

**SERVANTS AND MASTERS: REPRESENTATIONS OF CLASS
AND GENDER HIERARCHIES IN THE TURKISH NOVEL**

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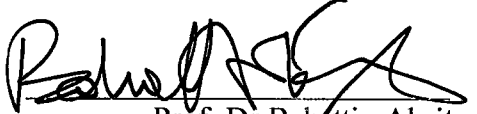
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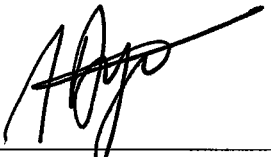
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Prof. Dr. Bahattin Akşit
Director

I certify that this thesis satisfies all the requirements as a thesis for the degree of Master of Arts.


Prof. Dr. Sencer Ayata
Head of the Department of Sociology

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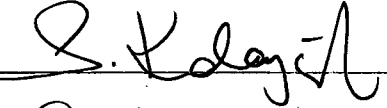

Assist. Prof. Dr. Necmi Erdoğan
Supervisor

Examining Committee Members

Assist. Prof. Dr. Necmi Erdoğan



Assoc. Prof. Dr. Sibel Kalaycıođlu



Dr. Kürşad Ertuđrul



ABSTRACT

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Öztek, F.Çiçek

M.Sc., Department of Sociology

Supervisor: Assist.Prof.Dr. Necmi Erdoğan

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This thesis, by focusing on the relations between servants and masters, investigates representations of class and gender hierarchies in the Turkish novel from Tanzimat to today. For this aim, eighteen novels, having servants as the main or side characters, or as agents of plot, covering a time span of 125 years and a variety of ideological standings will be analyzed. Bakhtinian dialogism and sociological poetics will be used in the analyses. A comparative frame will be constructed to compare the representations of the figure of servant in relation to its masters, in the Western and Turkish novels. Considering that the figure of maidservant sits at the intersection of class and gender hierarchies at home, it will be argued that gender hierarchy is more highlighted in the maid and master pair, whereas class distinctions are more on the foreground in the maid and mistress pair. Historical transformation of ambiguously co-existent pre-modern, paternalistic, and modern, class related discourses on that figure will also be questioned.

Keywords: Servant, Novel, Representation, Class, Gender

ÖZ

HİZMETÇİLER VE EFENDİLER: TÜRK ROMANINDA SINIF VE CİNSİYET HİYERARŞİLERİNİN TEMSİLLERİ

Öztek, F.Çiçek

Yüksek Lisans, Sosyoloji Bölümü,

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Bu tez, hizmetçiler ve efendileri arasındaki ilişkilere bakarak, Tanzimat'tan bu güne Türk romanında sınıf ve cinsiyet hiyerarşilerinin temsillerini inceleyecek. Bu amaçla, birinci ya da yan karakterlerinden birinin hizmetçi olduğu, ya da hizmetçinin izleğe etkide bulunduğu onsekiz roman çözümlenecek. Bu romanlar, Türk romanını olabildiğince iyi temsil etmek amacıyla 125 yıllık bir döneme yayılıyor ve geniş bir yelpazeden ideolojileri kapsıyor. Roman çözümlerinde Bakhtin'in dialogizm kavramı ile sosyolojik poetika yaklaşımı benimsenecek. Hizmetçi figürünün Batı romanındaki temsillerine bakılarak karşılaştırmalı bir çatı kurulacak. Bu figürün, ev içindeki sınıf ve cinsiyet hiyerarşilerinin kesiştiği bir yerde durduğu kabul edilerek, kadın hizmetçi bey ilişkisinde cinsiyet hiyerarşisinin, kadın hizmetçi hanım ilişkisinde ise sınıf hiyerarşisinin ön planda olduğu iddia edilecek. Son olarak, hizmetçi figüründe bir arada bulunan modern öncesi pedersahi ve modern, sınıf söylemlerinin tarihsel dönüşümleri sorgulanacak.

Anahtar kelimeler: Hizmetçi, Roman, Temsil, Sınıf, Cinsiyet

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

One great foremost evil of novel reading is generated and established in its tendency to banish simplicity and nature from the mind, and to form artificial, imitative character; to fashion and confirm a practised mind; to seduce the frank and honest disposition from its native ingenuousness, and to teach the art of acting perpetually upon plan... Novel reading leads to a fondness of making experiments on the affections of others towards ourselves.

Mrs. Grundy, cited in an article in *Lady's Magazine*, dated 1824 (quoted in Keen, 1998:111).

Works of art... have their greatness only insofar as they let speak what ideology conceals. They transcend, whether they want to or not, false consciousness.

T.Adorno (quoted in Lowenthal, p.15).

This study aims at analyzing transformation of social hierarchies as represented in the Turkish novel from Tanzimat to today by focusing on the figure of the servant. On this purpose, eighteen Turkish novels were selected covering a time span from 1875 to 1998. In the selection of these novels, the presence of the servant figure was the main criteria: in most of them, the servant appears as the first or one of the secondary characters, and only in a few of them it has a marginal role in the plot. Secondly, those novels that are defined by their authors and literary historians as realist, were selected. As the Western novel, particularly the 19th century French and English novels, are considered to be one of the main sources of the Turkish novel, the representation of the servant figure in the Western novel is reviewed in order to establish a comparative framework and to pose relevant questions. In this respect, one of the main questions posed is how class and gender hierarchies are constructed in the novel by distinguishing the maid/master, and

the maid/mistress pairs as well as the male and female servants. Another question posed in the thesis is how the interplay of the traditional, paternalistic and modern discourses on the servant has changed in time. These hierarchies and discourses are interpreted not as a 'reflection' of the real relations existing in society, but as traces of those social realities as 'refracted' through the lens and ideological perspective of the writer as expressed in terms of the specificity of the literary realm. For, literary creations and their creators are part of the social reality, within a two-way relationship: they are both products and producers of that social reality. In that sense neither the creations nor the creators can be thought outside those relations.

1.1. Scope

Turkish society had passed -and is still passing- through a big social transformation that has been simply defined as the process of modernization. This process, having its roots in early 19th century, effected and changed all spheres of life from economy to politics, from culture to institutions, from ideas to daily life practices. However, having its sources mainly in the West, this process had its peculiarities, its own development and antagonisms in Turkey and in other so-called third world countries. In Turkey, modernization had a brief but quite controversial history, has always been in the academic and political agendas, and thus has always been a key problematic to understand and analyze the Turkish society. Much effort and labor have been and are still been spent to understand Turkish modernization by many thinkers (Bozdoğan and Kasaba, 1998:2-11). This study will be an attempt to contribute to these efforts as it aims to understand the social processes through which new hierarchies had been constructed in Turkish society through their expressions in the Turkish novel, which is itself a cultural product that had entered Turkish culture as part of this very process called modernization.

This study will focus on the figure of servant in relation to its masters, in order to follow the traces of the formation of new hierarchies. That figure, combining both class and gender hierarchies and creating a sharp encounter between the low and the high at home,

presents a good focus for such an aim. Although Turkish novel followed a particular trajectory and generated various sub-genres, it is apparent that it was produced by writers of some particular classes to be read again by the members of those classes, narrating a repertoire of stories taking place among the people of those classes, in big cities (particularly İstanbul), at their homes. The novel had expanded from İstanbul to Anatolia, from wealthy mansions to the streets, only after 1940s, although there were some early exceptions. The poor, the worker, the peasant, the children, the elements of 'low' life, who had remained at the margins by then, could have entered to the realm of the novel, though still under some particular conditions, forms and within some sub-genres. For these novels had been still produced through the lens of the writer, who stands at 'high' in the 'high/low' hierarchy. On the other hand, the figure of servant had constituted an exception in this sense as s/he, though being a member of the 'low' life, had been present in the houses and novels from Tanzimat till today in various forms and faces. Due to this reason, the servant has emerged as a key figure to be analyzed in order to problematize the encounter of the 'low' and the 'high' in the Turkish novel.

Another reason of selecting the servant as the focus of this study is a political one. Just by choosing servants who have not been made subject of analysis of literary scholarship in the Turkish novel before, this study will be an attempt to re-read these novels by highlighting the figure of servant in the stories. However, this study will not claim to "give voice" to them, but only make a subject of interpretation. In other words, literary representation of the servant, sitting in the intersection of a complex matrix of gender and class relations at home, will be examined to acquire clues on less the servants themselves than the masters, who share in most of the cases the same class with the novel writers.

1.2. Basic Concepts

The notion of class in various areas of social sciences has been a very contested issue. Debates on how class should be understood and defined, and how a class analysis should be made still continue though mainly two lines of approaches, namely stratification and

relational approaches, have appeared to be dominant on the issue (Wright, 1989; Wallerstein, 1996). However, as this study will not deal with real life processes, it does not have an intention to make a discussion on the methodology of class analysis. Thus, leaving aside those debates, only what is meant with the notion of class will be briefly given.

In novels, the heroes' material economic conditions -i.e. their occupation, wages, etc.- and of their existence within a workplace, in work relations are rarely mentioned. Mostly, it is even unknown how the hero earns his/her living (generally the money just comes as an heritage). The heroes are figured more in their private lives, at home, in love, in family, in a journey, etc. The clues about their class standing are given more in their consumption patterns, decoration of their houses, living styles, and in their relations with the others, or in short in cultural aspects. As the relational approach to class provides one with a wide scope to examine these cultural patterns as reflections of class positions, it will be the underlying theoretical basis of this thesis in the examination of class hierarchies in novels.

The ideas of E.M.Wood, who departs from E.P Thompson's class analysis and criticisms, are illuminating in adopting an approach to class as "process and relationship" as opposed to non-Marxist stratification, and structuralist Marxist conceptions of class. She excludes stratification theories, that divide the society according to income distribution, occupation groups, status and market chances, as these theories miss the qualitative and relational sides of the picture by focusing on the differences, inequalities and hierarchies in the society statically but not on relations dynamically. According to her, a theory that excludes the relations of domination and exploitation has severe ideological and sociological consequences (Wood, 1991:93). Class formations emerge and develop as men and women live their productive relations and experience their determinate situations within "the ensemble of social relations, with their inherited culture and expectations, and as they handle these experiences in cultural ways" (ibid.80). So, leaving aside theoretical discussions about class, this thesis will

take the notion of class formation, rather than class as locations. And this can only be understood in a historical process and in relation to other classes.

Such an approach is particularly appropriate for a critical study on novel such as this thesis that understands novel as a cultural product, rather than a mere literary product or a material base for sociological analysis. Thus, Frederic Jameson; whose ideas have provided a basis to this thesis, accepts also a similar notion of “class as relation” and adopts this notion to the sphere of culture. He argues that

the ‘values’ are always actively in situation with respect to opposing class, and defined against the latter: normally, a ruling class ideology will explore various strategies of the legitimation of its own power position, while an oppositional culture or ideology will, often in covert and disguised strategies, seek to contest and to undermine the dominant ‘value system’ (Jameson, 1981:84).

Hence, this study will look at the instances of encounters between characters of different classes at home, in other words between servants and their masters, in order to understand the constitution of their values in a relational manner within the context of the extant class hierarchy. The servant, being a member of the laboring classes and engaging in a face-to-face contact with the upper classes at their houses, provides in this sense an appropriate focus to examine class tensions.

On the other hand, it is a fact that the nature of the domestic work marks a highly gendered division of labor from past to today. Given that the majority of the servants are female, and different values are attributed to the servitude of man and woman, a gender dimension needs to be also considered in the analysis of formation of hierarchies at home. Such a dimension would highlight different dynamics prevailing among women sharing one house -that can not be explained merely with class- as well as among the male master and the female servant. In other words, gender relations and hierarchies should be thought together with class hierarchies in order to develop a better understanding of relations at home. Rather than the “false problem of priority of the economic over sexual, or of sexual oppression over that of social class,” as Jameson (1981:99) states, I will take these two relationalities -i.e. gender and class- as co-

existent. Such an approach that foresees the co-existence of class and gender (and in some cases of race) is defended by neo-Marxist feminists who have criticized gender-privileging approaches of mainstream feminist and class-privileging approaches of Marxist perspectives. This neo-Marxist feminist argument, which is based on an understanding of the social subject as “constituted in gender, though not by sexual difference alone, but rather across languages and cultural representations; a subject engendered in the experiencing of race and class, as well as sexual relations” (Lauretis, 1987:2), will provide a theoretical basis to this study.

To repeat again, this study will deal more with representations than facts, and will give more an idea on masters than servants. It will take literature and the novel as an ideological sphere. This idea bases on M.Bakhtin’s conception of literary representation in general, and representation in novel in particular. According to Bakhtin,

the literary structure, like every ideological structure, refracts the generating socioeconomic reality, and does so in its own way. But at the same time, in its ‘content’, literature reflects and refracts the reflections and refractions of other ideological spheres (ethics, epistemology, political doctrines, religion, etc.). That is, in its ‘content’, literature reflects the whole of the ideological horizon of which it is itself a part. (Bakhtin, 1991:16)

The distinction between the “refraction of the reality” and “reflection of the generating ideologies” needs to be emphasized in order not to conceive literature as a reflection of reality alone or a mere mediator of transmitting ideologies (Swingwood, 1975:33; Suvin, 1988:666). According to this logic of refraction/reflection, “the literary reflects only the ideological horizon, which itself is only the refracted reflection of real existence.” In other words the plot, story, theme and motifs, in fact every meaningful element of content obeys the following basic rule: “In them the reality that has already been ideologically refracted is shaped artistically” (Bakhtin, 1991:18).

On the question of ‘representation’, it is important to understand the concept in the 19th century Western thought, which had been the cradle of the realist novel, as this thesis deals with literary representation in the Turkish novel, and specifically with the

representation in the realist one. It is important to note here that novel, as a literary genre, had been imported to Turkey from the West, and realism had dominated it since then. Literary representation took a different dimension in the 19th century Western novel. At that time, the novel became more involved in mimetic creation of the reality rather than simply transporting a pre-given reality into a symbolic world. In other words, literary representations did not come to approximate social reality, but made an essential aspect of social life itself. Quoting the words of Gunter Gebauer and Cristoph Wulf (1995:221), “the aesthetic principle of mimesis is generalized far beyond the sphere of art into a constitutive characteristics of class society.”

Similarly, the construction of the I in relation to the Other became a dominant mode in the conception of representation. In romantic novels, and particularly in those of Balzac, the mimetic desire generated in relation to other persons exists as the essential driving forces of the society besides other forces. Generation of signs and images became an element of the production of relative social positions. This mode, which took an authoritarian tone in the anti-romantic and realist novels, dominated the relationships not only between fictional characters but also between the author and the reader (ibid. 313-314). These authors, with an authoritarian tone, created worlds to exercise a kind of power over the Others. The internal and external perspectives of them were adopted not only toward the Others, but also toward the self. The author’s way of constructing his/her novelistic characters and situations was tightly related to the way of seeing him/herself (ibid.245). Toward the end of the 19th century, the author claimed to have the authority to create social reality, and the novel took a highly authoritarian tone. In this logic, “the society is to be read like a novel.” In other words, in the hands of Stendhal, Flaubert, Dostoyevsky and Proust, “the society, in important aspects, is constituted in terms of the same principles as the novel,” or “the novel is constituted in terms of a principle that informs and dominates the social reality of its time. The social world and the novel, on account of the principle of the mimetic interpretation and world-making, are bound together; they exist in constitutive reference to each other” (ibid.237).

Such a claim of construction of social reality and such an authoritarian tone can also be observed in the first Tanzimat novelists, which is a tradition in the Turkish novel that has been handed-over through generations. The novelists have seen themselves as part of the modernization movement -i.e. construction of a modern society- and later as part of the project of the Turkish Republic -i.e. construction of the modern Turkish nation- though all in their own ways and from their particular ideological positions -which are sometimes in conflict with the hegemonic ideologies. This authoritarian and didactic tone, associated with the desire of the novelist's construction of social reality, marked a major part of the Turkish novel, just like in realism. So the representational relation between the novelist and social reality should be thought together with the novelists' claim of contribution to the construction of the new Turkish society.

The attempts of construction of the social reality go hand in hand with the construction of I through the Other, in the novel. However, even the most authoritarian voice cannot escape from the effects of the Other. For, every speech consists mostly of others' speeches. We transmit, interpret, recall others' words; we tell others' stories; we quote and refer to others' value judgments, opinions; we gossip, slander and make jokes on others. This is true for every day conversations and for the novels as well, and this is specific to the genre of novel. Because what makes a novel a novel is the existence of the speaking human beings and their discourses (Bakhtin, 1981:332). The authorial speech and intentionality is refracted through all alien voices in the novel. This is what Bakhtin calls the heteroglossia in the novel. The novel, different than poetic forms and the epic, permits the organization and orchestration of various voices by means of several internal forms, such as comic expressions playing with languages, parody, irony, stories told by the third narrators, character speeches and character zones (which is inherent to every novel), and by means of various external forms and genres incorporated into the novel, such as confessions, diaries, personal letters, travel notes, biographies, maxims, aphorisms and verses. All these forms have a different language and are positioned at various distances, relations, and conditions with respect to the language of the author. The novel is the orchestration of all of these voices (ibid.323).

However in some novels we feel more the authority of the author as his/her voice is heard more dominantly; in these novels every character seems to be speaking the words of the author. The whole novel is like a huge monologue of the author. However according to Bakhtin, even in the most monologic novel, the authorial voice is contaminated, infected, encroached by some alien voices. One can read and find these contaminations under the lines. This thesis will understand literary representation in novel (although dealing with realist novels which are authoritarian and monologic in most of the cases) in the light of that Bakhtinian concept of dialogism.

To turn back to the 19th century Western novel, another point that can be made on the novelists' claim of construction of reality, would be a political one. The representational relation between the representing European subject and the represented Other established in the novel, can be read politically and within the context of the reformist social project of the period. It is argued that by reproducing and preserving the high/low hierarchies through establishing Self/Other relations continuously (as in the case of the Other associated with low classes and women at home as well as with the Orient at far colonies), the dominant novel of the period aimed at defining and constructing the European individual as healthy, moral and efficient, and setting and disseminating appropriate norms required for this end.

This representational relation involves exclusion, marginalizing and silencing of the people of the low life from the literary representation. This politicizing approach to the question of representation in general, and of literary representation in particular, is mainly adopted by postcolonial literary critics during the recent decades such as E.Said (1979) and G.C.Spivak (1988) in their criticism of the exclusion of the Orient in the colonial literature, and other Western literary critics such as R.Williams (1991) and B.Robbins (1986) in their criticism of the exclusion of the lower classes in the Western literature. This question becomes more striking when the 19th century naturalist as well as realist novels are considered for they describe themselves as a genre problematicizing the individual and social change, and aim at giving a reflection of the 'reality' as

'realistic' as possible; in other words, this genre claims the most faithful representation of social reality.

The point made by Edward Said, in his *Orientalism*, where he problematizes the question of the representation of the Orient in the orientalist discourse, would be illuminating in developing an approach to literary representation in this study. He examines the relation between literary representation and the absence of the Orient in the orientalist discourse in the following words: "If the Orient could represent itself, it would; since it cannot, the representation does the job... there is no such thing as a delivered presence, but a re-presence, a representation." (Said, 1979:21) The strength of the representation does not depend on the represented but comes from its exclusion and absence. Similarly, this thesis will accept the absence of the servant in its literary representation, and the view that its representation relies very little on itself. In that sense, this thesis will tell more about the masters than the servants.

Construction of reality not only excludes and marginalizes some groups, but also contributes to the more general cultural hierarchies between 'high' and 'low'. Those hierarchies are established among different classes, but also among different regions. The figure of servant, while marking class and gender hierarchies on the one hand, also marks regional hierarchies with its rural background and idyllic features attributed to it on the other. Raymond Williams makes a similar point on the marginal status of the working class, and of people from peripheral regions, in the English novel. He observes not only the marginalization of these others, but also the establishment of a social hierarchy as "people of certain favored regions" or certain classes -i.e. dominant ones- "are seen as essentially general, even perhaps normal", and their lives are represented as self-subsistent, central, general vis-à-vis the particularity, provinciality, and marginality of those of the others'. He has this observation from the 19th century to the late 20th century bourgeois novels -especially in the new types, which he calls 'rentier', 'corporation', and 'university' novels. In these novels, the lives are given as self-subsistent, stripped of the wider context of social relations, drawn in their private spheres, problems and concerns (Williams, 1991:232).

A similar hierarchy between the urban and rural (between İstanbul and the rest) had been constructed from the very beginning of the Turkish novel, and has always been present throughout its brief history. This hierarchy took different forms in different types of novels, even in the so-called 'village novel' that has its roots in the 1930s, but that was mainly flourished during the 1950s. The Turkish novel was almost blind to the rural before then. That interest to the rural has arisen through the enthusiastic atmosphere of the first decades of the Turkish Republic, with an aim to carry the modernization reforms to the village. Novelists once more claimed a role in those processes. And after the 1950s, the urban/rural distinction has become sharper in the Turkish novel, whereas the repertoire of issues related to that distinction that the novelists were interested, was extended from villages to new social formations and conflicts in cities under the influence of the first big wave of immigration from villages. The history of the literary servant was also marked with those changes. A new type, the daily domestic, emerges in the novel, pointing to another hierarchy at home, i.e. the rural/urban distinction, besides gender and class.

1.3. Why study novel?

Literature in general, but novel in particular, has been an arena of particular classes, regarding its authorship, publishing, readership, criticism and academic spheres. It is just one of the "ideological creations" among others such as science, art, ethic, religion, which should be considered in its materiality and historicity, but also in its autonomy (Bakhtin, 1991:3-4).

The introduction of the novel into the Ottoman literature coincides with the process of westernization in the Empire during the Tanzimat period. It can be argued that the novel had contributed to the process of westernization and nation-building in the Empire and the young Turkish Republic after then. It also generated various popular sub-genres throughout its history. In other words, the novel did not emerge as a subversive voice against the official 'high' culture, as argued by Bakhtin and Kristeva for the Western novel. The novel in Turkey has rather been a product of intellectuals, whose class

positions are debatable, and addressed to a small group of educated people, though a reservation has to be put on the so-called popular genres. This point should be understood as a first hand thought, which requires further examination, and needs to be supported by deeper sociological analyses; such an investigation can be the subject of another study. This thesis, which aims at understanding how new hierarchies have been formed between the 'high' and 'low' during the modernization process in the Turkish society in the last hundred years, selects the 'literary' Turkish novel as its material - leaving aside 'popular' novels, as it played a significant mediating role in the modernization process. The 'literary' novel, being mostly in the hands of the 'high' culture, is believed to be a good source to analyze the question of how the 'high' wanted to construct itself.

Next question at this point is the following: Can a novel be read sociologically? There has been a variety of debates on this matter within the area of so-called 'sociology of literature,' or in particular 'sociology of novel,' as well as in other areas of literary scholarship. This area of sociology is not only interested in reading novels sociologically, but also in analyzing the novel as a cultural product within its relations to other societal institutions and to the society at large.

The novel, according to Ian Watt, is a narrative constructed by and around a notion of a subject posed by the European Enlightenment. Ian Watt, in his book *The Rise of the Novel*, associates the rise of the novel to the rise of bourgeoisie in the 19th century Europe. It is a capitalistic production within the Institution of Literature, including all those profiles of readers, publishers, booksellers, literary rates and critiques. With the Enlightenment, people started to think more about the meaning of the society and the individual. The discipline of sociology itself is flourished and constructed as a discipline through such questions and within the climate of the Enlightenment. The novel combines the personal and the social; it both reproduces and contributes to the complex relationships between subjective feelings and history and society. In the novel, different than the older prose forms and epic, there is a subject with a name, character, life,

adventures, loves, relations, who is standing on his/her feet, observing and narrating him/herself, the society and its history (Watt, 1957).

Lucien Goldman (1986), in his *Towards a Sociology of the Novel*, also finds a “rigorous homology” between the novelistic form and the “daily life of an individualistic society born of market production.” Goldman, departing from Lukacs’ idea of novel in his *Theory of Novel* as “a form organized around the problematic, degraded hero in pursuit of authentic values in a problematic, degraded world,” argues that the novel “seems to express a search for values that no social group defends effectively and that the economic life tends to make implicit in all members of society” (quoted in Milner, 1996:85-86). Both theorists think the novel as a genre characterized by “the insurmountable rupture between the hero and the world,” i.e. by the individualistic society. In this dichotomy of hero and world, “the novel is necessarily both a biography and a social chronicle” (Goldman, p.4).

But leaving aside the debates on sociology of novel, another question that is more critical for the focus of this thesis should be posed. Can we easily and directly relate the genre of novel to the bourgeois class? Associating the rise of novel to the individualistic bourgeois class is a widely discussed and accepted view (Watt, 1957; Swingwood, 1975). However, Julia Kristeva, in her *Desire in Language*, gives a counter argument against the novel being a bourgeois genre in its origin. Referring to Bakhtin, she investigates the roots of the novel in carnivalesque forms that goes as early as the third century B.C. Those are subversive, politically and socially disturbing forms which had been excluded, but at the same time wanted to be controlled by the religious authorities during the Middle Ages; whereas in the bourgeois era these tendencies were contained by the absolutism of individualism, and they were only tolerated.

Against theorists of novel such as A. Thibaudet, Koskimies and Georg Luckas, she poses the following argument: “Modern, bourgeois society has not only accepted, but claims to recognize itself in the novel, such claim can only refer to the category of monological narratives, known as realistic, that censor all carnivalesque elements.” On

the other hand, the dialogical novel, “tending to refuse representation and the epic, has only been tolerated; that is, it has been declared unreadable, ignored or ridiculed” (Kristeva, 1980:85). Kristeva distinguishes between the monologic novels and the polyphonic novels. She accepts the relationship between the monologic novels and the bourgeoisie, whereas she sees polyphonic, carnivalesque novels as subversive, as being at the fringes of the official bourgeois culture (ibid.69). When the case of the Turkish novel is considered in the light of Bakhtin’s and Kristeva’s ideas, it can be maintained that The Turkish novel has a specific historical trajectory as an imported genre from the West, which did not develop from carnivalesque forms. Due to this reason, this thesis will avoid the direct association of the Turkish novel with the bourgeoisie, as well as the use of terms such as “novel as a bourgeois genre” or “bourgeois novel.” Instead, it will take the first hand observation that the novel is the product of the high culture in the hands of the intellectuals, who have an ambiguous relationship with other classes.

1.4. Methodology

By questioning whether the novels can be read sociologically, I want to arrive at the Bakhtinian idea of defining the novelistic elements sociologically. Bakhtin developed a translinguistic methodology based on dialogism, that he called sociological poetics. He begins with the very definitions of the elements of the novel and units of analysis, in his own way in other words ‘sociologically’.

Rather than approaching a text to examine its style, language or thematic, he suggests an approach that looks for intertextual relationships and the relationality between all elements of the text and its context. He objects a question such as “How the author used or mastered the language?” but asks, “How the author orchestrated the possible languages, in other words the heteroglossia?” He objects a question such as “How the characters are created?” but asks, “What are the relationships between this or that character to the author, or in between themselves or to the thematic unity of the work?” These questions may be generated for other elements of the text such as story, plot and

thematic. Every time a relationality is the concern. These Bakhtinian questions are also posed in the examination of the novels, considered in this thesis.

A definition of his sociological poetics in his words is the following:

Thus the work enters life and comes into contact with various aspects of its environment. It does so in the process of its actual realization as something performed, heard, read at a definite time, in a definite place, under definite condition... Between the two-folds orientation of the work in reality, between the external, direct orientation and the internal, thematic orientation, an unbreakable connection and interdependence develops. One determines the other... Genre is the aggregate of the means of collective orientation in reality, with the orientation toward finalization. This orientation is capable of mastering new aspects of reality. The conceptualization of reality develops and generates in the process of ideological social intercourse. Therefore, a genuine poetics of genre can only be a sociology of genre. (Bakhtin, 1991:132-135)

Criticizing the mechanistic conception of the novel of the Russian formalists, which sees the novel as an amalgamation of diverse materials intrinsically alien to each other through framing and stringing, Bakhtin suggests an organic conception. In his approach, the hero is not a material which functions to tie the strings of the story, or to speak the words of the author; similarly the story and the plot are not just materials tied mechanically together to tell an essential idea, feeling, etc. Each element of the work is an end in itself, at the same time it is the constructive element of the work; it constitutes the work in its relation to the thematic unity of the work and in its inter-relationship with other elements. Certain aspects of the hero's reality in life can only be seen and understood through the prism of his/her possible role in the artistic unity of the work, and consequently, through the "prism of his compositional role." (ibid.139). Similarly, the story characterizes genre from the point of view of its thematic orientation in reality. And the plot does the same, but from the point of view of the "actual reality of genre in the process of its social realization." The story defines the reality being finalized in terms of the thematic unity, i.e. the content, while the plot determines the finalization of the actual reality of the work, i.e. the form.

But he suggests a relationality between content and form and says that every element of the work (hero, story, plot, thematic) is “a chemical combination of form and content and social evaluation is the common denominator of the content and form of every element of the construction.” (p.140) It is here that the originality of Bakhtin lies, and his sociological poetics can be understood by understanding this relationality. This study intends to adopt the dialogism and sociological poetics of Bakhtin as an approach in the analysis of the novels, which are selected to look for the historical trajectory of the representation of the figure of servant. Applying these ideas to the very question of this study, i.e. the figure of literary servant in his/her relations to the masters, the mistake of taking “the hero as a social type in the strict sense” will be avoided. Instead, this literary figure will be considered as an “ideological refraction of a social type.” The literary servant in his class and gender relations to the masters will be taken as an “oblique document of an ideological horizon”, rather than a material for a historical or sociological study of actual servants.

In this study fourteen novels are analyzed in depth: *Felâtn Bey ile Râkım Efendi* (1875) by Ahmet Mithat Efendi; *İntibah* (1876) by Namık Kemal; *Sergüzeşt* (1889) by Samipaşazâde Sezâi; *Mürebbiye* (1899) by Hüseyin Rahmi Gürpınar; *Üç İstanbul* (1938) by Mithat Cemal Kuntay; *Medar-ı Maişet Motoru* (1944) by Sait Faik Abasıyanık; *Kızılıcak Dalları* (1932) by Reşat Nuri Güntekin; *Bu Bizim Hayatımız* (1950) by Refik Halid Karay; *Âkile Hanım Sokağı* (1958) by Halide Edip Adivar; *Aylak Adam* (1959) by Yusuf Atılgan; *Gurbet Kuşları* (1962) by Orhan Kemal; *Aksaray'dan Bir Perihan* (1962-63) by Suat Derviş; *Asılacak Kadın* (1979) by Pınar Kür; *Sessiz Ev* (1983) by Orhan Pamuk. Four novels are analyzed shortly: *Saatleri Ayarlama Enstitüsü* (1962) by Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar; *Islak Güneş* (1980) by Ayla Kutlu; *Kurabiye Saatinde* (1992) by E.Emine, *Yengecin Kışkacı* (1998) by Atilla İlhan.

Those novels in which servants appear as the main, or secondary characters, or though remain in the periphery have an effect on the plot or on other elements of the novel, were selected. Another concern in the selection of the novels was covering a historical period from Tanzimat to today by a variety of authors representing various ideologies.

Finally, those novels were selected the novelistic time of which were close to the time of writing so that the author had experienced the time s/he narrated. Thus, the so-called historical novels, in which the past reaches the author through mediation of other texts, are excluded for that would introduce more complexities to the analysis and require the adoption of other interpretive strategies. The selection of novels, although covers a good deal in the short history of Turkish novel, is far from being exhaustive. That sets another limit to this study. In other words, the arguments and conclusions of the thesis will be limited with the selected novels, rather than the Turkish Novel at large.

A brief research on the lives, ideological backgrounds and works of the authors was made with the aim of providing a basis for the interpretation of the novels and finding possible connections between the author and his/her novel. Such a research is expected to highlight the ideological basis underlying the novel. Moreover, it can also provide one with a different perspective on the relations between fictional servants and masters in the novels, considering that most of the authors, having been brought up in mansions with servants, milk nannies and nurses, were themselves masters in real life.

Chapter 2 gives an historical account of the literary servant in Western literature, while at the same time establishing connections to the Turkish context and posing the questions of the study. A brief review of social history and domestic work literatures are also cited in relation to the literary servant. The continuities and changes in the representation of the servant figure in Western literature are laid out and a similar question is posed for the case of the Turkish novel. In this chapter, two sets of stereotypes in the representation of the literary maidservant -i.e. the pearl and slut- are introduced, to be used in the following chapters.

Chapter 3 poses the hypothesis that maid/master and maid/mistress relations would display some differences regarding the class and gender hierarchies in the house. The argument that gender hierarchy comes more to the fore compared to the class hierarchy in the relationship between the maid and master is investigated in some of the above listed novels, using the pearl/slut categories. A side argument is posed about the

ambiguous discourse on maidservants as “being a part of the family” and “being just a servant.” A distinction is made regarding the relation between young master and maidservant, departing from the ideas of Peter Stallybrass and Allan White, and three novels are analyzed in the light of these ideas.

Chapter 4 concentrates on the relationship between the maid and mistress with a similar hypothesis posed in Chapter 3. The argument that class hierarchy comes more to the fore in the maid/mistress relationship is investigated in some novels. The side argument about the ambiguous discourse on maidservants posed in Chapter 4 is examined by looking at maid and mistress pairs in some novels. The notion of imitation is introduced as a peculiarity of the maid/mistress relationship. Besides imitation, other servant tactics are examined in speeches and plots as well as the counter tactics and complaints of the mistresses. Finally the division of labor in the house is examined in order to question the main and side arguments.

In Chapter 5, analyses and results obtained in Chapters 3 and 4 are tied together in an historical perspective to draw some conclusions about the transformation of the literary servant in relation to his/her masters in the Turkish novel.

Representations of some male servant figures are analyzed in the Appendix rather than in a chapter, as that analysis stands at a different position, regarding the line of arguments developed in the totality of this thesis. That analysis intends to make a different point about the gendered division among the literary servants. Departing from the idea that the meanings attributed to the servitude of men are different than the ones attributed to women, a couple of valet figures are analyzed in three novels with an emphasis on novelistic descriptions and discourses.

CHAPTER 2

SERVANTS IN LITERATURE

Wouldn't the Great Other, indispensable to the position of desire, be the Social Other, social difference apprehended and invested as the nonfamily within the family itself? The other class is by no means grasped by the libido as a magnified or impoverished image of the mother, but as the foreign, the nonmother, the nonfather, the nonfamily... Class struggle goes to the heart of the ordeal of desire.
G.Deleuze and F.Guattari (quoted in McHugh, 1997:30).

She has two daughters. But she said, don't use the loo, you'd contaminate it with all kinds of germs. I went down twice, to the porter's house. Aren't we humans, don't we wash? I touch her every thing, her water glass, plate; is it a crime if I sit on her loo? I said I didn't have time and I left...

A daily domestic worker from Ankara of 90s (quoted in Kalaycıoğlu and Tılıç, 2001:109).

I clean'd the steps in the wet this morning. I look'd a thorough drudge, and some men pass'd by and star'd at me as I was on my knees. One said, "What a dirty creature!" The other laugh'd.

From the diary of H.Cullwick, a Victorian maidservant (quoted in Stallybrass and White, 1986:154)

The maidservant is a figure that combines male stereotypes, fantasies and fears concerning women as well as bourgeois anxieties about class; it is a figure that combines gender and class hierarchies. Therefore a study of this figure would highlight the construction of woman by man and bourgeois imagination on other classes. This chapter will give some clues about bourgeois imagination on classes and male imagination on gender in the figure of literary servant in the Western literature, and particularly in the 19th Century realist novels, by means of an historical review. At the same time a basis for comparison will be established for an analysis of that figure in the Turkish novel

from Tanzimat until today; two sets of stereotypes will be introduced, and some questions of this study will be posed.

In Western Literature the servant is present from ancient Greek times until today, with different faces; as a devoted, self-sacrificing, obedient 'pearl'; as a clever, subversive, carnivalesque, trickster type; as a spy in the house, a criminal, a thief, a murderer; as the lover to the master, or the son, or other servants of the house; as a rival to the mistress; as a threat to the status quo, to the social order with his/her very existence or by subversing established hierarchies (for instance by becoming a mistress). But most of all with an absence, a silence, muteness, being there only with gestures, movements, entering a room, serving and going out, opening a door without a word. Bruce Robbins argues that this figure shows much more continuities than differences throughout history and across cultures, which is a challenge that should be considered by a historicist approach (Robbins, 1986:x).

The figure of servant historically does not have a subjectivity, a character, a life, a destiny of his/her own but has always been figured according to the needs of his/her masters, as an attachment or supplement to them. It is used to highlight the character of the master or as mere decoration in the description of the house and lifestyle. It is generally used as a literary instrument, such as the messenger, informant, a 'doubling' of the master or a protagonist, a comic relief. These literary functions, having their roots in Greek theater, are repeated in Renaissance English and French drama and later borrowed by the 18th and 19th century novel¹.

Just as Robbins, Susan Yates also takes this challenge of monotonous continuities of the servant figure, in her historical approach. After observing the roots and traces of the literary servant of 18th and 19th century novel, in Middle Ages and Renaissance drama, she lays out its different appearances and finds connections between the representation

¹ Northrope Frye in his classic book, *Anatomy of Criticism*, shows the continuity of this figure across histories and societies to support his structuralist construction of literature. According to Frederic Jameson this is one of the problems that a historicist approach must solve (Jameson, 1981:136-137)

of that figure and the historico-social climate, anxieties and concern of the classes representing it (Yates, 1991:1-5).

The servant is the primary point of contact of the working class with the upper class, in the house, and thus it is a key figure in formations of class distinctions and hierarchies. It does not only represent class anxieties but its woman version also shows male anxieties and fantasies about woman. Yates, points out to the confusion in the minds of upper classes, between working poor and 'dangerous classes', i.e. criminals and those living on the margins of life². The confusion of the maidservant with the prostitute is an example to that; this confusion represents bourgeois fantasies and fears about violent, primitive nature of working classes (ibid. p.4).

Yates analyses five 19th century French novels, and categorizes the maidservants into two stereotypes; what she calls the 'pearl' and the 'slut'. The pearl is the self-effacing, devoted, life long obedient, faithful servant, who is in the service of the masters from cradle to grave; she does not have a life of her own, an independent identity, nor femininity. On the other hand the slut is a sexual object, a seducer, sometimes a criminal, a threat to the order of the house, family and of the society in general. Yates' main argument is that these are two sides of the same coin or two complementary halves of the whole that is called Woman, in 19th century.

During the first decades of the 19th century, Yates observes a nostalgia to "old, good, faithful servants," which reflects the general nostalgia to the *ancien regime*, as those were the years of rapid social changes, dissolution of old class hierarchies and formation of the new ones. Fast industrialization and urbanization marked the decline of old, large aristocratic households and the rise of new classes, mainly the rise of bourgeoisie after

² Such an association can also be observed in the discourse of the social sciences, especially sociology of the 19th century, which had rather reformist, normalizing attitude towards the social phenomenon. In the education and normalization of the lower classes and for the smooth functioning of the system, humanist reformist sociologists and social workers had played an important role (Keating, 1971). In an article dated as late as 1973, Lewis A. Coser while discussing the servants within the frame of "the obsolescence of an occupational role," takes this occupation as one that "only marginal, deviant or in some other way disadvantaged persons nowadays ready to accept in America." And the servants are people "to whom society at large grants very little respect" (Coser, 1973:39).

its Revolution; relations between masters and servants were also changed accordingly. Under the old aristocratic system there was a more clear hierarchy between the superior and the inferior, but also servants were seen as an extension or part of the big family -the household, which meant all family members plus servants-; paternalistic relationships were present. But with these radical changes, servants became equals and wage earners. The abstract notions of loyalty and duty were transformed to a employer/wage-earner relationship, which was materialistic and alienated. The notion of nucleon family and new bourgeois values associated to the family such as intimacy, isolation, hygiene, replaced the old aristocratic household. The servant became less a member of the family, more an intrusive pressure in the house (ibid. p.10).

After the years of euphoria of the triumph following the bourgeois Revolution in France, the bourgeoisie came to the power, but those years were also marked with the class wars of 1830 and 1848, in France. These bloody and traumatic years pushed the bourgeois more to seek for a secure, isolated and intimate place to live -the house- as well as anxieties caused by the street, especially antagonism directed towards the poor, working classes. On the other hand, not being able to give up using servants, the bourgeois had to confront or tackle with the existence of the servant in the house, who is there as a member of the “dangerous classes.” Novels of those years are full of fantasies of servants taking the house from within, or killing the master, or by seducing him, replacing the mistress of the house. But the stereotype of pearl also emerges in the French novel during these years. This is an anachronistic figure coming from Renaissance and Restoration drama, which was associated with the nostalgia to the vanished feudal order. Robbins also points out to the appearance of such servant figures anachronistically in the 19th century British novel that is the “very bastion of realism,” a novel that puts itself as a faithful witness to social changes. He describes this fact as the “scandal of realism.” 19th century realist novel, rather than taking up the domestic as a subject, in its own right -as it did to other protagonists- turned three hundred years back, to much repeated master-servant tropes and devices, that earlier novelists had already borrowed from Shakespeare and Molière. According to him, “The figure of servant, far

from representing historical and social differences, remains merely instrumental, yet which seem to enjoy an uncanny life of its own, producing effects incongruous with its social position and moments of vision incongruous with the literary functionality.” (Robbins, 1986:xi)

He explains the reoccurrence of this pre-modern figure “within and against the novel’s modernity” with an argument by Hobsbawm, that distinguishes the proletarian from the servant in their relations to their masters, the former involving in capitalist relations, while the latter still carrying pre-industrial relations³. And the servant remained as the survivors of pre-industrial dependency. A similar point is also made and discussed by sociologist and historians of domestic work (Gill, 1998; Lasser, 1987; Coser, 1973; Gregson and Lowe, 1994).

Bakhtin gives a different explanation for the reoccurrence of the pre-modern figure of servant in modern novel; he connects this figure to the influence of the ‘idyll’ on the novel. He argues,

The most recent influence of the idyll on the novel has been limited to a fragmentary penetration of isolated elements of the idyllic complex. A ‘man of the people’ in the novel is very often of idyllic descent. Of just such a sort is the servant in Walter Scott, in Pushkin, in Dickens, in the French novel (from Maupassant to Proust)- all those figures are the bearers of the wisdom of the common folk and of their idyllic locale. A ‘man of people’ appears in the novel as the one who holds the correct attitude toward life and death, an attitude lost by the ruling classes (Bakhtin, 1981:235).

In other words, he puts the literary servant not only as an archaic ‘feudal type’ present in the new capitalist modern world, but also as the bearer of the traditional, the rural, as

³ “The proletarian whose only link with his employer is a ‘cash nexus’ must be distinguished from the ‘servant’ of the pre-industrial dependent, who has a much more complex human and social relationship with his ‘master’, and one which implies duties on both sides, though very unequal ones. The Industrial Revolution replaced the servant and man by ‘operative’ and ‘hand’, except of course the (mainly female) domestic servant, whose numbers it multiplied for the benefit of the growing middle class. In pre-capitalist society, all subordination was articulated by forms of personal, reciprocal obligations; all laborers were servants. In the process of creating a landless working class, free (that is compelled) to sell its labor and thus ruled by the impersonal rules of the market, capitalism and its “harsh profit-and-loss-purgatives” voided the body politic of old notions of duty, mutuality, and paternal care” (Hobsbawm, 1968: p.85).

'man of people' against the modern, capitalist, progressive, non-humanized, urban values. It is the traditional element in the modern.

2.1. The Pearl

Yates, in the anachronism of the pearl, observes a nostalgia to the old, good days of the aristocratic order and peace, while experiencing ever harsh changes of social order and hierarchies, and bloody years of class revolts. The bourgeois imitation of the nobility is a commonly accepted idea⁴.

The stereotype of pearl is also associated with the 19th century 'angel in the house' myth of woman. Feminine values are related to the private in contrast to the public -a distinction that becomes very sharp at that century- which is harsh, material, inhuman, filthy. The feminine values associated with the private are service, sacrifice and family order. In other words the house stands as sanctuary for the old, good, peaceful days, traditional values -nostalgia to the feudal order- guarding it from the wild capitalism and modernization, outside, at the street. The servant-pearl and mistress-pearl figures together represent this bourgeois longing for a tidy, peaceful house and family life and male fantasy about an ideal woman, the angel in the house. On the other hand, the servant-pearl, although being a member of the working class, is represented far from her class. She is devotedly attached to her masters and internalizes their values, sometimes defends even more passionately than they do, but always remains in the background, hidden by shadows, at the margins. Her isolation and loneliness is increased with this isolation from her class. She is deprived of her femininity, feelings, individuality, her private life and serves until the death of her masters (Yates, 1991:33).

Another stereotype associated with the servant in general and the pearl in particular, is her description with animalistic features, both her physical aspects -coarseness of the body, bigness and hardness of the hands, etc.- and behavior; for instance the 'guard dog'

⁴ Robbins also makes a similar observation for the case of English bourgeoisie, making a quotation from Perry Anderson and Tom Nairn. According to those thinkers "English bourgeois revolution not only betrayed itself but for fear of forces it had unleashed below it; this revolution was never completed; it threw itself into the arms of the nobility." (Robbins, 1986:82).

defending the properties and all values of her masters, watching the house, is typical to the pearl. She is ignorant, illiterate, simple, which are aspects related to her docility. Religion and superstition are other stereotypes attributed to her (ibid. p.35)⁵.

2.2. The Slut

The second stereotype, which makes the other side of the coin, according to Yates, is the slut. This servant figure combines the fear and fascination of the 19th century bourgeois male thinking, associated with the Woman and the 'dangerous', poor working classes.

Remembering that the 19th century was also the age of colonialism (for both English and French contexts), one can find a relation between the educated colonials' curiosity regarding the other, distant, exotic societies and other modes of life within one's own society. Novels written by bourgeois writers for the bourgeois had a new, almost exotic interest and curiosity for the working classes. But, just as in the case of the colonial writer, a similar relation of representation was at stake and similar mechanisms of desire to assimilate, normalize, neutralize the other, the different, coupled with similar anxieties and fantasies (ibid. p.68).

Peter Stallybrass and Allon White also make a similar point regarding the representational relationship between the colonized and colonizer, and between upper

⁵Literary servant figure in Western literature perform another function: Comic function, which is another feature borrowed from traditional drama. A second type of pearl is the comic figure, with her frank, simple, ridiculous comments, humorous language, dialect, who provides a relief to the serious, tragic tone of her masters. She, as being a part of the family for years, feels free to join her masters' conversations, sometimes criticizes them, and answers them back. But this comic function is also a means of contrasting and emphasizing the intelligence, moral and spiritual elevation of her masters; with her coarseness and corporeality, she provides a foil to the brilliance of the masters (Yates, 1991:42).

We also find some versions of comic figures in the traditional Ottoman theater, such as *nedim* and *nedime*, who are there to entertain the master. Abdülaziz Bey in his social history of daily Ottoman life also mentions this figure. Those are people of old age, single or widow, visiting rich Ottoman *mansions*, staying for a while where they are welcomed and respected, for weeks, months. They did not have a particular duty in the mansion. They are expected to chat with the mistresses and entertain them. Some of them were accepted just because they were funny, naive or even stupid, they entertained with their foolishness and were sometimes cheated, scared, made angry. Their impertinent speeches full of slang and common language were accepted and welcomed by the mistresses as being funny (Abdülaziz Bey, 1995:pp.192-193).

and lower classes. They observe a similar “constitutive ambivalence around the slum and the domestic servant in the 19th century; around the disposal of ‘waste’ products in the city; around the carnival festivity of the popular culture.” This representational relationship is asymmetrical, contradictory and unstable; it involves transgressions by both sides; it involves a complex mesh of power, fear and desire relations. The socially and politically excluded low-Other returns in symbolic levels, the socially peripheral frequently becomes symbolically central; while being despised and excluded at one side, it becomes “instrumentally constitutive of the shared imaginary repertoires of the dominant culture” (Stallybrass and White, 1986:6).

The bourgeois subject continuously defined and re-defined itself through the exclusion of what it marked out as ‘low’ -as dirty, repulsive, noisy and contaminating. Yet that very act of exclusion was constitutive of its identity. The low was internalized under the sign of negation and disgust. But disgust always bears the imprint of desire. These low domains apparently expelled as ‘Other’, return as the object of nostalgia, longing and fascination (ibid. p.191).

The desire for neutralizing the working classes, as well as Women, in the 19th century, should be considered as a hegemonic process. Threatened by changing social roles and increasing discontent of those who were excluded from power, 19th century French and English bourgeois thinkers employed scientific and medical theories to bolster their position of superiority. In parallel to these discourses, in literature also there emerged a discourse naturalizing and stereotyping of Women and working classes who are seen dangerous to society; which is a reaction of the male bourgeois thinkers and writers to the experienced threats coming from those groups⁶.

⁶ Steven Marcus makes a comparison between two Victorian texts -one is the erotic diary of a man with a pseudonym Walter, the other is a novel of C.Dickens - in his *The Other Victorians*, that may be illuminating for such a point. Both texts, narrating low life of London of the end of the 19th century, sit at different positions in the low/high hierarchy of the dominant culture of the period. While descriptions in the Walter’s journal can be read as investigations of the body and its capacities for sexual pleasures, descriptions in the Dickens’ novel have a tone of imposing some norms and morality, teaching the readers a kind of feeling, judging and acting. In that sense Dickens’ novel aims at helping to constitute a social reality in accordance with the dominant ideology of the period (S.Marcus quoted in Hunter, 1989:172-176).

Increased discontent created by the mass revolutions of 1830, 1848 and 1851 marked an anxiety and trauma in the bourgeois imagination in the Europe. The fear of masses and working classes mark the literature of the period. The masses are associated with filth, violence and disease. The imagination of the city of Paris itself metonymically replaced this fear (Yates, 1991:74). There are similar images of a dirty, dark, dangerous London in the English novel of the period as well. This same imagination, which links disease and filth with lower classes and the city becomes the focus of extraordinary anxiety among the bourgeoisie of the century (Stallybras and White, 1986:125). Lower classes become 'dangerous classes.'

Two forms of filth overlapped, moral and material. This overlap finds flesh in the figure of the servant; servant as a worker and as a prostitute diverges in the bourgeois imagination. It is also a figure by means of which the filth and evil of the outside world can penetrate into the bourgeois house. Dealing all day with the filth and dirt of the house, she becomes associated with moral filth as well. This mentality lies under the stereotype of slut. In this figure we can observe the interrelation between the four domains mentioned by Stallybras and White; the body of the servant, the morality of the servant, her place and duties in the house and stereotyping mentality, which combine fears and fantasies (ibid. pp.2-3).

The slut is a stereotype of uncontrollable sexual drive, excessive fertility and a dark, secret life; seduction, spying and crime, as well as the source of male fantasies. In 19th century realist novel, there are several examples of "orgies of sixth floor" fantasies. Different from the pearl, this figure is dangerous by itself but is also dangerous as a group; in other words it also represents a class fear (Yates, 1991:78). The servant having

These norms, according to Hunter, are part of a greater apparatus involving the regulation and discipline of the health, sexuality, well being of the individuals and populations, reform of family life, pedagogy and policing of the metropolis. The Victorian novel, "disseminated as periodicals or serialized along with other educative 'household words' addressed to the middle-class family, formed part of those social technologies invested in the Victorians (the classroom, the asylum, the nurturing family, the police) which determined the future form of individual capacities and collective conducts" (ibid, p.177). Marcus sees the Victorian novel as a human project, which was a part of the greater reform movements of the 19th century.

a sexual identity presents the element of danger to the smooth order of the bourgeois house.

Another fear is the “specter of the servant who becomes a mistress.” In other words servant as a rival to the mistress in bed but also in the hierarchy of the house, and of the society in general. This is the fear of social inversion. The maid hiding murderous impulses under a mask of silence and submissiveness; stealthy methods such as murder by poison, or polluting the house, contaminating the master are very commonly used themes of the 19th century Western novel.

There are several scenes in which one can observe the class distinctions, or perhaps traces of class consciousness in the novels of the period, such as mistresses telling each other horror stories about the servants in their drawing rooms and servants gathered in the kitchens or fifth floors (servant’s section of the houses), talking about their common hatred or ridiculing their masters (Yates, 1991:127). Such scenes are products of 19th century France, as well as England.

To consider the pearl and slut stereotypes of servant girls, the pearl seems to be the figure on which class reality is denied, whereas the slut points at this reality in a sharp manner. According to Yates, the maid/mistress relationship is an intersection of class and gender relations, and is a contradictory one. Because, on the one side class barriers and hierarchies are felt but on the other side a feminine complicity occurs: The figure pearl is the one feminine solidarity is highest and class hierarchies are lowest, whereas the slut the other way around. In another study on the figure of servant in Renaissance Drama and culture, Mark Burnett gives a similar argument on the connection of the representations of the woman in general and maidservant in particular. Quoting from several authors on Renaissance and woman, he argues that those two overlap (Burnett, 1997:129).

2.3. Male Servant Figures

Burnett makes a distinction of male and woman servants in the Renaissance English Drama, and gives an account of a positive servant figure; this is a male servant having

carnavalesque effects, a clever, trickster type, a subversive element used as a social critique, which has early roots and different appearances in the Western literature. This figure appears in several dramatic texts as well as in other popular genres such as moral treatises, satires and ballads, which signifies that this is a type that has a big place in the popular imagination. This figure has several recurrent features such as “deflating lofty attitudes with bawdy and skilled in disguise, having a delight in declaring physical needs, hatching ingenious schemes and confounding magisterial authorities” (Burnett, 1997:79). He gives some carnivalesque effects such as a ‘holiday’ spirit and inversion of roles, in which he takes the place of his master. But, according to Burnett those effects do not point to the change of real hierarchies upon misrule, but the tension generated at those instances open doors to negotiations about the exercise of power, which creates another political dimension. By borrowing Bakhtinian conception of the carnivalesque, Burnett suggests, “at that carnivalesque moments in which the male domestic servant is hero, a social critique of the social order assumes its more elaborate articulation” (ibid. p.97).

However women servant could not enjoy such a positive type throughout her literary history. Robbins observes the reappearance of this trickster type, but again in male form (with an exception of Richardson’s clever woman servant Pamela) in the heydays of the master/servant relationships, i.e. at the end of 18th century novels.

2.4. Towards the 20th Century

Robbins, examining the master/servant relations in the English novels, argues that master/servant dialogue had begun to decline from its heydays in the Enlightenment period novels to a deep silence in Victorian period by fear of its subversive consequences. He follows this historical trajectory to make a reading of the history of the English bourgeoisie from 18th to the 19th century. He observes two trends; replacement of loquacious master/servant pair by an increasingly isolated servant chorus and a choice of a substandard English in servant’s speeches, a separation of styles of the master and servant, appearance of class based dialects, speeches (Robbins, 1986:79).

Victorian middle class have been defined by some thinkers as 'servant-keeping class,' for the desire to be defined as middle class was a major reason for keeping servants⁷. This historical observation parallels with the decline of master/servant dialogue and appearance of class based dialects and speeches. In other words, the desire of Victorian middle class to distinguish itself from its servants appears in the novel as such⁸:

According to Robbins at the summit of the master/servant dialogue, which was during the Enlightenment, the tradition was invested with the energies of the emergent bourgeoisie. Servant as feudal dependent overlapped with the servant as man of talents. At that period the bourgeoisie produced heroic servant portraits, both in English and French literatures (Defoe's Moll, Richardson's Pamela, Lesage's Gil Blas, Beaumarchais' Figaro, etc.). Those were talented, clever, trickster servants who

⁷ L. Davidoff and her colleagues observe that "until the Second World War almost all upper -and middle- and some working-class families relied heavily on paid domestic help and majority of working-class woman worked in some kind of service position at some time during their lives. Residential domestic service was the highest simple employment of women and girls well into the twentieth century" (Davidoff, et al., 1999: 158).

According to Hobsbawm (1969:85), "the safest way of distinguishing oneself from the laborers was to employ labor oneself." For K. Marx, the servant is a textbook case of luxurious, unproductive labor (and technically, not even an instance of exploitation). In *Capital*, he observes a big trend of employing working class in unproductive works and explains this fact with the extraordinary increase in the productivity of large-scale industry. Then "It was possible to reproduce the ancient domestic slaves, under the name of a servant class" (quoted in Robbins, 1986:15).

⁸ This is also observed from a sociological point of view by T. Veblen. He makes a point on servant's being a sign of money, status and prestige. The more numerous the better. And that has a symbolic function rather than economic. According to Veblen "the performance of the conspicuous leisure" depended on that (Veblen, 1957:52). Those who are close to the master should be elegant, clean and well trained with good manners, because they are always visible as the signs of the conspicuous leisure of their masters. That would imply the master's ability to pay "for the consumption of time, effort and instruction required to fit a trained servant for special service under an exacting code of forms" (ibid. p.57).

But, according to Davidoff et al., the existence of the servants in the house for middle and upper-class families was not only a result of "complicated expectations of etiquette," but also a concrete necessity in order to keep the house in order, which has an increasingly complex arrangement in the 19th century, do the heaviest, 'the rough', 'the black' or 'donkey work.' "Many hands and much energy were needed to keep furniture, carpets, curtains and knick-knacks clean, for elaborate meals and visiting rituals, and for fashionable, intricate clothing to be cleaned and mended." (Davidoff et al, 1999:159-160). But according to the authors, such a justification of personal services as both necessity and requirement of civilized society is meaningful in a period when social hierarchy was coming into question.

overcame their masters. Those servants, by winning over, ridiculing their feudal masters, represent the victory of the bourgeoisie against aristocracy, it is as if they were the early messengers of the bourgeois revolution (ibid. p.80). But, let me repeat the observation of Burnett that this trickster figure was generally a male, the valet.

Then with the subsequent 1848 revolution, a fear of masses and working classes and in particular of servants had begun; this period also corresponds to a rupture from comic tradition to realism, as well as to the decline of the master/servant dialogue. But, even during the summit of the master/servant dialogue the servant could enter the text in a limited manner; in other words that was an unequal dialogue in which one side had the power, the other not. Even in the summit of that dialogue the servant could only enter with impertinent manners, using devices taken from comic theater; for instance, in some pastoral means, such as 'answering back' within the limit of the master's tolerance; by speaking in the name of the other, by delivering a message, a news, etc, but by using it subversively; or tactics such as repeating, echoing the words of the master, which can sometime slip out of control and turn back to the master himself; or by mute violence, such as pleasure under a silence while delivering a bad news, death notices.; flattery, consolation, garrulous delay while delivering a message (ibid. pp.59-68). And even in the novels of those heydays of the servants, in which the servants were the primary or secondary characters, they were again represented as a supplement to their masters, without character, subjectivity or a story of their own; and this is a continuity in the representation of the servants in the 19th century realist novel.

2.5. Turn of the Century

Yates signals the year 1900 as a turning point in the representation of the maidservant, with the publication of *Le Journal d'une Femme de Chambre* by Octave Mirbeau. The maidservant in that novel is quite different than her predecessors. She is very clever, an opportunist, she knows where her interests lie. She has an individuality. She regards serving as a job and does every thing to make maximum profit out of that. This maidservant figure gets out of pearl/slut categorization and stands at a different position. She salutes the coming of the 20th century. Robbins also carries his analysis -mainly

what he calls the continuities in the literary representation of the servant figure- until the maidservant in V.Wolf's *To the Lighthouse* (1927). The art of novel was developing; it was the beginning of the search for the new and different, and a critical reaction to 19th century realism. Those could be discussed within the context of modernist currents in art, and particularly in literature and the novel. However such a discussion would cross the limits of this study.

An analysis on two German novels at the turn of the century would be illuminating in this review of literary servant in 19th century realist Western novel. In an analysis on literary representation of maidservants in two German novels dating the very beginning of the 20th century, Godela Weiss-Sussex also points out to a similar break. She argues that the novel by Clara Viebig titled *Das Tagliche Brot* (1901) could be read using the pearl/slut categories of Yates. There are two maidservant figures in that novel quite well fitting these two sets of stereotypes. Quoting from Karin Walser, she argues that "the fiction of the servant girl as prostitute and the fiction of female service as sacrifice," are two topoi that dominated the portraits of the servants in the turn-of-the-century German novels. On the other hand, three maidservant figures drawn in the second novel she analyses, Georg Hermann's *Kubinke* (1910), signal social changes at the turn of the century, a new type of metropolitan person, parallel to the aesthetic representation of those changes. She finds in the first novel a complaining, almost nostalgic tone, similar to the tone of a number of traditional critics of the modern metropolis emerging around the turn of the century⁹.

Weiss observes a Simmelian tone in the second novel. Three maidservants in that novel catch the course of the modern metropolitan life, they develop mechanisms and ways of enjoying metropolitan life. They see serving just as a job; they have their loves, their own lives in the city. They don't feel any moral or traditional tie to their masters. The themes of isolation, solitude, sacrifice, and plots of sad and hopeless loves and lives

⁹ She quotes Tönnies' distinction of *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft*, and concern about dissolution of old communal, more human forms into new forms in which functionalization and reification of people and their relationships, with the invasion of rationalization and commercial principles in all spheres of life in the big metropolitan, mark the picture (Weiss-Sussex, 1998).

associated with the 19th century literary servants, are transformed to new forms in that novel. Loneliness and isolation becomes freedom and individuality. Sacrifice becomes professionalism. Hopeless loves becomes material ones. These three girls have what Simmel calls blasé attitude, or a reserve position against their masters and all events occurring in the novel. And this attitude is “not neutral but latently hostile.” Hermann, by the mediation of these maidservants, welcomes a break from traditional to modern life.

2.6. Literary Servant in the Turkish Novel

Many literary critics agree that the novel is an imported genre from the Europe (Tanpınar, 1998; Moran, 1985; Naci, 1999; Timur, 1991). In his *XIX. Asır Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi*, Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar maps out the pre-Tanzimat conditions to show why the novel could not emerge by itself in Turkey¹⁰. The very fact that the genre of novel was an import from the West as well as all those conditions -and lack of certain conditions- should be considered in search of continuities and differences between the Western and Turkish novels. Similarly, an analysis of literary servant figures in the Turkish novel should also keep those considerations in mind. Considering that figure, an emphasis on one of the pre-conditions of the Tanzimat Period mentioned by Tanpınar,

¹⁰ Tanpınar mentions the lack of tragedies and comedies in the Islamic literatures; the feeling of self sufficiency, conservatism, closeness, arbitrariness in the Islamic art, and consequently lack of translations of the works of the antiquity; the fact that the Islam do not recognize the first sin as in the Christianity, which also effected the formation of the classes and class struggles, which in turn became the main mechanism of the development in the Europe; the bourgeoisie did not develop by itself through class struggles and revolutions as in the Europe, which is a significant condition of the emergence of the novel; and related to that (and also Islam) the relationships between men and women were very restricted and controlled under very strict rules; the lack of psychological approaches and analysis of men, which is connected to the weak and insignificant individual against the God and State, in Islam, compared to the European individualism; the lack of a strong prose tradition in Islamic literatures. Tanpınar also attributes an atemporality and a non-relationality with the objects and space in which the work of art exist in Islamic arts. He connects the lack of plastic arts and especially painting with the lack of prose, especially novel; he relates the miniatures, -in their being artificial, one dimensional, depthless, ornamental- with the Ottoman poetry and painting with the novel. As the concepts of color, volume and perspective did not develop, the relationships between the objects and the outer world remained very primitive and depthless in the early Ottoman prose forms. Tanpınar finally mentions the lack of a critical tradition in the Ottoman literature (Tanpınar, 1997:27-30).

would be made: This is the nature of the relationships between men and women in the Ottoman culture. Love is critical for the novel. According to Bakhtin novel is a love story (Bakhtin, 1981:9). One of the roots of the novel is the romance, having several roots such as courtly love, pastoral romances and chivalry romances in European culture. Those romances presuppose the possibility of comparably free encounters between men and women -surely having codes and restrictions specific to those cultures. On the other hand, Islam and Islamic Ottoman culture do not permit encounter of men and women in public spaces (perhaps with an exception of open recreation areas, but very rarely and under very strict rules). The house as well was divided into woman's and man's sections, i.e. *haremlik* and *seramlık*. Women and men of very close kin relations could see each other, but still under very restricted rules. Marriages were generally arranged by family adults. It was very likely that the couple would not see each other before the wedding.

On the other hand, Berna Moran argues an alternative view to love and novel, borrowing an idea from Pertev Naili Boratav. This is the view that "Turkish novel did not remain a mere imitation of the Western novel, but has roots in old Turkish storytelling tradition. Modern European novel was a vaccination onto this tradition" (quoted in Moran, vol.1, 1998:21). First Tanzimat novels, according to Moran, used several traditional forms such as *meddah* storytelling -interference of the novelists, their conversational, didactic tones which were typical in Tanzimat novel- as well as several traditional love stories such as *Kerem ile Aslı*, *Emrah ile Selvi*, *Tahir ile Zühre*, *Aşık Garip*. Those love stories are romances that idealize love and beauty, and display an unrealistic world in which lovers are exalted. Structuralist literary historians argue that some literary patterns, such as romance, are universally repeated (or appeared) in various cultures and at different ages, though those patterns take different contents depending on the cultural and historical context (Moran, vol.1, 1998:21-26). Why some patterns are repeated across cultures and time is another debate that crosses the limits of this study. Letting aside this debate, the idea of Moran that Tanzimat novelists took traditional *meddah* and love

stories as a pattern and wrote novels representing their present day, in which love was a difficult matter, will be borrowed here.

During the first decades of the Turkish novel, the repertoire of love stories were limited to loves between Ottoman men -who has freedom to go to public spaces, especially salons, and have affairs- and Christian and Jewish women (from Greek, Armenian, Jewish minorities or communities of Western countries in İstanbul), as those were 'available' for love. However there is another woman type, who is Muslim, and with whom the Ottoman men can fall in love: *Cariye*. This is the female slave, a member of the servant staff in the Ottoman house. Deniz Kandiyoti (1996:139) makes a similar point quoting following argument by R. Mutluay: "Our authors who did not want to approach to the intimacy of the Ottoman family -a Muslim reflex- had to treat the issue of love in a womanless society. They had two ways: Muslim men with fallen or minority women, or with slave girls."

In the novels the servant staff vary from a quite crowded group, -consisting of odalesque (a *cariye* giving sexual services), *besleme* (orphan girls working in service in turn of accommodation and food), *ahiretlik*, *aylıkçı* (maidservants working with a salary), *kalfa* (an upper rank servant), *kahya* (steward), *arabacı* (coachman, driver), *uşak* (valet); cook, beside *cariye*- in big and rich mansions, to a group of few (a combination of the above), in more modest and poor houses. The ethnicities and nationalities of the servant also highly varied¹¹.

Deniz Kandiyoti, in her article that discusses various images of women in the Turkish novel from Tanzimat Period (1839-1876) to recent years, points to the figure of *cariye*, as one of the main female figures in the Turkish novel of the first decades. For instance an early Turkish novel, *İntibah* (1876) by Namık Kemal, is the story of the love triangle between a young man Ali, his *cariye* Dilaşub and a disguised prostitute Mahpeyker.

¹¹ Ferhunde Özbay, in her article on the transformation of space and daily life through modernization, quotes a survey dating 1920 on widows living in İstanbul. Out of a sample of 400, among Muslim women around 50%, among Armenian and Jews, around 50%, and among Greeks around 75% said that they worked as servants, cooks or laundry women (Özbay, 1999a:562).

According to Kandiyoti, the passive, virgin slave Dilaşub represents “the traditional Ottoman answer to the pleasures of young men”, whereas Mahpeyker, is the *femme fatale* figure representing an uncontrollable female sexuality, chaos and malice. While she finds significant resemblances to two French novels, *La Dame aux Camélias* and *Manon Lescaut*, she underlies the Ottoman emphasis of *İntibah*, quoting from Jale Parla’s argument about the epistemology of the Tanzimat novel (Kandiyoti, 1996:137-138). J.Parla connects the lack of power of the Ottoman sultan -which was the general feeling in the Tanzimat period- and lack of paternal power in the Tanzimat house, as represented in the novels of the period with a weak male orphan Ottoman, a powerful woman (mother as well as *femme fatale* types) and a weak lover (almost always a *cariye*) (Parla, 1990).

Another *cariye* figure is Dilber in *Sergüzeşt* (1889) by Samipaşazâde Sezâi. According to Kandiyoti, this novel is a criticism of the slavery, which is a part of a more general critique to the traditional Ottoman system of family, marriage and men/women relationships made by several other novelists of the period such as Namık Kemal, Şinasi, Şemseddin Sami, Ahmet Mithat Efendi. In the novels of these writers, *cariye* is a central figure; it is generally a silent, obedient, passive servant, in a love relationship with the young master of the house. I will discuss some novels of the period, under the light of these ideas, in Chapters 3 and 4.

As being a maidservant, the literary *cariye* is an important figure in a study of the history of literary servant figure. This figure, besides her several common points in pearl/slut categorization of Yates in the 19th century French novel, displays peculiarities specific to the Ottoman context. First of all, her being a slave introduces different hierarchies regarding her relationship to her masters and mistresses, as well as other servants in the house. The situation is quite different for the western servants, considering citizenship issues, such as freedom and equality. Secondly, *cariye* is the possession of the house, but more importantly, of the master. Therefore, she is already thought as a part of the atmosphere and decoration of the house and life style; and she is any time available for the sexual needs of her master. In that sense, interpretations such as sexual abuse or

“association of the maidservant with prostitution” are not valid, as in the case of literary maidservants in the Western literatures. For sexual services are among the rights of her master on her.

Fanny Davis gives an account of the woman slave that has a long history. When the Ottoman dynasty gained power, the status of the *cariye* figure considerably changed from plain slave to a maidservant, concubine to wife to the master as well as source of prestige among Ottoman Turks. There are several examples in the Ottoman palace; of a *cariye* who rises to the highest position in the palace, the mother of the sultan (Davis, 1986:99-100)¹². There was an exodus from Caucassia after the Russian conquest in 1864 that lead to an immense increase of Caucasian slaves during the following decades. We also find an abundance of Caucasian slaves in the early Ottoman novel, generally playing central roles.

Abdülaziz Bey narrates the daily domestic works, daily lives, clothing, leisure and marriage practices of the *cariyes* in big mansions. According to him, slaves coming from Caucasia were daughters of the slaves captured from the enemy during the fights between Caucasian tribes. But later, the tribes begun to send their daughters to İstanbul to enter high classes and acquire a family. So there were girls from upper class Caucasian families, sold with their consent, as well as ones from lower classes and war captives, sold without consent. The *cariyes* in the slave market of İstanbul consisted of three groups: The most beautiful ones were also the most expensive; they were separated for the upper rank and richest families to be sold as a wife (they were called odalisque). They were taught music, to play an instrument, read and write, care for their bodies and

¹² Davis quotes from the notes of Sammuel Cox, a British diplomat in İstanbul, that “in the Ottoman family the woman slave, whether a concubine or *kalfa*, was an accepted member in the household, to be taken care of as long as she remained in the household, and frequently thereafter.” This Western observer, as well as some others, observes that the institution of slavery had a respectable and venerable position in the Ottoman Empire, contrary to the debasing qualities in the Western mind (Davis, 1986:99). Davis supports this argument with accounts of some slave girls themselves as well as interviews she conducted with the children or grand children of some old Ottoman mansions, in 1960s. She gives several examples of Caucasian *cariyes* married to Turks -the pasha or son of the pasha in the mansion- and of hopes to go to İstanbul which was considered a more glamorous and prosperous life compared to the poverty in which they lived and to make a successful marriage there (ibid. p.102).

health, in short to be 'good wives.' The second group is the ones elected by the middle rank people to put to their *harems*. And the third group consisted of those remained after the election of the best; they were bought for domestic work. They are the most firm and powerful ones, best suited to heavy work (Abdülaziz Bey, 1995:315). And about the matter of marriage, Abdülaziz Bey mentions a practice of making a date for a *cariye* who proved herself with her good services among others or a veteran *kalfa* who served for long years, by finding a suitable husband. Depending on the rank and services of the *cariye* or *kalfa* to be married, the wedding was financed, with the addition of a *çeyiz* and sometimes a small house as a gift. Those dates were made sometimes for honoring the servant, but sometimes to get rid of her (in cases of bad manners, bad tempers on the side of the servant or jealousy on the side of the mistress) (ibid. pp.134-136).

To turn back to the differences between the 19th century Western literary maidservant and of *cariye* as maidservant and/or wife, the familial arrangements under Islam and Christianity should also be mentioned. The Islamic law that allows a man to marry up to four women, and take more women in the status of slave, would affect the hierarchies in the house. The repetitive literary theme of "maidservant replacing the mistress, by seducing and marrying the master" in western literatures, might take a different face in the Turkish literature. Because in the Ottoman setting, marrying a maidservant would not necessarily mean 'replacing' the mistress, but generally being a partner or rival to her (as the man can marry more than one woman). It would be expected that such a situation would rise some different hierarchies in the house that are not possible in a French or English house. And that would make a significant difference in the representation of the maidservant figure, as well as maid/mistress and maid/master relations in early Turkish novels, as well as the ones referring to that period.

When we look at the novels of the period, we find out a highly repetitive Caucasian *cariye* figure, which is obedient, docile, weak, but beautiful and sexy. She is the victim. The discourse of male Ottoman intellectual on this maidservant figure coincides at several points with the discourse of the male Western orientalist. The point they diverge is the Ottoman intellectual's attributing his liberal ideas to that figure. In some Tanzimat

novels, we find out the hopes and longing of freedom as represented with the victim slave. On the other hand, in Turkish woman's account of their family memories, one can observe a rather different discourse, in which the *cariye* has a personality, has power on her life somehow. For instance, the story of a *cariye* who preferred servitude to be an odalisque and who became the *baş kalfa* and was taken care of by the family for life; or jealousy stories who end up in ceasefire and a harmonious life in the mansion. However those are the masters' and mistress' stories, representation of their servants, which say more about themselves, than their servants¹³.

In the forthcoming years of the novel, the literary *cariye*, as well as other Ottoman types such as *kalfa* and *lala* disappear, except for the novels accounting the past mansion life, and some other servant types emerge, such as *besleme* girls, Greek maidservant (having roots in the late Ottoman novel as well) and rural woman migrating to the big city and working as daily domestics in new apartments. In that sense, *Aksaray'dan Bir Perihan*, a novel dating 1962, is an interesting example, giving an account of the life of a Caucasian *halayık*, from *halayık's* point of view, and coming to the days of daily workers in a modern apartment. Another example, *Bu Bizim Hayatımız* dating 1950, is interesting in that a *halayık* becomes a mistress and acquire her own modern servants. *Kızılıcak Dalları* dating 1932 is an important novel in the sense that it puts a *besleme* girl to the center, and it reflects a more general critical attitude among fiction writers against the practice of taking an orphan girl in the name of 'protection,' but using her as a servant. Many writers covering a considerably large time span, such as R.N.Güntekin, H.Z.Uşaklıgil, A.Nesin, Firuzan, V.O.Bener, K.Tuğcu, besides others, criticized in their fiction that practice for misusing the Islamic charity tradition, despite the norms about the good

¹³ According to one source the slavery was abolished in 1846 (Özbay, 1999b:13), whereas to another one, on 1854 (Davis, 1986:113), with an imperial edict, mainly due to the pressure of the West. But it was tolerated illegally and continued underground for decades. The first Constitution of 1876 included an article foreseeing the freedom of all subjects, including the slaves. But it did not endure long, followed by the oppression years of Abdülhamit II. Slave trade continued during that period, but clandestinely until the first decade of 20th century. By that time the conditions allowing slavery were also gradually diminishing, such as general decadence of the empire, loosing its lands, bad economic conditions leading to fall of big households, as well as dry up of the slave sources, especially Caucasus with the Russians ownership and surveillance of the Black Sea ports (Davis, 1986:113-114).

intention in society in real life (Özbay, 1999b:20). *Kızılılık Dallarını* makes a good representation of that criticism. Popular novels of 1940s and after are also full of such *besleme* figures. Similar traces can be followed in the rising art of the period, i.e. cinema that was fed mainly from novels -both from the canon and popular novels- beside other sources.

Aksaray'dan Bir Perihan, Bu Bizim Hayatımız and *Kızılılık Dallarını* will be analyzed in detail in Chapters 3 and 4, to follow the traces of that historical transformation of literary maidservant.

On the other hand, this development in the novel parallels the social and economical transformations in society and daily life. An article by F.Özbay that questions those transformations through modernization gives some figures as well as a discussion on the issue. The figures she quotes from a 1920 survey on widows living in İstanbul point to a comparably higher rate of Greek servants than the Muslim, Armenian and Jewish ones (see footnote 11). On the other hand, she points to the emergence of a practice of taking orphan peasant girls in the name of 'protection' and 'goodwill' after the ban of slavery, to replace the traditional solutions to domestic help¹⁴. That practice, according to Özbay, was very common during the years of successive wars and political turmoil, and in later years became institutionalized through illegal purchase of peasant girls among middle-class households (Özbay, 1999a:559), and it still exists today with different appearances. Özbay, in her survey on female child labor in İstanbul dated 1996, points to that practice, though with a much less extend compared to the first decades of the Republic. On the other hand, new forms emerged, such as taking a relative's child (not necessarily

¹⁴ Özbay, in her study on female child labor, gives statistics from 1885 and 1907 Ottoman censuses in İstanbul, as evidence to that replacement. She categorizes domestic servants in a 5% sample among Muslim households to three: *Evlaliks* (orphans), slaves and waged servants. The percentage of slaves decreased from 58 to 21%; whereas of *evlatlıks* increased from 6 to 18%; and of waged servants increased from 13 to 27%, between the two censuses, with a rapidly increased percentage of Anatolian origin among *evlatlıks* and waged servants (Özbay, 1999b:18). She interprets these figures with the "demise of slavery and emerging large numbers of orphans due to the series of wars, epidemics, poverty, and forced and voluntary population movements" (ibid.p.46). She also points that domestic work meant different things for those three groups. While it was just a job for the waged servants, it was a means of training as housewives and socialization for slaves and *evlatlıks* (ibid.p.23).

an orphan) from village to city with ‘good intentions’ which in most of cases turns out to the usage of the child as a domestic servant, or directly hiring a paid child servant (Özbay, 1999b:46).

That passage from traditional Ottoman servant figures to the new ones such as *besleme* and daily domestic, can also be read as part of a more general issue, that is Turkish modernization, as they are signs of changes in family structure, space and daily life practices. Özbay points to the transformation of the traditional extended to the nuclei family, with less number of children and different familial relations, as well as to a move to urban and industrial environment, all related to a “cultural turning to a Western model” (Özbay, 1999a:556). Those transformations went hand in hand with a series of reforms related to woman, family, education, work and political participation, all making important cornerstones of the Turkish modernization. The hierarchy among and cultural meanings attributed to servants in late Ottoman and early Turkish Republican periods would give ideas about the conceptions of the Ottoman and Turkish modernizations. For instance according to Özbay, slaves in late Ottoman and living-in waged servants in the first decades of the 20th century had higher status than *beslemes*, as the former had urban backgrounds. Similarly, European origin or non-Muslim servants were status symbols of upper class households (ibid.559). In other words, cultural meanings attributed to the urban/rural, as well as to the Eastern/Western backgrounds of the servants were themes of both Ottoman and Turkish modernizations. Those ideas will shed light into the analyses of some novels in Chapters 3 and 4, to make a point on the idyllic attributes on servants and on the relation of the Turkish modernization to the transformation of the figure of servant.

And when we come to the novels of the 1980s, the figure of daily (or live-in) domestic woman becomes the dominant maidservant figure. However this figure is pushed to the margins of the novels and masters’ lives compared to Tanzimat and early Republic period novels. Three late novels -*Islak Güneş* dating 1980, *Kurabiye Saatinde* dating 1992 and *Yengecin Kiskacı* dating 1999- taken to this study point to that historical change.

2.7. Periodization and Questions of this Study

This transformation of the literary servant figures also coincides with the periodization of Berna Moran of the Turkish novel, and the key problematics he observes in those periods. He takes the first period up to 1950, during which the Westernization was the main problematic having its roots in Tanzimat novels. This problematic was coupled with the enthusiasm and ideas of the Independence War years and nation building process of the forthcoming decades. The second period was marked more with problems of inequalities and injustices lying under the established order; rural novel and novels having a class concern overcame the national concerns. The novel became politicized following the political context of the country. Besides other factors, the coups of 27 May and 12 March and the general climate of the country marked the novels of those decades. He takes that period up to the military coup on 1980, after which realism and social problems were left by the novelists and new avanguard approaches were adopted (Berna Moran, Vol.1-2-3, 1998).

This periodization is more or less accepted by other literary critiques and historians as well, such as Taner Timur and Ahmet Oktay. Besides a similar periodization as Moran, Taner Timur makes another interesting observation concerning the realist aspects of the Turkish novel compared to the Western novel. According to him, Turkish novel, during the first decades of the new Republic, followed the 19th century European realistic novels with a hundred years lag. In other words, while modernist, subversive novels have been written in Europe, Turkey was passing through the realistic period of the novel. Although Timur's approach is evolutionary and deterministic -Turkish novel followed a different history compared to the European or Russian novel-, it is true that realism was the dominant mood of the novels of the first decades of the Republic (Timur, 1991). And as Moran points out this realistic mood continues till 1980s. Therefore the frame given above on the literary representations of the figure of servant in the 19th century realist French and English novels, would be useful in the study of same figures in 20th century realist Turkish novels.

Ahmet Oktay (1993) also takes the first period up to 1950, with similar arguments. Another important observation of Oktay that is related to the interest of this thesis is the appearance of the 'little man' in the Turkish novel, towards the end of the 1940s which is also a sign of a rise of interest in social problems, inequalities and class concerns. He describes this figure as surviving with daily pains, hopes, worries, with an almost religious resignation, gratitude; who knows the art of being happy with small things, humble, poor, generally coming from working classes. This figure became predominant in Sait Faik and Orhan Kemal stories of 40s. The literary servants at that period can be interpreted using Oktay's category of 'little man,' although with some reservations, as that figure stands at a different position in the conception of the 'little man' of those authors. For instance, in *Medar-ı Maişet Motoru* and *Gurbet Kuşları*, although being one of those humble, hard working little men, the maidservants are represented with a rather different discourse, as an extension to the bourgeois life. These two novels will be discussed in more detail in Chapters 3 and 4.

This study will adopt the periodization made by Moran, and relevant problematics he associates with each period in the interpretation of historical changes in the representation of the figure of servant. Similarly, the observation of Timur, who agrees with Moran regarding the periodization- that each period was marked with realism will be accepted in this study. Finally, the idea of Oktay, who agrees with both literary scholars in the matter of periodization, on the rise of the 'little man' in the 1940s will be recognized here. So, the periodization of those three authors and their interpretations about these periods will form the framework of this study.

As mentioned at the very beginning, the discussion on the history of the literary servant in the Western novel will form a basis of comparison and will help posing questions and arguments of this thesis. The first question will be about the differences and similarities in the representations of the figure of maidservant in the Western and Turkish novels.

Let me repeat that, maidservant in the Western novel was considered as a figure that combines male stereotypes and fears about woman and bourgeois anxieties about class. Carrying this idea to the Turkish context, a first hand observation is that the literary

servant accommodates a third aspect that is not found in western examples; ethnic stereotypes. Turkish novel from in its early decades is abundant of Greek, Armenian, Jewish, Caucasian servants, nurses, *cariyes*. Then they disappear from the scene. In other words one can argue that the maidservant figure in the Turkish novel of that period was an intersection of class, gender and ethnic differences. One of the main problematic of this thesis will be the construction of these distinctions between the masters and servants in novels, but with an emphasis of class and gender, while taking the ethnicity as a side problematic. Such an historical trajectory would signify a parallel to the path of Turkish modernization, as the nation-building processes made a considerable part of that project just like the novel, and those can be read together.

A second point would be about the changes in the representation of literary servant in the Western novel at the beginning of the 19th century parallel to the decline of old, large aristocratic households and rise of new classes in the West, which marked the changes in old paternalistic hierarchies to new capitalist relations. How those changes occurred in the late Ottoman context towards the Turkish Republic?

While there were those developments in the Europe, the Ottoman Empire has also been going through some substantial changes, having its own particularities as well as parallels with the West. The dissolution of the Ottoman upper class household, the decline and disappearance of aristocratic¹⁵ types and values and formation of new

¹⁵ Şerif Mardin, in Turkish and Western sources, points to a general argument that the absence of a hereditary aristocracy was a characteristic of the Ottoman social system. On the other hand, he observes other forms of aristocracies in Turkish societies. He claims that Oguz Turks had a hereditary aristocracy based on both kinship and achievement. When Turks were Islamized, they took two features: Bureaucracy and a picture of strata of Aristotelian origin. New bureaucrats vied for power with aristocracy and a second group of executive branch of government was formed from slaves (non-Muslim children raised to work for the state). With the absence of feudalism (fief system) and of hereditary princes (elimination of all princes except the eldest one) and a state organization staffed with slaves as executives, the Ottoman Empire was called by many thinkers as an oriental despotism with a structure of two social sets: The ruler and his executive servants/the ruled. Mardin criticizes this dichotomous approach, and claims that following social sets formed the strata within the ruling class, forming a kind of aristocracy: Four ancient families of the Ottoman nobility, as an aristocracy of Central Asian type; families that were remnants of the Seljuk Empire; *Ayan* and *Eşraf* families coming from those noble families; finally *Ulema*. In the 19th century, the bureaucrats seized the political power and the

modern smaller families, new lives in the modern apartments is a typical problematic of the Turkish novel as well, especially during the decades coming after the Independence War and construction of the Turkish Republic. All main novelists undertook this problematic in novels directly telling late Ottoman mansion stories (*Kiralık Konak, Üç İstanbul, Aylaklar, Çamlıcadaki Eniştemiz, Felâton Bey ve Biz, Fatih Harbiye*, among several others) or told such stories on the periphery of the novel. And when we come to the 1960s, even in the novels telling contemporary stories, we find several references to the past, flashbacks to the old Ottoman household lives, or an old character representing the past (*Saatleri Ayarlama Enstitüsü, Âkile Hanım Sokağı, Bu Bizim Hayatımız, Aylak Adam* among several others), in comparison to the present. Even in the 80s there are so-called period novels telling the life span of few generations of a family, such as *Cevdet Bey ve Oğulları*. The figure of servant, silent, almost always at the margins, as a decoration element of the house life, has always been present in those novels. By describing the continuities and variations, and by scrutinizing the variations one can find some clues about the changing social orders and formations of new hierarchies. In other words, the second problematic of this study will be the analysis of the interplay between the traditional, paternalistic and modern, materialistic discourses on the figure of servant in novels.

As mentioned before, the stereotypes of pearl and slut associated with the maidservant in the 19th century French novel, will be used in this study as units of analysis. In the eighteen novels taken to this study, a first hand observation would be the abundance of pearl-like maidservants, but comparably less number of slut-like maidservants. In other words the category of pearl fits better to the Turkish novel, whereas the category of slut displays more differences than similarities, and a particular historical trajectory.

leadership of the modernization movement. This ruling class begun to accumulate wealth that was now legally protected and could be transmitted to their heirs, in form of money, and modern education, which would give their children further privileges. Mardin diagnoses this social set as a bureaucratic aristocracy. Another development of Tanzimat era was the migration of *Ayan* and *Eşraf* families in provinces to İstanbul, who became indistinguishable in appearance from that bureaucratic aristocracy (Mardin, 1968:111-142).

Throughout this study, the term 'Ottoman upper class' will be used in short, to mean the bureaucratic aristocracy and *Ayan* and *Eşraf* families, as in the analysis of Mardin.

While discussing S.Yates' analysis, it has been said that the category of pearl pointed to a womanly solidarity between the maid and mistress, while the category of slut, to class distinctions among women, which made the two sides of the same coin. She argued that representation of the maidservant and women in general converged in the 19th Century French novel. Can we carry such an argument to the literary maidservant in the Turkish novel? Can we talk about a feminine co-operation or similar destinies of maid and mistress, in other words minimization of class hierarchies under a feminine solidarity? Can we argue that representation of the literary maidservant and woman in general overlap? The ideas of Deniz Kandiyoti (1996) on the transformation of Turkish women identities through the process of modernization will be illuminating while discussing those questions. In an article taken to that book, she historically analyses several woman images, from *cariye*, to *femme fatale*, from warriors of the Independence War to citizens in the Turkish novel from Tanzimat to Republic. Her arguments can be put against the arguments of Yates on the construction of Woman in 19th century French realist novel.

From this discussion it can be posed the question whether the relation between woman solidarity and class distinctions among women in Turkey, displayed differences compared to the example of France. Furthermore such a relation would also show a variation while passing from mansion to apartment, from traditional to modern life. One would expect considerable differences, thinking highly different historical trajectories of social classes in the West and Turkey, and different meanings attributed to the notion of class by people from several areas, but particularly by pioneers of the modernization movement in the late Ottoman and Turkish Republic periods, including novelists. Denial of classes and the ideal of constructing a classless society, a united 'people' under the principles of the new Republic in line with the all encompassing idea of modernization, were the dominant ideological standing up to the 1950s, though with exceptions and oppositional standings. Such a mentality was also dominant in the novelists of that period, from various ideological positions from left to right. In that sense, class concerns (perhaps associating dangers and fears to low classes) attributed to the figure of maidservant is expected to show a big difference compared to the examples in the

Western novel. On the other hand, patriarchal attributes on women such as servitude, sacrifice, docility, etc, would show more continuities than variations across societies and time. These questions will be discussed within the main problematic of this thesis, i.e. formation of class and gender hierarchies in novels.

In the discussion at the beginning it was argued that the maidservant stereotype of slut can be understood under the light of conditions class wars of 19th century and can be read as a figure representing bourgeois fears associated with lower classes, and with the servant in particular who comes into maximum contact. Considering the different historical trajectories of the Turkish bourgeoisie¹⁶, the situation in the Turkish novel would be expected to be different. On the other hand, traces of similar bourgeois fears and some servant figures associated with that can be observed in some later novels; for instance the sexy and beautiful maidservant Ayşe in *Âkile Hanım Sokağı*, doing strip-tease in front of the window to attract the attention of the men and to seduce the upper-class men of her house and houses around, appears as late as 1958. Or the aggressive,

¹⁶ While the bourgeoisie in the Europe had a history involved in industrialization, Revolutions and class wars, the situation was different in Turkey. Many thinkers agree on the view that the Turkish bourgeoisie was created as a state policy to replace the non-Muslim bourgeoisie of the late Ottoman Empire. In the analysis of Çağlar Keyder, the mechanisms that connected the 19th century Ottoman economy to the capitalist world were trade, debts and foreign investments. A class of non-Muslims provided that connection as traders, financiers or mediators. On the other hand, there were attempts to centralize the power on the state through reforms by bureaucrats, whose civil branch was growing, besides palace and military bureaucrats. The Young Turks movement and revolution came from those civil bureaucrats. The Union and Progress Party government applied a policy and gave several privileges for a national economy and to create a Muslim bourgeoisie, during the war times. Those policies helped the accumulation of wealth in a small group of entrepreneurs and companies close to the party (most of the time partners were party members). A similar observation is also made during the industrialization and creation of an industrial bourgeoisie, under state control, especially during Second World War era. Similar privileges were given to a small group of entrepreneurs who were most of the time in close contacts with the Republican People's Party. Besides economical privileges, the forced migration of Armenians during the Union and Progress Party government, the agreements on exchange of Greek population during the Turkish Republic period and later tax applications such as *Varlık*, played important roles in the replacement of the non-Muslim bourgeoisie. But the Turkish bourgeoisie, since its first years, had an ambiguous relation to the ruling class, that wanted to create it, but remained reluctant to share the political power with it. It is not formed through class struggle, nor could develop a culture as in the West (Keyder, 1999:71-126). In this study, the term 'Turkish bourgeoisie' will be used, basing on Keyder's analysis and usage of the term.

seducing maidservant that haunts her master's thoughts and dreams in *Aylak Adam* dates 1959. Whereas in a later novel, *Asilacak Kadın*, dating 1979, the sexuality of the maidservant used to satisfy the fantasies of her master leads to his murder.

In Turkish literature do we have instances of such expressions of class fear and hatred around the figure of maidservant? Or do we have different fears? How does this change historically? What are the continuities and variations in the representation of maidservants throughout the history of the novel from Tanzimat to today? What part of it can be explained as mere imitation of and importation of elements from the Western novel, and what part, as the aspects coming from Turkish historico-social context? What local forms take this figure? All those questions seem to be related to the history of actual social classes and of meanings attributed to that notion in the literary imagination, as mentioned before. Answers to these questions will be searched in Chapters 3 and 4.

So far, the female servant was considered, and main problematic and arguments of this study are posed placing the maidservant at the center. The reason for that is the marginal presence of the male servant in the eighteen novels taken to this thesis that were selected out of a wider reading of novels. This fact pushed the analysis of the male servant also to a side position compared to the centrality of the analysis of the female servant. Therefore the analysis made in three novels on the representation of the male servant is given in the Appendix, rather than in a chapter, for the sake of the unity and consistency of the argumentation in other chapters. In the Appendix that is dedicated to the analysis of the representation of male servants, a side argument will be posed, which will be about the particular meanings attributed to the servitude of man, and differences in the representations of male and female servants in the Turkish novel. The periodization and interpretations about the general characteristics of periods that were mentioned above will also be used in the analysis of male servant figures. On the other hand, pearl and slut categories, and relevant comparative questions that will be used in maid/master and maid/mistress pairs in Chapters 3 and 4, will not be used in the Appendix.

CHAPTER 3

MAID AND MASTER

I was very incompletely dressed and was going upstairs from a flat on the ground floor to a higher storey. I was going up three steps at a time and was delighted at my ability. Suddenly I saw a maidservant coming down the stairs -coming towards me, that is. I felt ashamed and tried to hurry, and at this point the feeling of being inhibited set in: I was glued to the steps and unable to budge from the spot.

S. Freud, *The Interpretation of Dreams* (quoted in Stallybrass and White, 1986:160).

...against my pride, I started doing housework. I was unhappy about that, it was hard for me; you know, my circle of friends, neighbors, they all sit at home. When I go out, all dressed up they asked each other "Where does she go?" . They think that I...you know... they criticize you, as there is no other working woman there. Where do you go dressed up like that, what kind of job are you doing? You get noticed if you are pretty...

A daily domestic worker from Ankara of 90s (quoted in Kalaycıoğlu and Tılıç, 2001:90).

The relationships between maid and master, and maid and mistress should display some differences, regarding the class and gender hierarchies in the house. This chapter will concentrate on maid and master relationship in eleven novels. As discussed in Chapter 2, the figure of *cariye* as the maidservant emerges from a different historico-social context in the late Ottoman period, compared to maidservant figures in the 19th century French and English novels. Moreover, it was stated that the *cariye* was a central figure in early Turkish novels. In this chapter, maid and master relations will be examined in three Tanzimat novels, *İntibah*, *Sergüzeşt* and *Felâtn Bey'le Râkım Efendi*. The French governess in *Mürebbiye* introduces another hierarchy to the picture –i.e. coming from her nationality- and makes an interesting example for the instances of upside down of hierarchies between the maid and master. When we look at the forthcoming years of the

novel, we observe that traditional Ottoman figures such as *cariye* disappear, whereas other servant figures such as *besleme* girls (living-in orphan girls, doing domestic work), Greek maidservants and daily domestics. *Kızılıcık Dallar*, a novel dating 1932, having a *besleme* as its main hero, will be discussed in this chapter, with an emphasis on the particularities in the relation between the maid and child master. Similar peculiarities will be observed in other maid/master pairs in three forthcoming novels, *Medar-I Maişet Motoru*, *Bu Bizim Hayatımız* and *Aylak Adam*. Finally, relations between maids and old masters in three later novels, *Gurbet Kuşları*, *Aksaray'dan Bir Perihan* and *Asılacak Kadın*, will be analyzed under another subsection, using the pearl and slut categories introduced in Chapter 2.

I will argue that class hierarchies are more dominant compared to gender hierarchies in maid/mistress pairs; in other words a feeling of belonging to a class comes before the feeling of being woman, sharing a common feminine fate and solidarity. On the other hand, gender hierarchy is expected to become more significant in maid/master pairs. Male fantasies and fears of women in general and on the figure of the maidservant in particular, come before class concern; in other words gender differences come before class differences on that figure, although the latter does not disappear totally but a shift of emphasis and concern is present. In this chapter, these arguments will be examined by analyzing maid/master pairs in novels.

A possible interpretation of that would be the woman's position in patriarchal order in society and in the house; in other words in the employer/employee relation, the mistress, as being responsible for the domestic duties of the house, takes the task of being the employer, and thus entering a more direct relation with the servant. In other words she is the 'boss' in the house, regarding the production activities and operation of the house. This argument can be supported by historical and sociological researches in the field of domestic work¹.

¹ Domestic work has been woman's job both in the Western and Turkish societies. Kalaycıoğlu and Tılıç (2002:41-49) give a review of the historical development of and role of woman in domestic work in Turkey. Similarly S.Jackson (1992:153-169) gives a brief history of domestic

On the other hand, the master is less an employer for the servants in the house compared to the mistress; he is not generally the addressee of the practical work problems, operation of the daily life, regulations, rules related to the domestic duties, wages of the servants in the house. Therefore one can expect differences in the relations between maid/master and maid/mistress pairs.

A second difference would be the sexuality lying under the maid/master relation, which would be expected to be absent in the maid/mistress pair (perhaps one can find some exceptional examples such as a lesbian maid/mistress pair, but this would be a marginal one both in Western and Turkish literature). As discussed in the previous chapter, the sexuality of the maidservant has a long history, as well as has having aspects that reoccurs again and again across different cultures. Turkish culture and literature is not an exception to that.

In the maid/master relation, the son of the master has a different and very interesting place. First of all it is much more present and problematicized in the novels. For instance, *Aylak Adam* is a novel in which the maid/boy pair sits at the center and problematicized psychoanalytically. On the other hand, there are several examples from early novels, of the boy in love with his maid, nurse or governess, or the boy having his first sexual experience with one of these figures (generally with the conspiracy, mediation or conniving of the mother). Those are familiar plots in the Western literatures as well.

work in the West. Both histories show several parallelisms. In the West, separation of the household and workplace begun with the emergent capitalism. At the first stages of capitalism women were necessarily drawn to the labor market, beside men. The processes whereby women came to be defined as housewives in the modern sense were a result of their exclusion from a large part of the labor market. Those capitalist processes worked hand in hand with patriarchal relations. During the 19th century, beside separation of the house and work, an ideal of domesticity and myth of women as “angel in the house” developed. While these ideals and high expectations from home developed among classes where the wives had the help of servants, the middle class woman who wanted to maintain her gentility, could hire only one “maid of all work.” From 1860 onwards the domestic service became ever femininized. (Jackson, 1992:153-169).

Stallybrass and White's discussion on the influence of the maidservant on the son of the house would be illuminating in the analysis of four novels taken here. They interpret Benjamin's reflections on his relations with his nurse in his childhood and read the figure of maid as "belonging both to the bourgeois family and to the nether world, mediate between the home and the lure of the city," for the bourgeois boy (Stallybrass and White, 1986:150). Beside Benjamin, they give examples on Freud's writings of interpretation of his dreams as well as on his patients', related to obsession with servants, especially nurses, which is a figure who has a very intimate relationship with the child. The separation of the city into respectable bourgeois house and slum is repeated in the division of inside of the house into the family's section and servants' section. The child, by being given into the care of a servant, is permitted in a limited manner to enter into the world of servants, but at the same time in a less controllable way into the intimacy of his nurse -generally more than his mother. Then this figure constantly returns in later stages of the lives of these patients. Because what is socially excluded or subordinated is symbolically central in the formation of desire (ibid. p.152). This intimacy dissolves at later ages of the child, leaving important traces in the child's imagination and desires².

3.1. Tanzimat Maids and Masters

As discussed in Chapter 2, Tanzimat novel, as being a genre imported from the West, has also roots in traditional *meddah* and love stories. But love in those novels was

² It is quite striking that in the weeks that led up to concept formation of the Oedipus Complex, Freud dreamt not of his mother but of a maid, with his words "ugly but clever nurse" who looked after him until his two and a half years. Departing from the ideas of Jim Swan's essay entitled "Mater and nannie" on Freud's two mothers and discovery of the Oedipus Complex, Stallybrass and White read some works of Freud considering the specter of his nurse. We learn that his nurse was the "primary originator" of his problems as well as "his teacher in sexual matters." Later in his studies he replaces his real mother with his nurse, and a bit further, in his re-interpretation of his dreams and formation of his theory, the nurse totally disappears. However, several times she returns in his writings (Stallybrass and White, 1986:156-159). Later by associating attributes such as 'dirty' and 'ugly' to the nurse, and such as 'slim' and 'beautiful' to his real mother, he once more creates the hierarchies of the low and high. He rewrites the unconscious in terms of the explicit norms of bourgeois society (ibid. p.161). By excluding the nurse from the family romance he closes off the family circle to the outside world, to the "possibility of cultural transformation," to the "historical work of social struggle" (ibid. p.164).

naturally in the Ottoman style. On the other hand, I also pointed out to the figure of *cariye*, an oriental type, a maidservant having a different status in the houses and lives of Tanzimat masters compared to her western counterparts. This figure is present in the majority of the novels of the period, but three novels are selected, as being representative of the period, in literary as well as social senses: *İntibah* (1876) by Namık Kemal, *Felâtnun Bey'le Râkım Efendi* (1875) by Ahmet Mithat and *Sergüzeşt* (1889) by Samipaşazâde Sezâi.

3.1.1. The *cariye*: A servant and/or bride?

Those three novels are written to point out to certain social realities of the period; in all, familial relations and arrangements are central, in other words gender hierarchies are on the foreground concerning the figure of maidservant, i.e. the *cariye*. In all novels, those relations are accounted around the son-mother-*cariye* triangle. The slavery, servitude and sexual relationship with the master, the son of the house, are main themes with different appearances in these novels, in which the mother interfere and play an important role, although at very rare moments of the novel. If one can somehow associate the slavery and servitude themes with class and sexual relationships with gender, those novels can be read as an interplay between these themes, and thus between gender and class relations. In those plays, the figure *cariye* appears as a passive, obedient, silent, docile slave, but also as the victim. Thinking of Yates' pearl stereotype, although *cariye* has some common aspects, she displays more differences. First difference lies in her sexuality; being a beautiful, docile young girl, educated to please man, whereas the pearl was mainly stripped of her sexuality. But *cariye*'s sexuality is also different than the slut stereotype, in that her being harmless, defenseless, almost ideal, compared to the excessive, dangerous sexuality of the slut. The second difference is her central position in the events, although being too passive, and the possibility of her being bride, which is not always the case for the pearl, nor the slut. Yes, Yates mentions the theme of maid-to-become-mistress within the category of slut, but this theme appears as one of the infiltration tactics of the maidservant to the bourgeois household, to conquer it from within, with the intentions and will of her. In addition to that, this is not

a very central theme. On the other hand in Tanzimat novels, and in particular in these three novels, the question of love and marriage to the maidservant is central and far from the will of the maidservant.

*İntibah*³ (Namık Kemal, 1984)⁴ is said to have its roots in the *meddah* story *Hançerli Hanımın Hikaye-i Garibesi*, which was one among similar stories of 17th century (Dino, 1978:35-40). This is the story of revenge of the prostitute on her lover and the girl her lover prefers. On this schema are placed the Tanzimat youngster Ali, a *cariye* as the young girl, the victim Dilaşub and the *femme fatale* type, the prostitute Mahpeyker. The mother is the one who calls her son to the order and tradition. The solution she finds is to buy a beautiful *cariye* who will seduce her son, so that the problem be solved in a traditional, hygienic way, and the sexuality will be under the control and surveillance of the mother, rather than an uncontrolled, dangerous and dirty sexuality. Dilaşub is bought to be the bride of the house. As mentioned in Chapter 2, in social histories *cariyes* had been bought with several purposes varying from servitude to being a wife (for pleasure or for the continuation of the family), daughter or bride. This discourse of “being a part of the family” and servitude mix in both the witnesses of the real interviewees and in the novels.

³ Namık Kemal (1840-1888). He was born in Tekirdağ. His father, coming from an old family who served the Ottoman palace for 150 years, was a *müneccimbaşı* in the palace. Namık Kemal was brought up in the mansion of his grand father, also an upper rank palace official. He did not receive a regular education, but lessons from private teachers; he learned French and Divan poetry. He begun to write and publish patriotic poems in papers and magazines of the period, such as *Tasvir-i Efkar*, *Hürriyet* and *İbret*. He also wrote several plays and two novels. He worked in some posts as an officer and translator for the State for a short time. Majority of his life passed in exile, in London, Paris, Cyprus and Rodos, due to his oppositional ideas during Abdülaziz and II. Abdülhamit regimes. He joined Young Ottomans. In his novels he was under the influence of romanticism and defended a novel with Western norms. On the other hand, in his first novel *İntibah* there are influences of both Western novel -especially *La Dame aux Camelias*- and traditional *meddah* stories as well as *Divan* poetry, especially in plot, narration, descriptions and metaphors. His main motive in writing *İntibah* was to educate people and give a moral lesson. He defines the novel as following: “The aim of the novel is to narrate an event that can possibly take place, in its various details related to morality, customs and feelings” (quoted in Cevdet Kudret, 1987:109).

⁴ References to the novels analyzed will be given to the editions mentioned in the Reference section. A full reference will be given once in a chapter, only after the first mention of the novel, and later references will only be given with page number.

In fact the content of the servitude varies; the *cariye* is assigned duties depending on how she is conceived. If she is bought to be a wife or bride, she is assigned personal domestic works of the master, such as arranging his room and bed, dressing and preparing him night and day, as well as personal services to all masters and mistresses such as serving coffee, waiting all the time nearby for any personal order. Those are finer jobs compared to the heavier work in the kitchen, cleaning, carrying water; heavy things, etc. Those finer jobs are easily transferable to the jobs of a wife -taking care of all personal things of her husband. So a *cariye* raised as a future wife performs a wifely servitude, whereas the others as plain maidservants. But as in the case of Dilaşub, she could easily lose her bride status, be degraded to lower duties and sold. In other words, being a victim –this situation of being victim will go as far as replacing the master and being killed in place of him-, a defenseless docile girl, she can easily find herself at the lowest position.

The duties of Canan of *Felâatun Bey'le Râkım Efendi*⁵ are similar to Dilaşub (Ahmet Mithat Efendi, 1997). Waiting for her master for any order, dressing and undressing him night and day, and serving food and coffee, in other words private needs of the master

⁵ Ahmet Mithat Efendi (1844-1912). He was born in İstanbul. His father was a linen tradesman. After having lost his father at an early age, he worked in a shop as an apprentice. He was adopted by his brother, a small State official, and traveled with him due to his job. He went to secondary school; learned French from a private teacher. He educated himself in theology, Western literatures, and Persian. He began to write in *Tuna* paper at an early age. He went to Egypt. On his return to İstanbul he established a print house first to publish his works, where all family members worked, then extended the business to other publications, papers and magazines. He established *Tercüman-ı Hakikat* paper, which has a very significant place -paper that lived longest- in the history of press in Turkey. He was sent to exile to Rodos between 1872-76, with the Young Ottomans, due to an article, although he did not have any affinity with the group. He began to write his novels there. During the Abdülhamit II regime he was honored and assigned to important posts at the palace related to publication. He taught at İstanbul University and İstanbul School of teachers for girls, history, history of philosophy, theology and pedagogy. He published more than 200 books, including translations, his own novels and essays. He tried various styles and genres in novel, from adventure to historical, from fantastic to romances; he tried romanticism, naturalism and realism (Kudret, 1987; YKY, 2001). He defines his novels as pedagogic rather than literary: "I haven't written anything that can be considered as literature. For during those days when I wrote the majority of my works, the ones who understood nothing of literature made 99% of the population in the country, without any exaggeration. And my aim was addressing the majority, enlightening them and giving voice to their problems" (quoted in Karaalioglu, 1980:317).

rather than practical duties in the operation of the house. If the sexual services are added to that -not only sex but also love, in both novels- there remains little difference between the servitude of a wife and the *cariye*. On the other hand practical duties -let's say harder and dirtier ones- are performed by other maidservants, by the old retiree Arab *cariye* Fedayi in *Felâatun Bey* and by some unknown crowd of maidservants and valets in *İntibah*, of whom we only read about their existences. So, the *cariye*'s status in the house can vary depending on the situation and context, from wife/bride to plain maidservant; she can approach the family as a part of it or remain a bit far as being a member of the class of servants (in an abstract as well as concrete sense; practices such as eating together with the masters or with other servants, sleeping close or far -in servant's quarter or in a room close to them, etc.).

This physical farness or closeness, and these variations in the hierarchy, appear in this contradictory discourse of "being a part of the family" and "being just a servant". For instance Canan is bought by Râkım Efendi to help Fedayi in housework and to be a comrade to her. After having been given a new name, her education starts from the first day. Besides doing simple housework, she learns French and piano. She passes her time by reading, doing embroidery and playing piano. This education seems to be a part of being a good wife. The discourse of Râkım on Canan is continuously is sister (some times friend) discourse, although he madly falls in love with her. He obsessively repeat that every few pages to Canan, Fedayi and other minor types of the novel. Even after sexual intercourse, this discourse continues until this secret is revealed. On the other hand, he considers Fedayi as his mother after the death of his real mother. Fedayi herself undertakes this duty of being a mother to Râkım and devotes all her life and services to him. But at several instances of the novel, she calls Râkım as "her son, master, pasha, her every thing" (p.113). Similarly Canan calls him "her brother, master, husband, friend, every thing she can imagine of" (p.112). And between Fedayi and Canan as well a discourse of bride/mother-in-law continues throughout the novel. In fact, just as the mother of Ali of *İntibah*, Fedayi is also fond of arranging the love affair of his son in a traditional way and marrying him to a *cariye*. Canan is given the room next to Râkım

Efendi's, whereas Fedayi lives in a small, dark, depot-like room at the far end of the corridor. Canan is assigned the duties of the upper, whereas Fedayi lower floor. When visitors come to dinner, Canan is presented like a wife and dine with them, whereas Fedayi, having cooked and serving everything, is never seen in the dining room except for "her Arab hand giving the meal from behind the door" (p.147). So, at one side those three live a family life, at the other side the domestic work in the house is organized according to another inner logic. But we can talk about gender hierarchy in both cases, rather than a class hierarchy.

In *Sergüzeşt*⁶ the same triangle is repeated, but with a difference that the mother opposes the love and marriage of his son to a *cariye* (Samipaşazâde Sezâi, 1997). This novel is considered to be the first realist novel in the history of Turkish novel, and described by its author as based on real observations. On the other hand, B.Moran again observes in *Sergüzeşt* traces of old love story patterns and types, but adopted to the Tanzimat context, to write a social novel with a thesis, i.e. bad consequences of interference of the families to love and marriages of their sons, but more important than that an anti-slavery idea and praise to freedom are central. Just as Namık Kemal begins his novel with a reference to the Ottoman poetry, but actually referring to his ideas about freedom, saying "but if the nightingale is in love at all, it is certainly to its freedom," Samipaşazâde Sezâi finishes his novel with the words "to her freedom."

⁶ Samipaşazâde Sezâi (1860-1936). He was born in İstanbul. His father was a high rank pasha and minister, coming from an old family of Sheikhs. He was brought up in a big mansion where intellectuals and politicians of the period attended. He received a private education until the age of 20, from significant figures, especially on Literature and languages such as Arabic, Persian, French, English and German. He was assigned to good posts in the Ministry of Education then in the embassy of London. He began to publish his short stories and articles in *Kamer* and *İttihad* papers. He was accused for writing about freedom and slavery, in his only novel *Sergüzeşt* and taken to close observance during the Abdülhamit II regime. He escaped to Paris and joined the Union and Progress Party and wrote in their paper *Şûra-yı Ümmet* against that regime. He returned to İstanbul after the Second Constitution and was sent to Madrid embassy where he stayed for 12 years. We wrote one novel, few short stories, articles and travel writings on Paris and Madrid. *Sergüzeşt* is considered the passage from romanticism to realism in Turkish novel, but it accommodates characteristics of both currents. The novel is said to be the product of his childhood observations on slave women in his father's mansion (Kudret, 1987).

Sergüzeşt is also interesting in that it is the story and adventures of the *cariye* Dilber, from her early childhood when she is brought first by boat from Caucasia to İstanbul to her suicide in Egypt. All other figures play minor roles in the novel. Although like other *cariyes* she is also obedient, silent and kind, at two moments in her life she acts according to her will: First when she tries to escape as a child and second when she suicides. Several elements of the novel are associated with the author's idea of liberation. For instance when Dilber decides to escape at night from the first mansion where she was assigned heaviest and dirtiest duties, and received cruel and ill-treatment, first thing she does is to change the dresses given to her, with her Caucasian coat and *kalpak* (p.17); here again dress plays a symbolic role (I discuss the practice of giving dresses to servants in some other novels, in more detail in Chapter 5). After escaping, she finds herself in a very dark and depressive İstanbul night "which invaded every where with its silence and darkness." It is a huge night "with no light of a single star in the sky, nor of a single candle on earth" (p.18). We understand from the prologue of the author to the novel that he uses the metaphor of "a huge, never-ending night" for the oppressive years of Abdülhamit II period (p.1). When Dilber, after several adventures, is sold to another mansion, her duties there are lighter: To arrange the rooms of her elder mistress and her sister every morning, and to clean the cage of a canary, and give food and water to it. She sometimes talks with it and ironically says, "Live in comfort in your palace" (p.44). After further adventures, she arrives at the final place of her life, an Egyptian rich man's *harem*. She refuses being an odalisque to the master, as she is in love with Cemal, and not being able to find any way out, she throws herself to the Nile "of whom the deadly whirlpool and flood carries her to her freedom" (p.120).

When we look at the relationship between the young master Cemal and the maid Dilber, we see that the master conceives his maid as a 'toy' and later an 'object of desire and love,' but in both cases an object. Cemal forces her to sit as a model for his painting. And the narrator, with a rather reproachful tone, tells that, "this little suffering creature was a 'toy' of her happy, exclusive, high Master" (p.45). By taking the word toy in quotation marks and writing the word master with a capital M, the narrator makes us feel

which side he takes. Actually the discourse of ‘victim’, ‘poor’, ‘suffering, oppressed slave’ on Dilber keeps going throughout the novel. Cemal uses Dilber in dresses of a poor beggar girl, as a model. When she actually begins to cry, the tears complement the dresses and the model becomes more authentic. Later Cemal compares her to Cleopatra, Juliette and Venus at several instances of the novel, woman characters from the Western literature all that can be considered as objects of desire. Toward the final, when she was imprisoned because of refusing to become an odalisque in Egypt, the chief eunuch Cevher sadly echoes the Cleopatra resemblance, saying, “There it is Cleopatra, imprisoned in a room in Egypt!” Cevher borrows the words of Cemal on Cleopatra and ironically repeats them in a different context, which is again associated with the theme of freedom. So, here we find a maid/master relationship more based on themes of desire and freedom rather than on class.

Although for *İntibah* it would be hard to say -but keeping in mind the ideas of Namık Kemal in general-, for *Felâatun Bey and Râkım Efendi* and *Sergüzeşt* it can be said that the longing for freedom finds its flesh in longing for a free and equal relationships between man and woman, which is the representation of new liberal ideas of the period⁷. Râkım Efendi is a freelance, hard-working, thrifty, well-educated, self sufficient and reliable Ottoman intellectual who “correctly understood Westernization,” perhaps one of the first prototypes of the liberal individual in a Western sense. Whereas Felâatun Bey is a spendthrift, lazy, superficial dandy type who “misunderstood Westernization.”⁸ In *Sergüzeşt*, we find the relatively liberal ideas of Cemal against his mother, father and

⁷ All three authors have gone to exile one or more times in their lives. Samipaşazâde Sezâi had problems with the Abdülhamit II regime due to his ideas in *Sergüzeşt*. He describes that period as “a long night to which the morning did not come, the sun did not rise for 33 years,” in the prologue to *Sergüzeşt*’s second publication in 1924. Namık Kemal passed a great part of his life in exile at several places both in Adûlaziz and Abdülhamit II periods. He wrote *İntibah* in Rodos in 1875. Interestingly enough, Ahmet Mithat was also in exile in Rodos, in that year, when he wrote *Felâatun Bey’le Râkım Efendi*.

⁸ Berna Moran makes a similar point and quotes one article of Ahmet Mithat on economy. Here he supports people who succeed in private initiatives and praise working in commerce and industry as respectful and profitable activities. The West should be imitated in these senses, whereas he also recommends a state-protected economical system, rather than a totally liberal one (Moran, 1998).

uncle who defend upper class values and impossibility of finding common points between two persons “one from the uppermost class of the society, the other the lowest” (p.63). Later his mother refuses “to give his son to the hands of a *cariye* that were dirtied with servitude” (p.64). And Cemal states the thesis of the novel by saying “It is the right of every young in the world to marry with the one he wants. Isn’t that the greatest of the cruelties to interfere in the right to choose of the eye, of the taste and the natural harmony of the spirit?” (p.75). Although it wouldn’t be right to call Cemal a liberal individual prototype, it can be said that he at least longs for a free love in the liberation of Dilber. And the figure of *cariye*, although passive and obedient, is used by those authors for the representation of their general liberal ideas, and specifically for their ideas on the liberation of man and woman relationships. Such a representation of *cariye* as maidservant displays a difference compared to representations of maidservant figures in the Western novel.

3.1.2. A Slut: Maid and Master in *Mürebbiye*

*Mürebbiye*⁹ is a novel of a drastic turning upside down of the hierarchies, which is represented in the maid and master pair (Gürpınar, 1997). It is the story of a sexy, coquettish and beautiful French governess -in fact an ex-prostitute who enters the mansion in disguise of a governess- and her seduction of all men in the mansion, from the youngest to the older. The main problematic of the novel is a critique of superwesternization and clash of old and new values, being one of the main themes that

⁹ Hüseyin Rahmi Gürpınar (1864-1944). He was born in İstanbul. His father was a high rank pasha. He graduated from *Mekteb-i Mülkiye*, learned French from private teachers. He worked at high official posts until the Second Constitution, then he earned his living with his writings, an activity he had been doing since high school. He published his plays and novels in *Tercüman-ı Hakikat* and *İkdam*. He published a humor magazine *Boşboğaz* that was closed due to accusations. During Meşrutiyet and first decades of the Turkish Republic he kept writing to *Sabah*, *Vakit*, *Zaman*, *Cumhuriyet* and *Posta*. He was elected to the parliament between 1935-43. He lived most of his life in his isolated mansion in Heybeliada. He published 48 novels, several short stories, plays, translations and critics. He wrote realist novels and stories, and tried naturalism and experimentalism in some novels, under the influence of Emile Zola. Just like his Tanzimat predecessors, he undertook the duty of a teacher to the people. He summarized his novel as follows: “My novel is dedicated to the social education of common people rather than the elite; the majority rather than minority” (quoted in Oktay, 1993:757).

was problematized by the Tanzimat novelists who were involved in modernization processes. The governess appears as a figure that creates this tension and clash of values in the novel.

This is a figure drawn with several stereotypes associated with the slut as categorized by Yates, as discussed in Chapter 2. Deniz Kandiyoti also mentions similar *femme fatal* types in early Tanzimat novel, such as ex-prostitute Mahpeyker in *İntibah* of Namık Kemal. She points out the claims of effects and traces of Western, especially French novel on the Tanzimat novel, and local Ottoman aspects superimposed on those effects (Kandiyoti, 1996:133-147).¹⁰ From the very first pages we read the real intention, and plans of the governess. She calculates that “beside teaching grammar and language to the children, she could also give lessons about the finest details of the art of love to the masters in the house, so that she could multiply her income to three, four” (p.27). In other words, she does not have the aim of finding a husband, climbing up socially, but wants to perform her profession in more decent circumstances and earn more money. She is a trickster type, applying several stealthy tactics, acting the innocent and pious girl, lying, and conducting all her affairs in a very organized and clever way. She came to İstanbul from Paris where she had been working as a prostitute, with the intention “to convert her ugly art from public to private and to have a little rest from the fatigue of prostitution.” As her name Angel implies, she has a double face; she introduces herself “as a clean girl,” and finds a job in the mansion of Dehri Efendi (p.43).

Dehri Efendi is a version of ‘alafranga dandy’ type which is found in several Tanzimat novels¹¹. As argued by several literary critics, this type is used to represent ridicule and

¹⁰ H.R.Gürpınar is sometimes blamed for ‘stealing’ a complete story from French literature -for instance for his novel *İffet* (1897). He responds those blamings, saying that he is narrating authentic Ottoman life, with all its dialects, speeches, customs, etc. (Foreword to *Mürebbiye*, p.10). A kind of ‘adaptation’ of those western stories to the local context. In *Mürebbiye* also there are several references to various French novels and theater plays. S.Yates derives the stereotype ‘slut’ from *Germinie Lacerteux* by Goncourt brothers and *Pot-Bouille* by E.Zola (Yates, 1991). Gürpınar is known to have highly influenced from Zola, especially in *Mürebbiye*.

¹¹ H.R.Gürpınar is said that he created Dehri Efendi in *Mürebbiye*, with an inspiration from a neighbor pasha of his childhood who had the habit of playing Molière plays by himself. Similarly, the figure Angel was inspired from a Greek governess working in the mansion of

criticisms of over-Westernization experienced during late Ottoman period, which was a phenomenon of Tanzimat Period. This phenomenon followed a particular trajectory in Turkish history and has several appearances in Turkish literature parallel to this historical trajectory (Moran, 1998; Naci, 1999; Oktay, 1993). He is a civil retiree and the heir of a considerable heritage. In his retirement days he dedicates himself to the study of several Western sciences, such as botany, medicine, political economy, etc. and literatures. He speaks French well, and several other Western languages, though less than French. Contrary to some other literary alafanga dandies, he does not spend his heritage like a spendthrift, nor he does indulge in an immoral life (which was associated to Western life styles and values in contrast to Muslim values, in the novels of the period, as well as in some late novels). In the ironic words of the author, Dehri Efendi has “some distinguished characteristics such as being very zealous in obeying to some of the national customs and moral values” (p.47). ‘Some’ of the national values dissolve in his relationship to the sexy governess, a representative of the West in his eyes, whereas ‘some’ others remain very strict in his relationships to the rest of the house. Although he does not fall to a complete immoral life, decadence, he falls into a ridiculous situation that shakes his authority, charisma and his existence as the master of the house.

A third important type, Eda Kalfa makes the third corner of the key triangle of the novel. In contrast to the youth, beauty and sexuality of Angel, she is old, ugly and sexless; “she is a weird creature between masculinity and femininity. Her only difference from the men of the mansion is her wearing a headscarf in the *selamlık* section” (p.62). She is very tough, an element of fear for the dwellers of the mansion. She is the right hand of the elder master Dehri Efendi, in all matters related to the administration of the house, including domestic work, as well as carrying gossips and information, applying the most cruel punishments for the discipline in the mansion. Eda Kalfa feels a deep jealousy against the governess from the first day and does her best to blame and make her fired. She is as good a trickster as Angel.

some friends of his parents, who teaches mansion children subversive alafanga habits, such as dance (Kudret, 1987:352).

The practice of preferring a Christian maidservant, for instance from Greek or Armenian minority of İstanbul, seems to be a sign of being an alafanga dandy in some other Tanzimat novels as well. *Felâatun Beyle Râkım Efendi* by Ahmet Mithat is an example to that. Similarly, hiring a foreign governess -a French, perhaps more prestigious than a Christian minority member- is also a sign of admiration for the West. This admiration of Dehri Efendi for the French governess, his over-respect, kindness and veneration to her, which is given in contrast to his attitudes against all other Ottoman Muslim servants in the mansion, especially against Eda Kalfa, represents this phenomenon of over-westernization by ridiculing. This tension in the Angel, Dehri Efendi and Eda Kalfa triangle, is critical for the aim of the author who wants to criticize the over-westernization; and the solution of this tension leads to the final of the novel, where the elderly master becomes a toy in the hands of the governess, just as all other masters in the mansion. The intrigues of Angel overcome the intrigues of Eda Kalfa. Dehri Efendi who sees himself as a good, knowing, rational judge makes a false decision and fires his old, faithful maidservant by degrading her.

The novel is rich with speeches and dialects, which are used as comic elements with the numerous interference of the author, in parenthesis or with a word, sentence, or paragraph, giving short or long explanations, translations of French words of the governess, correction of the Anatolian dialect of a servant, etc¹². While Angel speaks a Turkish full of grammatical mistakes, alafanga dandy types such as Dehri Efendi, his brother Amca Bey and the groom Sadri Bey speak a Turkish mixed with French words and expressions. Those deteriorated speeches also serve the representation of over-westernization and using them as a comic element is meaningful in that sense. The play over the language of French marks a different hierarchy in the relations. The governess being a servant in the mansion, stands at a higher position, due to her being a native French speaker and of French nation (though a prostitute), in the scenes in which her

¹² According to A.H.Tanpınar "in Turkish novel, real conversation began with H.R.Gürpınar; the street entered our literature for the first time with him" (quoted in Oktay, 1993:770). In spite of the authoritarian tone, the author's attempt to include other's voices in his novel should be appreciated as a novelty of his time.

masters enthusiastically speak French or a Turkish mixed with French. In other words, beside the gender and seducing power of the governess, the speeches as well become a site where the hierarchies turn upside down.

Various discourses are attached to the course of the novel, rather than orchestrated, to use the Bakhtinian concept. The usage of such a variety of speeches and discourses enforces the authoritarian and didactic tone of the author that is dominant throughout the novel, rather than displaying a dialogism meant by Bakhtin. For instance the author feels free to interfere any time to the third person narration making comments, explanations; sometimes directly calling second person plural the imaginary audience, sometimes with an exclamation mark in paranthesis (generally to underlie a comic effect). Those explanations may be very brief but also quite long, thinking the overall novel. For instance we read an explanation of the literary current of naturalism and experimentalism (which are known to have been tried by Gürpınar himself) in the words of Bodler in five page long dialogue between Bodler and Angel or Bodler's understanding of novel and role of the author in society, which cause a suspect that they are the author's ideas. Gürpınar sometimes interfere in this dialogue and makes comparisons between the French and Ottoman societies¹³. There are also references to various novels, such as *Three Musqueteers* and *La Dame au Camelia*; there is a list of the popular novels that Angel reads in the nights. There is an interesting scene taken from a Molière play, *Les Precieuses Ridicules*; Dehri Efendi forces Eda Kalfa to act a part of this comedy with him. In this part Dehri Efendi takes the role of the valet who replaces his master. In a later section of the novel, the course of the events turns almost into a vaudeville, in which Eda Kalfa plays the key role. In these scenes she resembles to the trickster literary servant type (which is traditionally a valet, but rarely a maidservant,

¹³ Berna Moran (1998) observes similar aspects in some other novelists of the period; in fact he finds those interferences, explanations, didacticism of the authors as a peculiarity of the Tanzimat novel. According to him, the authors newly learning and trying this new genre, were enthusiastic in experimenting different styles; another reason is that they were under the influence of the Western novel, but each author, selecting and constructing his own repertoire rather arbitrarily. Another factor he mentions is Ottoman intellectuals' feeling themselves as responsible of the education of the 'people,' which is a tradition that is carried to the young Turkish Republic as well. Moran's observations seem to be valid also for Gürpınar.

as Robbins and Burnett argue) taken to the 18th century French and English novels from Renaissance comedies. One can argue that Eda Kalfa is an adaptation of this maidservant type to the context of an Ottoman mansion. There is also a reference to the Ottoman theater by means of a *tuluat* actor of the period, Abdürrezzak (p.97).

To summarize maid and master relations in Tanzimat novels, it was observed that gender hierarchy is on the foreground, as the *cariye* figure enters familial relationships in the house. However, her position in the house hierarchy varies according to novelistic circumstances, and she can fall to the status of mere servant, but also can climb to the status of bride/wife. Another aspect of the *cariye* figure is Tanzimat author's attribution of their ideas on liberty, and in particular on liberation of man and woman relations, on that figure. Whereas, a quite liberated servant figure appears in the Tanzimat novel, as a French governess, who upsides down the hierarchies in the house at some instances. Again, gender hierarchy is the matter more than class hierarchy for that figure.

3.2. Young Master and Maid

As mentioned before, the figure of *cariye* disappears in early Republican novels, giving way to contemporary figures such as *besleme* girls and daily domestic women, with an exception of *Aksaray'dan Bir Perihan* dating 1962, that refers back to the first decades of the 20th century with a Caucasian *halayık* figure.

In the following subsections of this chapter, maid and master pairs are grouped in two, regarding the age of the master. It will be argued that relations between young masters and his maidservant display some differences compared to the relations of the old master. In the former, a more intimate relation that marks all of young master's life, is the matter.

An intimate, sexual relationship between the young master and a maid in the house, love, seduction, rape, pregnancy, separation and return of the maid is a plot in Turkish literature, which appears in some novels. This relationship generally marks the whole life of the young master, makes him to fall in ambiguous feelings and thoughts and to several self-interrogations in later stages of his life.

A similar relationship between the young master and maid, around a similar plot appears in *Medar-ı Maişet Motoru* (Abasıyanık, 1998), *Kızılıcak Dalları* (Güntekin, 19th Edition), *Bu Bizim Hayatımız* (Karay, 1964), and *Aylak Adam* (Atılgan, 1985). In all novels - except for *Kızılıcak Dalları*- the servant figure follows the more general rule, i.e. the rule of being in the margins of the novel, supplements to the masters and being obedient and silent; they appear with few lines in those novels and very few words (even in *Bu Bizim Hayatımız*, in which the *besleme* Hüsniye seems to be a central figure). On the other hand, they make deep impacts on the course of the lives of their masters, on their psychology, feelings and thoughts, as well as on the plot of the novel (but again putting *Kızılıcak Dalları* at a comparably different position, beside many similarities).

3.2.1. Beginning of a Journey

*Medar-ı Maişet Motoru*¹⁴ is the story of a couple of ordinary people in the 1940s of İstanbul, in relation to an idle youngster who wanders around at several places, meeting, getting in touch with those people or just observes them. There are several evidences that this youngster is the author himself. That aspect marks the narration, tone and discourse of the novel.

The second chapter of the novel begins with the description of a middle class apartment, and preparation of the dinner by their maidservant Zehra. She is a young, humble, silent servant girl having marriage dreams, but also the desire object of the men of the house as

¹⁴ Sait Faik Abasıyanık (1906-1954). He was born in Adapazarı. His father was a tradesman. He went to the Faculty of Literature of İstanbul University for two years then left school. He went to Grenoble for university, but did not attend the school, lived an idle life there for three years and was called back by his father to work. He worked in his father's business, then as a teacher and a reporter for short periods. Later, he chose to write. He began to publish his short stories in *Varlık*. After the death of his father he lived in an apartment in Şişli in winter and in a mansion in Burgazada in summer with his mother. He wrote two novels and several short stories. He was accused of praising crime and prison in his first novel *Medar-ı Maişet Motoru*, and his book was confiscated in 1944. Later he re-published it with the name *Birtakım İnsanlar*. In that novel, just like his short stories, he told the stories of 'little man.' He was defined by Tahir Alangu as an "observer realist" writer. He stated his understanding as follows: "The writers who are called 'old' in our day, used to look at life and society from above, and they still do that.. They are not involved in life; they are fond of correcting the society by only talking down to the people. And us, we don't aim at correcting the society. We want to live as a part of this society, together with our people, to live just the same life as them" (quoted in Oktay, 1993:158).

well as of the male visitors to the house. Lamia, the mistress of the house, is concerned with his son Fahri, a university student at the Faculty of Literature, as she doubts that there is an affair between his son and Zehra; he might want to marry her. That's why she wants to send him for a holiday, for a month, to settle this 'problem'. Fahri is one of the three characters who are somehow Sait Faik. Meantime, Lamia is working on a blind date between Zehra and the janitor of the apartment. Her plans work, and Fahri leaves for a holiday; but this will be a journey of no return, and a journey, to repeat a cliché, to his inner world too. He will later elongate his wonderings around, than leave the university, the middle class life that his mother planned for him, and will live a rentier and vagabond life until his death. Zehra causes the beginning of this physical and inner journey, a minor but important role¹⁵.

Existence of and encounters with the maidservant Zehra, cause some problems to the middle class family, especially men. She is somehow unknown, inunderstandable; she is not like a prostitute -or open, coquettish like the Greek girl- but she doesn't give an impression of chastity neither as the Muslim girl should. She doesn't wear sexy clothes but there is something sexy in her. She is as ready to make love to every man; but she triggers a kind of desire and dislike at once to the male visitors coming to the house, a mixture of ambiguous feelings such as "pity, disgust and liking" (p.59):

...When you looked at her eyes, didn't you clearly feel as if you read her desire to fall onto one's lap, in those eyes? One hesitates whether that soft and beautiful maidservant—who may arise a desire and passion, even platonic dreams, in those who don't really see her eyes- makes all desires vain when one looks at her eyes. Zehra, the maidservant of the fourth floor, who had such an impact, not only on male visitors but also on the porter of the apartment, was actually a good-hearted, silent girl who collected all the money she earned...(p.59)

¹⁵ B.Robbins points to the effects of the servant figure on the plot, generally an arbitrary and sudden effect, which deeply influence the masters' destinies, sometimes a smallest effect such as breaking a plate at a critical instant, that causes big results. This determination of the master's fate by the servant takes various forms such as "specter of throat cutting" that can be summarized with the saying "who shaves the captain controls the ship"; or contamination with a deadly illness of the house and main heroes by the servant, having a marginal place in the text; or arbitrary murders of masters by servants. However, those big effects caused by small acts do not grant servants a power, but make them feel their existences (Robbins, 1986:131-159).

The reason for collecting all the money she earns and for “pretending as she desires the men” was to make a dream of hers come true: to find a fiancé, give all her money to him, to sew his sweaty male clothes in a small, humble room, to dream of his man while sewing. She knows her class and her place; her dreams are also in accordance with that knowledge. Although she has an “irresistible desire, almost an admiration, a curiosity” against the sons of the houses where she works, she knows her place.

But, although she knows her place, she is still a threat against the family, and all values lying behind it. The mistress Lamia Hanım, knowing that, makes a plan to save her son, and her family from that danger. Lamia Hanım also knows her place: “She couldn’t stand seeing that girl as her daughter in law, the girl she loved as a maid servant ... Even such a possibility made Lamia Hanım shake with fear,” she says (p.62). She somehow loves that girl, but only as a servant. The girl could only be tolerated -perhaps used to satisfy some sexual desire of the men around or to function as the “first sexual experience” of the son of the house- but the idea that the girl may one day become the bride of the house makes her “freeze to death.” Lamia Hanım sends her son for a holiday and makes a blind date between the janitor of the apartment, Aslan and Zehra. Fahri easily forgets Zehra, and she suddenly falls in love with Aslan: “A love affair unique to Anatolian villagers” quickly begins (p.69). But this danger and the related plan changes Fahri’s life radically.

The maidservant and the discourse on her, stand at a distinct position regarding the discourses present in the novel and all elements of the novel. She creates an ambiguity in the discourse of the author, which may basically be described as authoritarian, in spite of the author’s intention to make a literature at a level equal and within society, unlike the “the old writers” who “used to see the life, the society from above,” and who “want to improve the society only by talking from above” (quoted in Oktay, 1993:158). But S.Faik’s authoritarian voice is quite different than that of the old writers he criticizes, in that he does not have their didactic tone and intentions. He could go down to earth, mix with the ‘little men’ he loves -in real life and in his writings- as an observer and he intends to be like one of them. But in his novel he could not succeed in allowing other’s

voices and orchestrating them. The writer seems to be in trouble in treating that character, where to put her. She is not like little, simple, poor men, workers, fishermen that S.Faik has a big sympathy and love, although she is a working woman. She is not like the Muslim girls, neither the non-Muslim ones. She is silent. She is represented with similar male fantasies and stereotypes on maidservants as in the Western novel. But although being silent, she still constitutes a threat against the middle class home.

3.2.2. A lifelong Search for the Lover

*Bu Bizim Hayatımız*¹⁶ tells the story of love between a *besleme*, Hüsniye, and the son of an upper class Ottoman family, Mazlum Sami, during the span of about 36 years (1910-1946), in front of a panorama of types and places in İstanbul. In the beginning the lovers unite, then are separated for a long time; the novel narrates the search of Mazlum for his old lover, and their meeting after 36 years. Behind this love story, we find a problematic that appears from time to time in the comments and observations of the detective-narrator-writer, Şemsi, and self-interrogations of Mazlum; this is the question of class

¹⁶ Refik Halit Karay (1888-1965). He was born in İstanbul. His father was a high rank officer at the palace, his mother from the race of Cimmerian Han. He went to Galatasaray and to the Law Faculty for two years, then left university with the declaration of the Second Constitution, began to work as a journalist and translator in *Servet-i Fünun* and *Tercüman-ı Hakikat*. He wrote political satires in *Kalem* and *Cem* humor magazines against the Union and Progress government. He was close to Liberty and Reconciliation Party. He was sent to exile at various places in Anatolia for five years. He established *Aydede* humor magazine. He was enlisted in the *yüzelliler* list due to his articles and acts against the Independence War, had to live in exile for 15 years in Beirut and Halep, published *Doğru Yol* and *Vahdet* papers and several novels there. He returned to İstanbul after the amnesty of 1938, left politics and worked as a journalist and novelist. He was interested in people from various strata and rural regions, in 'men of people' to use C.Kudret's words. For instance, he wrote for the first time a story on the relations between workers, boss and factory conditions at an early year as 1909. He defines his novel as realist, basing on real observations. He said, "I saw and narrated Anatolia, not as a peasant, but as a rich urban boy" (quoted in Kudret, 1987:191). He preferred "a middle class family speech" to the "low speeches." Y.K.Karaosmanoğlu resembled his behavior to the dandy figure Behlül in *Aşk-ı Memnu*. He proposed a writing involved in the people: "Now we'll get to know the people and we'll be interested in the people without degrading into vulgarity... [he proposes] a literature that feels people's pains and understands their needs, that shapes its desires" (quoted in Oktay, 1993:967). Later in his life he left writing novels with a thesis and choose to write popular adventure and exotic novels. He wrote *Bu Bizim Hayatımız*, which is still a realist novel, in 1950 at that turning point of his life. He later said that he just wrote to earn money that his novels did not have any other intention (quoted in Oktay, 1993:976).

mobility. In the novel this problematic is parallel to the possibility/impossibility of love between people from different classes.

The encounter of Mazlum with Hüsniye and his love for her marks all his life; he lives a rich and colorful life in several posts in Europe as a diplomat, later in his retirement in İstanbul. But he cannot forget Hüsniye. And in his retirement, when he interrogates all his life he falls in a great ambiguity, because of his love for Hüsniye; these interrogations and in-between situations ever increase when he finds her and later sees her for few seconds at a concert break. His descriptions and discourse on her also varies throughout the novel.

He remembers her as a kind, obedient, silent, delicate maidservant. Hüsniye feels a love including a kind of admiration and obedience to her master's power. Hüsniye admires every thing that belongs to Sami. But at the same time a different kind of exploitation is going on at the mansion; using servant girls to satisfy sexual desires of the young, and sometimes old men of the mansion, to solve this problem in a hygienic manner under control. We are told that this is a common practice in the Ottoman upper class households of the period, planned generally by mothers, and applied by a high rank, old servant, to avoid the young master to go out with 'bad' woman, out of control. The love of Hüsniye and Sami has also such an aspect¹⁷.

After 36 years when he learns that Hüsniye is the mother of a speculator, he is upset and rather than a delicate girl in his memories he imagines:

The woman he imagines is fat, has huge breasts; one of those women who dress up exaggeratingly; who are common and spoiled; who talk too much; who sit at the boxes of cinemas showing Egyptian movies; who don't miss *alaturka* concerts; who can't live without listening to the Turkish music programs

¹⁷ In O.Mirbeau's *Journal d'une Femme de Chambre* there is a similar usage of the maidservant by the mistress, for the sexual needs of the son of the house, to divert his interest from prostitutes to the house (Yates, 1991, p.7). Similarly, in G.de Maupassant's *Une Vie*, there is a similar plot regarding the over all plot of *Bu Bizim Hayatımız*. The maidservant Rosalie in that novel gets pregnant from his master, after an ambiguous relation involving rape, desire and seduction, and left alone to solve her problem. Just like Hüsniye she marries a lower class man who accepts her with her illegitimate child. Later Rosalie becomes a gentlewoman an encounters her old master (ibid. pp.143-155). R.H.Karay is known to have influenced from G.de Maupassant.

of the Ankara Radio; who are harsh against servants; who call waiters at *gazin*os “Hey, son!” She is nothing but a *nouveau riche* created out of a maidservant, a coachman’ wife... Dreadful! (p.111)

Mazlum Sami falls in an ambiguous situation remembering his love for her, due to the class difference between them. He changes his opinions several times radically, through the course of the novel. For example just after those negative opinions, he remembers an English novel narrating the story of a hotel room mate who marries a gentleman and becomes a lady, helps in the social climb of his husband. Then he also remembers other examples of woman climbing to higher classes, such as his grand mother who had been a poor slave, Greek peasant girl; she “made his grand father a gentleman and their mansion a glamorous place where even the Ottoman sultan had visited and praised.” Or examples of Hürrem and Kösem sultans, who were daughters of a village priest, who later became sultans in the Ottoman palace. Mazlum, thinking of these examples comes to the solution that Hüsniye could also become Hüsniye Hanımefendi (p.112).

And later when he learns that Hüsniye became a gentlewoman he gets happy. He says “then I was right in not forgetting her in all my life. She is not only my first love but she is a rare kind of person created from a perfect mud, both spiritually and physically.” (p.137). So with this reality his love to her becomes legitimized; his love is a gentlewoman now, and even in the past, when she was a maidservant, she had this potential. Now he can even think about marrying her. In this latest stages of their lives they encounter for a second time; but this time they are equals. Now Sami talks to her as if talking with a gentlewoman; gets excited and shakes in front of her, “of that servant girl of yesterday.” Because now he is not ordering but wishing something from her (that she lets him to see his grand daughter). So things may turn upside down.

This encounter with her makes him interrogating his love for her, but also all his life. He is a typical dandy type that can be found in several Turkish novels from Tanzimat to Republic periods. He is a person, having been brought up in an Ottoman, a Muslim house, with eastern customs, values, also received a western education from private teachers. But he is not ridiculous, a bad imitator of the West as in Tanzimat novels, nor a

traitor and conspirator with the imperialist powers of the invasion days of the Ottoman. He is a good and charismatic imitator of the West; he is a rare example that could survive the modern times, contrary to several late Ottoman types that cannot survive the new values of the new society and fall in several novels.

But in his later years he criticizes all his life and understands the ‘virtues’ of eastern values, traditions, and family life. He finds himself fake, meaningless, “neither Turkish nor Frenk, an absurd, unreasonable type.” He finds himself nothing but a dandy, in the past and present. He finds himself foreign and alone in his society. On the other hand, Hüsniye and her sons are real; they have an essence. They have grown up within the Turkish society.

In the reflections of Sami we see the examples of upward mobility of some Ottoman woman. This is at the same time an idea of the narrator, who is most probably the author himself. During one of his walks in the city, he passes by a cemetery and thinks that

Those are tombs of high rank people, of viziers, ministers, *kazaskers*. But not all came from upper class families. No doubt *nouveau riches* were much in number among them. Turkish society has always been democratic, since its early times; little novices become hodja, *müftü*, *kazasker*, *şeyhülislam*; a private becomes a field marshal; son of a servant goes to school, rises up to the level of vizier. This order that came to the Europe as a new era, considered as a revolution, had always been our social order coming from our very early past (p.28).

Similarly, later in another walk at Beyoğlu he thinks about the life of the family of the coachman: “One of his sons, a millionaire, the other an intellectual... A *besleme* who went through difficult times in all her life; she is now the mother of a millionaire and intellectual, at the end in peace and comfort! Her grand sons will probably grow up in wealth. Isn’t that the novel of the latest two eras? A novel based on reality! There is no big events, big loves, killers and deaths, but this is our life!” (p.89) This paragraph puts the main problematic of the novel and gives the novel its name.

3.2.3. The Oedipal Triangle

*Aylak Adam*¹⁸ is the story of an idle youngster, C., in search of true love. According to Oğuz Demiralp *Aylak Adam* is the first urban individual and first flaneur in the Turkish novel. C. by choosing not working and living a rantier flaneur life, protests the division of labor which makes people into specialists and protests their industriousness; as described by Walter Benjamin (1995:129). With his life style and life view, C. is figured as a critique to the established order and new, modern middle-class lives and values.

Maidservants appear frequently in the novel; the Greek girl Eleni, who is doing C.'s housework, living upstairs; maidservants, with no name, abused by C.'s father –C. catch once his father making love with one of them, which is a scene that injures his spirit heavily, an image that he can not get rid of all his life- and the aggressive servant girl, who kept abusing AA, when he was a high school boy and who almost raped him. There is also a servant girl working in the house of Ayşe's family, who enters the novel only in a single sentence; she is there to describe Ayşe's family.

Servant girls are represented in the novel with several stereotypes; they are described as objects of desire, they are generally passive, but also seducing and silent. Cs, listening to the noises of Eleni, while cleaning the apartment, thinks that the maidservants "are easy to strip off... Maybe that girl wonders why he just does not push her to bed" (p.14). But C. refuses stripping her off; and pushing her to bed. On the other hand he finds her beautiful. Eleni is a rather modest girl; all she wants is to marry a modest man and have a happy life, according to C.. We hear the voice of Eleni only in a few lines, talking

¹⁸ Yusuf Atılgan (1921-1989). He was born in Manisa. His father was a country tax collector. He was brought up in Manisa and Balıkesir, graduated from Department of Turkish Literature of İstanbul University. He was imprisoned on the accusations of being a Communist Party member, for 10 months. He choose living in a small village of Manisa as a farmer, after having worked for a short time as a rural high school teacher of literature. He published his 2 novels, one short story book and few short stories in *Varlık* and *a*, leaving several writings unpublished. He did not join the literary circles of his period after his university years, and preferred to live and produce in the isolation of his village until 1976 when he moved to İstanbul. His third novel remained uncompleted. *Aylak Adam*, is a different novel thinking the situation of the novel at 50s. Atılgan is said to be under the influences of existentialist thinkers such as S.Kierkegaard, psychoanalysis, contemporary novelists such as J.Joyce and W.Faulkner and cinema, which were new influences in the Turkey of his time (YKY, 2001:121-124).

about some details of housework. On the other hand, we hear the voice of the servant girl who abused C. more loudly and aggressively, every night in front of his door; she is scary, sarcastic and witty, but at the same time soft. This is a rather violent encounter, which has influenced C. in all his life. We read this dialogue embedded in the confessions of C. to Ayşe:

...She used to stand up at the door and ask, ‘-Shall I enter?’ I’d answer, ‘-No!’ with an unrecognizable voice. My body would burn. She’d say, ‘-I know that you didn’t lock the door.’ ‘You want it, come on, call me.’ A long silence! The soft call of woman’s voice. After a while, she’d say, ‘-Think of my legs.’ I’d think. I’d hear my father’s voice, ‘-Zehra, I love your legs!’ I’d shout, ‘-Get lost!’ She’d say, ‘-OK. I go, I’ll not enter till you call’ (p.136).

Finally one night she enters his room without knocking the door and quickly jumps on him. We hear the voice of his father, who he hates, and see the image of his aunt Zehra, behind this scene with the servant girl. We make a connection between this scene and his hate for his father, and then to men and women in general; as well as his love for his aunt and the hate and rivalry relation with his father. Maidservant’s saying finally, “You are more tough than your father,” makes C. crazy.

This maid figure returns again and again in C.’s life. There is a displacement between C.’s aunt (who had married with his father when his mother died, and thus can be considered one corner of the Oedipal triangle) and the maid, in C.’s imagination. This relationship can be interpreted with the approach of Stalybrass and White to Freud’s relation to his two mothers, as discussed before. The real mother replaces the maid, but the maid returns in later stages of young boy’s life. In fact a similar commented was made by Murat Belge (1998:28) and Güven Turan (2000:100-104). Belge states that “psychoanalytic situations such as the love carried to the aunt after the death of the mother and a special kind of mother complex (perhaps the author wants to abstain from the repetition of the classical Freudian scheme), and the hate directed to the father who has an affair with the aunt, are very finely given in the novel.” Whereas Turan points out to the obsession of Atılgan to moustache, beard and to hair in general, in his work as well as his private life. He argues that this is connected to his hate of his father. But the

expression of this hate becomes a maximum in *Aylak Adam*. Turan quotes C.'s dream of their maidservant: "I thought you were your father. I was your maidservant. You are just like your father. You only lack a moustache (AA, p.29). According to Turan, the symbol of moustache signifies "a sexual aggressiveness that is intertwined with brutality that comes together with the figure of father."

Maidservants enter the novel once more in the diary of Ayşe, this time as a triple: the pension owner Bayan Nuriye, the cook and the servant, women working at Nuriye's summer pension. This time Ayşe encounters with the servants; but we don't get much feeling but only descriptions of Ayşe of the women; she gives a detailed account of the division of labor among the three women, in a rather dull manner. In the hierarchy, Nuriye, as being the owner of the pension, is at the top, doing the shopping, organizing things; she is like the 'man' of the house; whereas the cook stands in the middle, helping Nuriye in shopping and cooking; the servant is at the bottom, doing the worst jobs, such as doing the dishes, cleaning the house. All of them are treated like 'servants' by the middle class pensionaries staying there, also by C., staying at the small house. For instance the fathers of the two families, the high school director and the engineer, make jokes about the women's being widows (except the servant; she is not married). They call the women as 'dry saplings.' Although Ayşe belittles these jokes, saying "Here is an example of the male intellect that much praised!", she also attributes the word 'dry' to the women somewhere else in her diary. C. had also made a similar comment while the servant was cleaning the summer house he rent, saying in his indifferent manner, "He could not believe there could be such a skinny woman in the world... So, there were ugly maidservants too" (p.108), then later, "I'd swear that dry woman never had sex with a man" (p.112).

We see that C. associates a sexuality (an excessive one or a lack of it) to all maidservants in the novel. The encounters of C. with the maidservants are more on sexual than class basis.

3.2.4. A Very Intimate Relation

*Kızılılık Dalları*¹⁹ is the story of an orphan girl, Gülsüm, who is given to a mansion at the age of nine by her grand father, and who works there as a maidservant and nanny for few years, until the day she escapes from the mansion to become a famous canto singer. The story of Gülsüm marks the transformation from traditional to modern servant figures in the Turkish novel, as an early example of *besleme* stories of the next-coming decades. It is also interesting in being the appearance in the novel of the practice of illegal purchase of peasant girls among wealthy families, which has roots in the early decades of the 20th century, as mentioned by F.Özbay (1999a:559). The sarcastic tone of the novel, besides other novelistic elements, contributes to the critique of the author to the hypocrisy against *besleme* girls, a mentality that ill-treats and exploits them as maidservants while sustaining a paternalistic and familial discourse.

A different maid and young master relationship exists in the novel, compared to the above three novels; this is the very intimate relation between Bülent, the young grand son of the mansion and Gülsüm, young orphan girl taken to the mansion to work as his private nurse as well as to perform other jobs such as playing with all other children and

¹⁹ Reşat Nuri Güntekin (1889-1956). He was born in İstanbul. His father was a military doctor. He travelled around Anatolia due to the duty of his father, graduated from Faculty of Literature of University of İstanbul, worked as a French teacher and director in various high schools in Anatolia and İstanbul and as a translator. He began to write theater critics and plays in *Zaman*, *Dersaadet*, *Şair*, *Nedim*, *Büyük Mecmua*, *İnci* and humor magazine *Diken*. Once, he said that his interest in literature arose after a fairytale his *lala* used to tell him. He became a popular novelist of the Republic after the publication of *Çalılıkusu*. He was assigned to high official posts such as National Education inspector, cultural attache to Paris and elected to the parliament. He wrote romances, social novels and novels with a thesis. He stated that most of his characters were taken from his observations of real persons. A.Oktay describes his realism as humanistic, different from critical or socialist realisms. According to C.Kudret, the novel of first decades that was limited to İstanbul, was opened to Anatolia with R.N.Güntekin. At his time he became so popular that he was called “people’s novelist.” A.Oktay describes him a novelist “talking within a middle class ideology to that same class,” whereas M.Kaplan calls him “the novelist of teachers and civil servants,” (Oktay, 1993:713) and C.Kudret quotes ones calling his first novels “as the novel for girls” due to his highly sentimental tone (Kudret, 1987:310). M.Kaplan makes the observation that among his 15 novels, majority of the first characters were doctors, teachers, lawyers and engineers. *Kızılılık Dalları* makes an exception to that as the main character is a *besleme* girl, who rose to an upper class at the end of the novel (Oktay, 1993:716). This novel is also one in which the theme of “love of children” is on the foreword, a theme that appears in his other novels.

doing all kinds of housework and service. The love of the young master becomes a battlefield between Gülsüm and all her mistresses, but most of all with the elder mistress, who is the 'real boss' of the house; in other words, this battle becomes a field where different forces fight, where traditional hierarchies between the maid and mistress are shaken, and from time to time turned upside down (See Chapter on: Maid and Mistress).

At the beginning, all of Gülsüm's thoughts, love and affection were directed to her real brother Ismail, that she had been looking after for a long time, before coming to the mansion. They were separated after the decision of their grand father; he decided to give Gülsüm to the mansion, and took the boy and disappeared for good. Feeling like a mother to her brother Gülsüm feels a deep grief and lack. Her elder mistress Nadide Hanım at the mansion makes a co-operation with an old servant, to make Gülsüm forget Ismail and direct all her love and care to Bülent (so that they can trust her to leave Bülent at her hands). They tell Gülsüm that Ismail was dead. After a big trauma and a period of time Gülsüm accepts the situation and shift her motherly feelings to Bülent. Gradually this love becomes affection and goes to extremes, to an exaggerated preoccupation and love for him. Bülent, at early ages, responds to this love completely, and puts Gülsüm in the place of his mother. In a very short time this very intimate relationship arises a deep jealousy and hatred against Gülsüm, from Bülent's real mother, aunt and most of all grand mother Nadide Hanım. They always interfere in this relationship, to keep it under control, as the child is too important to be totally left at the hands of an ignorant servant, whereas it is she who does all the dirty and exhausting work related to child care, not her real mother.

She is all the time accused for something like a scapegoat; for kissing him too much; for creating a danger to contaminate him like as well as all kinds of microbes; for giving him harmful food; for teaching him bad words (as well as hatred against his grand mother); for telling simple and absurd fairy tales and games (that may be harmful for his education), and bad speeches and jokes. In short the relationship between Gülsüm and Bülent appears to be the maximum point of contact between the poor (and every thing

associated to the poor such as dirt, microbe, contamination, ignorance, sexuality) and upper class. At one side the nursery, dirty work and sacrifices given by the maid are indispensable (as Bülent's real mother does not feel responsible for doing these dirty jobs), at the other side the upper class boy is faced with all elements of the neither world that is desired to be kept outside the house; that's why this very intimate relationship is wanted to be kept under control (beside simple jealousy and sharing the boy's love with a servant).

Then later in the novel, we see a shift of love of the boy to his 'real' mother (and grand mother). The nurse, the 'unacceptable' mother, is replaced by the real, 'acceptable' mother. This displacement marks Bülent's acquirement of the rules of the order of the world; he learns the necessities of his class, he learns the impossibility of loving a servant in place of his real mother; he learns how to act against a servant, how to harass, swear, give orders. The hierarchy that had been turned upside down for a while -due to the love of the boy-, returns to its more accepted situation. The intimate world, co-operation and solidarity between Gülsüm and Bülent are destroyed for good, when the boy comes to a certain age. He learns "how Gülsüm is a thief, impudent, ill-mannered, a gypsy, filthy, a prostitute, as he hears all day from his parents," he gets even happier than others, when Gülsüm is beaten (p.167). He learns how to order her around as a servant; he learns his privileges and his power over her.

We don't know what happens to Bülent in the future, what are the effects of his little nurse on him, as C. in *Aylak Adam*, Fahri in *Medar-ı Maişet Motoru* and Mazlum Sami in *Bu Bizim Hayatımız*. All we know is that Bülent sees her, after so many years, on the stage of an Ankara theater, as a glamorous, famous, beautiful and sexy canto singer, Şark Greta Garbosu Mücella Suzan Hanım, who has several lovers around her (p.215) (See Chapter 4).

To sum up analysis made in this subsection, it can be said that maid/young master pairs display an intimate relation. In novels, this relation somehow marks all of the life of the young master and the figure of maidservant returns as a specter or in flesh. In four novels taken to this subsection, the latest one, *Aylak Adam* displays traces of a

psychoanalytic problematic, which is observed by Belge and Turan. The author of that novel is known to have interested in psychoanalysis at that period.

3.3. Later Maids and Masters

Bakhtin attributes the notion of 'idyll' to the literary servant in the modern novel. This is a figure carrying idyllic, traditional, rural values to the non-humanized, modern, capitalist urban life; this is the 'man of people' having generally idyllic descent. From Dickens to Pushkin, from Maupassant to Proust, he finds examples of idyllic servant figures that are "the bearers of the wisdom of the common folk and of their idyllic locale." In these examples, the figure of servant is a "man of people" holding "the correct attitude toward life and death, an attitude lost by the ruling classes" (Bakhtin, 1981:235). This is another continuity in the representations of the servant figure, across societies and history.

There might be sociological facts lying behind this idyllic connection, in the Turkish context as well²⁰. In Turkish novel, generally we do not have much information about the background of the servant, but we get some clues about a rural origin in some examples. On the other hand, we find this figure wearing the dresses given by her master, acting with good manners and speaking a good İstanbul Turkish, with a polite, obedient language. In other words, her idyllic past is generally not recognized.

However, in *Gurbet Kuşları* (Kemal, 1995)²¹ there exists among several other Anatolian origin types, two figures accommodating idyllic aspects on them; Memed, the new

²⁰ In a recent sociological study on daily domestic women, by Sibel Kalaycıoğlu and Helga Rittersberger-Tılıç, 91.3% of the sample of 151 women working in Ankara, have a rural origin. Although we do not have other sociological and historical studies on servants covering our recent past, this high percentage of rural origin of servants might give an idea on this matter (Kalaycıoğlu and Tılıç, 2000).

²¹ Orhan Kemal (1914-1970). He was born in Ceyhan. His father was a lawyer, a *Union and Progress* member, a parliamentarian and minister in the first Parliament of the Republic. When he was sent to exile, O.Kemal left school at secondary school, went to Lebanon and Beirut with his father, later worked as a worker in a publishing house, cotton fields and factories, as a small officer. He married a worker girl. He was tried on the accusations of communism and imprisoned for five years. In Bursa prison he met Nazım Hikmet, educated himself, begun to write poems and short stories with his encouragement. After prison, he again worked in temporary jobs, sometimes as a worker. He lost his job when the Democrat Party came to power,

comer to İstanbul to look for a living, a clever, good Anatolian boy and Ayşe, the servant girl of Anatolian origin, working in the big, rich household of the *nouveau riche* Hüseyin Korkmaz, who is also of Anatolian origin. Both figures speak with an Anatolian dialect, which is an aspect put against urban dialect. The contrast in the speeches corresponds to the more general problematic of the novel; immigration from village to the city and urban versus rural values. The maidservant Ayşe is a servant figure who plays a relatively big and important part; who invades several pages of the novel, who enters into dialogue with her masters as well as with several other types, who has a destiny of her own, in Turkish novel. *Gurbet Kuşları* can be read with the Bakhtinian approach that relates the idyll with the servant figure.

3.3.1. Köyden İndim Şehire: Maid and Master in *Gurbet Kuşları*

Gurbet Kuşları is the story of the immigration of a clever, laborious, honorable Anatolian boy Memed to İstanbul, in search of finding a job, establishing a life and taking rest of his family from the village. He does several construction works, meantime learning reading and writing, he raises consciousness; he meets Ayşe, the maidservant working and lodging in the house of the old middleman-new contractor Hüseyin Korkmaz, at the same time the boss of Mehmet's co-villager Gafur, who is also living in that house. Beside several negative types such as Neriman, the mistress, the degenerate bourgeois woman who can do anything for money; Gafur, their helper in the vegetable and fruit trade, the bad, jealous, honorless, intrepid Anatolian; Hüseyin Korkmaz, the henpecked husband, the *nouveau riche* of rural origin who can not learn the new manners, life style of the bourgeoisie; Yusuf, Memed's father who also comes to İstanbul, settles in the Korkmaz household, the intrepid, ignorant and obstinate, a villager without principle; Memed and Ayşe, and Hatça Abla and her family of whom

and moved to İstanbul to make his living as a writer. He was detained and accused for communist propaganda twice more (Kudret, 1987). He wrote 27 novels, several short stories and film scripts. He published his works in *Varlık*, *Yedigün* and *Yeni Edebiyat*. He is described as a socialist realist writer. He defines his work as not aiming at putting a mirror into social reality but at writing what can possibly take place in real life (quoted in Altınkaynak, 2000:34). He says that he wrote his real observations, people he knew, people who were exploited, suppressed, subject to inequalities and injustices of the order (ibid., p.30).

Ayşe takes as example make the positive types of the novel. Kemal gives his messages through their voices and life courses. In that sense, the figure of Ayşe as a maidservant stands at a different position compared other maidservants of the Turkish novel.

Ayşe is an orphan who came to İstanbul from Anatolia. “With her very big hands, very big foot, round, chubby face, she resembles to a man more than a woman,”(p.111) she has thick black eyebrows; her very big hands and very thick black eyebrows are repeated several times in the novel to emphasize her masculinity and laboriousness: She is a very simple, ignorant and chaste woman, doing her job very well, serving and obeying without commenting much on events aloud -but she does in her inner thoughts- on the other hand, continuously making plans of one day finding a husband, settling down in the shanty town where her ideal example Hatça Abla lives with her family and living a honorable life. An honorable life means not serving the rich but her husband and children. She, together with Memed, represents the “correct attitude toward life” against the “wrong” position of their masters in life, in the opinion of the author.

In one of her daydreams, O.Kemal speaks through her voice:

Zeytinburnu, crowds from those shanty houses... The arrival of the train, screaming away, full of people, even hanging from the steps. Men turning back home, with bread, fruits and vegetables or with some packages in their hands. One of those men would be her man... He would come home with loaves of bread, a bag full of vegetables...he would be tired after his day of work. Her children, one daughter, one son... They would welcome their father, and she would run and get some water and a bawl; take his shoes off. Huge feet, sweaty... it would not matter if they smelled bad. She would wash them in cold water, hold them, caress them, may be even kiss them... (p.114)

In this daydream of Ayşe, as well as several others, we see the suggestion of the writer of how would be a honorable life for a maidservant. Throughout the novel his discourse on work, working man, shanty town life is high, from time to time quite enthusiastic and romantic; however, regarding his discourse on Ayşe and other maidservants working at neighboring rich houses, and finally Ümmü, Memed’s sister who immigrate to İstanbul, settles down in Korkmaz household and replaces Ayşe’s post, we read the ideology of the author; he excludes the maidservants from the working classes. All these

maidservants of the novel, including the most positive one, Ayşe, are represented as private servants to the bourgeoisie, an instrument of their luxury and degeneration, generally an instrument of their sexual desires (except for Ayşe), as imitators of their manners, speeches, longing for a similar bourgeois life, in short as an extension or supplement to the bourgeoisie. In other words, they are far from a working class consciousness, as Memed or his mate in construction work Kastamonulu or Hatça Abla's husband.

In the exclusion of the maidservants from the working classes, in describing them more with their sexualities -with excessive sexualities or with lack of it-, it is apparent once more that in the male discourse, gender hierarchy comes before class hierarchy. In other words, in the male representation of the literary maidservant, who is the intersection of these two hierarchies, more specifically in her relationship to his master, to other working class members, and finally to her lover, gender hierarchy becomes dominant. This argument becomes clearer in the destiny of Ayşe, as well as the destinies of other maidservants of the novel. Ayşe becomes an 'honorable' servant, in other words wife of a worker, whereas Ümmü, replacing her place, losing her chastity, rural values, becomes rich men's private servant (including sexual services), just as Pervin, the coquettish maitress-servant of the neighboring house, or Greek servant Mari, but all remain somebody's servants.

The maid and master relationship in GK is quite different from its similar examples in Western and Turkish literatures. This relationship, especially in the absence of the mistress of the house, signifies a return to old, good, pastoral days, as well as a relief from boring, incongruous new modern western imitation customs for the master; and also a relief for the maid, as well as moments in which class and urban/rural distinction and hierarchy lowers down. During these scenes of the novel Ayşe becomes the 'baci' (an Anatolian word for sister) of Hüseyin Korkmaz and serves him under a kin relationship, although for a limited time. But again the gender hierarchy and servant/served relationship coming from gender relations is at stake. In other words,

those are moments in which gender relations pass in front of class relations, in the figure of maidservant.

We have such a scene, when Hüseyin turns back from Ankara alone, leaving his wife there to follow a business. Ayşe and he, have one week of freedom and relief at the house in the absence of the mistress. As soon as he enters, Ayşe welcomes him at the door in a very friendly and intimate manner. Her speech turns to the Anatolian dialect (her dialect vary throughout the novel depending on with whom she talks); which also passes to Hüseyin. He is happy when talking in this dialect, a thing that makes him remember his idyllic past. Also Ayşe calls him with you-second singular, instead of plural, as she does in the presence of the mistress:

- I sent the wife, did I do well, no?
- Aboo. What are you saying?
- Didn't you like it?
- How could I like that? (p.154)

The first thing he wants is what he misses most; *bulgur* rice, onion and pickle, a typical poor man's menu. He wears his long white night dress (a traditional dress worn by villagers while sleeping) and lays a tablecloth on the floor, to eat seated on the floor, like villagers do. Those are all forbidden in the existence of the mistress. Hüseyin makes Ayşe sit with him at the table and eat together; he himself arranges the table and serves the food to the plates. In other words, both seated on the floor, as around a traditional village table, dine and talk together in a scene in which all hierarchies are minimized.

It is a garrulous and indiscreet, long dialogue between the master and maid. Ayşe gives several gossips from neighbor's affairs, from the servant's world, feeling free in using a low, slang language as well as 'answering back' to her master, which is not possible at other times. And Hüseyin provokes her to make fun. Later in the dialogue, Ayşe gets even more angry and provoked, in the matter of gossips about herself with Gafur:

- Nothing, he said. I thought of that Gafur.
 - What about Gafur?
 - Why don't you like him?
- She replied, as if he had sworn at her chastity:
- Why don't I like? Why should I like?
 - He is just right for you!

She threw the spoon:

- Don't make me say bad things...
- What, girl?
- What about Gafur is right for me?
- Every thing.
- It's none of your business. If you are the master, know your masterhood! (p.164)²²

The master does not feel humiliated but on the contrary feels relaxed, happy with, makes fun of this impertinent speech of his maid. And the figure of Ayşe is the carrier of pure idyllic values such as chastity, honesty, open-wordiness, around a friendly and relaxed dinner table, in contrast to the degenerate, non-moral, inhuman world of his wife, which represents the modern, capitalist, urban life as well as the bourgeois values in the imagination of the author.

On the other hand the maid/mistress dialogue is minimum in the novel and marks a very strict hierarchy, which is purposefully constructed and jealously defended by the mistress; in this hierarchy the class relations as well as urban/rural relations are more on the foreground. Very brief dialogues are generally cut by the mistress' sudden change of mood, sudden anger and with a brief order. The impertinence is not tolerated much between the maid and mistress, but the maid still makes cheeky comments from time to time (See Chapter 4).

²² Orhan Kemal was called, by some critics, the "master of dialogue" of the Turkish novel, whereas some criticized him for being vulgar in his usage of various dialects. He explains his approach to the dialogues in novel as he was against "the one, the same high level language of the author speaking all characters," but favoring "to leave the characters alone between themselves within the dialectic of their speeches," by taking himself outside, leaving the characters and readers alone (quoted in Altinkaynak, 2000:32-33). However dialogues of the novel, should not be confused with Bakhtinian dialogism, nor "mastering the dialogues" with "orchestration of other's voices." It is a possibility that the authoritarian voice suppresses other's voices in a well written novelistic dialogue, but also dialogization of a novelistic monologue. Bakhtin foresees an amount of distance between the author and characters -not necessarily all equal. In Orhan Kemal, in spite of the variety of speeches and dialects he uses in his dialogues, we find his characters speaking to serve his aims (representing a particular class and ideology), but lacking the necessary distance that Bakhtin talks about. On the other hand, at least in his intentions, the dialogue can be said to get close to Bakhtinian dialogism.

3.3.2 A Pearl: Maid and Master in *Aksaray'dan bir Perihan*

Aksaray'dan bir Perihan (Derviş, 1997)²³ is the story of three characters, Nuri, the grand son of an upper class Ottoman family, Perihan, a lower class woman who wants to rise socially and Gültür, the *ex-halayık* of Nuri's family, a peasant woman. The main problematic of the novel is the class distinctions among those three, each representing a different class position.

The Caucasian *halayık* -later nanny- Gültür in the novel is a version of the pearl that Yates analyses in nineteenth century realist French novel, in the Turkish novel. She is the faithful, obedient, but proud, self-giving (more than a servant, but like a mother) servant of Nuri's family from its old mansion days that Nuri nostalgically remembers. In the eyes of Nuri she is as a member of the old family (which is now totally dissolved under the conditions of the modern times), with "her beautiful yellow eyes, looking faithfully," even after so many years of separation from that family. When she is refused entry into Nuri's house, she feels "like a dog kicked off" (p.63). Metaphor of dog, which signifies faithfulness, among other animalistic metaphors used to describe the servants, is a typical one that appears in most of the servant figure.

Gültür is a central character in the novel, and perhaps different from so many other maidservant figures in literature, she is given a subjectivity, a life of her own, full of

²³ Suat Derviş (1905-1972). His father was a professor at the Faculty of Medicine. She received a private education, learned French and German, went to Berlin University Conservatory and Faculty of Literature, but returned without graduating. Until her journey to Germany she had published 10 books, the first one at the age of 16. After Germany she worked as a journalist in *Son Posta, Cumhuriyet, Tan, Haber* and *Son Telgraf*, and published her novels in serial format. She wrote popular novel and became a pioneer in the socialist realism in Turkish novel. She went to Russia as a reporter. She founded *Yeni Edebiyat* and opened the magazine to new coming socialist writers such as Orhan Kemal, H.I.Dinamo, A.Kadir, M.Seyda and I.Tarus. She was put on trial, within the Turkish Communist Party trial, due to her book *Niçin Sovyet Rusya'ya Hayranım?*, and sentenced to 8 months in prison. She lived in exile in Sweden and France for 10 years during the Democrat Party regime, between 1953-63 and kept on writing articles and novels, including *Aksaray'dan Bir Perihan*. She was one of the founders of the Revolutionary Women's Union in 1970. She defines herself as a realist writer. She stated that she did not intend to reflect the reality as it is but tried to show it with all its dimensions and reasons lying behind. She said that her characters were not real persons but a composition of various real persons that she used as a material (quoted in YKY, 2001: 748).

struggles, wars, pains. She is hard working and modest. She was an orphan child when she was taken from her village and sold to a rich mansion as a halayık (woman slave, cariye) in the last years of the Ottoman Empire. Although she learns obeying, she never loses her pride, never feels like a servant. In her second place she finds a more friendly and familial environment, where she receives an education from her mistress Canan Hanım and private teachers, in turn she gives her love and affection to Canan's little daughter Pakize to whom she serves as a nurse. And thirdly she moves to Canan's elder daughter's mansion, where she works as Pakize's nurse for long years. Before the lift of slavery, Nadide grants all *halayıks*, including Gülder, their liberty. None of them wants to leave. But later with *Kanun-i Esasi* and lift of slavery, Gülder's uncle comes to take her back to their village. Gülder turns back to her village and passes the second part of her life there; she falls in love, marries, has six children, loses all of them, survives consecutive wars, works on the land together with her husband, struggles, suffers. And in the final years of her life, when she stays alone after the death of her husband, she wants to turn back to Pakize, whom she considers her family, her home. But Pakize has committed suicide.

Then Gülder tries her second door, Nuri, Nadide's son. But she is refused entry to that house, thanks to Nuri's wife Perihan. Coming from Aksaray, a low class quarter of İstanbul, she has planned and realized all her life to rise to an upper class by marrying Nuri. She gradually invades old life style, all values, all spheres of his husband -a character carrying traces of decaying Ottoman upper class, who is in-between old upper class and new middle class values and styles.

Gülder and Perihan stand against each other, in the novel, to represent old and new, rural and urban, paternalistic and capitalistic. Whereas Nuri stands between them, in a confused and ambiguous mood, but also melancholically, between a nostalgia and feeling of losing his innocence, and accepting unwantingly, new materialistic, decadent values. This triangle makes the main problematic of the novel, and Gülder stands at a privileged point.

But what makes Gülder similar to her other colleagues in literature, is her functionality of describing her masters' lives, being used as a sign of being from upper class, a nostalgia for the 'good, old' days with all its wealth, comfort, gentility, decency, privileges, when good, faithful, pearl-like servants constituted a part of it. These aspects are given in the relationship between Nuri and Gülder (and partly between Pakize and Gülder as well).

On the other hand what makes Gülder different, what gives her a flesh far from the pearl-like servant stereotypes, is a subjectivity, a destiny, a life dedicated to work (not only as a servant but later in the second stage of her life as a land worker) and struggle to survive, given to her by the author. She is drawn as a positive character, as the representative of an alternative life, against the decaying Ottoman upper class values and rising, material, immoral, already decadent middle class values. The ideological position of the author seems to be effective in this rather interesting and different servant figure.

The author's discourse becomes time to time quite harsh against Ottoman upper class values (Nuri) and middle class morality (Perihan). This tone increases at Nuri's Sunday morning breakfast scene. Being a middle rank civil official Nuri had accepted to take a bribe and had been involved in a black market, with the pressure of his wife. Then number of those little illegal businesses gradually increases, to satisfy Perihan's ambition to buy new furniture, a fur, and finally a house. Nuri, totally losing the control of his life, gives himself up to her wife's avarice. But from time to time he feels a kind of remorse and interrogates himself. That morning, after a black market deal of medical drugs, his wife tells the story of the family drama of their daily domestic, in a complaining tone (she thinks it's all lie, an excuse to escape from work). She has not come to work because of her husband's illness (they can not find and buy the necessary drug, due to the black market). This situation pushes Nuri to inner thoughts. He begins with a praise of laziness, of doing nothing, of not being involved in the materiality and dirt of the outside world; this dirt includes the physical dirt coming from the very busy buses he takes to work, as well as the dirty -illegal- work he had to involve in to gain a bit more money. Then the tone of the author gets crueler against Nuri, through his inner voice:

He remembered his ancestors who had such a comfortable life... What a nice thing, not to be obliged to do anything. Lying in bed and dreaming; creating an imaginary world and repelling sad and embarrassing realities from that world, how lovely would it be. He said to himself, "At the times of my grand fathers, it was easy to appear honest, kind and exalted, for a person like me who is one of them!... Then I wouldn't have to argue with Hale and Perihan on intrigues for drug smuggling from the Customs, and then I wouldn't have to feel remorse, or guilty, shameless and disgraced when I heard a story, or perhaps a servant intrigue, and lose my peace of mind. If you have money, if your parents have left you enough money, if your peasants work in your fields like animals, you would never have to do degrading things (p.132)

The story of the daily domestic -that both Perihan, then Nuri tend to interpret as a "servant intrigue"- makes Nuri interrogate himself, his life and past. That servant story makes him uneasy; all he wants is to live in peace, which perhaps he will never able to reach. He was already ready to legitimize his crime -bribery, blackmail- for the sake of his peace; but the specter of the servant impedes him to do so.

On the other hand, the author has a lyric discourse in pages accounting Gülder's story, who represents the labor. At one point this turns out to be the expression of the author's socialist utopia. Gülder's pastoral life -seasons, landscape, garden, work, solidarity among peasants, her last days- is accounted for pages and pages. In the last years of her life, after having lost every body in her life, she still works hard. But she is desperately lonely. In an inner thought of Gülder we hear the author's utopia:

In the past, didn't Gülder and Hurşit Ağa do like the others? Didn't they sometimes dig a ditch to draw its borders, when they bought a land, even before thinking of planting? Hadn't they put up the fence when they bought a land, before even building the house? Now, finally she is here alone, in her house whose garden is enclosed with a fence. That fence separated her from other people, left her all alone.

Were people mad? Why were they dividing the land, why did each of them want to get the best part! The land was large, fertile and generous. What would it bestow on the people only if they could work on it together, combining their knowledge and love. And as a result, no one would be left alone in their old age! (p.139-140)

Perhaps, for the first time in Turkish novel, the servant becomes the voice of praise to labor, a representative of a socialist utopia.

3.3.3. Killing the Master

Asılacak Kadın (Kür, 1994) that was written between 1976-78 is said to be based on a real event that occurred in 1964²⁴. Pınar Kür says that she was highly affected when she heard it and saw the picture of the hanged woman. She dedicated the novel “to the ones who have the profession of being suppressed.”

The novel consists of three parts giving three points of view -that of the judge Faik, of the maidservant Melek and of gardener’s son Yalçın- on the murder at a Bosphorus mansion. Melek is sentenced to the death penalty on the charges of murder, whereas Yalçın to life imprisonment on the accusations of helping Melek. The main problematic of the novel is a social critique to injustices and inequalities in society that took flesh in the figure of maidservant, due to her rural background, class position and gender. Each part was written with a different technique and discourse.

Faik’s part is written with the technique of stream of consciousness. The narration travels in the consciousness of Faik going to various moments of his past, coming to the scene of trial again and again, in hero’s feelings, thoughts, images and others recalled by those thoughts and images, all flowing very fast. This flow turns around a fixation, i.e.

²⁴ Pınar Kür (1943-). She was born in Bursa. Her father was a pedagogue and writer, her mother, a mathematics teacher. She went to high school in Newyork, graduated from Robert College and got a PhD. at Sorbonne University on theater. She worked as a dramatist, translator and instructor at İstanbul University and now Bilgi University. She wrote plays, short stories and novels, published her writings in *Yazko Edebiyat*, *Varlık*, *Milliyet Sanat* and *Gösteri*. She tried several modern techniques in her first novel such as stream of consciousness in *Asılacak Kadın*. Her five novels, including *Asılacak Kadın*, were tried and confiscated on the accusations of obscenity, all acquitted. That novel was filmed by Başar Sabuncu on 1986. The film was censored and caused big debates, just like the novel (YKY). In her defense at the trial, refusing the charges of obscenity, she said that the novel was a moralist one defending the position of a poor, oppressed, desperate woman who became the object of a psychopath. She also said that she made a throughout investigation of speeches for Melek character to find out which words were used in the village she came, which words were acquired during her apartment life as a caretaker daughter, which came from the old Ottoman Turkish of the lady she looked after at the mansion, which came from her master’s speech, a mixture of Turkish and French (foreword to *Asılacak Kadın*, pp.131-133).

the scene of trial, but especially Melek's silence and eyes at the moment of death penalty decision. Every paragraph -that is very large, some lasting pages- begins with same words signifying that fixation: "Tık. The pen is broken. She didn't blink. As if she smells my smell too."

The silence of Melek is the main theme of the novel that appears in different faces in other parts as well, even in the part dedicated to her. Her silence is her only weapon against the world in which she is stripped of all rights and control on her life and destiny. This silence triggers much anger and hatred on the part of the judge who thinks that she does it to disturb the trial -the order- as a kind of impertinence, disobedience and revolt. On the other hand, in Melek's part we read that she does not speak just because she thinks that she doesn't have a word to say. And that silence calls the pity and desire of helping and saving Melek on the part of Yalçın whose helps will cause the death of Melek.

Faik is figured as a character full of hatred toward the low class and poverty from which he came and to the upper class he always had a painful relation from his youth to the present day. Melek reminds him of his low and poor life in the past, his mother, his sister, his house, the smell and dirt, servitude and suppression:

Melek... She looks at her hands, so that they'd think her innocent. However, her hands are dirty. Dirty, dirty. Doesn't matter how much she washed them, dirty. Doesn't matter how long they stay in blue water all day long, still dirty. That woman, my mother used to say so. My hands in blue water all day, for you to go to school. Still she was all dirty. Would that blue that whitened the laundry, painted her hands black. Big hands, like a man's hands. Knotty fingers. Chapped. Would the filth fill those slits when she returned home after having cleaned others' houses. She smelled bad. All of us smelled bad... They used to call me uriny, at school (p.12).

He identifies the filth, both physical and moral, directly with Melek, by saying "that girl is the very dirt itself," and that thought comes obsessively to his mind throughout his part. Actually that thought would be the main reason of giving the death penalty, although Melek was innocent and did not have any effect in the course of the events, and in spite of Yalçın's confession of his crime. Faik also associates the moral filth with the

low and poor life in the figures of his mother and sister. He asks himself whether the masters of the houses where her mother worked as a daily worker, had forced her to sexual intercourse, than gives up this idea thinking that “nobody would have sex with such an ugly peasant woman,” but later imagines such scenes with the masters and his mother, “without looking at her ugly face.” Similarly he remembers his sister as a filthy girl and imagines her being cheated and abused by men in the factory where she had begun to work at an early age. He thinks that “workers are people of low morality,” and associates the working of his sister with prostitution. All these thoughts appear as the fantasies of Faik rather than like facts, which seems to be a characteristic of the technique of stream of consciousness. That makes a sharp distinction with the discourse on Yalçın in the third part, which is given with a realist first person narration technique. This is a purposeful selection of the author to tie up the story in a chronological order (that was already told twice, but in a dispersed and nonlinear manner) and to create the character Yalçın as the voice of reason and common sense, let’s say to give the message of the novel.

However, the very same technique creates another effect in its usage in Melek’s part. Here the maidservant, like her predecessors, still does not have her own words -nor fantasies, feelings and thoughts as Faik- but her discourse consists of other’s words: Those other’s words are given with italics (words and point of view of Yalçın, his mother Emsal Kalfa, Hüsrev Bey’s mother), capital letters (her master’s commands in a language mixed with French and Turkish, or the story told in the master’s voice and point of view) and bold letters (witnesses words narrating the story). And the rest of the words written in ‘normal’ characters -being written with a peasant dialect, a simple language, incomplete sentences lacking a coherent reasoning, full of grammatical mistakes- are also contaminated with other’s views, such as “what would think and say Emsal Kalfa,” etc. at several instances of the stream of consciousness. In other words, the consciousness of Melek consists of other’s words and consciousness. Melek is given a space only in the piece of a peasant song that appears time to time in a fragmented manner, as a distant echo from her idyllic past. This song and the images of her grand

father under a solitary tree in a pastoral scene are the only things that belong to Melek, that is her lost innocence. All voices -some high, some low- are in dialogue with each other, and well orchestrated, whereas the author's voice is not heard very highly (though appears time to time in words such as "all the evil of the universe at one side and I, at the other" in Melek's speeches which is too intellectual to be said by an ignorant peasant girl). This passage can be considered as an example to Bakhtinian dialogism.

The maid and master relation in *Asılacak Kadın* begins with ordinary domestic services and turns out to sexual services under an absolute domination and brutality. The maidservant becomes a toy for the sexual fantasies of her master, in a totally obedient manner. The practice of abuse of the maidservant starts with her rape by a man collected by the master from street, and continues for years with the complicity of Yalçın's parents, the gardener and old *kalfa*, living in the garden of the mansion, and of all street and quarter, who remain mute and silent to the master's crime. Hüsrev Bey later marries Melek and continues his practice under the protection of the institute of family. As time passes Melek gradually gives up her domestic duties -a matter of complaint by Emsal Kalfa who is responsible for the mansion- and becomes an absolute object of desire. In that sense, it can be argued that she is an extreme case in the short history of maid and master relation, a site of application of an absolute power on maidservant's body, sexuality and life. While her class position is a concern in the eye of all other characters of the novel -of Faik, Emsal Kalfa and Yalçın (for each, a different concern)- and regarding the thesis of the novel, her relation to her master is absolutely marked with her being an object of desire.

The discourse of Yalçın -that can be summarized with his words "I am only writing what happened, in other words the reality"- the narrative technique used in his part -which is both explanatory and confessional-, the creation of his character, his part in the plot are all interrelated for the main thematic and thesis of the novel; i.e. the silence of Melek (obedience and suppression of the low) and speaking of Yalçın (revolt in the name of the low against the high, the order). However, Yalçın, himself coming from the low on his way to upper classes through education, a high school boy acquiring a leftist

consciousness, undertakes the duty of saving the suppressed which turns out to be the destruction of the suppressed. He is a figure who speaks and acts, for him and in the name of others; but ironically he cannot make his voice heard (he can not convince the trial that he committed the murder). In other words the effort to speak and act for the suppressed remains fruitless (besides; leads to fatal consequences). This main thematic of the novel appears to be the author's criticism of both the unequal social order (in the figure of corrupted Hüsrev Bey, of all quarter in silent complicity with him and of the legal system which is on the side of the masters) and to the leftists of 1970s (in the figure of Yalçın).

Yalçın feels ambiguous feelings to the maidservant, just like Fahri in *Medar-ı Maşiet Motoru*, Mazlum Bey in *Bu Bizim Hayatımız* and C. in *Aylak Adam*. He finds her strange, uncertain and mysterious. He cannot even decide about her beauty:

Was it possible to describe the beauty she had in those weird dresses? Was it beauty or something else, even that I don't know... She was a strange plant that reminded me of sometimes this, sometimes that flower, but in fact, she did not resemble any flower that I knew (p.94).

Melek remains silent against Yalçın, as she does against Hüsrev Bey (she speaks to him only the words he tells him to repeat as part of his fantasy), and against the judge at her trial. Attempts of Yalçın to start a conversation and relation with Melek do not lead anywhere. Yalçın represents young leftists who cannot establish a contact, nor can understand, the low classes that he wants to save from brutality and oppression. This is rather a cliché highly used in so-called 12 March novels to criticize leftists of the period. However, why he cannot understand the maidservant, himself being the son of the servants and developing his class consciousness through his analysis of their relations to their masters, as well as intellectually self-educating himself, remains unexplained in the novel. This open point seems to be an effect of the refraction through the author's ideology.

To summarize the analysis of eleven novels taken to this chapter, it can be concluded that maid and master relation shows a continuity from three early Tanzimat novels to

Asılacak Kadın, in the representation of class and gender hierarchies, in that gender is more the concern compared to class. The *cariye*, different than Western maidservant figures, enters more familial relations in the house as a bride/wife, though her place in the house hierarchy may vary and be blurred at times. That figure gives way to other maidservant figures such as *besleme* and daily domestics in the Republican novel, also giving way to new concerns. An intimate relation can be observed in novels with maid/young master pairs, in which the maid marks the later stages of the young master's life. A psychoanalytic concern appears in a later novel, *Aylak Adam*.

Gender relations in novels taken to this chapter vary according the maidservant's acceptance as a bride, wife, lover, friend and servant status, but in all cases, with few exceptions, the maidservant appears as an object of desire with varying degrees. This status of the maidservant becomes to an extreme in *Asılacak Kadın* where she is an object of sexual fantasies of her master.

CHAPTER 4

MAID AND MISTRESS

Some places you knew you were the maid. Another place you'd go and they were just all right. You didn't think you were a maid, you just lived with them you see.

A Yorkshire servant, 1890s (from Essex Oral History Archive, quoted in Davidoff, 1999:158)

My face grew white on the job, and when I returned to my community, my friends asked me why I was so pale. They said that I looked made up. I had to rub dirt on my face so that I looked browner to them.

Alicia Mamani, a domestic servant from La Paz of 80s (quoted in Gill: 1998, p.119).

... Don't remain an ignorant girl. She used to give me lessons. I'd say a wrong sentence. No, that's wrong. Speak like that. Educate yourself. She used to show me the correct way. Get used to, adapt to the society... How to put forks, knives, she'd teach me. I'd say OK... She'd say come, let's do like this. Learn these, maybe tomorrow you'll have them too. You must learn everything; someday you too will have friends.

A daily domestic worker from Ankara of 90s (quoted in Kalaycıoğlu and Tılıç: 2001, p.107).

As argued before, representations of maid/master and maid/mistress relations should display some differences. It has been observed that the gender dominated relations between maids and masters in eleven novels taken to the previous chapter. Moreover this aspect showed a historical continuity. This chapter will deal with maid and mistress relations in twelve novels –some are the same as in Chapter 3, some not. The analysis in this chapter will also begin with three Tanzimat novels; will cover *Kızılıcak Dalları*, *Gurbet Kuşları* and *Aksaray'dan Bir Perihan*, and additionally *Âkile Hanım Sokağı*, *Saatleri Ayarlama Enstitüsü* and four late novels, *Asılacak Kadın*, *Islak Güneş*, *Kurabiye Saatinde* and *Yengecin Kışkacı*. The argument that class hierarchy becomes more

significant than gender hierarchy in the representation of maid/mistress relationship will be examined.

Another point to be made in this chapter will be about the interplay of paternalistic and class discourses at home. The identity of the mistress of the old mansion as an employer comes before the womanly relationships -thought as being paternalistic- among all women living in the mansion. Servants are the primary targets of the mistress' exercise of power; and the class hierarchy associated to those relations seems to be more significant compared to gender relations (solidarity, jealousy, hatred, division of labor) and hierarchies among woman (of the same class, as well as of different classes) in the mansion. In the novels accounting old Ottoman mansion life, one can observe formation of class hierarchies operating behind a paternalistic discourse. In other words "every one should know his/her place, class" lying behind the discourse of "our servants are members of our extended family"; this is the tension between "a servant is after all a servant" and "the veteran *kalfa* is like a mother, the nurse is like a mother or sister." In this chapter this tension, together with other possible relations generated by this tension, complaints, tactics, strategies, counter-tactics, will be investigated.

A possible interpretation for this paternalistic discourse would be necessities arising from the fact that masters and servants were sharing the same house, and involving in close contacts. The idea of sharing the house with a foreigner could be softened with such a discourse. Another function of that discourse would be hegemonic, at one side making the servant work more devotedly, thus efficiently, at the other, getting rid of possible dangers from the servant. However with the passage to apartment life, the practice of keeping numerous servants with a high specialization and division of labor and sharing the house with them, gave way to hiring one daily domestic who generally performs all tasks. Such a paternalistic discourse would still have a function of an employer strategy to make the servant work efficiently¹.

¹ S.Kalaycıoğlu and H.Tılıç, in their study on daily domestics in the 1990s in Ankara, depart from the hypothesis that the maid and mistress relation would display paternalistic lines, due to the nature of the work, being at home, involving face to face relations. Another hypothesis of

With the dissolution of the Ottoman mansion and the rise of new life styles in apartments or in new, rich houses (or remnants of old mansions), the representation of the maid/mistress relationship in novels is also expected to change. In fact, in the novels problematicizing this transformation, servants are almost always used to narrate this very transformation; some, as a mere literary instrument, as part of the decoration and atmosphere of the old and new house or as an extension to the lives of the masters; but some, by giving a subjectivity. It will also be investigated how the above mentioned tension between class and gender hierarchies is transformed.

4.1. Maid and Mistress Pairs

This subsection will investigate the appearances of paternalistic and class discourses in maid and mistress pairs in novels of a time span of 125 years, from three Tanzimat novels to three latest novels taken to this study. The interplay between these two discourses in novel is expected to change from *cariye* in three early novels, to the *besleme* in *Kızılıcak Dallar* (Güntekin, 19th Edition), and to daily domestic women in novels of 1950s, and of 1980s.

4.1.1 Maids and Mistresses in Three Tanzimat Novels: *Cariye* and the Mother

As I discussed in some detail in the previous chapter, the figure of *cariye* plays an important and central role in the Tanzimat novel, although represented as being a

their study is a possible expectation of “false kinship” by the domestic, again due to a similar reason (Kalaycıoğlu and Tılıç, 2000:102-103). 132 domestics out of 151 told that they wanted to be treated as a member of the family, but this demand is related to their want of “working in a cordial environment,” of “feeling the place as their homes,” and of “being treated like a human, not being insulted.” The authors comment that these demands would be a mechanism to lighten the burden of the job that is found, by most of the women “insulting.” In other words, the notion of “false kinship” and work conditions are interrelated. And when the statements of older domestics are examined, it is observed that the material part of the job -a high wage and social security- gets more important (ibid.110-111). And on the part of the employers, such a feeling of “false kinship” would provide a long lasting, stable relation with the domestic that would in turn would provide “good and clean” performance of the job. The authors come to the conclusion that the domestics, “while being in the waged labor which is the main kind of relation of modernity, they also involve in traditionality to the extend that they realize their relations to their masters within paternalistic lines, in terms of false kinship, and notion of generous patron/faithful subject (ibid. p.155). Although this study refers to the 1990s, those ideas would throw light in the analysis of maid and mistress relations in this study.

passive, silent victim. I analyzed three Tanzimat novels, i.e. *İntibah* (Namık Kemal, 1984), *Felâatun Bey'le Râkım Efendi* (Ahmet Mithat Efendi, 1997) and *Sergüzeşt* (Samipaşazâde Sezâi, 1997)², using the triangle of young master (son) - *cariye* - mistress (mother) which was a common element in all three novels, as a base of comparison. Regarding the maid and mistress relationship, the motherly role of the mistress adds a different concern to the picture, a different aspect that blurs the gender and class hierarchies in the house. The mother figure in three novels acting for the good of her son establishes a different relationship with the maid *cariye* compared to several other future novels. In those relationships gender hierarchy plays an important role but the tension between the discourse of “being a member of the family” and “just a servant” makes itself felt as well at some instances of the novels. As argued before, the status of the *cariye* varies in the house hierarchy depending on with which intention she is bought and on the course of the events. And more than the *cariye* herself, the elder mistress of the house -though herself is in general a passive, silent and impotent figure- has the control on her place in the hierarchy. But, it was also argued that the passivity of the *cariye* and the values she is used to represent -such as freedom, ideal spiritual love in contrast to material love- as well as her impotently effecting the course of the events display an interesting contradictory picture. We have seen that Dilaşub of *İntibah* was bought by Ali's mother to save his son from the *femme fatale* Mahpeyker and to make a traditional marriage arrangement; whereas Râkım Efendi buys Canan as a comrade and helper to Fedayi (the old maidservant figure replacing Râkım's real mother), but both of them think her as a bride; and finally Dilber of *Sergüzeşt* is bought as a plain maidservant, but after the love affair between her and the young master, the mother sells her to avoid this marriage. So in all three novels the status of the *cariye* as bride is central, be it favored or objected. But on the other hand, it is possible for a *cariye* to lose her status as a bride and fall to lower servitude duties, or just to be sold to another master (the cases of Dilber and Dilaşub). Falling to lower service jobs would mean joining the

² References to the novels analyzed will be given to the editions mentioned in the Reference section. A full reference will be given once in a chapter, only after the first mention of the novel, and later references will only be given with page number.

larger servant staff of the house; this also means a slide to the discourse of 'plain maidservant'. Whereas actually being a bride to the son (as in the case of Râkım Efendi and in some parts of *İntibah*) would mean to hang around more in the realm of "a part of the family" discourse. In this second case, still a kind of servitude is the matter, but those are more private, finer wifely services to the husband. Let me repeat that maid as the bride and mistress as the mother-in-love pair introduces some complexities to the maid/mistress relationship, regarding gender and class hierarchies. In some later novels, I will try to show that those two realms will appear somehow more clearly distinguished, and the class distinctions come to forefront.

4.1.2. Maid and Mistress in *Kızılık Dalları*: A Daughter, Sister and/or Servant?

Kızılık Dalları begins with the arrival of Gülsüm, an orphan girl of nine years old, to the mansion of Nadide Hanım. Having been separated from her brother İsmail, and earlier life of wandering and vagabonding with her grandfather and brother, her first reaction is the great trauma of losing her relatives, as well as her freedom. She is now closed in a mansion, to her new life as a servant. From the first day Nadide Hanım, the elder mistress, the real boss of the mansion, welcomes her with a maternal discourse; she introduces the grand son to her as her brother. She tells her that she would be his sister and nurse, as well as the daughter of the house (Güntekin, 19th edition:26).

She is introduced and prepared to the mansion in a rather ritualistic way. She is forced to sit down in front of old maidservant Nevnihal Kalfa to be examined for lice and nits "as a formality of the mansion for years applied to all *halayık* and adopted orphans who first come from their villages" (p.27). Then her long hair is cut and she is washed with boiled water. Finally she is made to dress with old clothes of Seniye Hanım, one of the young mistresses; old underwear, and old red dress and "a white apron that will function as an uniform to the "girl of the house" to complete her toilet." The narrator takes the words of the elder mistress, saying Gülsüm's being the girl of the house and repeats it inside quotation marks, to make an irony. This irony is the first instance of the tension Gülsüm provoked in the mansion; her being introduced as a member of the family, and being made to dress her servant's uniform.

During the course of first months Gülsüm gradually learns the system of the mansion. However, at the end of first month, “she could not yet learn how to eat properly, how to say ‘yes mistress’ like a human being.” She was called “the child of the house” but there was a limit of tolerance to her lack of respect. The elder mistress herself works on her education as a servant, always saying “I do not discriminate you from my real children” (p.35). And Gülsüm calls her mother, but until the first beating scene, after which she learns to call her as ‘mistress.’ Nadide Hanım’s tolerance to accept her calling mother is exhausted in the first conflict among children of the mansion and Gülsüm -who had been playing like equals, brothers and sisters until then- and with the first beating, the essential hierarchy, the maid/mistress relationship is established (p.38). The extension of this hierarchy is also established among children. Although they kept playing together, Gülsüm became a servant that can be beaten, harassed and oppressed among children as well. On the other hand, the discourse of the elder mistress about Gülsüm being a member of the family continues throughout the novel, under the sarcastic tone of the narrator.

But this hierarchy between Gülsüm and Nadide Hanım is shaken and turned upside down at some moments of the novel. One site is the battle on the love of Bülent and power on him (See Chapter on Maid and Master); the other is the theater where Gülsüm “takes stage” -the theater the children stage, with Gülsüm having first role (See subsection on Servant Tactics), and finally the ‘real’ theater where Gülsüm acts as a famous canto singer, in the final of the novel. However, throughout the course of their lives in the mansion, this is a capricious relationship, with jealousy, hatred, love, conspiracy, treason and fidelity.

Gülsüm is in the center of all concerns and hypochondria of Nadide Hanım, beside all other servants from cook to chambermaids; delinquency (petty theft to big conspiracies among servants), contamination (of microbes to first Bülent, than to other children, than adults; as well as of bad words, immorality, sexuality to children) (p.125), contamination through gossip and instigation (carrying words among family members, causing disputes among them), seduction (of the grooms as well as male workers, getting pregnant,

causing problems, blaming grooms) and filth “lying behind her pretty and peaceful face,” contradictorily “reflects her inner filth” (p.158).

Gülsüm’s external, material filth that is related to the dirtiest jobs she performs in the mansion is associated with her inner, moral filth (bad intentions, desire of contaminating, stealthiness as well as her sexuality and possible fertility), first by her elder mistress and than young mistresses in the mansion. This is a typical connection mentioned by Yates and Robbins in French and English literatures, as well as by Davidoff and Stallybrass, in their historical and theoretical works on servants that were briefly discussed in Chapter 2. Gülsüm and every thing associated to her -dresses, room, bed, body- is found very dirty. The cleanest dresses turns out to “oily kitchen rags” on Gülsüm in two days. “Even a dog would not sleep in her bed” (p.159). On the other hand, beside all kinds of cleaning works, she is the first servant to be called to do the dirtiest jobs, such as cleaning children’s chamber pots, and ill family members’ clothes; administrating rat traps; following and cleaning cat excrement. Once she is called to take out the watch dropped by a drunken visitor to latrine hole, “as she was the only one who can do that.” All mansion dwellers watch her inserting all of her arm to the hole, her face and body lying on the floor, by shouting and vomiting. Than for days, young mistresses do not want to touch, even come close to her, whereas she makes jokes and fun by embracing them against all their resistance (p.123). As her body and room, the food she eats is dirty too. She eats all the waste, stale food -milk turned sour, cream suberized, jam invaded by ants, etc. (p.124).

4.1.3. Maid and Mistress in *Gurbet Kuşları*: Know who you are!

The maid/mistress dialogue is minimum in *Gurbet Kuşları* (Kemal, 1995) and marks a high hierarchy which is purposefully constructed and jealously defended by the mistress; in this hierarchy the class relations as well as urban/rural relations are at stake. Very brief dialogues are generally cut by the mistress’ sudden change of mood, sudden angers and with a brief order.

- What?
 - Is that true, what I've heard?
- She walked towards the stone stairs, behind her mistress:
- What did you hear?
- The mistress did take offence at that impertinent response, no body knows why, and didn't say, "What is the meaning of this familiarity?" but said:
- What didn't I hear?
 - What?
 - That you love somebody in the construction by the street?
- (then few minutes later)
- Did you hear this from that vile Gafur?
 - Hear what? asked the mistress.
 - What you asked a minute ago.
 - It's none of your business.
- This time she really resented her manner. Was she going to explain to a cheap maidservant?
- Go and get a bottle of rakı from the fridge!... Put cutlets to the grill! (Kemal, 1995:236-237).

Although the impertinence is not much tolerated between the maid and mistress, the maid still talks back from time to time. Ayşe knows very well that her mistress does not like her called with you-second singular; but sometimes, as in this dialogue, she keeps on talking in the same impertinent manner.

The fact that maid/mistress dialogue is minimum in GK marks also a minimum in maid/mistress relationship; this is a relation as little as possible in a house where they live together (Ayşe accommodates in the house). In other words, compared to other maid/mistress pairs in *Âkile Hanım Sokağı* and *Kızılıcak Dallarını*, one can observe a little tension between gender and class hierarchies, and a desire to create class distinctions. Neriman Hanım is very far from having a sense of sharing a common group -being woman- with Ayşe. This may be explained with how the author wishes to represent the bourgeois woman, i.e. his ideological position, but also with the effects of the historico-social determinants in the literary imagination; in other words, transformation of traditional living forms into new ones, changing meaning of having a servant in the house -for instance, whether sharing the house or having a servant in daily basis. New life styles, as well as economical trajectory of the country impose new forms of maid/mistress relations (See Mistress complaints below).

A point made in Chapter 3, regarding the ideological position of the author and the distance between him and his characters would be repeated here. Being called the “master of dialogue” in Turkish novel, he stated that he wanted to leave alone his characters after having creating them, to speak freely, within the natural dialectic of conversation. But in spite of that intention, in *Gurbet Kuşları* he could not escape making them speak himself. In other words, in the speeches and acts of the bourgeois woman, the author’s hatred and taking side can be felt clearly, just as his sympathy, concern, belittlement, in short all his feelings can be felt in other characters’ speeches and acts. In that sense, in the variety of speeches in *Gurbet Kuşları*, the authoritarian voice of the author is there. His attempt of what may be called dialogism in Bakhtinian sense can be said to have failed.

To turn back to the novel once more, there is a different, a more intimate relationship between the maid and master in *Gurbet Kuşları* compared to the one between the maid and mistress (See Chapter on Maid and Master). It was argued in that section that the class hierarchy becomes less sharp in the relationship between Ayşe and Hüseyin Korkmaz, just contrary to the one between Ayşe and Neriman Hanım.

4.1.4. Pearls and Sluts: Servant Figures in *Âkile Hanım Sokağı*

*Âkile Hanım Sokağı*³ (Adivar, 2001) is the story of people in two mansions, one white, the other red, at Âkile Hanım Street on the year of 1955, and some other people having

³ Halide Edip Adivar (1884-1964). She was born in İstanbul. Her father was a high rank official of Abdülhamit II, her mother from an old *ulema* family. She was brought up by her grand mother, went to Üsküdar American College for girls and took private lessons from main intellectuals of the period, on Arabic, Philosophy, Turkish Literature and Mathematics. She began to write in *Tanin*, *Musavver Muhit*, *Şehbal*, *Resimli Kitap*, *Resimli Roman*. She escaped to Egypt then England during the 31 March events. On her return, she worked as a teacher of pedagogy and history in schools for girls. She was influenced by Turkish nationalist and pan-Turkish currents, joined the founders of Turkish Heaths. She went to Ankara during the Independence War and joined the national forces’ brain team. Her relations with Atatürk deteriorated after the war and she was accused of favoring American mandate. Her husband involved in the foundation of Progressive Republican Party. They had to leave the country for 15 years, to live in France, England and America, until the death of Atatürk. She gave courses and conferences at various universities from Columbia to Delhi. On her return she became a professor of English Literature at İstanbul University, later was elected to the parliament from the Democrat Party between 1950-54. She wrote 21 novels, few short stories and essays. She

relationships with them. The author, in her creation of the characters, her discourse on them and in the plot, makes a critique of the Turkish modernization and gives her ideal of modernization through contrasts between the 'wrong' and 'correct' characters and attitudes.

Güzide is "as if a voluntary and close member of the Akyürek family." She is a hardworking self-effacing, devoted, old, unmarried woman, a typical pearl stereotype, as discussed in Chapter 2. Within the familial relationships she has sometimes more power on the minor members of the family and on the daily operation of the house; she has right to scold the minors, and answer back or oppose the masters. "She is so useful and her fidelity is so appreciated that her masters answer her with a mocking tone." She is unattractive as a woman but very compassionate in her services. She has a rural origin. She has hard and rough hands, "as she worked with them all her life. However, the touches of which are not nice, serve you when you are ill with utmost tenderness; while she scolds you, she arranges your pillow with those hard hands and caresses your hair; this is an unexplainable consolation and support to you" (Adivar, 2001:37). The literature on her hands and her consolidating aspects, her talent and power return at several pages⁴. But those hands appear finally in the scene of seduction between master

wrote realist novels under the influence of English writers, a novelty thinking of the main influence of French novelists at her time. Her woman characters were said to be highly autobiographical and composed of various real persons (Kudret, vol.2, 1987: 76-77). She saw the woman as the founder of the family and carrier of the national spirit; she imagined a woman who "combined the modern and traditional, while keeping Islamic values" (quoted in Oktay, 1993: 195). İnci Enginün points to a break in her work after 1946, a sharper and clear opposition to the "values and ideologies of the Turkish Republic" (ibid. p.203).

⁴ H.A.Adivar is said to have been brought up in two mansions, of her grand mother, the traditional Ottoman mansion of a religious woman and of her father, an alafraŋga mansion, both mansions full of servants, *cariyes*, cooks of various nations and ethnicities. İ.Enginün makes an interesting observation that Adivar choose all servants in her early novels as Greek or Armenian, whereas those figures were replaced by peasant Anatolian women migrated to the city, in her novels after 40s (Enginün, 1995:35). Enginün also points that Adivar was influenced much from the stories of her Caucasian servant Fikriyar and of her sister's nanny, a Kurdish woman (ibid. p.37). Herkül Millas notes that out of 28 Greek women in 21 novels and 2 short story collections of Halide Edip Adivar, 18 were "prostitutes or disliking coquettish maidservants," whereas 10 were just mentioned without having been given any characteristics (Millas, 2000:52). Millas also observes a "contradiction" between Adivar's memoirs and novels regarding the representation of the Greek people. He points to the love she felt to her teacher in pre-school, an old Greek woman

and maid, in a different manner. In the letter of confession of Sami Akyürek to his nephew he says, “I was sick drunk that night.. I was crying and moaning the name of Ayşe, Ayşe. Güzide came to my room. I did not let her put her hands on my head. For I could not stand those hard hands. But I could not find peace. Güzide could not success to console me, thus entered into my bed” (p.139). She is in constant rivalry and dispute with her mistress Ayşe.

Güzide’s life follow a similar plot as other pearl stereotypes in Western and Turkish literature; in other words a life dedicated to masters, a sexual relationship with the master, pregnancy, disappearance with the child to solve the giving birth and child bearing problem alone, return to the masters and living a devoted life, stripped of love and femininity, until death (devoted to both to her masters and the illegitimate child, at the same time hiding this secret). In this example, even her death -a suicide- having a sacrificial character, making herself disappear forever, was for the good of her child and happiness and peace of Akyürek family. Her appearance and suicide was not noticed by anybody (except for Sami who reads it in the newspaper), and this lead to the “happy end” of the family story.

Âkile Hanım, who gives her name to the street (and novel), is the pearl of the neighboring red mansion. She is also the lifelong servant of the mansion, who manages and organizes everything in a devoted manner. But she has peculiar characteristics, which are absent in other literary pearls. She is from Rumeli, but speaks a perfect Tanzimat Turkish -though illiterate- due to her past in service to her older master, an Ottoman gentleman, who opened his salon to intellectual gatherings, to poets, ministers, ambassadors, the Union and Progress Party members, during Abdülhamit period and later. Âkile Hanım, though an illiterate servant, is a learned person, a very talented and clever woman. She solves everybody’s problems in the quarter (that’s why she is considered the unofficial *Muhtar* there). She “neither resembles man nor woman” (p.58);

called Eleni. Adivar narrates that woman and the trust and deep love she felt. However, later in 8 novels she gave the name Eleni to the Greek woman character; 5 of them are maidservants or cooks, and 3 of them prostitutes (ibid. pp.243-245).

she easily does “tricky jobs that even man can’t do.” (p.61) She is objective and rational, at the same time never withholds her help from a needy person. With those aspects she is an ideal example suggested by Adivar as an ideal woman, a model of how a ‘honorable’ low class woman should be (there are other models of ideal woman, with similar characteristics, but for upper class woman, in the novel -Nermin and Serin):

We see that in the plot of her life as well; she is married with two children. But later she finds out that her husband has an affair with a working woman in the factory, Kara Gölüm. Adivar puts that woman as a negative example against Âkile Hanım; in contrast to her, she has an excessive sexuality (seducing and making love with working men in the factory) and ambition to gain power, money and class rise. Adivar’s discourse gets quite hostile when talking about that working woman. The hostile tone of the inner monologue of Âkile, just after she finds out the affair, increases:

I definitely did not do that because I was jealous. Would I deign to be jealous of a woman so much lower than I... However, I had to teach her and Fatin a lesson! she was muttering. Âkile Hanım did not know what a turning point was that night in the life of Fatin. For she could not understand the psychological motive that pushed Fatin Varna to that squat and ugly woman (p.78). (p.78)

Adivar creates a prostitute from the working woman; than in a scene in which Âkile Hanım catches them in adultery, gives a long lesson of morality from her mouth. This is only one of the jealousy plots of the novel; in another one Nermin and her husband’s secretary are put in contrast to give a similar message. An elegant, non-working, ideal wife Nermin (having an oppressed sexuality) and sexy, beautiful secretary, a working woman Sevim. Somewhere in the novel Adivar confesses her ideas on this matter:

I don’t know why, an incredible hatred and rage were recently felt in Ankara, not only in women’s but also men’s circles, against working women. Men and women’s hatred were due to different jealousies. Men were perhaps imagining that working women could be reaching a position that could take their livelihood from them. On the other hand, women’s motives were rather sentimental. Perhaps that strange rage against working women, especially against secretaries, was natural (p.34).

Just as the servant, the secretary is also a figure on which there exists a confusion of lower classes with dangerous classes (confusion of service and prostitution, dangers against the established order of the upper class house, coming from a loose, available, sexy woman), in the writer's imagination. There are several examples of secretary-to-become-maitress and rival to the boss' wife and who wants to take her place to rise her class, which is a plot exactly repeated several times with a servant in place of secretary.

The figure Ayşe is created with several aspects of slut stereotype. But using those male stereotypes by a woman writer gives a different meaning to that figure. In addition to that Adivar's discourse on her is interesting; at one side she gives a very colorful description of Ayşe. Her face had

a beauty of an old Greek statue; she had a tiny, marvelous body under her thin, long neck. Her lips, chin, lines of her cheek were as if created by a sculpture artist. However, her face and those marble-like lines were so dull that, though they attract one's attention, this attention would not go deeper and continue. Moreover, ones who look at and sees her, don't even remember the color of her eyes (p.169).

Her beauty and resemblance to a Greek statue are repeated several times, by the third person narrator as well as by the mouth of several characters, Sadi, later Dick Jones and her sister Mary Jones, all at different scenes and contexts. However, interestingly, she can never attract men's attention; her existence in the room, her eavesdropping are ignored; Greek men in Madam Karamanidis' house are not aware of her. Sadi does not 'quite' remember her, although she invaded his thoughts several times; she does not make a 'danger' in the house, as the son or the master's interest would quickly end, as she is an 'easy' woman.

On the other hand, this theme of 'danger' appears in two dialogues between the mistress and her neighbors. Halime Kadın, Ayşe's second mistress, comments on this new servant to her guest who asks whether this beautiful girl is not a danger to her house: "I think of her job... She is a bit sticky, but... Men fall in love with difficult women. Even if they look at such beautiful maids, it's temporary." (p.172) The second dialogue is between Halime Kadın and another neighbor İfakat Hanım. The latter warns the former,

saying that she is a danger for her son as well as for her husband. İfakat Hanım says that she would immediately fire Ayşe. Halime Kadın again defends her son that he would not fall in love with Ayşe. But the neighbor keeps on warning, saying that “one day Ayşe can go to their beds. Even most controlled and rational men, can be seduced for a moment. Furthermore, they can procure a child” (p.207).

To turn back to Adivar, we find out that all her ideal women in the novel are non-working; another common aspect is their uncertain sexuality (neither woman nor man). Deniz Kandiyoti argues, “feminist arguments of Republican period searched the liberation of women as a part of Turkish culture having its root in Central Asia and Islam, rather than searching in the West; in other words there was a tendency to combine nationalistic and Islamic discourses on the imagination of the ‘ideal’ women of the Turkish Republic.”(Kandiyoti, 1996:134). Halide Edip was one of the defenders of such a feminism in Turkey. Kandiyoti also discusses Adivar’s ideal women without sexuality as a “nationalistic reconciliation” in her novels. According to Kandiyoti, “Adivar’s novels are narrations of under what conditions women of Turkish Republic could be accepted to the public sphere, i.e. genderless and stripped of their femininity” (ibid. pp.144-145).

In contrast to those ideal women she places working women -worker Kara Gülsüm, secretary Sevim, servant Ayşe- all with excessive sexuality, wanting to seduce the men around, all with an aim of upward mobility. Those working women, all in service, are rivals to the upper class woman with whom they enter into relationship, as well as threat against their family lives and established order; all of them are represented with male stereotypes on gender differences, but with a preoccupation of shake of established class hierarchies, among women. In other words, in these jealousy plots and servant-secretary-working woman against non-working upper class women pairs, the class concern comes forefront; in other words latter wants to defend her class -sometimes in a quite hostile manner- whereas former is represented as f wanting to cross the class boundaries, to rise into a higher class by using her femininity.

4.1.5. A Pearl in *Saatleri Ayarlama Enstitüsü*

Saatleri Ayarlama Enstitüsü (Tanpınar, 1987)⁵, is a satirical novel making a social and cultural critique of Turkish modernism, “politicians, rootless reforms made from above, bureaucracy and Western style living,” in and around the Institute (Oktay, 1993:1261), that aims at setting all clocks in the country to an absolute time, to avoid losses and dangers that would come from lagging and leading clocks. However, here a side theme of the novel will be the concern, rather than the main themes of the novel, i.e. Turkish modernization and time. The theme of the dissolution of the old Ottoman mansion life into small houses is a widely elaborated one in the novels of the first decades of the republic. In this novel this theme appears in various side stories, for instance, in the story of Abdüsselam Bey, a friend of Hayri’s father, a figure that marks Hayri’s early adulthood and adolescence. This theme appears also in the story of Hayri’s aunt Zarife Hanım. Like Abdüsselam Bey, she is also an old Ottoman upper class woman living alone in a mansion, after loosing her husband. We find her in a kind of friendship with her servant; she is a pearl-like old, faithful maidservant, doing all the domestic work as well as being a companion, caretaker and friend to her mistress.

However this relationship will also be destroyed after the resurrection and radical change of the aunt. The aunt dies and resurrects just before being buried. This event marks a break in her life. Her house, life style changes radically. She renews everything and fires her old servant. She marries; she wears modern dresses, hats; she travels abroad with her husband; she gives gatherings, cocktails in her house. This break and resurrection represents a break from old mansion life to the new bourgeois life and

⁵ Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar (1901-1962). He was born in İstanbul. His father was a *kadı*, from an old Ottoman family. He traveled various places during high school due to the job of his father, went to İstanbul University Faculty of Literature, graduated from Education Department. He worked as a teacher of literature, aesthetics and history of art at various high schools and universities, became a professor of Literature at the I.Ü., elected to the parliament between 1942-46. He published his poems in *Dergah*, *Milli Mecmua*, *Hayat*, *Oluş* and *Görüş*, wrote 5 novels, few short stories, essays and critics on art and literature and a concise Turkish literary history of the 19th century. According to A.Oktay, his work is marked with his conflict between the East and West, the past and future, the traditional and modern, and his attempts to find synthesis between them. He was influenced from Bergsonian philosophy of time, and problematicized that in his novels, -for instance in *Saatleri Ayarlama Enstitüsü*- and his poems (Oktay, 1993).

relations. Although the figure of maidservant appears as a part of the decoration and atmosphere, to describe the life of her mistress, she marks the transformation of old to new, and dissolution of old hierarchies to the new ones. The old maid/mistress relationship in which gender and class issues are intertwined (servant and friend, companion and nurse at once) is reduced in one day to a class relationship; the mistress just fires her maidservant. One cannot fire a friend as if firing a servant. This small section of the novel reflects the author's criticism of the radical break between the traditional and the modern, which is actually the main thematic of the novel.

4.1.6. From Maidservant to Daily Domestic: Three Late Novels

When we come to the recent decades of the Turkish novel, the maidservant figure appears to be pushed more to the periphery of the novel and the maid and mistress relation is reduced to simple service related dialogues. This observation displays a parallelism with the observation of Ömer Türkeş. In his article on the theme of poverty in the Turkish novel, analyzing the representation of poverty and wealth in the novel, he makes an observation that the Turkish novel tends to exclude the poor and poverty more, and prefers to problematicize the rich and wealth towards the end of the 90s. Besides his qualitative analysis, he makes an interesting quantitative observation: Out of 60 novels he read among the ones published in 2000 and out of 50 published until the summer of 2001, less than 10 novels put its main problematic on social differences, economical problems and on poor lives (Türkeş, 2001:159).

On the other hand, the main characteristic of that relation remain similar to its past examples, in other words usage of the maidservant in the description of the mistress' life, prestige and ability to pay. Three late novels, *Islak Güneş* (Kutlu, 1986), *Kurabiye Saatinde* (Emine, 1992) and *Yengecin Kıskaçı* (İlhan, 1998) show similar characteristics regarding the maid and mistress relation.

*Islak Güneş*⁶ tells the stories of a group of women, neighbors living in a moderate quarter of İskenderun at the verge of big social changes of that city with the arrival of the American soldiers in the 1950s. That date and historical event mark an important turning point in the history of the city, but also of the whole country (the city being a model of the country). That event points to the transformation from traditional to the modern in the daily lives of ordinary people. The novel starts with the arrival of the narrator's family to that quarter. Neighboring women visit the new family to meet and offer help. Zehra Hanım is one of the neighbors. When she first appears in their house, from her appearance they think that she was a daily domestic looking for a job:

She'd put a dirty scarf on her head. Like a peasant. Not a single lock of hair is seen. That day, I'd thought she'd have, under her scarf, long tresses. She had worn a half tight, half large skirt of gray apron cloth. She'd put a flowered blouse whose parts on her huge breasts had worn thin; there had been wet stains on her armpits, even at that hour of the morning, in that season (p.11).

But it is the wife's duty to tell her that "they don't have money to hire a domestic help," and to do the cleaning. Later this "being able to hire a domestic help" appears in the novel few times as a sign of prestige among the neighboring women, all drawn as middle class or low middle class housewives. But it is Zehra Hanım -who is the only working woman in the novel- who first hires a domestic woman, which creates a wave of amazement and jealousy among neighboring women. Zehra Hanım -had begun to work in a hospital as a cleaning woman, just after her arrival to the city from village. She raises her economical conditions and social status by learning doing injections at hospital and by later converting that talent to a freelance job, going to houses to do injections. Other women, when they hear that she hired a domestic, "found their husband guilty of that situation and first few days they wore the misfortunate face of a woman

⁶ Ayla Kutlu (1938-). She was born in Antakya. Her father was a teacher. She traveled through Turkey during her primary and secondary education. She graduated from Ankara University Political Sciences Faculty, worked as a civil servant at various posts in the Ministry of Internal Affairs. She published her short stories in *Özgür İnsan*, *Türk Dili*, *Sanat Olayı*, *Gösteri* and *Varlık*. She wrote 9 novels, several short stories and books for children. In her early novels she problematized pre-27 May period, and later leftist movements of the 70s. Five of her novels were filmed. (YKY, 2001:532-533)

who does not have a domestic” (p.141). Zehra Hanım, herself coming from poverty, deprivation and days of ill-treatment, now treats her domestic like a pitiless mistress; she makes her sleep on the floor, in the threshold of her room. When she wakes up at night, she does not restrain passing on her and waking her up. Zehra Hanım harshly rejects her maid’s wish to put her bed somewhere else than the threshold, saying, “You are a maidservant! Know your place!” (p.189). That maid enters the novel in few more lines with a service or while carrying a gossip to other women.

*Kurabiye Saatinde*⁷ narrates social changes of Turkey as represented in the stories of three generations of a rich Jewish family in İstanbul. The servants again enter the novel in few lines. One of the grand sons, Moris, takes an English girl, Nancy, from England to introduce her to his family and to declare their marriage decision, in their summer mansion in Büyükkada. As an old, traditional Jewish family, the idea of marrying a Protestant created an annoyance and anger. But the two maidservants Sabahat and Ayşe, who were “the most curious ones, the proletariat who speaks with their eyes rather than mouth,” in the words of Moris, reacted more than the others. Sabahat says, “you’ll kill granpapa, and I’ll carve your eyes” (p.88). The maid Sabahat’s speech, being a Muslim woman, seems to be contaminated by the Jewish Turkish, which is later ridiculed by Moris while conveying the scene to Nancy.

Stupid! In a house where she can barely make few pences, where she serves all day long, she says granpapa, granmama; she thinks she’s a member of the family; suffering everybody’s problems; losing her sleep... For what, just for being taken seriously, just for not being considered a nobody... How amazing. And those kinds of people are expected to make a revolution (p.89).

Sabahat is figured as an officious maid who feels herself as part of her masters’ family, whereas Ayşe is figured as a “disciplined spy who does not mistake who is the real boss” (p.97). When Nancy has a baby, Ayşe is sent to their apartment twice a week for help but also to carry information to her mistress (Moris’ mother). Contrary to Moris, having a belittling approach to servants (and the proletariat), Nancy has egalitarian ideas

⁷ E.Emine. Her real name is Vivet Kanetti. She published her first novel in 1988. She wrote 4 novels and made several translations. She worked as a columnist in *Yeni Yüzyıl* and *Aktüel*.

on life. She later refuses taking Ayşe as a daily domestic and prefers doing the domestic work herself. However, Ayşe “the proletariat who never forgets her real boss,” keeps performing her spying duties, later telling that some foreign men visit Nancy (p.105). This sarcastic tone given to the word ‘proletariat,’ that is represented by the servants in the novel, appears in the words of Moris, as well as of the narrator:

*Yengelin Kışkacı*⁸ is an intrigue story that takes place among company administrators, people of media and mafia. Two maid figures enter the novel, one is the daily domestic of the public relations director Nuray and the second is the Thai maidservant of the director Yılmaz Şanver and his wife Berna. Tay enters the novel few times just with her hands serving whiskey or dinner, “silently and peacefully like a specter between existence and absence” (p.94). She is so “silent, soft and transparent that one could doubt whether she is alive or a ghost” (p.176). Her being from Thailand is each time mentioned with bold letters; her smile and peace are resembled to Buddha. She is hired for her softness as well as her talent in Chinese and French cuisines, though her wage is quite high. She is in harmony with her mistress Berna who is also a very calm and silent person, and she complements the simple elegance of Berna. On the other hand, the daily domestic of Nuray, Hayriye is “a fleshy ‘peasant’ woman (the word peasant in quotation marks of the narrator), mother of many children, whose numbers no body knows, a dodger, who does not do any work properly but demands an increase of her wage every

⁸ Atilla İlhan (1925-). He was born in Menemen. His father was a high bureaucrat. He was detained on the accusations of communist propaganda in high school, and his education was interrupted for 2 years. He went to İstanbul University Law Faculty, but left after a while. He began to publish his poems in *Yeni Edebiyat*. He started to work as a journalist in *Gerçek*, the newspaper of the Turkish Socialist Party, also wrote cinema and literary critics, and scripts for cinema and TV. He wrote columns in other newspapers such as *Vatan*, *Demokrat İzmir*, *Yeni Ortam*, *Dünya*, *Milliyet*, *Güneş*, *Meydan* and *Cumhuriyet*. He published *Yelken*, *Sanat Olayı* and *Cönk* magazines. He lived in Paris, different times, for short periods. He defended socialist realism in literature. He tried to combine Marxism and Kemalism. He wrote stories of city life, in their political, economic and social conditions; novels problematizing critical political periods of Turkey. He defines his novelistic heroes as follows: “Impressions collected from various persons make a kind of composition in time... those heroes are a compound of a couple of types I knew before; one’s class standing, other’s sexual dialectic, other’s physical aspects, intertwine in that compound and give birth to a personality; but, once this happens, those persons disappear, the newly born character sustains his/her personality and biography” (YKY, 2001:434-436).

three months” (p.147). Nuray is figured as a working woman having a fast day and night life. Her house is very messy and dirty, with huge hills of dishes and laundry. She calls Hayriye as Hayruş and complaints with the words, “What’s her job, she should clean; I pay her a big deal, lazy woman, she lies dawn all day!” Neither maids enter the plot, nor dialogue, nor they perform any other literary duty, but they complement their mistresses’ beauties, lifestyles and elegances.

In those three novels, there is no trace of a gender related hierarchy, nor a mention of a paternalistic approach, nor a feeling of an “false kinship” (except for the case of Sabahat, that only marks the impossibility of a kinship, coming from class differences, but more important than that from religious differences -as Jews are represented as a big extended family bitterly excluding all non-Jews in the novel) within the maid and mistress relation. On the other hand, in pushing servants to the periphery more than older novels, in reducing their dialogue to mere service related short sentences, class distinctions between them and their mistresses are more firmly drown in these novels.

4.2.Imitations

Following subsection will deal with a different face of maid and mistress relations; the phenomenon of imitation of the mistress by the maid. That is observed in three novels out of 18 novels taken to this study. This phenomenon takes the form of taking the mistress as the ideal in *Kızılılık Dalları*, imitation of manners in *Âkile Hanım Sokağı*, and imitation of speeches and borrowing words of the mistress in *Gurbet Kuşları*⁹. At these instances of the novels, the low/high hierarchy is once more established through the imitating/imitated relation. The mistress is represented as the one that is imitated, and the maid as the one imitating. Those instances seem to be the appearances of the mentality of the mistress teaching good manners to her daily domestic, saying, “learn these, one day you will have your own” (Kalaycıoğlu and Tılıç, 2000:107).

⁹ Imitation of masters by servants is also observed by sociologues and historians of domestic work (Coser, 1973:35; Davidoff, 1999:176) and literary scholars (Yates, 1991:137; Robbins, 1986).

4.2.1. Taking the mistress as her ideal

Gülsüm of *Kızılıcak Dallar* takes her young mistress Seniye Hanım as an ideal. This relationship is rather a one sided, passive admiration of the young mistress. When Gülsüm begins to leave childhood, the closest woman who is more likely to be a model to her is Seniye. For Gülsüm, “there was no human being on the world more beautiful, more elegant, knowing, important than Seniye Hanım.” (p.144) Gülsüm adores “her beauty, dresses, songs she plays and sings that she learned from her violin teacher; in short every thing related to her.” But, like several other literary servants imitating their mistresses, Gülsüm does not activate and put her feelings into practice, but remains a passive admirer of her young mistress. She gets more excited with her mistress’ love affairs, marriage plans, even more than Seniye. She dedicates more her services to Seniye (again as a spy, messenger, but also a as mediator and guard when she meets with her lover). Keeping her love affairs secret and sharing them only with Gülsüm in need of her relevant services, Seniye accepts her friendship for a while. “Maid and mistress became almost a friend for a while” (p.144). But this friendship and solidarity is based on the admiration of Gülsüm and Seniye’s using her servitude for her purposes. At times Gülsüm carries her job as a guard and watchman to voyeurism, during the secret meetings of Seniye and her lover. She waits for the boy to kiss Seniye (p.149). This love appears to her a marvelous thing, something like Ferhat and Şirin or Şah İsmail and Gülizar stories.

Although Gülsüm does not directly imitate her young mistresses (nor the old one), once in the novel, she repeats a sentence she learned from Seniye. Gülsüm unbearably misses her real brother İsmail and wants to see him. Sometimes she cries at night, alone, in her room. Once she cries so much that she disturbs people sleeping at night, nobody can make her quiet. Than groom Feridun Bey comes:

“Shut up, girl!” he orders, and when there is no reaction... she shouts even louder: “I said, shut up, or I’ll just kill you now!” But the girl is not scared from his fists; she says with a tone begging for a favor, rather than challenging, “Kill me, I want to die anyway!” Feridun Bey had heard that sentence several times from the mouth of Seniye. That young girl used to say with an

artistic gesture, "I want to die," just after finishing a sad romance or waking up from some romantic daydream. Surely Gülsüm copied that sentence from Seniye Hanım. However, there is a totally different pain in her statement (p.68).

Although this appears to be a mere repetition of a sentence heard from the mistress -who also copied from sad romances-, in the mouth of the maid it appears to be more 'sincere', more 'real'. The words "kill me, I already want to die," seem to express "a different kind of pain" when said by the maid.

4.2.2.Servant Speeches in *Gurbet Kuşları*

The scene between Ayşe and Pervin, the neighboring house's maidservant, is significant in showing them as an extension to the bourgeois life. Although these two maidservants are put in sharp contrast to each other, they have such a common point. Pervin visits her friend Ayşe. She aggressively desires, envies the mistress' life, dresses, bedroom, and belongings. She enters to the intimacy of her bedroom, sits in front of the heart shaped mirror and uses her make-up material, paints her lips in a spoiled and aggressive manner. She envies Ayşe's mistress' various, expensive lipsticks, eyelashes, and perfume and cologne bottles, "like in a Beyoğlu perfumery shop window" (p.117). She would love to possess such a toilet table. Meantime Ayşe prepares a very rich fruit plate, with best of bananas, oranges and apples. Those are the blessings of being a maidservant in a rich house, both fruits, good food and a limited freedom in the house (when the masters are not home), using mistress' make-up material, acting for a while like them. The scene ends up with Ayşe getting angry with Pervin for using her mistress' possessions, and sending her away.

But although Ayşe does not imitate her mistress, like Pervin, she imitates her speech. Her Anatolian dialect sometimes slips to an İstanbul dialect, while talking with Pervin, using words such as 'honey.'

Ayşe also imitates her mistress' manners, for instance in her dialogue with the construction workers nearby. Just as her mistress scolds and corrects all the time her husband for his rustic manners, and peasant accent, Ayşe also scolds Memed when he

come to take water from their garden. She scolds him for not asking permission, and corrects his language and manners:

- I'll fill some water, if you permit me, sister!
- If I let you... you all come and get water as if it was your father's house. You should wait at the door, say I'll fill water with your permission Miss, and then enter, if the permission is given. There are manners. What kind of people you are? I told you thousand times... (p.115)

Also she asks him to call her a 'gentlewoman.' And by saying, "What kind of persons you are?" she excludes herself from and puts herself to a high position compared to construction workers. Later in this scene she gets further angry when Memed wants to open the tap himself, as his hands are very dirty. As if feeling a kind of disgust she herself opens the tap; then sends him by further scolding and giving orders. Throughout this scene Ayşe's discourse and dialect slip into the discourse and dialect of her mistress. But her sense of hygiene, and belittlement of a working class man are quite contradictory to her dreams about having such a husband and washing his dirty and smelly feet every night after work. It is also ironic that this very man, Memed, will later become her husband in the novel. Then several times in the novel Ayşe repeats very proudly that "she is the servant of a very big kiosk," (p.155) expecting a respect from nearby workingmen and shop assistants.

Ayşe also imitates her mistress in some manners, for instance in another scene with Memed; he once again comes to take water to the garden and ask permission from Ayşe. She "does not reply immediately, just as her mistress does several times to her," (p.190) which is a manner used to put a distance between the maid and herself. Ayşe does the same thing to Memed, as a means of flirting with him. Also later when their love affair develops a bit further, Ayşe imitates tactics she saw in a film, while flirting with Memed. One night they meet in the garden; she "left herself to Memed, just as the boy and girl in the movie they went last year with her mistress. She put her head against his young, strong shoulder" (p.228).

Pervin seems to make a sharp contrast with Ayşe, especially in her sexuality and her dreams about the future. Pervin, already the mistress to the master of the house where

she works, wants to convince him to buy -or rent- an apartment, with two rooms, one small hall, in İstanbul for her and giving her a good monthly wage in turn of providing a sexual service. She dreams of an apartment of her own, with a toilet table, lipsticks similar to Ayşe's mistress'.(p.118). On the other hand, Ayşe also dreams about a house of her own, but "a shanty house with two rooms, one sofa, small, but cozy."(p.165) The difference is that Ayşe wants to live an 'honorable' husband-and-wife life, and be only the servant only to her husband and children. But beside the contrasts between two servants, their common point is their exclusion from the working classes, and imitation of and being an extension to bourgeois manners and life.

4.2.3. Imitation of Manners in *Âkile Hanım Sokağı*

Maid servant Ayşe, who doesn't have much effect on the course of events, enters again and again into the masters' dialogue, and imagination, with her sexuality, her acts and aggressive existence disturbing them. This is a young, beautiful servant, a slut, using again Yates' terminology, who stands against all other woman characters, as if put there to show how a bad woman is, as a bad example.

Ayşe first enters the novel in the words of truck drivers waiting in front of the house where she recently works. Drivers introduce us and to Sadri Aslan who is passing there, that girl with their Anatolian dialect and slang words: She is 'cibıl gız' who every night turns on the lights and performs a strip-tease in front of her window. Beside the sticky, importunate interest of those 'men of people' to the sexy maid servant Ayşe, we find the sociological interest of educated, "good İstanbul boy", Sadi Arslan. This interest will quickly pass and this ignorance of Sadi regarding Ayşe will be repeated several times in the novel -almost obsessively-, against the aggressive attempts of Ayşe to attract his attention.

Ayşe is a chameleon-like maid servant who takes the clothes, dialects and manners of her mistresses at every house she works. Her carrier as a maid begins in a Beyoğlu apartment, with a Greek mistress Madam Karamanidis. She works there two years and "shapes her life taking her as a model" (p.161). Ayşe's dialect gradually changes throughout these two years, and lately becomes "a Greek with a Turkish dialect"

(p.163). When she goes to bed at night she practices “the jokes that the Greek guests to that house make among themselves, coquetries and whims of the women guests, as to use in the stage of her future life, herself in the first role.” (p.164) She imitates her Madam, sleeping naked in the night, even in winter cold. She laughs and walks very sexily. In short she adopts the coquettish manners of Greek girls. On the other hand she cannot succeed in attracting the attention of Greek men coming to that house. (p.164). Though more beautiful and younger than her mistress, and all those coquetry, “she did not have a sexual attractiveness, like her mistress has.” (p.166)

In her first days at her new job, she keeps imitating Greek coquetry of her old mistress; she salutes her new mistress Halime Kadın in a house at Âkile Hanım Street (at Laleli quarter, which is typically Muslim) “by sticking her hands to the arms of her new mistress, shaking her buttocks and bowing her head, just as Madam Karamanidis.” (p.171) But she slowly changes her manners and speech according to the necessities of this new house.

After having been fired from this second house -because of her excessively sexual approaches to the son of that house and doing strip-tease for the truck drivers- she comes to the third house, the house of Arslan family. She totally changes her gestures and manners at that house. “She may be now called an ideal maid, with her very tight knot on her back of the neck, her apron in front, wandering around with her stiff body, just as her face” (p.217). She does that to attract Sadi’s attention, to seduce him. But just as the son of the former house, she cannot attract his attention. Although she was famous in that street, as ‘Cıvıl Gız’, and although Sadi makes a long reflection about her and strip-tease (and once sees “that girl of Greek profile” at the street, and slowing down his steps to walk beside her to watch and scrutinize her p.200), he does not ‘quite’ recognize her when he returns from a business trip, after a short while:

It was that new maidservant Ayşe, who is also called Cıvıl Gız (the naked girl), who had opened the door for him. But Sadi did not quite recognize her. First of all that was a past event that lost its significance, and on the other side; Sadi had new occupations and interests; his intellectual and physical exhaustion did not let him remember that girl...

(But later her mother reminds him):

- That American boy popped in at 2... He loved our new maidservant; he was joking with her. I think you forgot her. She opened the door to you a minute ago. The girl has really changed so much...

- That Cibil Gız? It's enough if she pleases you (pp.216-217).

And finally she is hired by the American woman writer who rented a section of the house of Arslan family. This time Ayşe begins to speak a Turkish mixed with English, just as before speaking a Turkish mixed with Greek, calls her masters and mistresses "yes, Madam, yes, Sir." "Mary Jones took the place of her former Greek mistress" (p.257). She wears an open collar, short sleeve, "probably an American-made dress" (p.259).

To sum up the analysis made in this subsection it can be said that this imitation aspect in the representation of the maid and mistress relation marks one more time the low/high hierarchy; the high becomes the imitated one, whereas the low the imitating. Being imitated by the low, the high is once more constructed in the novel. The imitation element serves a similar function as the instrumentality of the servants in the description of the masters, both contributing to that construction.

4.3. Servant Tactics and Mistress Counter-tactics

In this subsection another appearance of maid and mistress relations will be discussed. Those are tense moments in these relations that are given in novels by some servant tactics and mistress counter-tactics. In the three novels taken to this subsection, *Kızılıcak Dalları*, *Âkile Hanım Sokağı* and *Asılacak Kadın*, servant tactics vary from eavesdropping, to impertinent speeches, threatening silences, from conveying a message by other alternative of speeches to passive revenges. Those tactics represent the disturbing effects of the presence of the servant in the house, and fears and dangers associated with them in the imagination of the masters. Mistresses, besides complaining about their servants, also adopt some tactics such as eavesdropping, lying, petty conspiracies and delivering messages by mediated means, to administer the house and servants, and to tackle some tricky situations.

4.3.1. Tactics in *Kızılçık Dalları*: Fairytale and Theater Speeches

There is a more rich repertoire of tactics in *Kızılçık Dalları*, compared to *Âkile Hanım Sokağı*, combined in the figure of Gülsüm. Having been taken to the mansion as an orphan at an early age, those tactics sometimes turns out to be survival strategies. She grows up in this mansion by learning rules -that are generally violent and harsh against her- and adapting herself to situations.

Gülsüm uses “common servant tactics” such as lying, eavesdropping, flattery, impudence, answering back to masters, muteness when necessary, petty theft¹⁰ but also some original ones. To deliver a message of her own, she uses speeches other than ordinary dialogue, such as fairy tales she tells to children and theater they prepare together, where she always takes the first role and works as the director. She has a kind of power on children, especially on Bülent -though the children know very well that she is a servant and treat her like a servant- and she sometimes uses that for her own purposes. One spring, a fairy tale she tells the children is disseminated among children, and a jingle of that tale becomes a fashion, in the mouth of all children, including Bülent. This is the tale of a poor girl who falls in love with a prince. When the king finds out this affair sends the girl to exile and the prince takes a journey to find her. He seeks his lover in the mountains, asking the shepherds:

“Ah shepherd, what did you see in the mountains?”
and they answer,
“I saw a tent,
A girl separated from her beloved,
I saw her weeping and crying” (p.142).

This jingle is found very sympathetic in the mouth of the children, but not too much in the mouth of Gülsüm. On the other hand the elder mistress cannot help feeling uneasy and suspect. She interprets this tale as a reflection of Gülsüm’s dreams and her flourishing femininity and sexuality. She complains that “those outsider children so quickly acquire their femininity, like sheep or goats who get pregnant in the first year they are born.” They try to seduce the men of the house, when they “are sexually excited

¹⁰ B.Robbins discusses such servant tactics in *Impertinence: Servant in Dialogue* (Robbins, 1986:53-91).

like cats at March". Although they are ready to "draw mistresses in the house in a spoonful of water, if they could", they all the time do flattery to the masters, in a kind of expectation (p.141-142). Elder mistress is concerned that this sexuality will contaminate their children; the servants not only teach children bad words, "all kinds of filth" and immoral things, but sometimes "go further" when they find the opportunity.

The second interesting tactic of Gülsüm is her impertinences using theatrical words. The children sometimes put on a play for the members of the house. Gülsüm, always playing the first role, makes the comic element in all these games, by acting as a man (with all comic make-ups, cloths), as a canto singer, and so on. In the theater scene, she acts as İbiş, wearing Lala's waistcoat, turned inside out, his big, oily fez, with a make-up of moustache and eyebrows. "Not being able to imagine a comedy other than swear and filthy words," she begins to act:

When someone said the door was ringing she replied after a while:

- You stupid, imbecile, beasts, how come a huge door would ring?

It wouldn't be proper that a little orphan would say such filthy, impertinent words to the children of the house, even during a game. Once the mistress said from her seat in the audience:

- Shut up you bear... look at that creature, she did not learn any manners (p.144).

Here there is something more than teaching bad words to children and contaminating their speeches with bad words. Here Gülsüm finds an opportunity to say "idiots, fools, animals" to her young masters, who, having learned from their parents, all the time call Gülsüm with such insults, especially animalistic attributes. As mentioned before, using animalistic metaphors, especially dog (for fidelity), bear (for coarseness) and rural animals such as sheep, goat, cow (idyllic connection) is a commonplace in the literary representation of the servants.

And the filthy elements in her speeches increase as the play progress:

After a while Gülsüm exhibited a new impertinence; to İbiş she asked:

- Is the table ready? Is there anything to eat?

The girl, after contemplating for a long time, invented an amazing oddity, in her way and said:

- I cooked a fantastic fly soup and mouse *dolma*.

They had tolerated other impertinent words, but this one? They really could not stand it! A rage spread in the dining room..

Angry young mistresses begun to retch. Seniye Hanım ran away saying,

- Ay my stomach, I'll go vomit now, and she did not come back till the second act (p.114).

In the second parts she sings and dances canto, under sexy dresses and a heavy and very feminine make-up. Every body gets excited and shouts her to dance. On the other hand the elder mistress comes to the end of her toleration; she "can't laugh, but grins very nervously, her hands and feet cold out of hate." Whereas young mistresses can't carry on watching as they disgust her (p.116) Later Gülsüm is made to pay back what she did in theater for her impertinences. Her elder mistress reminds her of her acting, when she makes a mistake while doing housework; she beats her, when she breaks something, with the rhythm of the canto she sang.

Gülsüm is also blamed by her mistresses for using children for her own purposes. For instances, a kind of hatred arose in Bülent against his grand mother Nadide Hanım. Elder mistress comes last in the list of love of the child -a kind of hierarchy in which Gülsüm comes the first, a site where the maid and mistress hierarchy turns upside down (See Chapter 3). At times he expresses this hatred to Nadide Hanım with quite bad and dirty words, which arises a suspect that those are Gülsüm's words in reality:

- And me?... And me?... Don't you love your granma?

But the boy made a face as if in disgust, and replied:

- Granma is shit...Granma is shit... Granma öö... Granma öö...

Old mistress got upset, and the family members were embarrassed. Was there any doubt that wicked Gülsüm had taught that hatred to the boy? Those "granma is shit... granma öö" words caused an embarrassment as well as sorrow, anger and hatred in the old mistress (p.129).

Gülsüm uses her power on the child, coming from servitude to him as a nurse, and her intimacy that is much more than even his real parents, and grand-mother, to deliver her words -her hatred- against her mistress. But she, a bit artificially, but again as an

exercise of her power on the child (and by his mediation on her mistresses), scolds Bülent:

Nobody dared to say a word. At that delicate moment, todless Gülsüm came forward and said, wanting to take advantage of her influence on the child: "What a shame Bülent... Granma is so nice... Say it... Granma is nice, come on, say it!" Being thus defended by Gülsüm hurt the old mistress' pride even more; the poor woman, in rightful rage, scolded the orphan: ...
- Shut up you beggar... Who do you think you are? (p.129).

As time passes, Gülsüm develops some other tactics, which lead to the label of shamelessness and impudence on her. In the big beating scene after the reveal of her petty thefts, she learns to stand firm against the beating, and "looking at the face of her masters without fear or shame" while being beaten (p.61). And later she becomes used to beatings; whenever Nadide Hanım beats her, "she does not escape like before, on the contrary stands right and firm in front of her. Because she understood from her experiences that elder mistress' hand would be hurt as much as possible if she stands firmest possible... like a stone wall" (p.162). Gülsüm's logic becomes the name of the novel: *Kızılıcık Dalları* (branches of cornel tree). She concludes that whatever she does, whatever amount of work she performs, she has received the same amount of 'Kızılıcık Dalları', then why to work hard? (p.163).

A final and perhaps the most striking tactic of Gülsüm is giving her own message while conveying other's messages. Delivering messages is one of the routine works of Gülsüm at the mansion. This is coupled with her other jobs such as spying, carrying gossips, and developing conspiracies with the elder mistress against other servants. But sometimes she uses these jobs for her own purposes. In the final, when she conveys her new mistress' message to her old one -Nadide Hanım- one suspects whether those are her words or her new mistress'. Nadide Hanım and all the rest of the family have been working of a date between Seniye and Murat, who came to the neighboring mansion with his wife having a deadly illness. Gülsüm is transferred to that mansion to look after her. Everybody is looking forward for the death of Gülsüm's new mistress, so that they can marry Seniye with Murat. At her deathbed she says a final wish to be conveyed to Nadide Hanım. Gülsüm enters at late night like a shadow holding a candlestick (a rather

frightening specter) to Nadide Hanım's room, who is deeply suffering from remorse and insomnia. At the end of a brief dialogue she says:

- Mistress, when ill, had said to me: "I know... When I die, they'll marry your young mistress to Murat Bey. If they do so, tell your old mistress, 'I, in my deathbed, have cursed you.'" She said you wouldn't see the good of your children; that they would die one by one before your very eyes.

Old mistress fainted, going down with a wild scream (p.207).

Then all mansion dwellers gather in the room and tease and shout at Gülsüm. When groom Feridun Bey slaps twice violently at her face, Gülsüm, once more stands firm against them and answer:

- My mistress had a last will before she died.. She asked me to say something to the old mistress. I just told her that... If you wish, kill me too (p.208).

By simply conveying the last will, Gülsüm conveys her message; and with the simple word "kill me too", she somehow teaches a moral lesson to her masters, she shows them the shame of waiting for the death of an ill person. Later in the novel we read that the curse becomes true. Nadide Hanım loses most of her children and relatives. While as a family they descend in the ranks of social status, Gülsüm rises, becomes a famous canto singer. In the very final all the rest of the family and Gülsüm encounter at the theater, where old hierarchies are demolished and new ones established for a moment.

4.3.2. Tactics in *Âkile Hanım Sokağı*: Eavesdropping by maid and mistress

Eavesdropping is a commonly used tactic by servants, but also by other women in *Âkile Hanım Sokağı*. For instance, in a scene both the mistress and just after her, Güzide eavesdrop from the door and the scene is interrupted with the interference of Güzide with a service (pp.90-91). In a matter of jealousy, which later converts to a family drama, and in other family matters Güzide, several times uses this tactic to change the direction of the dialogue as well as of the events. Güzide listens to them in front of the door, and interrupts the dispute at a critical point, to console both parties and to give an end to the dispute (p.130). In another scene Güzide again eavesdrops Nermin and her aunt (p.144). By interrupting the dialogue in that scene, Güzide offers a solution to this

problem. The child would be registered to Akyürek family and will never be told that her real mother was a servant. Later Güzide would disappear without any notice and commit suicide. Thus the family drama is solved with a “happy end”.

Servant Ayşe also does eavesdropping several times and sometimes just to get information (p.220), sometimes to interrupt the dialogue, entering the room at a critical moment. For instance, in the scene Sadi Arslan declares his marriage decision to his mother. This happy scene between mother and son is cut by the entry of the servant and her delivery of a message. A very similar scene of happiness between mother and son is repeated when Serin Esen, the woman Sadi Arslan has offered a marriage, accepts the offer (p.259). This scene is also interrupted with the appearance of Ayşe. She is like a shadow, a specter against the happiness of the mother and son.

Other tactics of Güzide in dialogue is to frown, to snob, answer back or cut the dialogue whenever she likes, by not responding (all are tolerated by her masters, coming from her lifelong relationships with them). But this tolerance, this feeling of belonging to that family ends at some points, especially in the relationship between Güzide and her mistress, which is a very tense one. Güzide, “voluntary, faithful, almost a family member” becomes a ‘servant’ in the hostile words of her mistress. In an earlier dispute with her husband she scolds him saying, “It does not suit you secretly sending money to the doctor’s assistant with a servant (Güzide).” Later she gets angrier and says, “I would fire that old woman immediately, if finding a servant would be easy.”(p.54) Later she gets even more hostile insulting her by saying; “even a male-dog would not take her into his bed” (p.144).

4.3.3. Tactics in *Asılacak Kadın*: Returning the filth to the mistress

Relatively innocent servant tactics in *Kızılçık Dalları* and *Âkile Hanım Sokağı* becomes less innocent and more physical in *Asılacak Kadın* (Kür, 1994). Maidservant Melek is taken to Hüsrev Bey’s mansion to look after his old mother. Her duties consist of various domestic jobs and caring tasks such as feeding and cleaning the excrements of the old mistress. The old lady is an obsessive and paranoiac person suspicious of every body around her, but especially of Melek whom she believes, may kill her one day, as

her life was totally given to Melek's hand. She treats her very arrogantly and badly, all the time insulting with words "rude, filthy peasant, etc." Melek, all the time cleaning her mistress' dirtiest parts, is always accused and insulted of being filthy. She obeys in a silent and docile manner, being a weak, young girl who does not have any other alternative in life than serving at that mansion; but on the other hand takes her revenge by giving her food without washing her hands after cleaning her excrement or by whipping her mouth with the piece of cloth she used to clean her excrement. At that moment, the low and high (the excrement goes to the mouth), the weak and powerful (the weakness in the power of the mistress, and the instant power of the maidservant) change place, an instant upside down of maid and mistress hierarchy. However, this does not give a permanent power to the weak, nor a way of developing a consciousness, but remain an instant revenge.

Just like her mistress hates, feels disgust and is afraid of her, Melek also has similar feelings of disgust and fear. The fear of being killed by the maidservant that haunts the mistress passes to the thoughts of the maidservant as an idea to kill her, which she did not think before by herself. She never puts that intention in practice, although later it appears in her inner thoughts several times. This maid and mistress pair, different than earlier examples, marks a high mutual fear and hatred, with an emphasis on class positions of both sides. In the same novel, a malice worse than that comes from a servant, not from Melek, but from the gardener's son, i.e. the murder of the master. Different from Melek who did not have any class consciousness while taking her revenge, Yalçın acts with a class consciousness, to provide the justice and give a penalty to the master.

Servant tactics point to the tension between the maid and mistress relation, besides appearing to be survival strategies of the servant at home, in the novel. In *Âkile Hanım Sokağı*, while in case of Güzide the tactic of eavesdropping serve to the flow of the plot, in case of Ayşe that tactic represents her disturbing existence at home. In *Kızılıcak Dalları*, all tactics of Gülüsm represent her disturbing effects, or fears of her masters of her contaminating effects, both moral and physical. In *Asılacak Kadın*, Melek's tactics

also represent the fears of her mistress. In other words, the servant tactics in those novels represent servant's disturbing effects and the fear they arise in their masters.

4.3.4. Mistress Complaints and Counter-tactics

Laziness, lying, theft, teaching bad manners and words to the children, seducing the master and the son in the house are mistress complaints that repeatedly appear in novels accounting urban mansion and apartment life, from early years of the Turkish novel until today. However another complaint arises in the 1940s and 1950s: This is not being able to find a 'good' servant, or a servant at all. In the novels, this complaint is related to the opening of factories and woman recruitment in them. With this new development, the women that have to work are given an alternative other than the domestic work.

For instance in *Aksaray'dan Bir Perihan* (Derviş, 1997), Perihan complains about her daily domestic woman who did not come to work due to her husband's illness:

"I can't find anybody..." she said. All women are so conceited. They find it hard to go to domestic work... They don't want to do the domestic work for anyone. They find servitude dishonorable; they prefer to go to factories... That's more fun for them; they can flirt with the male workers from morning till night and comfortably have sex at night..." (p.130).

In *Âkile Hanım Sokağı* and *Gurbet Kuşları* as well there is a similar complaint of scarcity of servants.

But in the words of Perihan, we observe another aspect of women working in factories; a new type of relationship between men and women: Relations at work. In the literary imagination this relationship is associated with an excessive and immoral sexuality, at times almost prostitution of women workers. In *Âkile Hanım Sokağı*, in the figure of Kara Gülsüm, we see a very critical, almost hostile approach to women working with men in the factories; whereas in *Aksaray'dan Bir Perihan*, it is the middle class woman who is criticized in Perihan's expression of this relationship. Although given from diagonally opposite ideological point of views, this new type of relationship between men and women seems to occupy the imagination of the period. And the servant who

leaves the house to work in the factory is a figure specific to that period. This figure may have a base in historical and economical conditions of the period.

An earlier version of the servant escaping from the house -and from servitude- is Gülsüm of *Kızılçık Dalları*. She joins a theater group and later becomes a famous and beautiful canto singer. However other servants who escaped from the mansion did not always have a destiny as brilliant as Gülsüm. We read a panorama of servants that had escaped, in the inner thoughts of the elder mistress; in a complaining tone: “The so-called most happy,” is Zehra according to her; she escaped to return to her village together with a fellow villager but could not find happiness there and came back to İstanbul, found a job as a dish-washer in a boarding school. Another one, Ayşe, escaped with a milkman apprentice, then changed four more husbands in five years, and is nowadays living with a fisherman who beats her. Hüsniye is seduced by a woman peddler to go to a better house, but found herself in a brothel instead. Mahbube, who has been always a bit coquettish from childhood, became one of the most famous prostitutes of the Paris quarter (a quarter of İstanbul). Another Zehra also “went down the drain,” became a prostitute and was shot dead at a young age (p.76). Nadide Hanım’s greatest complaint is the faithlessness of those servants; she considers their escape as ingratitude against her. She says that she would make a better life for her servants, marrying them off to good husbands, if they had been faithful and had not escaped. On the other hand we see that only two servants of the mansion have not changed throughout the generations, Lala Tahir Ağa and Nevniha Kalfa, and both of them are not married. In spite of his very old age *lala* is still taking the children to school and waiting for them all day at the door until the school is out. And Nevniha Kalfa is still washing dirty diapers.

Nadide Hanım also complains about her cooks and chambermaids. The best of them stayed maximum a period of two months in the mansion. Male cooks were thieves, extravagant, wasteful or rebellious. Women were worse than males, the old ones were filthy and untidy, and the younger were flirts (p.131).

Mistresses develop some counter tactics against their servants in the novels as well; lying and planning conspiracies to prevent their escape; other kinds of petty lies to

administer the house in general, and the servants in particular; eavesdropping; delivering messages by mediated means. In fact the maid/mistress relationship works interactively through those tactics and counter tactics.

4.4. Division of Labor in the House

In every house, be it a traditional, rich, crowded mansion or a more modest Ottoman house or a modern mansion, a modern apartment, crowded or in which only two people live, there existed hierarchies of various levels. Those hierarchies can be understood by looking at gender and class relationships, as the house is a place where a family lives, and a work place where one or more workers work. In the novels, life in a mansion or apartment is described, covering its physical aspects, furniture, arrangements, as well as by the division of labor during the course of daily life. In these descriptions servants appear as indispensable elements of the novels. In this subsection novels taken to this chapter will be evaluated as a whole, regarding the division of labor in the house, an issue that involves in gender and class hierarchies together.

Ottoman mansions in novels display differences in their hierarchical setting. For instance the mansion where Gültür first comes as a *halayık*, in *Aksaray'dan bir Perihan*, is described with very strict, ritualistic hierarchies, compared to her second mansion, which is the house of a pro-Constitution master. In the first one the young *halayıks* are bought by an old valet and are introduced (washed, given clothes, and a haircut as well as taught their duties and rules¹¹) by a *kalfa*. “Every one has a specific set of duties.

¹¹ The practice of handing down clothes to servants is philosophized in *Saatleri Ayarlama Enstitüsü* by Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar. He departs from the idea that things adopt themselves to humans. For instance a cloth, a hat or shoe becomes a part of the person who wears it. But later we change our clothes and thus “we go out of our self”; with new clothes we can say “now I am a different person.” Tanpınar here actually satirizing giving up an old culture and wearing a new one, like a cloth, by using the metaphor of changing old clothes with new ones; “this is the joy of saying I am different now.” (p.16) But later, having been departed from the idea that things adopt themselves to humans, he ends up with the humans adopting themselves to things. But more interesting than that, the practice of handing down old clothes to servants becomes the moment of the establishment of master/servant hierarchy. Hayri is given twice old clothes; first by Cemal Bey when Hayri comes to work in the bank. After that moment he becomes his private servant, beside his duties as a civil officer in the bank. Later Hayri is ordered to take a present to the friends of Cemal family, rich, upper-class people, with an old suit of Cemal on him, because

Little ones are only in charge of cleaning ashtrays, immediately lifting something dropped by the master from the floor, and delivering a message from room to room. They wait in front of the masters' doors for their orders. They should wait standing up, their hands on their chest, their heads bowed, looking down at their feet. They had to make a reverence to and kiss the skirts of the visitors." (p.68). This is a picture far from the image of "servants as members of the big extended family." Whereas, in the second mansion, Gülter finds a more familial environment. Her second mistress Canan is an excellent *halayık*, who never hides this fact and establishes a "friendly relation with the old *halayıks* and a mother/daughter relationship with the younger ones." Gülter does not wear slave dresses, as in the first mansion; they don't change her name (which is the practice at several mansions)¹²; she is allowed to have long hair; she is a friend of the children of the mansion, she can play with them; she receives an education from her mistress and private teachers. Her duty was to look after the young daughter of her mistress. Later she moves to her third place, the mansion of Canan's elder daughter Nadide; this is a more democratic place due to its pro-Meşrutiyet owners. They grant the liberty to their servants even before the banning of slavery and distribute their rural lands among peasants. Most of their servants, including Gülter, chose staying with them. They have a strong sense of being sheltered and a member of the family.

When we look at two Tanzimat novels, *Intibah* and *Felâh-ı Bey'le Râkım Efendi*, we can find out that *cariyes* bought as a wife or bride are assigned comparably lighter duties, such as dressing and undressing the master, arranging his room and bed, and doing some personal services. Those *cariyes* are expected to be clean, tiny and white; their hands, to

it would be elegant and proper if Hayri will appear with this suit (p.159); this is thought as a sign of his masters' status and prestige. And second by Halit, when Hayri begins to work in Saatleri Ayarlama Enstitüsü. Although later in the novel Hayri is raised to a higher class and gets closer to Halit, this first hierarchy is never actually demolished.

¹² Fanny Davis mentions the practice of naming a *cariye*. The slave girl, when first comes to the mansion, is given a new name which is generally a "fancy" one, such as Gülbahar, Neşedil, Nazikemsal, Servetseza. According to her, "slave names exemplifying grace or beauty were traditional in the Ottoman Empire." She quotes from an Ottoman historian İsmail Mevlevi who compiled a list of names suitable for *cariyes*, most of them a combination of words of can (soul), gül (rose), nev (new) and nur (light). If those girls married, they were given new Muslim names such as Ayşe, Fatma (Davis, 1986:105).

be white and beautiful -not dirtied and hardened with hard service jobs. Whereas the *cariye* of *Sergüzeşt* is assigned several duties throughout the course of her life, from dirtiest and heaviest jobs in the first mansion to lighter jobs in the second -arranging two rooms of the mistresses and taking care of a canary- and to become an odalisque in the final. In two of these novels, *Felâtn Bey* and *Sergüzeşt*, a different hierarchy is at stake; the tension between an Arab maidservant and the Caucasian *cariye*. These two figures mark blackness and whiteness (dark, rough hands/white, tiny hands), ugliness and beauty (fatness/thinness), low and high, and only in *Sergüzeşt* cruelty and goodness as elements of this hierarchy. In these novels, this hierarchy between the Arab and Caucasian also manifests itself in the division of labor in the house. Arabs are assigned heavier duties and are kept far from the eye, whereas Caucasians are given lighter duties and are wanted close to the masters.

In *Kızılıık Dalları*, we have a female dominated mansion, which has a crowded servant staff. In this novel, the discourse of masters as “providing a democratic place, a shelter and protection to its servants, equals to the children of the family” and sharp class hierarchies, ill-treatment and exploitation of servants are hand in hand, from time to time in a bitter sarcastic tone. There is a precise division of labor among servants and women; there is no too much crossing of borders in the division of labor (for instance mistresses doing servant jobs is not possible -but “as being very clean and meticulous housewives, they are fond of cleaning and decorating their rooms themselves”- whereas in some other mansions in some novels this is possible).

Regarding the hierarchy among servants, the minor ones -orphans- come at the lowest rung of the ladder, doing the worst and dirtiest jobs, sometimes working as servants to elder servants. The two oldest servants are *lala* and *kalfa* -old maidservant- who have spent almost all of their lives there. *Lala* works as a guardian to the children, as well as going out for shopping (when *Gülsüm* comes to a proper age, she undertakes all kinds of such unwanted errands), whereas, the old *kalfa*, thanks to her very old age, does almost nothing, her only responsibility is washing children’s dirty diapers which is a job she has

performed for generations. The rest of the servant staff -cooks and chambermaids- continuously change; but their duties are well defined.

A very interesting section of the novel is the one dedicated to the duties of Gülsüm; one day of the orphan is accounted in minute detail and in a very sarcastic tone from the elder mistress' point of view. Her main duty is to take care of all the children and amuse them; later she is given to the private service of Bülent as a nurse. The section narrating one day of Gülsüm begins with the sentence, "she does not have any particular duty in the mansion." All her work seems to consist of fun and game with children; but during the day she is called several times to hang the clothes, to go to corner shop or some job upstairs; opening the door is her duty; she helps all other servants, such as doing the dishes or preparing things to be cooked for the cook, carrying things, water, rubbish for the chambermaid, doing all private services for the milk nanny, washing little things on the days when the washerwoman does not come for the general laundry. She is also responsible for the administration and cleaning of children's chamber pots (it is a custom in the mansion that every child uses chamber-pots till the age of 12). Gülsüm is recruited to do the heavy part of cleaning of young mistress' rooms, such as cleaning the carpets and stoves, airing the beds, pushing heavy furniture. Perhaps her most refined job is to make and serve coffee to visitors. In the nights she is responsible for cleaning and filling the lamps, and after the dinner a final shift of playing with children, telling fairytales and sending them to bed. Sometimes her services are needed after midnight, such as putting Bülent to sleep and being ready if he wakes up any time. She is also called for services of old and/or ill persons of the mansion (pp.116-121). These long pages dedicated to Gülsüm, being a child of nine years old, show how hard her life is, how heavy her work schedule is and where she stands in the mansion hierarchy, in spite of the paternalistic discourse on her (and on all other servants).

In some other mansion lives, the family member women are involved more in servants' work. For instance in two mansions of *Âkile Hanım Sokağı*, the division of labor is more blurred. Güzide does all of the housework and administration of the mansion. However her young mistress helps her in doing housework (p.48). She sometimes prepares and

serves her aunt's and uncle's breakfast, or their coffee. She also helps Güzide in preparing night gatherings. When Güzide is very busy, Neriman does the tea service to the visitors (p.109). On the other hand, there exists a life-long battle, and a capricious power play between the elder mistress and Güzide regarding the administration of the house. Although the elder mistress wants to fix her presence at the mansion as the boss, the 'real boss' seems to be Güzide.

In the red mansion there is a more blurred picture regarding the domestic work. Gülbeyaz, an orphan young girl, going to the faculty of medicine, is at once her master's assistant in an academic sense, as well as his secretary in administrative matters and a maidservant doing housework in the mansion. She goes to her master's patients as a nurse as well. On the other hand, she is like their daughter; she eats with them; she is a very close friend (like a relative) of her mistress. But they don't take her to family visits. Âkile Hanım is their old maidservant, living downstairs; her duties consist of cooking and gardening; whereas the rest is done by Gülbeyaz. However, sometimes they do the dishes, and all rest of kitchen work together with the mistress (p.94). In other words, though occasionally, the mistress is also involved in lesser servant works.

When we come to novels accounting apartment lives, we see a different picture: the appearance of daily domestics. This is a modern maidservant figure who displays different relationships with her masters, compared to her old colleagues. In the novels, this new figure is represented as being more independent, less trustful and faithful; this is a woman having relative economic freedom and more choices in her life. As discussed in Mistress Complains section above, she can any time leave work and go to work in a factory, or to another house. Regarding the novels of the 50s, there is a general complaint about scarcity of servants decrease in their fidelity and the high wages they demand. However it is hard to find historical and sociological data on this matter, for the period. Then these observations remain within the fictional world of the novel, though they give some clues about the society.

A paternalistic discourse of "you are like a member of this family" is not possible any more; the maid and mistress become more foreign, more reserved in their relation, under

a more materialistic employer-employee relationship. In this relationship, the division of labor is very well defined compared to old mansions. For instance, in *Aksaray'dan Bir Perihan*, the daily domestic comes during the day, does all housework, including cooking, and goes home in the afternoon. Then the rest of domestic work, such as preparing the dinner table, serving the dinner, as well as serving her husband's Sunday breakfast, and all other services in the absence of the daily domestic, is the responsibility of Perihan. And when the daily domestic does not come during her normal work hours, the heavier housework -such as washing clothes by hand and cooking- also is loaded to Perihan. That's why she complains about her daily domestics; any excuse, such as an illness, is a "servant lie and maneuver" (p.119, p.129). She can easily fire a servant, but in turn the servant can easily find another job. Now there are agencies to arrange servant recruitment (p.120), beside traditional methods such as women neighborhood networks as in *Âkile Hanım Sokağı*, as well as recruiting the apartment's caretaker's wife or relative *Âkile Hanım Sokağı*¹³.

In three later novels, *Islak Güneş*, *Kurabiye Saatinde* and *Yengecin Kışkacı*, the duties of the servants (some were daily some live-in domestics) were well defined and separated from the duties of the mistress, pointing to a sharper division of labor at home. This sharp division also marks to sharper class distinctions at home, compared to older novels. There is no a paternalistic discourse on servants, nor a feeling of a "false kinship" on the part of the servant (except for Sabahat in *Kurabiye Saatinde*). The servant is made strictly know her place.

To summarize the discussions made in this chapter, it was observed that class concern comes before the gender concern in the representation of maid and mistress pairs,

¹³ An article on caretaker's wives, Gül Özyeğin shows that their working as a daily domestic for the dwellers of the apartment is widespread phenomenon. Her study, though covers 80s, refers back to 70s, and not only gives significant quantitative data about the matter, but also is focused on issues such as daily lives and stigma on caretakers' wives, as well as letting voice their opinions (Özyeğin, 1996).

On the other hand, the study of Sibel Kalaycıoğlu and Helga Rittersberger-Tılıç, covering the 90s, also gives valuable quantitative data regarding their backgrounds, recruitment methods. According to this study, recruitment of *gecekondü* women as domestic worker is another source beside the recruitment of caretaker's wives (Kalaycıoğlu and Rittersberger, 2000).

contrary to maid and master pairs as discussed in the previous chapter. And a historical variation has also been observed in this interplay between gender and class hierarchies in the maid and mistress pairs, contrary to the continuity observed in maid and master pairs. Class concern appears more as a womanly desire of the mistress, of distinguishing herself from her servants, especially in later novels in which *cariye* and *besleme* figures are replaced by daily (or live-in) domestic women figures. This separation and distinction of the maid and mistress ever more increases in latest novels taken to this study, and class lines are drawn more sharply compared to the rather blurred picture in early novels.

A second argument drawn from the analysis made in this chapter would be about the co-existing paternalistic and class discourses on servants in novels. While in early novels the servant's status in the house varied between being a bride/wife to mere servant, depending on the circumstances, a bitter sarcasm appears on the discourse on the *besleme* figure in *Kızılıcık Dallar*; her class position lying behind a repetitive paternalistic discourse on her, is more underlined by means of this sarcastic tone. The paternalistic discourse disappear in the novels of the 1950s –*Aksaray'dan Bir Perihan* and *Saatleri Ayarlama Enstitüsü*, being two novels pointing to this very disappearance- and gives way a discourse on servants pointing to strictly drawn class distinctions in three late novels taken to this study.

Finally, the phenomenon of imitation of the mistress by the maid in three novels is commented, as a novelistic element that once more establishes the low-high hierarchy by representing the mistress as the imitated and the maid as the imitating parties. On the other hand, servant tactics are interpreted as the expressions of the disturbing effects of the servants and fears and dangers associated to them by their mistresses. This fears acquires a more accentuated tone in a late novel, *Asılacak Kadın*.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

Almost all early novelists, whose novels are examined in this study, were brought up by servants, in mansions, whereas the later ones lived in middle or upper-middle class houses. Their servants with their real life stories and the fairytales they told influenced these novelists as well as their art. Those novelists, having been masters at their homes, were also masters of their texts. All novelists have an authoritarian tone though with varying degrees, and put themselves at a higher position in relation to their texts and heroes. Most of the selected novelists define themselves, and are also defined by others, as realist writers, be it humanist, socialist, critical or populist. Most of them state that their stories base on either real life experiences or on events that may possibly take place in real life while their heroes are either real persons or a composition of real persons they know in their real lives.

Conclusions drawn in this study can be summarized in three lines. Firstly, a framework of analysis has been developed out of servant figures in the Western novel, to compare them with servant figures in the Turkish novel. Various questions have been drawn out of this framework to understand the similarities and differences in representation of the literary servant in these cases. The first difference is found out to be the element of race and ethnicity, which marks the literary servant in the early Turkish novels, which is absent in the Western novel. On the other hand, this element displays a historical variation in the Turkish novel. In the three Tanzimat novels examined in this study the maidservant is a Caucasian *cariye* and in *Mürebbiye* it is a French governess. In *Üç İstanbul*, servants were given various ethnicities and races, such as Christian cook, Caucasian *halayık*, Greek maidservant, etc. In addition, the ethnicities are continuously

repeated and underlined. From *Kızılılık Dallarını* on, the emphasis on the race and ethnicity starts to disappear as the servants were selected from the Muslim Turks -with an exception of a later novel, *Aksaray'dan Bir Perihan* which flashbacks to the beginning of the 20th century through the eyes of the Caucasian *halayık*. However, in the latest novel taken to this study, a servant of different nationality, a Thai woman, appears whose nationality is again continuously repeated and emphasized. This selection of servants from other ethnicities and races, rather than from the Muslim Turks (who have also worked as servants in real life), in the first decades of the Turkish novel may point to the conscious or unconscious concern of the novelists with respect to the imagination of Turkish nation. The disappearance of such a selection may point to a shift of concern from thinking about the nation to other social questions such as social inequalities, injustices; immigration, rural issues, urban/rural distinction and class. Such a historical trajectory displays a parallel to the Turkish modernization, as the idea of nation-building constituted a part of that process, and in which the novel and novelist claimed an active role. The imagination and definition of a nation necessarily imply drawing borders and exclusion of the others. And surely the novel contributed much to that imagination.

Another difference to be observed between the Western and the Turkish novels is the figure of *cariye* as maidservant, which creates different relations and hierarchies at home, due to her status as slave. The figure of *cariye* blurs the gender and class relations as well as the kinship and servitude relations at home. In the novels of the first decades, this figure is central and the love affair with her represents an alternative to the love between the Muslim men and the non-Muslim women.

Another difference between the Turkish and the Western novel is that, although most of the servant figures in the former fit to the stereotype of pearl in the latter (obedient and docile *cariyes*, *beslemes*, old, veteran *kalfas*, *lalas*), the stereotype of slut, and fears and dangers associated to her does not exist a lot in the early Turkish novels. Only in the early novel *Mürebbiye*, and in some later novels such as *Âkile Hanım Sokağı*, *Aylak Adam* and *Asılacak Kadın*, some sexy and subversive servant figures appear. So those

two sets of stereotypes do not go hand in hand as in the case of French and English novels, but show a historical variation in case of Turkey. If *Mürebbiye* is put aside, the appearance of sexy servants in 1950s coincides with the appearance of the class concern in the Turkish novel. The maidservant in *Asılacak Kadın* is a manifest expression of class and ideological antagonisms of the pre-1980 years.

This difference between the Turkish and Western novels, and lack of servants that would fall into the slut category in the early Turkish novel, can be explained with different histories of actual social classes, as well as different meanings attributed to the notion of class by people from several spheres but particularly by the pioneers of the modernization in the late Ottoman and Turkish Republic periods, including novelists. Denial of classes and the ideal of constructing a classless society, a united 'people' under the principles of the new Republic in line with modernization ideas, was the dominant ideological standing up to the 1950s, though with exceptions and oppositional standings. Such a mentality was also dominant in the novelists of that period, from various ideological positions from right to left. In that sense, class concerns, and dangers and fears attributed to the figure of maidservant is expected to show big differences compared to the examples in the Western novel. On the other hand, patriarchal attributes on women such as servitude, sacrifice and docility show more continuities than variations across societies, cultures and time.

In other words, while patriarchal ideology shows more similarities than differences – putting a reservation to cultural and religious differences in the conceptions of womanhood in Western and Turkish societies- the notion of class displays more differences and highly varied historicities. In that sense, there are more common points in the figure of pearl, whereas more differences in the figure of slut, in the Western and Turkish novels.

A final difference is that the male servant in the novels examined has not been given any positive attribute -such as being trickster, intelligent, talented, etc.- as in the Western novel, where the figure of valet has much early roots and a big tradition.

Besides differences, there are some similarities in the representation of the servant figure in Western and Turkish novels. As in the Western novel, the literary servant is figured in the Turkish one as a supplement to its masters, as a decoration of their houses, life styles, and stands generally at the margins of the novel without a subjectivity. This lack of subjectivity is even true for the novels in which the servant is a central character of the novel, such as *İntibah*, *Felâtn Bey'le Râkım Efendi*, *Bu Bizim Hayatımız*, *Âkile Hanım Sokağı*, *Asılacak Kadın* and *Sessiz Ev*. However, though not having been granted a subjectivity, the servant has a story and destiny of his/her own in many novels, such as *Sergüzeşt*, *Mürebbiye*, *Kızılıık Dalları*, *Aksaray'dan Bir Perihan* and *Gurbet Kuşları*. These novels, though keeping the high/low hierarchy between the master and servant and the supplementary character of the latter, grant a story to the servant; and in some of them, the servant is given the duty of carrying an idea (or utopia) of the novel and the novelist (in *Sergüzeşt* the idea of freedom, in *Kızılıık Dalları* the ideology of humanism, in *Aksaray'dan Bir Perihan* the socialist utopia). In that sense, the servant in those novels appears to be given a relatively privileged position.

Another similarity is that the literary servant in Turkish novel is given similar literary duties such as conveying messages, information and gossips; entering the plot at a critical moment to change effectively the course of events; being a witness to the lives of the masters; and describing the masters' lives. But, different than the Western novel, this figure does not perform a comic function, although in the Ottoman theater and in social histories, there exists figures performing that kind of duties.

A second line of conclusion is related to the gender and class hierarchies as represented in the figure of servant. Those hierarchies show differences in maid/master and maid/mistress pairs in eighteen novels examined in this research, which are written by authors coming from different class backgrounds and having different ideological positions. Gender hierarchy is more highlighted in maid/master pairs whereas class hierarchy is evident more in maid/mistress pairs, though they co-exist in different appearances and varying degrees. This aspect of representation of the figure of servant crosscuts various ideologies -from left to right, from humanism to populism- and the

gender of the author. This aspect also displays a historical continuity though with some exceptions. For instance, the representation of the maidservant has more similarities than differences in the Orhan Kemal and Halide Edip Adivar novels, considered in this study; male stereotypes function in both novels, regardless of the novels' ideological bases and the genders of the authors. On the other hand, Suat Derviş's novel makes an exception in this sense.

The *cariye* is represented as an object of desire in a relationship of love and marriage to her masters in three early novels; similarly, the governess is also an object of desire, who turns upside down the hierarchies at home, at some moments, with her sexuality, though her race is also an element in that matter. In *Medar-ı Maişet Motoru, Bu Bizim Hayatımız* and *Aylak Adam*, the maidservant is also represented with her sexuality and love relationship with her masters. In *Âkile Hanım Sokağı*, however, the maidservant appears as a seducer of the master and rival to other women in the novel. In *Gurbet Kuşları*, the main maidservant figure is involved in not a sexual but friendly relationship with her master, in which class divisions disappear for some time, whereas side maidservants again repeat the male stereotypes on that figure. In *Asılacak Kadın*, the sexuality of the maidservant is too much highlighted in the excessive fantasies of her master. In short, while the gender hierarchy in the maid/master pair shows a historical continuity, the class concern appears to emerge in the novels of the 1950s and class antagonisms in those of the pre-1980 period. This historical trajectory can be interpreted with the general tendencies in the ideological context of the country and the appearances of that tendency in the novels, as many literary historians and critics observed. And when we come to the novels of the last decade, we observe a minimum relationship between the maid and her masters. The sexuality element in the maid/master relation diminishes. The maidservant is now a daily domestic worker who exists in the novels only with her services. Class distinctions are drawn more strictly.

Another conclusion regarding the maid/master pair is the effect of the maid on the young master. This relationship has even more gender emphasis for the maidservant is represented in that relation as an element contributing to the construction of the sexuality

and gender of her master. In *Bu Bizim Hayatımız* and *Aylak Adam*, the specter of the maidservant haunts the young master in later stages of his life. Whereas in *Kızılıcak Dalları*, the maidservant contributes to the construction of the class position of her young master as well.

On the other hand, the representation of maid/mistress relationship displays a rather more complex picture, where class rather than gender hierarchy is more highlighted in most cases. This complexity may come from the division of labor among women as well as other personal relationships at home. This shows certain historical changes from mansion to apartment life. The representation of maid/mistress relationship displays variations in time as well as according to the ideology of the novelist when compared to the representation of the maid/master pair.

In three Tanzimat novels, there is a highly specialized division of labor among servants. In these novels, we see the mistress entering at times in a womanly cooperation with some maidservants -*cariyes*. The class position of the *cariye* and her position as the bride/wife interchange according to the circumstances; in other words, gender and class lines are blurred. In *Kızılıcak Dalları*, class lines in the maid/mistress relations are apparent, though disguised under a paternalistic discourse that is expressed sarcastically. In *Medar-ı Maişet Motoru*, just as in *Sergüzeşt*, the mistress does not want to accept the maidservant as her bride, which is a sign of her wish to underline their class differences. Those mistresses are figured as women wanting to keep their class positions distinct from the maidservant in a womanly attitude as appears in *Gurbet Kuşları*, *Aksaray'dan Bir Perihan* and *Âkile Hanım Sokağı*, though with different ideological standings. This attitude represents in first two novels a criticism of the bourgeois attitude, whereas in the latter, an affirmation, as being part of the author's Republican woman ideal. In that sense, attributing to the mistress a womanly desire of putting her class position as distinct from the servant crosscuts different ideologies and genders of the authors, though for different purposes (criticism or affirmation).

That womanly desire of distinguishing herself from the servant has also a historical aspect. That historical change in the Turkish novel coincides with the replacement of the traditional maidservant figures such as *cariye* and *besleme* with the daily domestic in real life. In *Aksaray'dan Bir Perihan*, *Âkile Hanım Sokağı* and *Islak Güneş*, middle-class woman characters are represented as those hiring domestic help as a sign of prestige and wealth. That also coincides with the increasing class concern in the novels of the 1950s. But, to repeat again, this concern appears more in the maid/mistress pairs than maid/master pairs. The construction of the middle-class woman in the novel is supported by the instances of the imitation of the mistress by her servant. This imitation aspect in the representation of the maid and mistress relation marks one more time the low/high hierarchy; the high becomes the imitated, whereas the low appears as the imitating. The imitation element serves a similar function as the instrumentality of the servants in the description of their masters. Both elements contribute to the construction of the masters.

The tension between maid and mistress is expressed in instances of servant tactics such as impertinent speeches, answering back, eavesdropping, silent revolts, speeches through other mediums and passive revenges as well as mistress counter-tactics and complaints. Servant tactics point to the tension between the maid and mistress relation besides being survival strategies of the servant at home. In *Âkile Hanım Sokağı*, while in case of one maidservant the tactic of eavesdropping serve to the flow of the plot, in the case of another that same tactic represents her disturbing existence at home. In *Kızılıcak Dalları*, all tactics of the *besleme* girl represent her disturbing effects, or fears of her masters of her contaminating effects in both moral and physical senses. Similarly in *Asılacak Kadın*, the maid's tactics represent the fears of her mistress. In other words, the servant tactics in those novels represent servant's disturbing effects and the fear they arise in their masters due to their different class positions.

In later novels, the maid and mistress relation is reduced to minimal dialogues and defined simply as a service relationship. The maid's role is also reduced to the description of the mistress' life in a way to highlight the latter's beauty, elegance and wealth. That aspect points to a strictly drawn class lines in novels. The maid, who is now

a daily domestic, is further pushed to the margins of the Turkish novel, more than ever. The sexuality of the daily domestic is not a question any more, whereas the class positions are sharply expressed in maid/mistress pairs.

A third line of conclusion can be developed on the ambiguous discourse on the figure of the servant as being both “a member of the family” and “just a servant.” The *cariye* in *Felâtn Bey’le Râkım Efendi* is called a sister, bride, wife, *cariye* and odalisque interchangeably throughout the novel. Similarly her duties as a maidservant is confused with her duties as a wife. When she behaves as the wife, she hands over some of her maidservant duties to the other servants in the house, marking the strict hierarchy in the division of labor. A similar treatment of the *cariye* as both a servant and bride exists in *İntibah*. Whereas this co-existence takes the form of a bitter sarcasm in *Kızılıık Dalları* where the exploitation, suppression and ill-treatment of the maidservant goes hand in hand with a discourse that describes her as the “daughter” of the house, and the “sister to the children.” This paternalistic discourse gives way to a discourse, which sharply expresses class lines in the novel of the 1950s. Simultaneously the *cariye* and *besleme* figures gives way to the daily domestic women. In the 1950s, the mistress becomes an employer while the maidservant becomes her employee though face-to-face relations at home are still valid between the maids and mistresses, more than between the maids and masters. For domestic work has always been the woman’s job.

The disappearance of traditional Ottoman servant figures such as *cariye*, *lala* and *kalfa*, and the emergence of modern figures such as *besleme* in the 1930s and daily domestics from 1950s on, can be read as part of the more general social processes, i.e. the modernization. The servants appear in novels as signs of changes in family structure and daily life practices through modernization. The transformation of that figure points to the passage from traditional to modern family, as well as to a more urban and industrial environment, all related to the cultural aspects of modernization. The hierarchy among servants, and the cultural meanings attributed to them in the late Ottoman and Turkish Republic periods, give an idea on the conceptions of the Ottoman and Turkish modernizations. Cultural meanings attributed to the Eastern/Western backgrounds of the

servants during the late Ottoman period, and to the urban/rural backgrounds of them during the Turkish Republic period, were themes of Ottoman and Turkish modernization as well as of late Ottoman and Turkish novels. Similarly, that ambiguous discourse on the figure of servant –i.e. the ambiguous co-existence of pre-modern, paternalistic and modern, class related discourses- shows a parallel to the antagonisms within the processes of modernization. In other words, servants appear as pre-modern elements in early novels and in the modernization movements at large. Pre-modern elements attributed to that figure begin to diminish in the novels of the 1950s and are transformed to signs of a distant past and of impossibility of paternalistic relations in latest novels taken to this study.

In *Medar-ı Maişet Motoru*, *Saatleri Ayarlama Enstitüsü*, *Âkile Hanım*, *Sokağı*, *Gurbet Kuşları*, *Aksaray'dan Bir Perihan* and *Islak Güney*, traces of such paternalistic discourse disappear in the figure of the daily domestic (even in the figures living in the house), while class lines appear sharper. In *Sessiz Ev* where the servant is the stepson of the mistress, there is a kinship relation between the servant and his masters. However, the fact that he is an illegitimate child as well as the fears and paranoia of his masters towards him eliminate the possibility of a paternalistic discourse. Coming to *Asılacak Kadın*, a kinship relation is established between the maidservant and her master through marriage. However, this does not lead to a paternalistic practice and discourse between the maid and the master, but it enhances her exploitation for the fantasies of her master. Similarly in *Kurabiye Saatinde*, the feeling of the daily domestic as being a member of the rich Jewish family points to the impossibility of such a kinship due to her class as well as religion and race, and that feeling is only ridiculed in the novel.

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APPENDIX

VALET

The literary male servant enjoyed a relatively more privileged position in the Western novel, compared to the maidservant. However in the Turkish novel it is observed that he barely had a place, considering that the eighteen novels taken to this study is a good representative of the Turkish novel, though not exhaustive. Similarly, that figure remains outside of the argumentation of this thesis, and thus will briefly be discussed as represented in three novels –*Üç İstanbul*, *Kızılıcak Dallar* and *Sessiz Ev*- in this Appendix.

As briefly mentioned in Chapter 3, the Western valet has its roots in Renaissance drama and different appearances in later ages, as a clever, a trickster, carnivalesque type. According to Mark Burnett, the trickster valet presents a criticism to social hierarchies, at least during moments of inversion of roles, by means of subversive interferences and effects (Burnett, 1997:97). And Bruce Robbins observes the continuation of this male servant figure in the late 18th century English novel. This figure appears as a clever man of talents. This was at the same time the heyday of the emerging bourgeoisie. Those heroic servants, more clever and talented than their aristocratic masters, were ridiculing them. That was a representation of the bourgeois victory over nobility (Robbins, 1986:80).

When we look at the Turkish novel we observe a different valet figure, at the historical period that corresponds to the dissolution of the Ottoman upper class. Beside some other more oriental servant figures -such as *cariye*, *halayık*, *kalfa*, *lala*- the valet appears as a sign of westernization. He has elegance and good manners -sometimes as a sign of bourgeois imitation of noble elegance- in novels accounting late Ottoman mansion life.

Although there were some Oriental type male servants performing similar duties as the Western valet, they are absent in the Turkish novel¹. In the description of late upper class lives and houses, the servant is a key element, as a possession and decoration. The type of servants, their uniforms and relationships to the masters of the house give us clues about the house, life style, in short about what type of a person the masters were (whether a *nouveau riche*, an upper class man, a Muslim, an alafraŋga type, etc).

Thorstein Veblen, in his discussion on the conspicuous leisure of the masters, points to the symbolic value of the servants working closest to the master. In that discussion, he also mentions the preference of male servants to the female for such services “that brings them obtrusively into view. Men, especially lusty, personable fellows, such as footmen and other menials should be, are obviously more powerful and more expensive than women. They are better fitted for this work, as showing a larger waste of time and human energy” (Veblen, 1957:54). On the other hand, Şerif Mardin, in his article on superwesternization in the Tanzimat Period, points to the attitudes of the Turkish society to the conspicuous consumption of the upper classes. According to Mardin, conspicuous consumption and spendthrift is not seen well by the society from the early days of the Ottoman Empire. Whereas he talks about “wealth in Ottoman style” that traditionally included aggregation of a protected crowd but within limits of personal wealth. The richman could conspicuously feed or give presents to people under his protection and service but not waste his wealth for his person. The wealth belonged more to his position than his person. With the westernization currents of Tanzimat, beside many other things,

¹ Abdülaziz Bey gives a long and very detailed account of servant staff of a typical high rank palace officer. In rich and prestigious mansions the servant staff was very crowded and organized according to highly specialized duties. There was a hierarchy first according to gender, which is also in accordance with the *haremlik/seramlık* division of the house and life, and second according to the education, profession, talent and personality of the servant. In the list of male servant staff there were various men performing different tasks ranging from the master’s administrative, financial, bureaucratic, religious, cultural duties, to his personal services such as taking care of his coffee, tobacco, horses, garden, etc. Among those male servants, at lower ranks of the hierarchy, there was a group called *tablacılar* who served the meal of the master and another group called *zobu* who did the personal services of the higher rank male servants (Abdülaziz Bey, 1995:171-190). These two groups are similar to the Western valet. But their ways of dressing, serving and how the master treated them display considerable differences in comparison to the valet.

consumption patterns and signs of wealth were also affected. Mardin observes the signs of this change in the Tarzimat novel, in general as a reaction to spendthrift and conspicuous consumption as represented with superwesternized figures and acts (Mardin, 1994). The figure of valet in Turkish novels, different than his Western colleagues, can be read under the light of the ideas of Veblen and Mardin.

1. Three Mansions in *Üç İstanbul*: Servants in Descriptions and Discourses of their Masters

Mithat Cemal Kuntay's novel *Üç İstanbul* (1998)², is a panorama of three periods of the late Ottoman, i.e. Abdülhamit II, Second Constitution and Western Occupation, in the lives of almost fifty characters³. This crowded persona are accompanied with a servant staff as crowded as their masters. We enter to several mansions, houses, salons; but mainly three mansions are central -Hidayet's, Adnan's and Süheyla's- representing three periods. As I mentioned above, the servants are indispensable in the description of any house in the novel, be it a poor house or the glamorous mansion of a Prince.

For instance Hidayet's mansion is like a club of men. Intellectuals, politicians and soldiers of the period frequently attend that mansion, as Hidayet is a very close man to the Sultan, but also as an informant, which was a common practice in the Abdülhamit II period. We never see a female visitor or female servant in that mansion. All servants are

² Mithat Cemal Kuntay (1885-1956). He was born in İstanbul. His father was from an old family of Scutari in Albania. He gave his doctorate in İstanbul University Faculty of Law, worked at several official legal posts, finally as a notary. He wrote patriotic, historical and epic poems, monographies of Namık Kemal and Mehmet Akif, articles in *Son Posta*, *Güneş* and *Çınaraltı*. He remained outside all literary currents of Second Constitution and Western occupation periods. He could not gain fame with his poems, and got known in the 60s with his only novel *Üç İstanbul* that he published in 1938. The novel was defined as a political novel based on real observations and persons from Kuntay's close circle (Oktay, 1993:1030). His techniques such as "novel inside novel", his footnotes, quotations from unpublished works, and the very idea of writing a political novel, were novelties considering the situation of the novel in 1930s. But C.Kudret criticizes his footnotes, quotations and his language from above as "being evidences of the author's want of show off and putting himself forward" (quoted in Oktay, 1993:1032). T.Timur comments on Kuntay having "pro-İttihat chauvinism that contaminated Kemalism, as found in majority of Kemalist writers" (Timur, p.223).

³ References to the novels analyzed will be given to the editions mentioned in the Reference section. A full reference will be given once in a chapter, only after the first mention of the novel, and later references will only be given with page number.

valets and they are quite numerous. They are dressed stylishly and elegantly, uniforms with tiny details and differences according to the duty they perform. For instance the ones serving dinner wear swallowtail coats, white gloves, starched shirts. They also talk and serve very politely. They are figures of the sign of Westernization, just as the furniture and decoration of the house, which is a very elegant and harmonious amalgamation of French, Italian, Austrian, Oriental, and many other styles.

Adnan's mansion represents the Union and Progress Party period. Adnan, an orphan coming from a very poor family, is a well-educated and clever Ottoman intellectual. He has to work to earn his living and to rise in society, contrary to several upper class figures in the novel. Later he becomes one of the higher rank men of the party and when the party comes into power, Adnan's heyday begins. In a very short time he becomes rich, but he is a typical *nouveau riche* who does not know upper class manners very well. He decorates his mansion imitating Hidayet (actually buying the second hand furniture of that mansion as Hidayet declines in status and loses his prestige and wealth) and Belkıs (to whom once Adnan gave private lessons and had been treated as one of her servants). He imitates the decoration, dress style and manners of these upper class figures; he hires a Christian cook, a devout gardener, a blond valet, a black *halayık*. This is a servant cadre of a mixture of Oriental and Western types. He marries Belkıs; but for Belkıs he never can make all these, his own. He hires Hidayet's steward Süleyman who is a man of "valet spirit." But Adnan is quite amateur in treating the servants and in turn servants do not respect him much, but they respect and obey Belkıs as the real center of power of the mansion. In fact the class differences and power relations between Belkıs and Adnan create main tensions of the house and of the novel, which are played sometimes on the servants.

The third mansion is of the Minister of Finance. Although this mansion is mentioned in the first part of the novel, it gains importance in the third part when the Union and Progress Party declines and the foreign invasion of İstanbul begins. This marks the fall of Adnan as well; he loses his prestige, job, wealth, mansion and wife Belkıs. He marries Süheyla, the daughter of the Minister of Finance, whom he had taught literature

before Belkıs, and hides in her mansion like a refuge. This mansion does not change much throughout the time span of the novel. It is an oriental house, having a heavy, peaceful, silent, a bit gloomy Muslim atmosphere with all its furniture, decoration and life style of its inhabitants. Servants are also a part of this decoration; they are Oriental figures. Instead of a steward a Hacı Kahya, an old, wise, veteran Muslim man is in charge of administrative and financial duties of the mansion. The minister has placed a great trust on him so that he gives his salary to him the very first day, for his administration. He takes *kahya*'s consultancy on every issue, even on the man that will marry his daughter. This Hacı Kahya makes a sharp contrast to the steward Süleyman, a flatterer changing like a chameleon according to the rules of the day. Another Muslim type is *başkalfa*, an old, faithful, veteran maidservant that can be classed in the pearl category discussed before. She is always there in the course of Süheyla's life, serving and waiting for her, later after the death of her father, her marriage with Adnan, Adnan's illness and finally when her child is born. Actually the novel ends with a final service of *başkalfa*, burning Adnan's letters.

Servants, while being elements of decoration and signs of wealth and elegance, occupy a considerable space in the discourse of their masters. But although they are necessary for the course of their masters' lives and are some elegant possessions, they appear in expressions, allusions and comparisons, generally in a negative way. For instance, when Adnan goes to the Minister of Finance to ask for a job, the doorkeeper treats him badly, as "a valet putting the face of his master, in the absence of the master" (p.35). During one of the fashionable dinners at Hidayet's mansion, the little man Sakallı Vasfi was so little and embarrassed that he hides his face behind his fork "like a valet who sat on this table by mistake" (p.74). During the same dinner Adnan opposes the ideas of Ataşenaval Naşit just not to give an expression "of a valet wearing somebody else's clothes" (p.81). In the mansion of Belkıs, "even the valets are wearing cleaner clothes than Adnan," (p.123) which is a sign of nobility for Belkıs pointing to Adnan's lower status compared to her. In the mansion of the Minister of Finance where Adnan gives private literature lessons to his daughter, the mistress of the mansion has a pleasure of revenge in Adnan's

“getting a salary from the mansion like a valet” (p.151). The young and beautiful wife of fifty five years old, ugly Senih Efendi, serving her husband domestically and sexually in turn of just food and accommodation feels that she “lives as much as a maidservant” (p.192). Naşit and Belkıs make fun of Adnan’s appearance in theater with Hidayet, “as the poor man was like a horse keeper with his frock coat”; Hidayet would better give “a tuxedo to the man he takes to theater.” Belkıs pities Adnan, his poverty, his way of dressing; but even this pity is a means of ‘elegance’ for Belkıs (p.274).

After the Second Constitution when Union and Progress Party comes into power Adnan, as being a leading figure of the party, climbs up to the upper class in a very short time and moves to a mansion in Nişantaşı, from his poor house in Aksaray. Now he has valets and servants just like in Belkıs’ mansion. According to her, “even the valets are dressed better than their masters,” in their house, “they can at least make those dresses theirs” (p.310). Sakallı Vasfı, a man who is always behind, is fired from the party: “The one who walks behind others is a valet and every valet is bound to be fired one day” (p.329). Rıdvan, the valet of Senih Efendi, tries to change his destiny and enters the opposition Liberty and Reconciliation Party (as he was not accepted to the Union and Progress Party); but in others’ opinion he always stays a valet, “it was the worst disaster for him to have been born a valet” (p.500).

Although in the margins, servants occupy a large place in the descriptions and discourses of the masters in the novel. And the word valet occupies much more space in this discourse compared to the maidservant. They also perform traditional literary duties, as in the Western examples, such as delivering messages, death notices or good news, almost always very emotionally and officiously (See Chapter 3). Sometimes they get more happy or sad than their masters, over good or bad news concerning their masters. At several instances of the novel, “the woman’s power to get information is combined with the maidservant’s need to give information” (p.415). They also perform consoling duties to their masters.

2. “The Butler did it” Plot and two Illegitimate Child-Valets in *Üç İstanbul*

This is a novel of amazing social changes and tensions among the new and old classes, incredible rise and decline stories for various characters. However my focus will be on the servants of the novel, who are generally silent figures on the margins, except for two interesting valets: One is a Turkish version of the “butler did it” plot which has a very long history in Western literature⁴, the other is a Turkish version of the “the valet as the illegitimate child of the master” which is again a much repeated trope in Western literature.

Servants, while entering the novel in the descriptions and discourses of the masters so many times, also twice enter the plot. One is the gardener’s apprentice Ahmet whom Belkıs sees in a garden party at Prince Hasan’s country mansion. He is a handsome, tall boy with big muscles, but a shy one. Belkıs finds him “very beautiful and very valet” and wants immediately to take him to her own mansion. She believes that he resembles to English valets who are the “real ones”:

Valet Ahmet resembled English valets. Those were the real ones. English valets, with their large buttoned white neckties, muscled calves, reflected the ranks of their masters. In England, valets were selected as a pair, just like coach horses. In big English households both valets were the same height. Belkıs was going to measure Ahmet’s height and find him a match.. If Belkıs dressed Ahmet, then Adnan would see how a valet

⁴ A possible explanation for the trans-historical continuity of this plot is the “least likely convention”; here there is no a bond or identification relation between the murderer and reader, thus the murder can be committed without involving the reader’s feelings much. The main heroes evasion of the moral burden of the situation and the author’s restraint to confront the tricky situation, is loaded on the shoulders of the servant. Bruce Robbins extends this interpretation to situations of family crisis due to the appearance of the illegitimate child, giving three famous Victorian novels -*Bleak House*, *Middlemarch* and *Vanity Fair*- as examples. In these novels children who have become servants due to their parents’ denial of their legitimacy, claim their parentage. The murders are committed in these novels for different -and seemingly arbitrary- motives by those servants, although other characters have more rational reasons. Robbins establishes a connection between the servant’s being an illegitimate child and murder, though in some novels this is an indirect one. In summary, he finds a “violent appeal against exclusion” in the “butler did it” plot (Robbins, 1986:152-159). In *Üç İstanbul* as well, the butler (illegitimate child of the main hero), meets his father after a sequence of events related to his murder.

should be... Adnan could not understand the hidden delicacy of a valet within Ahmet's rough and thick body (p.389).

The figure of Valet Ahmet here represents his mistress' show-off upper class habits, and pretentious behavior, particularly of English origin. The tension between Adnan and Belkıs that goes on throughout the course of the novel represents the tension between a liberal bourgeois prototype with all his inner contradictions and uneducated manners, and remnants of a decaying upper class that does not have its own character but is a bad imitation of the West. Valet Ahmet is just one more element among others to express this tension. He differs from the other servants and valets of the novel because he has a little story of his own. He is known as a chaste, good working boy in the mansion. He secretly learns writing and administrative duties, perhaps with the intention to improve his position in the mansion and become a steward. But later in a theft incident in the mansion he is falsely accused, detained and harshly beaten (in place of the real thief Cevat, Belkıs' brother). After Adnan's mansion he begins to work in Raşel's. He is bought by that mansion as a remnant of Adnan's mansion, as Adnan had lost his prestige, power and possessions with the fall of the Union and Progress Party. His new mistress regards him as a "handsome animal," he decorates her mansion "with the sharp color of his hair, with his big and white teeth, just like any other furniture in the mansion" (p.424). In their imagination, both Belkıs and Raşel's fantasies of bestiality and sexuality is directed towards the figure of valet. Ahmet again meets Cevat as his antagonist in this new mansion, but this time as the lover of the mistress, and therefore as a rival. For he also loves Raşel. Cevat continuously ill-treats and insults him in public and especially in the presence of Raşel. In turn Valet Ahmet always remains silent and obedient, but sometimes with threatening silences expressed with suspense dots. This threat continues to grow later in the course of the novel each time implied only with a ominous silence, a bad 'straight' look with 'impertinent eyes.' Then it ends up with the murder of Cevat by Ahmet. This is also the only moment he speaks up besides his polite words while serving. He talks with a haughty tone "of a murderer, a speech that begins and ends in a minute" (p.476). Then he is prosecuted and sentenced to the death penalty. Adnan, now a plain lawyer, works as the intervening lawyer against Ahmet and plays a

big role in his punishment. When the judge asks his last words he just looks at his face and again remains silent. When he is told later that he could make an appeal, he again says or does nothing. Then it turns out that Ahmet is Adnan's illegitimate child. At that point, the illegitimacy of Ahmet and his crime of murder are connected. Ahmet makes himself known to his father, not by speaking but by an act. Towards the end of the novel all-little stories are concluded -most of them sadly, with death, decline and decay- just as Ahmet's story. Most of the figures fade. But Adnan's legitimate boy is born as a tiny piece of hope for the future. The illegitimate child did not have any chance other than being a valet with a dark and sad destiny (although his life is saved just by coincidence thanks to a general amnesty in the country), whereas the legitimate child has a good and bright future in front of him.

The second interesting valet figure is also an illegitimate child living with his brother who is legitimate and working as a valet for him. This is the valet of the Russian Prince, third husband of Belkıs. This valet is a highly talented and educated man, a graduate of Russian Academy of Fine Arts. He paints and plays cello. When Belkıs and the Prince lose all their wealth they fire all their servants, sell all their possessions and move to a small apartment in Beyoğlu together with only one valet. He does all the housework, including washing dishes, cleaning and cooking, and he earns their living by oldening the new furniture of the new riches as well. This valet is a clever self initiative man; he converts his art of painting channeling to a way of earning money. He is described as a valet but also called a 'man of art' who is more intellectual and clever his clients and than his masters. He knows all the artistic periods in their smallest details much better than others. He slowly gains fame in this furniture trade but also as an expert who is consulted by the İstanbul high society about the authenticity of antiques. He is loyal "like a dog" to his mistress, and later we learn that he is also in love with her (just as Ahmet who falls in love with his mistress). But contrary to Ahmet, he finds his way in the world, he earns money; and with his initiative he makes a future to himself. Coming from an aristocratic father he does not restrain from working. Whereas for Belkıs and the Prince, working is a non-honorable act for an aristocrat. The Prince even ignores being

beaten by his valet (i.e. his brother who provides the living of the house as well as Prince's money for heroine); and Belkıs does not find it embarrassing when she is harassed and insulted by his husband in front of the valet. Those two upper class people live their final days of decadence and decline in this fashion. Their day is passing away.

This valet figure is an interesting and unique one that seems to be an annex to the novel, thinking of the overall structure of the novel, which is constructed by highly intertwined stories of several characters. His story is attached to one of the main hero's story, but not organically knitted. This structural aspect of the presence of the Russian valet in the novel would tell us something about the Ottoman modernization, which went hand in hand with westernization. That process is also represented in the novel in Hidayet's, Moiz's and Belkıs' mansions that are patchworks of anachronistic styles from various places, but also in the selection of the servants. The selection of this Russian valet, the content of his brief story and its being attached to the stories of the main heroes, all appear to be an expression of the Ottoman modernization and cosmopolite atmosphere of İstanbul of the period. He is a figure imported from abroad. As I mentioned before in late 18th century English novels there were such valet figures and according to Robbins (1986) they represented the rise and victory of the bourgeoisie against nobility. In this anecdote of *Üç İstanbul* we can make a similar observation that this Russian valet is an imported element from the Western novel problematicizing Western class formations, besides his representation as a sign of the Ottoman modernization.

3. An Ottoman Male Servant Figure: *Lala*

The valet appears as a Western figure in *Üç İstanbul*, with his Western style uniforms and manners of talking and serving. And in the case of the Russian valet, he appears with his individuality, with his will, talent and intellect in taking the control of his life (and his masters). He succeeds in life, in contrast to his decaying, loser upper class masters. But we should not forget that he is not an Ottoman, but a foreigner. Actually there is hardly a male servant figure in early Ottoman novels, except for signs of them in few words or sentences talking about the servant staff of a mansion. For instance in *İntibah* there is only one instance when valets and maidservants in Ali's house are

mentioned. Felâton Bey has a valet of Anatolian origin who enters the novel in one paragraph with a comic function; he continuously misunderstands the speech of Felâton Bey, which is mixed with French words and when forced to reply in French he distorts the French words with his Anatolian dialect. In his analysis on superwesternization after the Tanzimat period, Şerif Mardin, beside several other Tanzimat novels, mentions Recâizade Mahmut Ekrem's novel *Araba Sevdası*. The alafranga dandy type Bihruz Bey who has many similarities with Felâton Bey, has a Greek *valet de chambre* who serves his dinner saying "*Monsieur est servi.*" (Mardin, 1997:37). In these two novels, the valet also appears as a Western element (although used for ridiculing superwesternization). Also in *Sergüzeşt*, we just know that there are some valets in the second mansion of Dilber. But, as discussed before, female servant figures, be it a *cariye* or old, veteran *kalfa*, had a far more significant and central place in the early novels, compared to male servants.

On the other hand, there is an oriental literary male servant figure who is quite different than the valet. It is the *lala*. He is an old Muslim man, a faithful and veteran servant responsible of the children of the house. This is a male nurse. Although in the account of Abdülaziz Bey the *lala* is only in charge of the boy, in *Kızılıcak Dalları* (Güntekin, 19th Edition), *lala* figure takes care of all children including the girls⁵. He is more in charge of guarding the children, rather than doing some womanly duties related to child-care such as changing and washing child diapers, feeding, or teaching good manners. In the

⁵ Abdülaziz Bey gives a short account of the figure of *lala*, beside several other Ottoman figures in his work titled *Osmanlı Adet, Merasim ve Tabirleri*. According to him, "Noblemen, some wealthy bureaucrats and tradesmen were selecting a *lala* for the conduct and surveillance of their boys. This is a very old Ottoman custom. Ones who cannot hire a *lala*, would select a valet among their servants for the surveillance of the boy. As that was the most important service in the house, a servant eligible for such a task, a talented, honest, chaste man having a good character was elected." Not only the surveillance but also the teaching of good manners was also the duty of the *lala*. So he should also be "a decent, trustful, clean, honest man whose qualities were examined and tried in advance." The function of *lala* was especially critical during the school period of the boy. He was also in charge of defending the boy from badly educated, immoral friends and foreigners, of bad intentions, outside home (Abdülaziz Bey, 1995:55). He generally assisted the boy to school, in his recreational activities as well as some traditional rituals such as feasts (ibid. p.59, p.268).

Ottoman history, there are several famous *lalas* of Sultans who are wise, intellectual, old man, advisors, who sometimes become the right hand of Sultans.

The *lala* figure in *Kızılıcak Dallarını*, is in charge of guarding but also entertaining the children of the mansion, until the day of the arrival of Gülsüm. On the other hand, he is responsible more on the tasks outside the mansion, as women are not preferably sent out alone. His main duty is to take children to school every day, wait for them there all day - in case of a possible emergency or problem- and take them back home. As mentioned before, duties related to childcare are divided according to gender. Some women servants (old *kalfa*, wet nurses, girl *beslemes*) perform womanly tasks related to children, whereas *lala* mainly guards the children.

Lala also has some original tactics like Gülsüm (that were discussed in Chapter 4). Throughout his long years in the mansion, he develops a small trade, a business that converts exhausting donkeywork assigned to him into money. He keeps things that can be found in a corner shop, in a shop he has created in his room and sells them to the dwellers of the mansion, first not for profit but just not to be sent countless times in a day to the street to buy something. But later he develops this small business to gain a considerable amount of profit. For his business he develops some other strategies such as ‘provoking’ and ‘creating fashions’ in the mansion, first among children, then servants and finally among adult family members. For example buying cheap fans in summer and selling them in winter by creating a fashion of playing with fan among children, or a particular *pestil* or candy to be sold out of season. “In spite of all her investigations, the elder mistress could not find out who created those fashions.” (pp.54-55) *Lala* has another original tactic -among other ordinary ones, such as lying and getting involved in household conspiracies-; that is threatening the elder mistress with leaving the mansion one day to go back to his village. He uses this theme -turning back to village- at several instances in the novel, sometimes to threat, sometimes to make whims (p.47).

In later novels the male servant almost disappears. There is hardly a boy version of *besleme* (though there are several orphan boys in both novels taken to the literary canon

and in popular novels such as Kemalettin Tuğcu's.). These orphan boys are not in servitude like girls. And when we come to the profession of daily domestic work, this is definitely a woman's job. On the other hand, there is a later version of the valet in two novels of 50s, *Gurbet Kuşları* and *Âkile Hanım Sokağı*. Like their predecessors, these valets only enter the novel by giving some service -opening the door or entering the room with a meal plate- in one sentence. And in both novels they are interestingly called waiters, rather than valets, although they are serving in the house. They both wear very clean jackets and papyon. They are both described as part of the decoration of the *nouveau riche*'s houses in two novels. Their hiring a valet and calling them waiter seem to be a sign of being very rich but also a *nouveau riche*.

Differences and similarities in the representation of male and female servants in the novel would give us some clues about the imagination of the upper classes about servitude. At one side, the servants, be it woman or man, are imagined as a decorative element attached to the masters' lives. This is a similarity that has not changed much historically. On the other hand there can be observed a gendered approach to the servitude in the masters' imagination; in other words their values and attitudes against the servitude of man and woman show some differences and there is a historicity in that. In early novels we find a crowd of servants, both men and women, of course under a gendered division of labor in the house. Whereas throughout the course of the short history of the novel, male servant figures disappear, leaving the scene of servitude almost totally to women. This might be the sign of ever increasing association of servitude with women as represented in the literary imagination. This representation has a tight connection with the social and economical context regarding domestic labor and woman labor. In other words, as discussed before, domestic service increasingly becomes a female occupation, paid or unpaid. And one would expect the representation of this social phenomenon in the novel. On the other hand, this representation might have a connection with the attitude of the Turkish society against the servitude of man, from past to present.

4. A Late Valet

Necmi Erdoğan discusses the cultural aspects of the question of servitude by giving an example on the debates on the abolition of the system of orderlies in the army that had started with the initiative of the Democratic Party in 1951. Those debates, according to Erdoğan, point to the Democrat Party-army relations, Democrat Party populism but also to the popular sensitivity against such a servitude, in other words using privates in domestic service of the high rank soldiers for such chores like washing laundry, doing dishes, shopping and taking the children out. The related minister comments against the arguments of the military officers, that “the national consciousness is not happy with” the usage of the privates in domestic service (pp.33-34). On the other hand, there seems to be no objection against the usage of domestic working women which is an ever increasing practice in modern Turkey in houses of “classes having high economic and cultural capital, as well as low income officers and lower-middle classes.” This is a practice that combines “liberals, Islamists, Kemalists, “leftists” and even feminists, although they give it different meanings” (p.36).

Erdoğan also points to the expressions such as “kula kulluk edilmez (you can't be subject to a subject)” or negative meanings attributed to the saying “uşaklık yapmak (serving like a valet)” which somehow reflect the political unconscious of Turkish society from past to today. The appearances of the word valet and allusions, expressions related to the valet figure, his servitude, dressing, gestures, attitudes in *Üç İstanbul* that is discussed above also point to the reflection of the same political unconscious.

A late valet figure in the Turkish novel, Recep of *Sessiz Ev* (Pamuk, 1994)⁶ by Orhan Pamuk can also be read under the light of this discussion. This is a novel accounting the

⁶ Orhan Pamuk (1952-). He was born in İstanbul, as the son of an upper class family. He went to Robert College, three years to the Architecture Department of İstanbul Technical University, then graduated from Institute of Journalism, lived three years in New York. Now a best-seller novelist, he is only involved in writing. His novels were translated to more than 20 languages, published abroad and received several awards in Turkey and abroad. He published his first poems at the age of 18, then his short stories, essays and critics in *Gösteri*, *Yeni Düşün*, *Kadın*, *Milliyet Sanat*, *Defter*, *Express*, *Öküz*, *Cumhuriyet Kitap* and *Radikal* 2. He tried the realist novel techniques of the 19th century in his first novel, whereas adopted a mixture of old and modern

summer just before the 12 September military coup around the characters of Fatma Hanım, a 90-years old woman, her valet Recep, her three grand sons Faruk, Nilgün, Metin and Recep's nephew, Hasan. Although each character represents a different ideological position, and each has different relation with the valet Recep, there is a common attitude that combines them: Embarrassment (and pity or hatred) concerning Recep. Similarly expressions such as "being a valet to the rich," "I'm not your father's valet," etc. enter the discourse of characters representing different ideologies, just as in *Üç İstanbul* or in Erdoğan's examples, consequently giving signs of negative attitudes attributed to the male servant in the political unconscious of Turkish society.

Each chapter is narrated from the point of view of one of the characters in the form of inner monologues, remembrance of some recent or past events and dialogues and sometimes in the form of stream of consciousness (especially in chapters dedicated to Fatma Hanım). This narrative structure allows the author to give several versions of the same story from different points of view but also introduces quite a difficult task of making each character speak and think in their special ways (a 90-years old mistress, a high school boy, an ignorant, silent dwarf valet, etc.). This narrative structure allows the depiction of two sides of the mistress/valet relationship, which is one of the central themes of the novel or different narrations and conceptions of a single event -for instance visit to the cemetery- so on so forth.

Recep is a 50-year old man, a self giving, caring, industrious valet doing all the domestic tasks of the house from dishes to shopping, washing, cleaning, as well as the personal services of his mistress Fatma Hanım. Later it turns out that he was born in that house as the illegitimate child of the master, Fatma's husband Selahattin Bey and of their maidservant. Except for a short period of time (Fatma Hanım sends the maidservant and her two illegitimate children Recep and İsmail back to their village but later her own

techniques such as stream of consciousness in his second novel *Sessiz Ev*. He said for *Sessiz Ev*, "details in that novel such as circle of youngsters, car races, drinking and partying at houses, going to discos, passing time at seaside, arose during his personal experiences from his teenager days in the beginning of the 1970s in Bayramoğlu, a seaside resort of İstanbul" (quoted in YKY, 2001).

legitimate child Doğan, the father of her three grand sons, takes Recep and İsmail back to the house) he has been serving that family for forty years, a job handed over from his maidservant mother. It is as if he was always there both as a witness and servant to the three generations of the Darvinoğlu family. He only enters dialogue with a service, a news or when something is asked from him. His silence, and his lack of reaction and taking the initiative appear several times in the novel; this is sometimes a servant tactic - not answering the mistress, acting as if he had not have heard an order, a call, acting insensibly and remaining silent against insults, shoutings, etc.- but sometimes his lack of reaction against events directly related to his life:

I took the dishes to the kitchen; I'm washing them... We recently arrived from village, we don't understand. My mother is dead; Doğan Bey took pity on us, and brought us here. He said: Recep, you will help my mother with domestic work, and İsmail will stay with you, in the basement; you two, live there, later I'll, in any case, do something for you, why should you pay for the sins of those two, why? I said nothing... You'll also take care of my father, he drinks a lot, will you Recep? I again kept my silence, I even could not say OK. Doğan Bey. Then he took us here, and left to go to the army. (p.158). (p.158).

Major part of the discourse of Recep throughout the novel includes discourses of his masters just as in the above piece (and the rest includes pieces of memories related to them, things related to his daily services and finally at rare moments his own experiences of his daily life). In the inner thoughts of Recep we again read his silence. He draws a sharp line between himself and 'them':

Sıtkı Bey... He recognized me, he smiled, hesitated.
"Hello Recep Efendi," he said. "How are you?"
I always wait for them to talk first.
"Hello Sıtkı Bey," I said. "Thank you" (p.12).

Sıtkı Bey is an acquaintance. 'Them' is not everybody but upper class people. Because Recep does not speak with İsmail or his nephew Hasan as he speaks with the people he calls 'them.' On the other hand he does not feel a kind of hostility, nor does he complain of any thing. He believes that he is paying the guilt of his mother and father by being a dwarf and a man without friends -this theme of guilt and pain of conscience associated with it is also one of the central themes of the novel that appear in other characters. In

that sense he does not have a class consciousness or class hatred against his masters, nor does he feel embarrassed because of being a valet. But every body around him feels a kind of pity and/or embarrassment against him. There is constant reference to the shyness and embarrassment of Recep in the mouth of other characters. Fatma Hanım believes that Recep accepted remaining in the house as a valet because he felt embarrassed and had fears in mixing with other people (p.203). Nilgün thinks that Recep would not like to come with her and Faruk to have a walk because he is shy (p.219). And Faruk also thinks that Recep had kept his silence when he was talking about the history of Üsküdar, because he was shy (p.219) (but we, readers know about the interest of Recep in the story of the house of dwarfs in ancient Üsküdar). Whereas Hasan feels himself embarrassed for having an uncle serving the rich. Among his friends “being a valet to the rich” is an insulting occupation (p.166). He sometimes feels pity, sometimes anger, sometimes and belittlement against his uncle.

To turn back to this line drawn between ‘me’ and ‘them’, it is even sharper for Hasan. He develops a kind of class consciousness, and his energy and hatred is converted into a fascist ideology. This energy and hatred increase throughout the novel like a crescendo and come to a maximum at the end. The tone and effects of Hasan’s acts as well increase. He progresses from stealthy watching the family first from a distance then more closely; this passive watching changes into an obsessive following of Nilgün then to secretly entering the house, going as far as the intimacy of their bedrooms; while leaving the house from the kitchen -the servant quarter of the house that draws the border that he could never cross from his childhood onwards- he turns on the gas just to cause a damage to the family. Finally, he beats Nilgün to death at the end of the novel, which is the peak act of his hatred.

In fact the theme of class consciousness appear only in the third generation characters of the novel; in Hasan as hatred felt for the rich but also communists; in Metin as a mixture of envy, hatred, rivalry and friendship for the rich man’s children; in Nilgün as a petty bourgeois intellectual leftism, not in the form of hatred, a real life experience or a consciousness but at an abstract level of ideas. The author seems to have imagined those

three, to represent main ideologies and conflicts of the pre-12 September period: A high school lower class boy having affinities with a fascist party, another high school boy of middle class background who only wants to go to the best schools of the USA and become rich and a middle class university student, an intellectual leftist who reads books and *Cumhuriyet* newspaper but actually living in her ivory tower, far from the realities of society. On the other hand, class based relations in the house are played on the figure of valet without any reference to a class-consciousness of the valet himself.

The second generation characters like Faruk, Recep and İsmail remain outside this schema. They rather live in the isolation of their lives. Faruk is an alcoholic historian who is not interested in the realities of today but only in the science of history, in an archive he finds in Gebze, a far distant past that he can not comprehend or establish any connection with the present. He is lost in his inner problems, in questions such as “What is history?” “What is the meaning of life?”, etc. He is so blind to today that he does not see his sister Nilgün dying, after the violent attack of Hasan nor does he make any move to save her, nor later does he take any position concerning the reasons lying behind the murder of his sister. Just as Faruk is living in the isolation of History, Recep is living in the isolation of the gloomy, silent house that gives its name to the novel. He does not have any concern other than his daily routine of services, his sincere care given lovingly to his masters (when they are ill, they have a hang over, in cases of emergency, putting in bed, covering the quilt, insisting to make them drink a glass of milk, warning to change wet bathing suit, etc.) and his memories. As I mentioned before he dedicates his life and services with a feeling of paying his masters’ gilts, without any complaint or reaction. And İsmail, a minor character, is drawn as a humble man selling lottery, living a modest life with his family, concerned only with surviving in life and providing for the education of his son Hasan so that he can save his life. İsmail also draws the line between ‘me’ and ‘them’ just like Recep and Hasan. But they are not ‘us.’ Only Hasan, within his affinity to the fascist party, with his acts with his party mates, begins to feel like ‘us’ against ‘them.’

Fatma Hanım, the only first generation character, is also living in the isolation of her life, of the silent house, but more importantly of her past. Her inner thoughts almost totally consist of her distant memories. Some of them return to haunt her again and again, especially the ones related to the relationship of his husband to the maidservant and her children. And the fact that every body has died and only Recep remained together with her total dependence on his servitude, her weakness and solitude, leads her to obsessively think the same memories over and over again. These obsessions are associated with her paranoia regarding mainly Recep (but also her grand sons, though more weakly). So these two feelings, obsession and paranoia of the mistress and the ignorance, deafness/muteness and obedience of the valet are factors that determine the mistress-valet relationship. Fatma Hanım also has a kind of class attitude and hostility toward all servants -first to the maidservant, than for her illegitimate children and grand son- in the history of the silent house. This hatred is mixed with her obsessions, paranoia and a feeling of remorse, which appears at some instances as a deviant element in her general hostile tone against servants. Fatma Hanım associates prostitution with the maidservant and insidiousness, a kind of threat and danger with the valet.

The discourse of Fatma Hanım on her valet is full of insulting and hostile words such as 'insidious dwarf', 'disgusting, and ugly creature'. Faruk also associates being a dwarf and insidious giving a reference to Chops, the insidious dwarf character in one of the novels of Dickens (p.219). But as far as we know from the chapters dedicated to Recep giving his point of view, he is not an insidious person nor does he create a threat against the Darvinoğlu family and their house, on the contrary, he devotes himself and his services to that family. However, the danger comes from an unexpected person, Hasan. His stealthy approaches to the family, his infiltration into the house, up to the bedrooms of the family members, ends up with his murder of a family member. In other words, the paranoia and obsessions of Fatma Hanım come true, but in another way.

As discussed before, silence, insidiousness, threatening looks and various dangers associated with the literary servant -male and female- in particular and with the working classes in general, in the Western bourgeois imagination corresponds to a particular

period in the history of class conflicts in the West, i.e. second half of the 19th century. The appearance of a similar representation of the literary servant in the Turkish novel in a novel written and accounting pre 12 September period would also have a meaning regarding the Turkish context.

Let me repeat the periodization of Berna Moran and Ahmet Oktay of the Turkish novel of before and after 1950, i.e. beginning of the multi-party regime. Both authors observed an increased concern for inequalities, injustices and class issues in the Turkish novel. This concern continues to increase in the politicizing climate of the country during the 12 March period, coupled with the increasing class conflicts of the period. Appearance of such a servant figure and a lower class figure associated with threat and danger against the middle class family and house -just at the pre 12 September period but not before- could be interpreted considering that the pre-12 September days were one of the most chaotic periods of the recent history of Turkey with highest level of organization of progressive, as well as fascist forces, both took action against the established order (and against each other).

The maidservant and the plot of murder of the master in the house, in *Asılacak Kadın* by Pınar Kür, which is again a pre-12 September novel, also support my observation about *Sessiz Ev* (See Chapter 3). In the former, the murderer is a communist high school boy of a low class family (actually the son of the veteran servants of the house), whereas in the latter a fascist high school low class boy (the third generation of the servants of the house). The common points -both are high school boys, both are sons of servants- as well as the main difference between these two murderers -i.e. their ideological standings- are interesting. The bourgeois literary imagination combines two diametrically opposed ideologies in its fear against low classes, whereas this fear is represented with murders by not servants themselves -as in the case of some 19th century Western novels- but by their sons or grand sons. On the other hand, in both novels, servants themselves remain faithful to their masters.

To sum up the discussion made so far, following points are made. Evaluating the eighteen novels taken to this study, first observation regarding the male and female

servants is the abundance of the novels with female servants, and existence of very few male servants. This seems to be a straightforward reflection of the fact that domestic work has always been a woman's job.

Regarding the similarities and differences in the representation of male and female servants, it can be argued that both of them have been a significant element in the description of the masters' houses, styles and even mentality. This aspect of the representation of the figure of servant shows a historical continuity. On the other hand, there is one main difference in the representation of male and female servants in novels: This is the negative attributes given to male servants, in both novelistic discourses and plots. Those attributes show parallelisms to expressions in Turkish language, which point to attributes given to the servitude of man by the Turkish society at large.

Another argument regarding the male servants in the Ottoman context would be the association of that figure with the Ottoman modernization and westernization. Such an association is not observed for female servant figures in the eighteen novels taken to this study.

Finally, three murders in the eighteen novels examined in this study are committed by male servants. This is the appearance of a highly repeated Western plot in the Turkish novel, i.e. "the butler did it" plot, which has a long tradition in the West. The fear of the servant-keeping classes of being murdered is an extreme case of fears and dangers associated to the low classes and to servants at home. Keeping aside the murder in *Üç İstanbul*, which does not have an ideological connection, this fear appears in two novels examined, which narrate the pre-12 September period. That can be explained with the ideological and political context of Turkey at that time, marked with conflicts and antagonisms in various spheres of life. Those fears and feelings of insecurity found an expression in those two novels.