

# MÎZÂN

Studien zur Literatur in der islamischen Welt

Herausgegeben von  
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und Mark Kirchner

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# Many Ways of Speaking About the Self

Middle Eastern Ego-Documents in Arabic, Persian,  
and Turkish (14<sup>th</sup>–20<sup>th</sup> Century)

Edited by Ralf Elger and Yavuz Köse

2010

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Das von Anwārī al Husaynī entworfene Signet auf dem Umschlag symbolisiert eine Waage.

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## Lessons of a Long Life:the Self, History and Religion in the Memoirs of Muammer Tuksavul (1901–1996)

Christoph Herzog

Ishak Muammar Tuksavul was a successful Turkish businessman who had close biographic connections to Germany. Among other things he built up the sugar production plant in Turhal and was a co-founder of the Turkish *Yapi Kredi Bankası*. In 1980 he retired as a general director of *Henkel-Turyağ*. He was born 22 January 1901<sup>1</sup> into an Istanbul *ulema* family of some prominence and died 2 September 1996 in Istanbul.<sup>2</sup> In his later years he authored three books that all bear characteristics of “ego documents.” The first of these was entitled *Doğudan Batya ve Sonrası*. Authored in 1979/80, it comprises 458 pages and was printed privately in 1981 in Istanbul.<sup>3</sup> His second work was written in German. Its title is *Eine bittere Freundschaft: Erinnerungen eines türkischen Jahrhundertzeugen*. It contains a preface by the well-known German journalist Peter Scholl-Latour and was printed in 1985 in Düsseldorf by Econ. Its contents are largely identical to *Doğudan Batya* although it is not a translation of the latter. Some passages differ, others are left out or added. From a literary genre point of view both books bear the typical characteristics of memoirs. His last book bears the title *Ben de Müslümanım*, written in 1993/94 and published by *Yapi Kredi Yayınları* in 1995.<sup>4</sup> It contains passages of his first book, but adds his thoughts on Islam and the necessity of modernist Islamic reform.

The first two books are structured alike: They start out with his childhood memories and roughly cover the Ottoman time until 1917 when he left for Germany where he was to receive his further secondary education and later studied industrial chemistry and economics in Mannheim and Darmstadt. The part up to his return to Turkey in the beginning of 1929 is narrated in the second part of these books. The third part covers his memories of the time after 1929 in Turkey. Both books contain a fourth part that is entitled “Düşündüklerim” in the first and “Erkenntnisse—Gedanken” in the second book. That part offers a historical summary of the history of the Turks and Tuksavul’s historical and politi-

1 In his book *Doğudan Batya*, p. 152, Muammer Tuksavul, quoting a poem his father had authored at the occasion of his birth, gives the date of his birth as 1 Şevval 1318, 19 Ocak [= Kanun-i sani] 1316, and indicates that these dates corresponded to the year 1900 A.D., which is generally given as his year of birth. The corresponding year of the Common Era for the date of his birth, however, would be 1901. This incongruity is probably to be explained by the fact that 1318 A.H. began on 1 May 1900 so that the greater part of this Islamic year indeed corresponded to 1900 A.D.

2 For information on the time and place of his death, I’m indebted to the courtesy of his son Rauf C. Tuksavul.

3 A second print was under consideration in 1994 at the *Yapi Kredi Yayınları*; see *Ben de Müslümanım*, p. 7. I did not find out whether this planned re-edition was realized.

4 In references to these texts I henceforth will use the sigles “DB” for *Doğudan Batya*, “BF” for *Eine bittere Freundschaft* and “BM” for *Ben de Müslümanım*.

cal ideas. The third book, apart from several biographic passages taken mostly from sub-chapters of his first book, *Doğudan Batya* is mostly an essay explaining his historical, political and especially religious ideas. The book *Ben de Müslümanum*<sup>5</sup> expresses concern about the rise of the anti-Kemalist political Islam in Turkey during the Özal period and its aftermath.

Attempting a rough “measuring” of the degree to which the first two books targeted different audiences and/or expressed a shift in the interests of their author yields the following results:

Chapters dealing with	in <i>Doğudan Batya</i>	in <i>Eine bittere Freundschaft</i>
Childhood, Ottoman Empire until 1917	184 pp. = 41.0 %	120 pp. = 29.9 %
Education in Germany 1917-1929	110 pp. = 24.5 %	130 pp. = 31.4 %
Adult age, Turkey after 1929	114 pp. = 25.4 %	996 pp. = 23.1 %
Historical and political thoughts	40 pp. = 8.9 %	68 pp. = 16.4 %
Total <sup>6</sup>	448 pp. = 100 %	414 pp. = 100 %

It is interesting to note that the part on Germany is much larger in the version targeting a German audience and that in both cases the author's quantitative occupation with his childhood and his family during the Ottoman Empire significantly outnumbers the part on his adult life in the Republic of Turkey although, in terms of lifetime, the latter extends over fifty years or more while the former only covers the first 16 years of his life. It is also remarkable that the size of the chapter in which Muammer Tuksavul discussed his historical and political ideas almost doubled relative to the size of his first and second books, while his third one was almost exclusively dedicated to the discussion of his ideas, the biographic information playing only a supporting part.

As a reader of Muammer Tuksavul's (in the wider sense) autobiographic texts, I will structure my analysis of them along three different layers of hermeneutic understanding. Such texts can be read (among many other possible ways):

1. as historical sources providing facts (possibly distorted by subjectivity, tradition or convention, by error or on purpose);
2. as a single literary artefact by analyzing e.g. the structure of its inherent textual composition;
3. as a text within a context, i. e. as part and parcel of a broader discourse.

### A Historical Source

Apart from the fact that almost all biographical information we possess about Muammer Tuksavul is based on his own account, he also offers valuable insights into the fate of members of his family, especially his father Mehmed Cemaleddin Efendi (1859/60–1916)<sup>7</sup> to

5 The similarity between this title and well-known examples, like the multi-volume *Ben de Yazdm* by former president Celâl Bayar or the book *İstanbul'dan Ben de Geçtim* by the famous essayist Selim Nüzhet Gerçek, is arguably intended.

6 Prefaces, tables of content, etc. were left out in page count and rounding errors were not settled in the addition to 100 %.

7 His *sicill* is included in Sadık Albayrak, *Son Devir Osmanlı Uleması*, 5 vols., 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., Istanbul, 1996, vol. III,

whom he dedicated his first work. In this book (as well as in the German version), he offers a quite detailed account of his father's household, which he presents as a typical example of an Istanbuli upper-class Ottoman official's household (thus contributing valuable information for the every-day history of this stratum of late Ottoman society).

The family preserved the tradition that originated from the Karakoyunlu Turcomans. According to that tradition, the progenitor of the family was a certain İsmail Bey, a Karakoyunlu Turcoman who participated in the campaigns of Murad IV (r. 1623–1640) in Azerbaijan and Iraq and later settled in Harput. Some of his descendants later emigrated to Damascus, others to the regions of Maraş and Antep. Muammer Tuksavul's father Cemaleddin Efendi was the son of Harputlu İshak Efendi,<sup>8</sup> a wellknown *alim* in the time of Sultan Abdülaziz, who had settled in Istanbul. But still the household of his son had close contact to Harput as well as to Turcomans from the Taurus.<sup>9</sup>

Hoca İshak Efendi, who is described as having possessed a grim, hard-nosed personality,<sup>10</sup> seems to have taken close interest in the education of his son Cemaleddin. Besides having sent him to *rüşdiye*, he personally educated him and later sent him to important *ulema* in Jerusalem and Cairo. At a relatively young age, while staying in Damascus, Cemaleddin Efendi was married to the daughter of his father's maternal uncle, Zahida Merzuka, Muammer Tuksavul's mother. Her family lived in Damascus but were originally from Harput, too.<sup>11</sup> This information about the descent of his mother and the marriage with his father in Damascus is missing from the Turkish text.<sup>12</sup> Interestingly enough, even in the German text this information does not form an integral part of the narration but is put in a footnote inserted into a passage dealing with the early career of Muammer Tuksavul's father. Missing personal information about female family members' mothers, spouses or daughters, who are sometimes not even mentioned at all, is a quite common phenomenon in late Ottoman (male) memoirs. Information about his German spouse, however is given by Tuksavul. Here again the German and the Turkish versions differ slightly, because it is only in the Turkish text that he offers a numbered four point explanation why he didn't marry a Turkish girl: A Turkish girl, he argues, would have insisted on an expensive wedding (1), a comfortable house right from the beginning (2), if she was from Istanbul she would not have accepted a life in the province (3), and even if she was from the provinces she would always have wished to live in Istanbul (4).<sup>13</sup>

The memoirs of Muammer Tuksavul start with his childhood in Mecca, where his father was appointed *kadi*, probably in 1902. In 1905 he was transferred as *baş kadısı* to Egypt

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pp. 59–60, where he is listed under the shortened variant of his name Mehmet Cemal Efendi. However, if compared with the information provided by Tuksavul about the career of his father, the data provided in Albayrak, *Son Devir Osmanlı Uleması*, seems to be defective. Thus, his appointment as *kadi* in Egypt is not mentioned at all.

8 On him see İshak Sunguroğlu, *Harput Yollarında*, vol. II, Istanbul, 1959 [reprint Ankara, 1989], pp. 124–130. Biographic information about some of his descendants is also provided.

9 *DB*, p. 143.

10 *Ibid.*, p. 144.

11 *BF*, p. 55.

12 He gives the name of his mother in *DB*, p. 13.

13 *DB*, pp. 342–344, and *BF*, pp. 296–298. He reported that his mother also desired to live in Istanbul; see *DB*, p. 51.

where the family was to stay until 1907.<sup>14</sup> After the return to Istanbul, Cemaleddin Efendi became *İstanbul kadısı* but fell out with the CUP after having turned down several proposals for the position of *şeyhü'lislâm*, allegedly because he thought that this office was too political. Since 1911 he was a member of the *Meclis-i tedkikat-i ser'iye*.<sup>15</sup> At the beginning of the First World War he opposed the proclamation of *cihad* and his opposition to the CUP stiffened. It was in this context that he was appointed *kadi* of Edirne in January 1915, where he died the following year.

In 1917 his third son Muammer Tuksavul, by the mediation of a neighbor, the wife of a German military officer and a friend of his deceased father, Midhat Şükrü [Bleda] (executed in 1926 after the plot against Mustafa Kemal in İzmir) came to Germany to study industrial chemistry. He obtained his high-school diploma ("Abitur") in Mannheim, after that he completed a bank traineeship and in 1925 finished business school with the degree "Diplomkaufmann" to which he added a graduation as a chemist at the Technical University of Karlsruhe. In 1929 he returned to Turkey, where he started working as the manager of a French oil mill in Mersin and, before the French one went bankrupt, for another oilmill owned by three Instanbuli Greeks, before he turned to management in Sugar production. Together with his friend Kazım Taşkent (1894–1991), he set up a plant for sugar production in Eskişehir in 1934 and another one in Turhal in the province of Tokat which today bears his name (Muammer Tuksavul-Turhal Şeker Fabrikası). In 1943 he was called by Kazım Taşkent to be among the founders of the first Turkish private bank, the Yapı-Kredi Bankası. He remained in the management of this bank until 1952, brokering several German capital investments in Turkey, most notably that of the Henkel group and the Turyağ Anonim Şirketi which produced edible oil, oleomargarine, and washing agent. In 1980 he finally retired and began to write his memoirs.

### A Literary Artefact

Any ego document can be read as much as literature as a historical source. These two ways of reading are not, of course, mutually exclusive. One basic question here would concern the genre Muammer Tuksavul's three books belong to. Above I have referred to them in a rather undefined way as "memoirs." It seems undeniable that his books possess autobiographic qualities, that are usually described as putting the personality of the author at the center of the narrative attention.<sup>16</sup> Yet it seems to me that the author's interest in making his reader participate in his inner life is secondary in comparison to his interest in telling them about his historical, political, and religious ideas. Thus, the use of the broader term seems to be more apt.<sup>17</sup>

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14 DB, p. 39.

15 See Albayrak, *Son Devir Osmanlı Uleması*, vol. III, p. 59, and Ahmed Nezih Galitekin (ed.), *İlmîyye Sâlnâmesi*, Istanbul, n.d., pp. 143–144, for the other members of this commission.

16 For some of the specifica that distinguishes the genre of autobiography from that of memoirs see the classical text of Georg Misch, "Begriff und Ursprung der Autobiographie" in Günter Niggel (ed.), *Die Autobiographie: Zu Form und Geschichte einer literarischen Gattung*, 2nd ed., Darmstadt, 1998, pp. 33–54, pp. 39–40, 50. See also Philippe Lejeune, "Der autobiographische Pakt" in Niggel (ed.), *Die Autobiographie*, pp. 214–258, pp. 215–216.

17 Misch, "Begriff", p. 40.

Of the countless possibilities the analysis of Tuksavul's texts as literature offers, I want to propose only the following: It appears that the narrative of the author's own biography is closely linked to the meta-narrative of the downfall of the Ottoman Empire and the emergence of modern Turkey. The story of the decline of his father's household and the latter's death are connected to the Ottoman realm, while the author's story about his hard years learning and studying in Germany, his coming back and being successful and active in Turkey, which has shaken off the yoke of the past and is, through the reforms of Atatürk and through hard labor, on its way to economic prosperity and political standing. This coincidence of the personal and the political development has several striking culminations. Particularly when in the big fire of Aksaray in 1910 the *konak* of the family and all the precious books and manuscripts of his father's library, including the handwritten works of his own father and the genealogical tree (*secere*) of the family are lost.

The tragic story of Muammer's eldest brother Emin is another illustrative point in case: Emin was first educated in the medrese, then in an *idadiye*, before he studied at the *mekteb-i müllkiye-i sahane* in Istanbul. After that he entered government service and was employed in Beirut, where he married the daughter of one of Abdülhamid's *mabeyncis* of Circassian origin. For whatever reason, Emin soon quit his job and came to Istanbul where he lived in the house of his father-in-law in Cihangir. About 1913, together with a friend, he founded a trading company in Galata intending to import grain and sugar from Romania and the Ukraine. However, his father did not accept this decision and the author quotes him saying: "There is no room for the business of greedy merchants in our ancestry. You are breaking the honesty of the family. Refrain from the merchant's desk!"<sup>18</sup> The break proved to be irreparable. The eldest son left Istanbul, turning first to Egypt, later to Afghanistan, and after that to India where, during the world war, he was arrested by the British for espionage and condemned to death. However, he managed to escape, and via Central Asia and Japan finally made his way back to Istanbul after the war. He never met his father again. To take revenge on his brother-in-law, whom he suspected of having denounced him to the British, he traveled to French-occupied Beirut where this person was in command of the police. However, in the night of his arrival he was shot in the entrance of his hotel.

The author comments on the tragic side of this adventurous life story: "For today's generations it may be hard to believe, but it is true. I witnessed it in my own family. Even in those years it was for an intellectual Turk whose social position was somewhat elevated unacceptable to become a merchant. On the contrary, it was counted disgraceful (*aynɒ*)."<sup>19</sup> In the Turkish version of the memoirs (but missing in the German version) there is an additional tweak: Here Muammer Tuksavul reports that his father, before traveling to Edirne where he was to die only a few months later, gave him the advice *not* to enter government service.<sup>20</sup> Muammer Tuksavul thus appears to point out, that it was with the explicit consent of his father that he had embarked on his career as an entrepreneur and manager. His father went to Edirne without his family and was buried there without anybody of the fami-

18 "Bezirgânlık soyumuzda yoktur. Ailenin haysiyetini kirriyorsun. Yazihaneden vazgeç!" DB, p. 118.

19 DB, p. 118. The reluctance of the Ottoman élite to engage in commercial activities is also criticized in the essays of Celal Nuri; see Christoph Herzog, *Geschichte und Ideologie: Mehmed Murad und Celal Nuri über die historischen Ursachen des osmanischen Niedergangs*, Berlin, 1996, pp. 163–164.

20 DB, p. 151.

ly being able to attend his funeral. After the author had come back to Turkey and traveled to Edirne in 1935, he discovered that the cemetery where the remains of his father had been buried had been removed in the meantime to make room for a street. Not even the tombstone was left.<sup>21</sup>

### The Context of Discourse

As no single piece of individual memory is conceived without recourse to the collective memory,<sup>22</sup> nothing can be said or written that is not part of the discourse of a certain cultural system. We will not follow this only seemingly trivial contention into its linguistic or stylistic intricacies here, but restrict ourselves to the analysis of some of the explicitly non-biographic thematic passages of his books.

Woven into the narrative of his life, the author offers some conclusions that he presents as gained from his personal life experience. For example, when he luckily passes an examination in law without even having had the slightest idea of the subject matter, he concludes that examinations and academic titles are important indicators of the quality of a person, but that they never tell the whole story.<sup>23</sup> This may seem trivial, but it still is a lesson that has to be learned.

However, most thematic statements in the text belong to grand narratives that are not primarily connected to personal experience, but to what Foucault has called the ‘archive’, which has been observed to be quite similar to the *Zeitgeist*.<sup>24</sup> Thus, when trying to make sense of his being a cultural stranger in Germany, he refers to history—or rather historical stereotyping for an explanation.<sup>25</sup> The scene takes place in Germany just after the First World War. His guest family in Mannheim wants to take him to a trip to a town in the Blackforest. Being first at the train station, he decides to buy the tickets for the whole group. He chooses first class tickets. But his host is not pleased and changes the tickets into third class tickets. Giving back the money to the Turkish boy he tells him: “It was not your affair to buy the tickets. Besides, do you believe I am a war-time profiteer?” Pondering about the *faux-pas* he had obviously committed the author concludes:

Herr Wulff [the name of his host] as a German was a son of his people that had lived here perhaps for more than 1,500 years. In a relatively small country, in not so copious natural circumstances, working in villages and in small urban communities, these people had to make their living, they had to be parsimonious, they had to keep house and to calculate, always aware of stocks for bad times. Such an existence ... finally ... formed the character and the ways of living of these people to whom Herr Wulff belonged.

With me it was totally different. I was of nomadic origin, scion of a nomadic clan whose tribe had come apart and had settled only about 350 years ago in Eastern

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21 DB, p. 167.

22 For a general overview see Astrid Erll, *Kollektives Gedächtnis und Erinnerungskulturen: Eine Einführung*, Stuttgart, 2005.

23 BF, p. 244.

24 Manfred Frank, *Das Sagbare und das Unsagbare: Studien zur deutsch-französischen Hermeneutik und Texttheorie*, 3rd ed., Frankfurt, 1993, p. 424.

25 BF, pp. 217–219.

Anatolia. Their descendants had lived in a wide and waste country. In some form nomadic customs and practice continued in principle for a long time. The descendants of the nomads still fought, rode and wandered in a similar way as they had done during the great nomadic time, but, maybe, on a smaller scale. They were always free-handed, generous and unsparing. They did not think of tomorrow, they lived like lords as long as they possessed something (which they mostly did). In bad times they were frugal, patient and abiding in devotion to God and always ready for sacrifice.<sup>26</sup>

Muammer Tuksavul believed that this nomadic spirit of the Turks was the source of many of their economic problems and should be overcome by education. But his conceiving of the Turks as nomads refers to another ideological *topos*. There are passages in his writings where the author, quite contrary to the cultural geographic approach to history mentioned above, refers to race and genetics. Thus, when he assures us that the Turks took on much foreign blood by marrying the women of vanquished peoples. But although this had contributed to the western Turks looking differently from the eastern Turks, he assures us that their national character had not changed because their genotype had remained constant.<sup>27</sup> This kind of historical reasoning reminds the reader of the official thesis on Turkish history that has been introduced on orders by Atatürk in the 1930s.<sup>28</sup>

While Tuksavul never felt obliged in his writings to justify or to defend the authority of his historical or political judgments, it is remarkable that he spends comparatively considerable space to define and to defend the validity of his judgment on religious affairs at the beginning of his third book *Ben de Müslümanım*. While he frankly admits that he is not a professional in the field of religion and Islam, he contends that it was his hobby to read and to think about this issue since a young age.<sup>29</sup> He also points out his long and rich life experience as a member of the Muslim community and finally refers to his father's authority in the subject, saying:

Being born as a Muslim child, having lived as a Muslim and having been deeply influenced by what I saw and heard of topics related to our religion from my father Cemaleddin Efendi, who belonged to the men of the *ilmîye*, i.e. he was a religious scholar who had reached the highest positions of government positions and had refused the offer to become *seyhülislam* (as had his late father, the religious scholar of his time, my grandfather Hoca İshak Efendi) I decided to write this book with the help of the mighty God and to submit it to the young generations.<sup>30</sup>

Here the dichotomy of Ottoman decline and Republican renaissance, that dominated the narrative passages of his memoirs, is abrogated into a Turkish-Islamic continuity. He actually seems to claim that what he is writing on religion in his third book is going directly back

<sup>26</sup> *BF*, p. 219.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 374.

<sup>28</sup> For the development of official Turkish historiography, see Etienne Copeaux, *Espaces et temps de la nation turque: Analyse d'une historiographie nationaliste 1931–1993*, Paris, 1997.

<sup>29</sup> *BM*, pp. 19–20.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 21.

to his father's ideas on the subject.<sup>31</sup> His book, he writes, conveys four messages to its readers:

(1) the reform of Islam has become inevitable and the initiative of modernization can be realized in Islam. (2) Such an initiative will be directed at the basic and original philosophy, meaning and aim of Islam, our religion. (3) Our success in this holy duty as Turks is not only for our own benefit but for the benefit of the whole Islamic world and especially for the settling of the future of the hopes and of the security of the Euro-Asiatic Turkish nations that have recently regained their freedom. (4) This will be the idealistic price and the illustrious crown of the service that we Turks have rendered to the Islamic world for a thousand years.<sup>32</sup>

Nationalist fervor and pan-Turkish enthusiasm after the end of the Soviet Union are mixed here with ideals of religious reformism. As could be expected, the book is as much about history as it is about religion. While dedicating a considerable number of pages to the defense of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk and his reforms, it is in its basic historical premises thoroughly in tune with the spirit of the Turkish-Islamic synthesis that had been implemented officially as an national ideology of consensus after the military coup of 1980.

### **Conclusion**

When Muammer Tuksavul wrote his memoirs he had almost reached his eightieth year. Telling one's story at such an age has something of an inherent ambivalence. The narrative is the success story of a survivor but it is also the legacy of someone whose years, perhaps even whose days, are counted. This ambivalence is nicely expressed in the last words of the German version, where Muammer Tuksavul quotes the Turkish proverbs: "Dost acı söyler", the friend uses words that hurt and "it ürür kervan yürüür", the dog barks but the caravan moves on.<sup>33</sup> As Elias Canetti has shown in his monumental study on *Crowds and Power*, surviving is connected to the experience of power, of supremacy over the dead. Death, in fact, is one of the leitmotifs in Tuksavul's memoirs. When his beautiful sister Memduha died, only seventeen years old, it is the finale of the quick decline of his father's household. Upon the death of her most beloved child, his mother refuses to eat and drink and dies only six weeks later in summer or fall 1909. The father has a breakdown, but this time slowly manages to recover and even re-marries. Then, after the suicide of another son, who had been afflicted by tuberculosis, he lonesomely dies in Edirne. The younger, unfortunate brother of Muammer, Hamid, suffered from Trachoma since he was a boy, and finally succumbed to Tuberculosis in 1931. It is only the second eldest brother Muhiddin whose death is not reported in the book and who seems to have been still alive as late as in the 1970s.<sup>34</sup> These two brothers of a total of six siblings were the only survivors.<sup>35</sup> The deaths of several people Muammer Tuksavul had known in Germany are reported, too. These deaths form the contrasting background to the story of the successful long-time survi-

31 BM, pp. 21–22.

32 Ibid., p. 23.

33 BF, p. 432.

34 Sunguroğlu, *Harput Yollarnda*, vol. II, p. 130.

35 Sunguroğlu, ibid., reports a seventh child, a daughter bearing the name Nebihe.

vor Muammer Tuksavul and they form part of his authority that is entitling him to speak publicly, addressing his books as his legacy to the younger generation. It is not only his personal memories, but also his thoughts and ideas that form part of this legacy. The experience of his successful long life forms the ultimate legitimization for the authoritativeness of his thoughts, being mostly reflections and interpretations of Turkish history and politics and of religion. And yet, many of these ideas are mere “intellectual rummage”, rooted neither in the authors life experience nor being truly the product of his own thought. As the French historian Jacques Le Goff put it: “Le discours des hommes, sur quelque ton qu'il ait été prononcé, celui de la conviction, de l'émotion, de l'emphase, n'est le plus souvent qu'un ramassis d'idées toutes faites, de lieux communs, de vieilleries intellectuelles, l'exutoire hétéroclite d'épaves de cultures et de mentalités de diverses origines et de divers temps.”<sup>36</sup>

It is here that we can grasp an instance of the the final human tragedy of what Hans Blumenberg has formulated in his concept of life time versus world time: that experience is not only non-transferable, but also tied to the very limited life time of man, although it seems to claim for world time, i. e. for unlimited validity.

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<sup>36</sup> Jacques Le Goff, “Les mentalités: Une histoire ambiguë” in Jacques Le Goff, and Pierr Nora (eds.), *Faire de l'histoire*, vol. III, *Nouveaux objets*, Paris, 1974, pp. 76–94, p. 80.