all along. The intriguing difference was the way that Hızır Kaplan encountered the ghosts in the first instance. Initially frightened, Hızır Kaplan mentally annihilates the source of fear by rationally eliminating the possibility of the existence of ghosts. From that point on, he never shows fear again in any supernatural encounter. This, very clearly, is a lesson to Turkish youth that shows exactly how to intellectually free oneself of commonly-held, folk superstitions.

Our final detective hero was Vefa Polad. In this series, author Ziya Çalıkoğlu establishes both that Vefa, who speaks “four or five languages like his mother tongue,”<sup>1</sup> and is referred to as the “Turkish Sherlock Holmes,”<sup>2</sup> is a retired police commissioner who now spends his time cultivating roses in his rose garden. With this detective hero Çalıkoğlu aims to both further promote positive character traits that we have seen in the other series of detective fiction. Ziya Çalıkoğlu, like Murat Akdoğan, stresses that Polad is 1) loved by citizens, and feared by criminals 2) successful, 3) intelligent, 4) athletic, and 5) proud to be a Turk. The new aspect Çalıkoğlu adds to the character traits of proper Turks is the idea that women are intrinsically important and that any “proper” Turk should be both a feminist in Gökalp’s conception, and proud to protect and defend women when they are in danger.

We also looked at the historical context of the question of women in order to understand the importance of this message. Atatürk communicated his view that it is the women who raise the great figures who go on to elevate the nation on a number of occasions. This idea came directly to Atatürk from his friend and “father of [his] ideas,” Ziya Gökalp. Gökalp held that women were the first teachers and, as such, have a vital

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<sup>1</sup> Ziya Çalıkoğlu, *6 Numaradaki Kadın*, 37.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

role in society. Along with being the first teachers of the youth, Turkish women had also made great contributions to the war efforts in the three major wars. Atatürk was quite successful in realising his views on women. One example of this being that Turkey established universal suffrage in 1935, before a number of so-called modern nations did. Yet, we also noted that Kazgan, in her study of female labour force participation in Turkey, argues that the Kemalist reforms, while well-intentioned, had not bettered the work opportunities for women because the reforms had not prepared the necessary economic foundations, a significant one being a lack of equal access to education for women.

This was the situation women found themselves in during the period in which Ziya Çalıkoğlu wrote the Vefa Polad series. Changes were ongoing; the reforms required, however, some ideological support and this is exactly what Ziya Çalıkoğlu provided with Vefa Polad.

Ziya Çalıkoğlu, like Atatürk, held women to be important and worked to spread the message of feminism. The emphasis Çalıkoğlu placed on women is clearly seen by the fact that both women and the importance of protecting women are main themes of the Vefa Polad series. While Atatürk's reforms regarding the status and role of women in society opened the doors for many firsts (examples include the first female Turkish doctor and the first female combat pilot in the world), it is clear that Çalıkoğlu wanted to popularise the idea of male and female equality amongst the general population. This is immediately apparent by simply noting that the position, status, and/or role of women in society play an important part of the plots of three of the five stories (*The Woman in Apartment Number Six*, *Hacı Ağa's Gambling Den*, and *Money Smugglers*).

However, not satisfied with the idea of focusing on promoting this idea among younger generations, Çalıkoğlu cleverly characterises Vefa Polad as a retired detective and a feminist. By doing so, Çalıkoğlu is sending a further message that even members of older generations are capable of seeing this flaw in their traditional social beliefs and becoming feminists.

In the five series of detective fiction we analysed, we were able to pinpoint certain commonalities such as the regular promotion of positive character traits that Atatürk himself was promoting/had promoted. We also noted some differences between the series. Each series laid emphasis on a different aspect of Turkism. Behçet Rıza focused on describing and showing the dangers presented by the self-hating Turk. Oğuz Turgut further described the dishonesty and maliciousness of the foreigner (in this case spies) and promoted a healthy sense of skepticism and xenophobia as being the best way for a Turk to defend his homeland from within. Murat Akdoğan took the promotion of positive character traits to a new level. He went on to juxtapose these traits with the negative traits embodied by the villains in the stories. We also noted that these villains were disproportionately non-Turks and non-Muslims. A. Samancıgil took his message of rationalism directly to the youth of Turkey. Finally, Ziya Çalıkoğlu portrayed the proper Turk as one who was a feminist in addition to the other positive traits we have seen.

This work adds to the growing analyses of the lives of regular people in the Ottoman Empire and the Republic of Turkey that have begun to appear over the last decade. Studies of cultural history and studies that meld history with literature by viewing publications as historical ‘events’ with the potential to teach us about the mores, values, and worldview of regular citizens will increase our knowledge of the region dramatically.

As Kemal Karpaz states, “Modern social literature of the Middle East, namely the short story, the novel, poetry, and, lately, the drama, is a rather faithful mirror of social and political transformations occurring in the society at large.”<sup>3</sup> Karpaz claims this to be so because the writer “played a vital role, not only in providing explanation and justification for social change, but also in establishing the criteria and standards for the acceptance of innovation and change.”<sup>4</sup> This study of detective fiction written and published between 1928 and 1950 has done exactly that. It has clearly outlined the motivations of the detective fiction writers, as Karpaz states it, to establish the criteria and standards for the acceptance of innovation and change.

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<sup>3</sup> Kemal Karpaz, “Social Environment and Literature: The Reflection of the Young Turk Era (1908-1918) in the Literary Work of Ömer Seyfeddin (1884-1920),” in *Studies on Ottoman Social and Political History: Selected Articles and Essays*, edited by Kemal Karpaz (Leiden, The Netherlands; Boston: Brill, 2002), 822.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., 824.

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