

‘THE OTHER’ AT THE BORDER: LITERARY SIEGES AND IDENTITY
CONSTRUCTION

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İSTANBUL, 2023

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SUBMITTED TO GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT
OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF
MASTER OF ARTS
IN
DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

YEDITEPE UNIVERSITY
GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
İSTANBUL, 2023

PLAGIARISM

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ÖZET

Ulusal bir kimlik yaratmak ve özü şekillendirmek, 20. yüzyılda imparatorlukların çöküşü ile üniter devletlerin kurulması ve artan milliyetçi hareketlerin sonucunda önem kazanmıştır. Toplumda kollektif bir kimlik bilinci oluşturmak adına, farklı ideolojilerin hizmetinde kullanılabilecek bir araç olarak edebiyat kullanılmıştır.

İlk olarak 1899 yılında yayımlanan ve Géza Gárdonyi tarafından yazılan *Eğri Yıldızları* (*Egri Csillagok*) Türkler üzerinden Macar milli kimliğini oluşturmayı temel alırken, İsmail Kadare tarafından yazılan ve 1970 yılında yayımlanan *Kuşatma* (*Kështjella*), bilinmeyen bir Arnavut kalesinin Osmanlılar tarafından kuşatılmasını ele almaktadır. Her iki romanda da Orient – Türkler ortak düşman konumundadır. Bu çalışmada, her iki roman da tarihsel ve dönemsel olarak ve yazıldıkları dönemdeki politik koşullar göz önünde bulundurularak incelenecektir. Andre Gingrich'in Sınır Oryantalizmi ve Stephan Greenblatt'ın Öz Biçimlendirme teorisi her iki romanı da incelemek için kullanılacak ana teorileri oluşturacaktır.

Anahtar kelimeler: eğri yıldızları, kuşatma, sınır oryantalizmi, öz biçimlendirme, tarih, ulusal kimlik

ABSTRACT

In the 20th century, the issue of creating a national identity and fashioning the self gained significant importance as a consequence of the increasing nationalist movements and establishment of the unitary states with the collapse of empires. To create a collective identity consciousness in society, literature was utilized as one of the mediums, as it can be used in the service of different ideologies.

First published in 1899, *Eclipse of the Crescent Moon (Egri Csillagok)* by Géza Gárdonyi focuses on creating the Hungarian national identity through the Turks, whereas *The Siege (Kështjella)* by Ismail Kadare, first published in 1970, represents the siege of an unknown Albanian citadel by the Ottomans. The Orient – the Turks are the mutual enemy in both novels. In this work, both novels will be studied with their relations to the history and the era, and the political conditions they were written. Frontier Orientalism by Andre Gingrich and Self-fashioning by Stephen Greenblatt will be the main theories to study both literary works.

Keywords: eclipse of the crescent moon, frontier orientalism, history, national identity, self-fashioning, the siege

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I feel gratitude to those who supported me throughout my journey. I would like to start by expressing my sincere and deep gratitude to my supervisor Prof. Dr. Charles Daniel Sabatos for always supporting me and being my guide in this path. His teachings, perspective, and deep knowledge have been my light throughout my studies.

I would like to thank Nazlı Esra İpek for always being there for me on this journey. Her positivity and encouragement made me advance in my writing process without stumbling.

Lastly, I would like to thank my mother, father, and my sister. Words are not enough to express how thankful I am to you for everything. Your belief in me always gives me courage and strength.



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INTRODUCTION

External factors have played a major role in the cultural identity formation of both Central Europe and the Balkans. Both regions can be named as frontier considering their geographical locations; one is the gate to the Adriatic Sea, and the other is the bridge opening to Western Europe. Moreover, both regions have been blended with different cultures and nations throughout history, especially when the number of wars both countries had been considered. Albania had major conflicts with the Republic of Venice, while Hungary with the Kingdom of Bohemia, Moldavia, Kingdom of Poland. Yet, there has always been a mutual external threat for both countries: the Ottoman Empire. The image of the Ottoman Empire as the 'Other', or 'the Representative Other', has been utilized in various mediums, especially in literature, in order to establish a more powerful national identity or self-image.

As the buffer zone between the Habsburg Empire and the Ottoman Empire, Hungary faced the East before any other European country. As a consequence, Hungary had a different identity formation which was based on "us" and "them". The Battle of Mohács can be considered a milestone in the history of Hungary and the Ottoman Empire. Sultan Suleyman attacked Hungary and won the Mohács battle in 1526. King Louis II was killed and, therefore there was a constant war situation for 150 years. Ferdinand of Habsburg was elected by one fraction of the nobility since they expected aid from the Habsburgs, and he claimed the throne through his blood relation with King Louis while the other fraction elected János Zápolyai. Transylvania became a vassal state and Sultan Suleyman chose János Zsigmond, the son of János Zápolyai, as the vaivode of the vassal state. Despite the fact of being a vassal state, it had considerable independence from both the Turks and Habsburgs. In addition, Ferdinand, the King of Royal Hungary had to pay a big amount of annual tribute for making peace, yet this tribute was only beneficial for the Austrian lands; with the treaty, it was conditioned that there would not be any major campaigns. The Turks continued to raid Hungarians on the frontier, collect taxes, used the opportunities for wars, and ignore the treaty easily (Basa, 2010, p. 2-3).

Ottoman Empire and USSR can be considered the two main external factors for the history of Albania and its identity formation. Albania persisted in an anti-Ottoman approach for 25 years with the leadership of George Castrioti Skanderbeg (Treptow, 1995, p. 2), who was given to the Ottoman Empire as a hostage by his father John Castrioti when he was defeated by Sultan Murad II (Noli, 1945, p. 93). The other external factor can be seen as

Soviet Russia or rather communism. With the fear of being invaded by the USSR, and even China, Enver Hoxha closed up and designed the whole country to defend itself against any intruders. He controlled the country as if it is a citadel when his party took over in November 1944 and he turned the country into a closed shell until he died in April 1985. His successor, Ramiz Alia, pursued Enver Hoxha's ideology and both demonstrated a type of regime that was impossible for opposing voices to be heard. Similar to the modern world's North Korea in terms of ideology, a deserted and isolated European country was established under his regime (Fevziu, 2016, p. IX).

This brings the question of the role of politics and literature and where they intertwine. Sociological and political events of the era and the reflections of the authors' location, of which sociological and political grounds they were affected, and the authors' personalities can be traced in the literary works they produce. Meanwhile, political, or social changes as well as creating or eliminating taboos, conventions, and social prejudices can be affected by the significant works of literature or literary movements, as a whole. When the impact of the authors' ideas on society is analyzed, behavioral factors shaped by several different components will create a challenging ground (Lindberg, 1968, p. 163).

Literature and politics have a common side in terms of motivation; both fields have the desire to convey their discourse to a larger group of people, or directly to the public. Empathy and intuition are two key factors used by the authors and the politicians, which naturally causes a mutual risk for both sides: their decisions will either be embraced or alienated by the public. The relation between a politician and literature, or the question of the possibility of one being a writer **and/or** a politician, is quite dependent on the part of the world the person was born. According to Árpád Göncz, the main tool for Hungarians to express their national sovereignty has been literature and especially poetry, while it is music for Austria and theatre in Bohemia and Poland. Poetry has become a symbol for Hungary to exhibit its national existence and even to fashion the Hungarian identity in European Renaissance and Baroque eras. In this sense, the usage of literature for this particular purpose has helped Hungary to fashion its national identity while resisting the Turkish occupation for 150 years and this caused the country to have a dramatically low number of political discussions (Göncz, 1991, p. 10).

Eclipse of the Crescent Moon, one of the novels that will be analyzed in this work, has the reflections of the words of Árpád Göncz, who was the first post-communist president of Hungary. Despite the fact that it is written in prose and not poetry, the novel has a

significant place for Hungarian identity formation; it is still on the suggested reading list for Hungarian elementary school kids. This novel of Géza Gárdonyi was published in book format in 1901 for the first time. It was the era that had ongoing independence movements, especially in the Balkans, and the idea of “kingdoms” and “kings” being replaced by a more unitary system.

These political issues and the deep search for establishing a national Hungarian identity have been reflected in the literary works of the early nineteenth and twentieth centuries. There has been a need to distinguish one from the other and one way to achieve this has been by drawing a line between oneself and the opposite side. In the case here, the ones on the other side of the line were the Ottoman Empire. Being under the ‘Orient’ Ottoman threat for centuries has helped Hungary in this mission.

In the case of Albania, what is called Albanian identity is an accumulation of multiple social, political, religious, and historical facts, each of them influencing the country. In modern Albania, the ongoing issue has been based on identity, which is accompanied by fluctuations in the political, social, and economic areas. Due to the influence of the communist regime on Albanian history, i.e., history being rewritten through the eyes of the communist regime, and the oppression of people caused an identity crisis in the public (Tarpley, 2009, p. 5-6). In the case of this work’s scope, *The Siege* by Ismail Kadare depicts the same situation as in *Eclipse of the Crescent Moon* on the surface from a different perspective: a threat of the Ottomans at the gate of Albania. Going through different historical and political conditions, both countries had an ‘orient’ enemy in common and both authors had the desire to convey their message to bigger communities, with a slight difference in *The Siege*: the enemy on the surface is the Ottoman Empire whereas the enemy in disguise is the oppressive regime and the pressure it created on the public of Albania. The concept of the ‘other’ at the border will be interpreted through two different approaches in this work: self-fashioning by Stephen Greenblatt and frontier orientalism by Andre Gingrich.

As will be discussed more in detail in the second and third parts of this work, according to self-fashioning suggested by Stephen Greenblatt, there was a growing realization that human identity could be fashioned as a manipulative and artistic process in the sixteenth century. This self-consciousness existed among a big group in the classical world, yet with Christianity, it was interrogated increasingly how a man could shape an identity. He further suggested that self-fashioning is the result when an alien and an authority encounter each

other and this encounter has elements from both authority and alien that will be attacked, therefore, “any achieved identity always contains within itself the signs of its own subversion or loss.” (Greenblatt, 1980, p. 9).

The second approach is introduced by the anthropologist Andre Gingrich. He has suggested the concept of frontier orientalism as a “relatively coherent set of metaphors and myths that reside in folk and public culture.” (Gingrich, 1996, p. 119. Cited by Sabatos, 2018). Frontier orientalism contains a kind of contrariety within itself as it requires a strict distinction between “the self” and “the other” – there is a conflict between two major elements. From a reverse perspective, it can be interpreted that while “the self” tries to define itself, it defines the borders of the “other” from its own approach and this causes the other to live within “the self”. A clear example of this perspective can be observed in Vienna, Austria. Having countless negotiations and several wars with the Ottomans throughout history, especially the Sieges of Vienna I and II, the traces of the influence of the Ottomans on Austria can be seen on the residential building murals of the city. This has the role of a reminder for the Austrians regarding their past with the Ottomans. When the case of Albania is interpreted in the same way, it can be observed that Islam started to be widespread after the Ottomans started to take over Albanian territories and were controlled by the Communist regime later. A part of Albanians accepted the religion of the other, which caused the “other” to continue to live within the “self”. And in the case of Hungary, the depictions of the Ottoman-Hungarian wars on the Millennium Monument in the Heroes’ Square in Budapest can be suggested as an instance of the other living within the self. The conflicts and wars with the other became a part religious or national part of the self and it became inseparable over time.

In *Eclipse of the Crescent Moon*, Géza Gárdonyi depicted the Hungarian identity based on the other but through the values that were non-Hungarian. In other words, as the literary work serves a purpose, it had the aim to complete its purpose by depicting the self through the opposite characteristics of the other. As the “other” was Muslim, the Christian elements were emphasized. As the “other” was seen as an infidel and a community with no values, the innocence, and bravery of the “self” was highlighted. Additionally, as Hungary wanted to gain independence from the Austrians, he used this other image as a displaced metaphor for the country’s desire to be independent.

In *The Siege*, Ismail Kadare wrote his work from the eyes of the Ottomans while they were trying to conquer a citadel in Albania. At the beginning of every chapter, the events

from the Albanian side are briefly depicted, and the reader can sense the feeling of being trapped while reading the literary work. This is a result of Kadare illuminating the story with a second meaning. Due to the oppressive regime of Albania during Enver Hoxha's time, there have not been alternative voices or ideas that can show themselves and offer a different way of perception. With the fear of being invaded by Russia, and even China, Enver Hoxha had his way of governance with communism, and he closed the borders of Albania to any external elements. This oppression and limitation of ideas created an environment of constant suspicion. Using literature as a medium, Kadare depicts Albania under oppression while referring to the country's history.

Created with different motives, both *Eclipse of the Crescent Moon* and *The Siege* have the common "other" depicted as a threat to the continuation of their existence and both countries subjected to the novels have the importance of being frontier. The identity construction has been created by drawing lines between the self and the other. In the second and third parts of this analysis, the mentioned aspects will be studied through the perspective of frontier orientalism and self-fashioning with examples from both literary works.

1. THEORETICAL BACKGROUND: THE SELF, THE OTHER AND THE FRONTIER

1.1. The Self and the Other

Stephan Greenblatt takes the sixteenth century as the main period of his work for emerging an idea of the self, as well as for establishing it. He considers this period in the history of England as an era where people were open to inquiry about human identity for both social and individual fashioning (Strier, 1982, p. 384). Greenblatt suggests that it is always possible to find the selves, and during the creation process of an identity, we can talk about fashioning of an identity with a purpose behind (Greenblatt, 2008, p. 1). His words on the influence of autonomy on sheds a light on the control of the institutions on the identity formation:

“Moreover, there is considerable empirical evidence that there may well have been less *autonomy* in self-fashioning in the sixteenth century than before, that family, and religious institutions impose a more rigid and far -reaching discipline upon their middle-class and aristocratic subjects. Autonomy is an issue but not the sole or even the central issue: the power to impose a shape upon oneself is an aspect of the more general power to control identity – that of others at least as often as one’s own.” (Greenblatt, 2008, p.1).

According to Greenblatt, the connection between the self and the other cannot be cut and this approach is valid throughout history. Yet, he highlights the early periods are especially important due to their impact on the following periods: ‘There is in the early modern period a change in the intellectual, social, psychological, and aesthetic structures that govern the generation of identities’ (Greenblatt, 2008, p. 1). He declares that the self is a combination of intellectual, social, psychological, and aesthetic elements (Robson, 2008, p. 52).

Clifford Geertz suggests that it is not possible to separate human nature from culture as human nature is shaped by culture. He defines culture as “a set of control mechanisms – plans, recipes, rules, instructions...– for the governing of behavior.” (Greenblatt, 1980, p. 3). Self-fashioning is a form of these control mechanisms and literature has three major roles that are connected to each other. Those roles can show themselves as the author’s outbreak of a specific action, societal norms that shape the doings of an individual, and a mirror of these norms. It is crucial to take into consideration that focusing only on one of these roles will prevent one to see the whole image of an issue. The perception should be containing all these

roles. There is a danger that the real message of the author and literary work might be missed in case this perception is gained only through the author's behavior. On the other hand, there is a risk that literature will be stuck between certain borders in case only social norms are taken into consideration. And lastly, we may lose the influence of art on people and institutions in case literature is only seen as the reflection of these norms (Greenblatt, 1980, p. 4).

It is possible to talk about some factors that form self-fashioning. In self-fashioning, we usually see stereotypical elements and not much related to any kind of information related to a specific individual, even though there are some exceptions. It is more general than personal. Submission is a major behavior that should be shown to a force outside of the self for self-fashioning; it can be God, holy books, or an institution that has authority. There should be an external factor as a trigger – something alien. The Other – infidel, non-Christian, etc. - should show itself or be created for elimination. It should be noted that there is not only a single authority or an Other, but they are also always plural. Additionally, the Other should have unpleasant and false representations in the authorities' mind, despite the fact that when this alien figure is eliminated, there will be a substitution for that Other. Lastly, self-fashioning involves an encounter with the external factor. All of these factors can be summarized with the fact that in order to achieve self-fashioning, the abovementioned authority and the Other should have a kind of interaction that leads both sides to attack. Therefore, it is possible to talk about mutual destruction in terms of the identity gained as a result of this interaction (Greenblatt, 1980, p. 9).

To exemplify his claims, Greenblatt evaluates the pieces of More, Tyndale, Wyatt, Spenser, Marlowe, and Shakespeare to reflect how self-fashioning was used in the 16th century. More has been more focused on the Catholic Church and the power it has over people; he also does not support the authority of the King and the extreme ideas of the Reformers. Tyndale, on the other hand, discusses more of the identity achieved following the holy books and in contrast, not following the Catholic Church. Identity construction for Wyatt “emerges from emulation of the aggressive secular power embodied in Henry VIII and from the rejection of the passive duplicity of women” (Howard, 1983, p.379). Spenser claims during the second half of the 16th century that it is possible to create a kind of self with “Tudor orthodoxy” and with the way pleasure can demolish the one in case it is not controlled. Marlowe suggests accepting all kinds of “other” and lastly, Shakespeare depicts in *Othello* “a hero whose self is constructed by submission to social codes of sexual restraint and by the

rejection of appetite associated with women” (Howard, 1983, p. 379). The topic that will usually be discussed in this work is based on the concept of Otherness. Both *Eclipse of the Crescent Moon* and *The Siege* can be interpreted with the base concept of otherness – threatening the other side with sieges at the gate of the Self, even though they have different perspectives.

The Turkish threat used to be a mutual image within the Central European nations while it was strengthening the national identity of each country (Sabatos, 2014, p. 32). This threat led the nations to unify against a mutual enemy. Considering the political relations between the Hungarians, Habsburgs, and Ottomans, the impact of these relations can be traced through both Hungarian and Albanian literature as in Kölcsey’s hymn, which became the national anthem later, Zrínyi’s epic poem, *The Siege of Sziget*, and as it will be explained in detail, in *The Siege of Shkodra* and finally, in both *Eclipse of the Crescent Moon* and *The Siege*. It is possible to see the Turkish image in different forms, but images and representations of the Turks are mostly stereotypical. These elements became so significant that the authors wrote their literary works shaped by these images and representations and even fashion their own identities by embracing their differences from the Turks.

According to Andrew Wheatcroft, defending Köszeg, Szigetvár, and other castles such as Eger, resulted in the creation of enormous myths that are depicted in books, maps, and paintings. Those depictions of great victories and even defeats were painted on vast canvases for patriotic purposes; for the case of the Ottomans, the victories and defeats became an epic of heroism. In the case of *The Siege of Sziget*, Ottomans recorded it as *The Ottoman Chronicle of the Szigetvár Campaign* along with twenty colored painted miniatures, painted like the maps produced in the West. Suleyman passed away due to sickness and old age, yet he was depicted as a martyr since he was seen as having sacrificed himself in the battle against the enemy. Christians could accept the bravery of their enemies and Ottomans did the same most of the time; despite this fact, both sides also named each other as “damned” and “accursed infidels” (Wheatcroft, 2009, p. 60-61).

A constant recrimination is seen when one side talks about the other – one side blames the other for being barbarian and infidel for not being Christian and being invaders whereas the other side blames them for not being Muslim and not following the “true path”. These expressions can be considered as a way of justification, but this caused an unintentional outcome. Both sides started to define themselves according to the attributes opposite of the

other side. This situation, naturally, reflected national works of literature and was used as an active element for fashioning the nations' own identities.

Hungary started to lose power both economically and politically due to the political dependence they had during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and this situation led to the rise of national feelings. In the early nineteenth century, during the so-called "Reform Period", nationalist movements started to rise, and these movements "sought historical and linguistic definitions to assert their own identity"; this was not only against Austria but also the non-Hungarian speakers who were a big part of Hungary's population and "whose discontent in the face of Magyar oppression and discrimination was a constant theme of the nineteenth-century Hungarian history" (Beller-Hann, 1995, p. 224).

From the Albanian approach, the traditional perspective suggests that the nationalist movements started to bloom when the Ottomans, along with the neighboring nations but usually the Ottomans, started to occupy and control the Albanian territories at the beginning of the 15th century. Again, some historians who study Albanian topic suggest that the nationalist movements go back to the time of Skanderbeg at the beginning of the 15th century and follows a linear fashion. Yet, all Albanian historians accept that progressive political nationalism started to rise in the 19th century gradually (Fischer, 2014, p. 25).

Self-fashioning becomes essential at this very moment for both Albanians and Hungarians. While feeling the pressure from the Ottoman Empire as well as their neighbors, an identity establishment starts for the Hungarians and the Albanians. According to Stephan Greenblatt, there was a growing realization that human identity could be fashioned as a manipulative and artistic process in the sixteenth century. This self-consciousness existed among a big group in the classical world, yet with Christianity, a man's power to shape identity was increasingly questioned (Greenblatt, 1980, p. 2). Greenblatt continues defining self-fashioning as follows:

"It (self-fashioning) invariably crosses the boundaries between the creation of literary characters, the shaping of one's own identity, the experience of being molded by forces outside one's control, the attempt to fashion other selves. Such boundaries may, to be sure, be strictly observed in criticism, just as we may distinguish between literary and behavioral styles, but in doing so we pay a high price, for we begin to lose a sense of the complex interactions of meaning in a given culture." (Greenblatt, 1980, p. 3).

He further suggests that self-fashioning happens when an alien and an authority encounter each other and the result of this encounter has elements from both authority and alien that will be attacked, therefore, “any achieved identity always contains within itself the signs of its own subversion or loss.” (Greenblatt, 1980, p. 9).

To summarize, the emphasis of Greenblatt regarding identity with the creation of the self and the other can be applied to different topics and different mediums. In our case, for literature, both literary works have an identity formation process that occurs through the other. Due to this process, the other continues to live within the self and become a part of it. Naturally, this identity formation happens upon the encounter with an alien that does not belong to the self. This alien usually has different characteristics, both physically and culturally, and a different religion than the self, which creates a threat. This encounter and observation of the other usually occur when either the self goes to the regions of the other or when the other goes to the regions of the self. Frontier orientalism suggested by Andre Gingrich creates a base for this approach. In both *Eclipse of the Crescent Moon* and *The Siege*, the Ottomans are at the gate of both Hungary and Albania to occupy and advance to Western Europe and the Adriatic Sea. Due to this direct threat of being besieged, the image of the Ottomans mostly has a negative perception, and the ideas related to the other are unpleasant for the self. This encounter of the self and the other at the frontier is studied by the Austrian anthropologist Andre Gingrich. Just like self-fashioning, the interaction between the self and the other is required. This interaction at the border leads to the self to protect its cultural and physical existence and the image of the Orient, the Turk, is shaped accordingly. As frontier orientalism is a section of Orientalism, which is suggested by Edward Said, brief information on the base study should be provided.

1.2. Brief Information on Edward Said's *Orientalism*

Edward Said published the most influential and debated work on Orientalism in 1978. This work, *Orientalism*, created a major influence in many fields including history, anthropology, philosophy, politics, and literature. Said suggests that Europe utilized the image of the Orient, and its people in terms of appearance and character, to draw a contrasting line between the East and West. Orientalism expresses and portrays that aspect culturally and even ideologically as a discourse mode with supporting institutions, terminology, knowledge, imagery, doctrines, even colonial bureaucracy, and colonial styles. According to Said, Orientalism has several meanings with each of them not having a connection. In short, Orientalism is the concept in which a person teaches, writes about, or is researching and the

person who does these acts is named an Orientalist. In modern-day, this term is less used due to its generic and ambiguous meaning, and it suggests the arrogant managerial style of European colonization during the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century (Said, 1978, p. 2).

Said suggests that the Orient and the Occident cannot be pointed directly as these terms do not have a physical correspondence themselves. These words have been created and defined by humans: “Therefore as much as the West itself, the Orient is an idea that has a history and a tradition of thought, imagery, and vocabulary that have given it reality and presence in and for the West.” (Said, 1978, p. 5). He further discusses the power relation between the East and West, and therefore, the obscure relationship between the Orient and the Occident. In his book “Asia and Western Dominance”, K. M. Panikkar claims that the reason why the Orient has been named like that was not only because they were acting, dressing, or talking Oriental according to a modest 19th-century European person, but additionally, it was possible to make them Oriental. As an example, Said gives the example of Flaubert’s interaction with an Egyptian woman, Kuchuk Hanem, where he spoke on behalf of her and represented her. He drew an Oriental woman who hides her feelings, never speaks about herself nor talks about her community’s past – as if she is a woman without identity. On the other hand, Flaubert’s gender, economic situation, and the fact that he is an outlander made him speak for Kuchuk Hanem and have her. According to Said, this representation is beyond innocent – he claims that this relationship between Flaubert and Kuchuk Hanem demonstrates the power relation between the East and the West (Said, 1978). Denys Hay explains the idea of Europe as Europeans, which represents “us” and non-Europeans, which represents “others”. There is an approach that claims the hegemony of European culture against anything non-European. (Said, 1978, p. 6).

As mentioned by Edward Said in his book *Orientalism*, Orientalism is a concept with multiple aspects, suggested by academics and artistic elites – it cannot be reduced to a primitive technique. Gerd Baumann suggests that Orientalism is not limited to the idea “we are good so they are bad” (Baumann and Gingrich, 2006, p. 20) and uses the following diagram to demonstrate orientalist grammar:

Table 1

Orientalist Grammar

Occident Positive	Orient Negative
rational	irrational
enlightened	superstitious
technological	backward
Occident Negative	Orient Positive
calculating	spontaneous
sober	luxuriant
materialist	mystical

Baumann claims that Orientalism cannot only be explained by a simple “us=good” and “them=bad” method but it is a binary opposition that can be inverted. It contains inversion between the Oriental and Occidental attributes: ‘What is good in us is [still] bad in them, but what got twisted in us [still] remains straight in them.’ When these attributes are considered, it is possible to talk about a way of cultural self-seeking and performed self-critique to define and set boundaries between the other and the self (Baumann and Gingrich, 2006, p. 21).

In Central Europe, the image of the Orient was an instrument in order to protect the cultural identity, while in Western imperialist orientalism, it was a justification for colonialism. What is described as the representation of oriental in frontier orientalism is usually a Muslim and not the far east regions as in the traditional oriental approach. The oriental in Frontier orientalism is not distant, on the contrary, it stands close, it is usually a Muslim and additionally, the frontier orient is sophisticated – there is a set between the orient and the primitive (Gingrich, 1996, p. 120). Therefore, the general approach in frontier orientalism differs from the approach in Edward Said’s *Orientalism*.

In contrast to Said’s and Bojan Baskar’s approach which focuses on the Western elites, Frontier orientalism has an influence that spread to both elites and the public equally. Frontier orientalism represents the East as a force that can destroy the local culture. This local culture consists of the folkloric factors and the reminder factors that are placed in the region. Baskar indicates that the concept of “wars with the Turks” can be seen everywhere in Central Europe

and this acts as a metaphorical reminder which is a shared image regarding the nation's past and that everyone can access as the factors of local identity. These metaphorical reminders have been used on purpose to unite people in Habsburg Empire against a mutual enemy. Paula Suttner Fichtner remarks that the fear of the Turks has been the most common shared feeling between different Habsburg nations. As a shared image between the Central European nations, the Turkish threat served for enriching the national identities, leading the collapse of the Habsburg Empire (Sabatos, 2014, p. 31-32).

Additionally, the difference between frontier orientalism and orientalism can be understood through where orient and primitive are placed. The Orient poses a threat while due to its distance and inferiority, the primitive poses a lower risk. The orient is literate, has a history, and lives in urban. Unlike the primitive, the orient has a religion and culture, and their relationship with women is shaped by this culture. Thus, the orient knows how to war and is a soldier. The primitive is depicted as Africans and American Indians, who are a distant community. They are claimed to be illiterate, have no history, and are without a religion - at least without a religion that is adequate to mention, therefore, the primitive's relationship with women is savage. Instead of an army, the primitive uses guerilla attacks. There is still one major difference that sets a strict border between frontier orientalism and orientalism: The frontier orient is specifically a heterosexual and single male person as he is a soldier, depicted by the folk representations of frontier orientalism. The only depiction of women is "our" women – our women who are under the danger of the orient and need to be protected. Frontier orientalism excludes women from its representation which contrasts with the traditional orientalist approach in which there are erotic fantasies about orient women depicted by men (Gingrich, 1996, p. 120).

The most major difference between orientalism and frontier orientalism can be named as the risk posed to the self. As mentioned above, the colonized other does not pose a risk to the existence of the self as it is illiterate, whereas a frontier orient is there to demolish the self and its culture as it knows to war. The theory of frontier orientalism should be studied in depth to understand and analyze the Turkish image in *Eclipse of the Crescent Moon* and *The Siege* and what kind of perception both sides have about each other.

1.3. Frontier Orientalism

As discussed, Turkish image and representation have changed according to the period and have been dependent on the interaction level of the nation. Having more interactions with

the Ottomans, and a major part being under Turkish control, Hungary and Albania had a different experience with the Ottomans than the Western European countries, therefore a different Turkish image existed in those regions.

In a work of Andre Gingrich, *The Nearby Frontier: Structural Analyses of Myths of Orientalism*, he gives a concrete example of the remaining influence of the Turks on the Austrians, as the threatening other. The case he suggests goes back to 1980s, when Kurt Waldheim, former UN General Secretary, was elected as the Austria's new President while getting a majority of the votes. His election was not welcomed by most of the Western European countries due to his hideous past in the German army during the Second World War. Therefore, none of the democratic Western European governments support nor meet with him for diplomatic reasons. In the end, after many attempts from Waldheim's side, Polish Pope John Paul II accepted his visit with the headlines of the newspapers writing: "A Pole Saves Us Again!". The message that wants to be conveyed to the reader is quite clear from an Austrian's perspective: "Just as 'we' were once rescued by a Pole, namely by the Polish King John III Sobieski in 1683 during the second Turkish siege of Vienna, now once more a Pole, namely the pope, was rescuing us again". To be more precise, this message was not only to the Turks but to the Jews: "Just as 'we' were besieged by Orientals in 1683, namely by the so-called 'Turks' (to be precise, by the Ottoman army), now once again we are being besieged by Orientals today, namely by the so-called 'Jews'" (Gingrich, 2015, p. 60-61).

This instance demonstrates that frontier orientalism is a timeless approach that can even be adjusted to the contemporary incidents. He further suggests the following:

"The explanatory model of 'frontier orientalism' therefore functions first with the image of a contested, nearby border, and constructs secondly an eternal 'we' that is in direct, close confrontation with the 'Oriental'. Thirdly, the standard representation of this Oriental is the Turk and, more broadly, the Muslim. That headline from the Waldheim era shows us, though, that this Islamic Oriental can be substituted for as need be. In this case by the Jewish Oriental, but in other cases by the Slavic (Serbian or Russian) Oriental" (Gingrich, 2015, p. 61).

He claims it would not be accurate to name this incident only as a propaganda, but he suggests that this headline is a reference to the events back in 1683, which is known by every Austrian. Being aware of this, these lines were utilized to put emphasis on the myth of "us

and the Turks”. This concept already exists in the local culture of the Austrians – it is in their emotions, mindset and in public perception since the old times, way before this headline and newspaper was printed. In Austria, “Turkish Wars” are taught to the elementary school children and additionally, war chronicles from the eastern and southern regions of Austria, songs, and idioms support this “us and the Turks” image. All these elements including chronicles, legends, schoolbooks, popular songs, and images in the Austrian folklore feeds the mythological approach of frontier orientalism (Gingrich, 2015, p. 62).

When we go back to the era of the Ottoman – Austro-Hungarian wars, with their military power and religion, Ottoman Turks have been named as the major threat to European identity and existence. Ottoman conquest of Southeastern Europe played a role in the emergence of a powerful enemy representation in the conquered regions and their border countries, and this situation significantly affected the European cultures (Sabatos, 2014, p. 25). According to Iver Neumann, Ottoman Turks were the dominant other in the European state system. This caused the Turks to have permanent importance in terms of “otherness” (Neumann, 1999, p. 39-40). The frequent use of the printing press during a period in which the Ottoman Empire has been growing led to several written works in the West. One of the most noteworthy and oldest works regarding the Ottomans have been written by Europeans who were held captive by the Ottomans (Sabatos, 2014, p. 25). These works have been used for political and ideological purposes to strengthen the European identity, and later used to emphasize national identities (Sabatos, 2014, p. 26).

Moreover, the reflections of frontier orientalism can be seen in European art and academia – a combination of local frontier orientalism and classical orientalism exist but it should be noted that they show different characteristics compare to each other. Frontier orientalism is an older approach in contrast to orientalism and it only affected the parts of Europe where there has been direct or indirect contact with the Ottomans. Frontier orientalism started to have importance when local nationalist movements started to rise. The mutual attribute of Orientalism and Frontier Orientalism is the subject – the subject is a Muslim who is unable to speak for himself (Gingrich, 1996, p. 121).

From the perspective of an Eastern Austrian repertoire of Muslim Oriental images, as the Oriental dwells near the territorial frontier as a dualistic metaphoric figure, which is a conceptual and spatial dividing between “us” and “them”, or “self” and “other”, there is a division of “bad Oriental” and “good Oriental”. The “bad Orient” is a threat to local selves and a dangerous rival while the “good Oriental” is an ally and obeying supporter. For the

standard or primary register, the Turk is presenting the “bad Muslim” and Bosnian as the “good Muslim”; and in the same repertoire, the Jew, the Arab, and the orthodox Slav represent the secondary register. Retrospectively, Turkish wars and the last decades of the Habsburg Empire are considered the standard register. The metaphorical pairing of “good” and “bad” frontier orientals refers to a thorough narrative and gives a “standard and widely understood option for interpreting current national issues using key symbols of the past” (Gingrich, 1996, p. 117).

The Bad Muslim, referring to early modernity with the word, has an effect of a direct threat to “our” physical and cultural existence, according to this interpretation, for our power, wealth, and modernity, this threat should be pushed back, and “we” should defend ourselves. On the contrary, the late colonial era is linked to the Good Oriental. In this case, the Muslim is not a threat anymore but became a submissive subject; the Good Oriental is on our side of the frontier. When “our” gains are in danger because of the other threatening rivals, the Good Muslim is there to stand in front of “us,” serving as a brave and valiant subject (Gingrich, 1996, p. 118).

All these elements are mythologically linked: in order to control the remnant of the lands of the Muslim Orient, pushing back the dangerous rivals is seen as a necessary condition. These former rivals can become good Muslim servers only if they are controlled in a quasi-colonial manner. If a frontier orient is not controlled, it is considered as threatening and only a humiliated and oppressed Oriental can be on the other side of the frontier. Images of the frontier, the Turk, the Jew, and the Slav all had distinct, older histories in Austrian art and folklore as individual metaphors. The metaphorical and mythological figures of the repertoire, however, when examined as a relatively coherent and interconnected group of symbolic elements at the service of nationalism, first appeared in Austrian common and public culture after the 1850s. Since then, it has offered a wide range of diverse tools and methods of mobilization, suitable for both the use of pre-electronic and electronic media. The historical context of the repertoire's distinct elements, as well as its widespread mass appeal and media exposure, were especially helpful for Austria's various competing patriotism and nationalism factions. Political Catholicism, Pan-Germanism, and royal patriotism have all actively used it in different ways; as a result, republican state loyalty has additionally had to cope with it in one way or another. The nationalist orientations of pan-Germanism, royal patriotism, and political Catholicism effectively bolstered and emphasized the aforementioned notion through their concurrence on fundamental territorial constructs and

associated actions, as well as the recurrent revitalization of said constructs over the course of the 20th century. Furthermore, a shared belief among all three individuals was the existence of a mythological correlation between contemporary eras and the early to late medieval periods. With regard to the "marches" of Charlemagne, the entire metaphorical framework was transformed into a transcendent, enduring frontier enterprise aimed at the East and Southeast. In recent times, State loyalism has endeavored to mitigate this particular notion by advocating for the comparatively innocuous and non-confrontational "bridge" concept. (Gingrich, 1996, p.118).

"Frontier orientalism is thus a relatively coherent set of metaphors and myths that reside in folk and public culture. It places the home country and its population along an adjacent territorial and military borderline which is imbued with a timeless mission" (Gingrich, 1996, p. 119). The Good and Bad Muslim are contrasting devices and major historical myths to explain current issues with the frontier mission. To gain strength and prosperity, it is necessary to defend "ourselves" from the threats of the Bad Muslim, whereas for the Good Muslim, if under colonial control, it may become a brave ally and a devoted follower when the rivals are putting "us" in danger. Defeating the "Bad Muslim" is a precondition to reach achievement in terms of identity, as well as modernity; the Good Muslim is relied upon at the same time, to stand in front of other threats; "this is the metanarrative of frontier orientalism" (Gingrich, 1996, p. 119). When both literary works are observed, it can be suggested that the image of "Bad Oriental Muslim", as explained by Andre Gingrich, is attributed to the Turks and there is a concern of discriminating the Hungarians and the Albanians, the self, from the Ottomans, the other.

As discussed above, there is a strict distinction between "us" and "them" and the reason for that is the lack of values one side has, depending on if one is looking from the Ottoman or Hungarian/Albanian side. According to one side, the path to follow is the Bible and Christianity whereas the true belief for the other side is Quran and Islam. In cases where one of "us" decides to convert to the religion of "them" and acts in the way their cultural norms require, they would not be accepted as one of "us" anymore.

Being a frontier between the East and the West and interacting with the Ottomans before any other Western countries as a buffer zone, Hungary's perception of the Ottomans has been shaped accordingly. Due to the risk of being besieged, Hungarians mostly had an unfavorable image of the Ottomans. As they were considered as an Orient with strong military power with

a different religion and culture, Hungarians perceived the Ottomans as a major threat to their existence, and the formation of the Turkish image was shaped in line with this perception.

Albania was considered a gate opening to the Adriatic Sea and would ease the advancement of the Ottomans in the Balkans and have a safe gate to Venice. Having under the Ottoman threat for a long time and as a major external factor that shaped the identity of Albania, Albanians had uprising against the oriental other in order to resist their rule. These uprisings and wars have shaped the Ottoman image of the Albanians. Especially, during the era of George Kastrioti Skanderbeg, who was a leading figure in the Ottoman resistance for 25 years, Albanian perception of the Ottomans was the same as the Hungarians as they both were frontiers who were surrounded by the other.



2. ECLIPSE OF THE CRESCENT MOON AND ‘THE SELF’ THROUGH ‘THE OTHER’

2.1. Historical Background and Turkish Image in Central Europe

Central Europe, being a frontier between the East and West, had its cultural identity shaped by the threat of the Ottoman Empire’s invasion and occupation. The national works of literature in the historical fiction genre did not stop being formed under the impact of this interaction, even after the permanent withdrawal of the Ottoman Empire from Central Europe at the end of the 18th century. Georg Lukács, who has one of the best-known studies of the historical novel, perceives it as a decline of bourgeois society:

“The appeal to national independence and national character is necessarily connected with a re-awakening of national history, with memories of the past, of past greatness, of moments of national dishonor, whether this results in a progressive or reactionary ideology. Thus, in this mass experience of history the national element is linked on the one hand with problems of social transformation; and on the other, more and more people become aware of the connection between national and world history” (Lukacs, 1962, p. 3. Cited by Sabatos, 2018).

The image of the Turk was fashioned depending on the country and the interaction they had with the Turks. While there is a direct interaction between the Turks and Hungarians and Balkan nations, a different scenario is valid for Bohemia where the Turkish image exists as a symbol. For Hungary, the Battle of Mohács is considered a major national defeat even in the modern day. The defense led by Count Miklós Zrínyi against the army of Suleyman I became a national symbol in Hungary. On the other hand, Bohemia has never been under Ottoman attack nor a direct Ottoman threat. We see that the Battle of White Mountain (Bitva na Bílé hoře) against the Austrian Habsburgs has a substantial place in the Czech national memory. As an outcome of the war, Bohemia got a major defeat against the Austrians, and they entered under Habsburg control for the next 300 years. Josef Blaškovič suggests that the Turkish image is not totally negative in the Czech national representations. According to some ballads, Turks are represented as “ugly”, “infidel” and “idolaters”, yet they are represented as overly generous, and dearly love their wives and mothers, give them presents, and make sure they live a comfortable life. (Sabatos, 2014, p. 16). Opposite to Czechs and closer to Hungarians, Slovaks had a different historical interaction with the Turks since both sides were directly exposed to each other. The Ottoman occupation of southern Hungary included some

areas of Slovakia and additionally, there have been attacks and sieges on the Slovak lands at different times. This occupation and raids did not only have negative side effects for Slovakia; they helped the region to gain political importance as the center of the Kingdom of Hungary. The meaning and representation of the Turkish image have changed based on the transforming national identities in Central Europe (Sabatos, 2014, p. 17).

During the 16th and 17th centuries, much of the Mediterranean region, Eastern and Central Europe, and the Middle East were under the Ottoman Empire's control. With the location of its base, human power, economic capabilities, enormous lands, and well-structured army, the Ottoman Empire has been named the great power of its era. Being a small frontier state in the past, the Ottomans conquered the Byzantine municipalities located in the Balkans and Anatolia, and their territory continued to extend with Sultan Selim I (1512-1520) who took control of Syria, Egypt, and Arabia. Sultan Suleyman I advanced further through the Balkans and in 1521, a major Hungarian castle in Nándorfehérvár (Beograd) passed to the Ottoman domination from the Hungarian army. This event was followed by the Battle of Mohács in which the Hungarian army had to face a major defeat – many bishops and barons have been killed and the King of Hungary and Bohemia Louis II died in a rivulet. This caused Habsburg Empire to claim Hungary and place a king on the throne whom they support. Yet, they were not the only ones who claimed the right to the throne. Ferdinand of Habsburg (the Archduke of Austria and younger brother of Charles V, the King of Spain and Holy Roman Emperor) was entitled by his brother Charles V to own the Austrian holding and this move gave Ferdinand the power of two lands (Ágoston, 1998, p. 126-127). Ferdinand was supported by a minority of Hungarians whereas János Szapolyai had major support and he had possession of the country until his death. After he died, his son János Sigismund (1540-1571) was selected as Szapolyai's successor, but he was overthrown by Ferdinand of Habsburg (Ágoston, 1998, p. 127). The central region, Buda, and eastern parts of Hungary and Transylvania (Erdel) passed under the Ottoman control with Buda being under the Ottoman possession for 150 years whereas the eastern parts of Hungary and Transylvania were partially independent. This whole region has been called Transylvania by time in the 16th century and played an important role in terms of geopolitics and religion (Marác, 2016, p. 238).

After taking possession of the Hungarian lands, the Habsburgs found themselves in the middle of a fight between Western Christians and Muslim Ottomans. Thus, this situation made it mandatory to protect the Hungarian lands from Ottoman threat, leading the Habsburgs

to renew the Hungarian defense system and made the Hungarian army responsive to the Ottoman attacks (Ágoston, 1998, p. 127). Sultan Süleyman's *Fethname* which he sent to his Grand Vizier Süleyman Pasha in 1541 describes the consequences and the real target of the Hungarian occupation:

"My true aim was to make the capital Buda one of the abodes of Islam and take possession of Hungary with my victorious sword. Having conquered and taken possession of the town of Buda with its inhabitants and the areas belonging to it, I had the great churches converted into *camis* in which Friday service was held with the participation of all the warriors and the prayer included my princely name... Having attached Hungary with all her fortresses, provinces and inhabitants to the rest of the provinces of the Ottoman Empire, I ordered kadis, castle Commanders and garisons, and I appointed my vizier Süleyman pasha, who possesses of the wisdom of Asaf, to defend and guard the province and assigned him a valiant corp from the world-conquering army." (Fodor, 1991, p. 273)

It was well-known that Hungary was not a place to be conquered in one single campaign. After 1521, the sultan aimed to have more of the Hungarian lands under his possession. King Ferdinand declared that the Ottomans had one-third of Hungary in 1527 (Fodor, 1991, p. 273). The Ottoman Empire advanced within the Hungarian lands, and the year 1543 marked the conquest of Pécs, Székesfehérvár, and Esztergom. These conquests led to the possession of Visegrád, Nógrád, and Hatvan in the northern and Simontornya, Ozora, and Tamási in the eastern side of Hungary. The vilayet of Buda became the first Ottoman settlement in Hungary. Over the next 25 years, during the fortress war period, the sieges on castles and fortresses continued until the date of 1566 (Pálffy, 2021, p. 18). Starting from 1568, there has been a period with no conquest within the Hungarian lands due to the treaty of Edirne signed between Sultan Selim II and Emperor Maximilian II and the campaigns of the Ottomans in the east. This peace period has been named "war-time peace years" (Kleinkriege). Yet, it should be noted that these peaceful years were not completely out of conflict. There have been clashes in order to collect taxes along with looting, which affected the locals negatively, especially in terms of production. These years have been a chance for the Ottomans to strengthen their power in the conquered lands, yet they could not settle as they did in the Balkans' vilayets and Anatolia (Pálffy, 2021, p. 22).

Despite the fact that the existence of the Ottomans has been considerably long and had adverse outcomes for Hungary as the region was left in the middle of a power struggle

between the Ottomans and Habsburgs, a permanent Turkish-speaking community could not be established (iskan) (Pálffy, 2001, p. 112). The statement of János Balassi in 1555 summarizes the settlement situation of the Ottomans quite clearly:

“The Turks might have occupied particular parts of our country, but have left them behind more than conquered them. For they have not managed to bring in their own institutions and laws, and they are forced to accept that these areas remain with their own organization and with their own statutes.” (Pálffy, 2021, p. 22).

Several factors could be considered as a reason for this case. It can be observed throughout Ottoman history that when the distance between the capital (the Ottoman palace) and the place to be conquered increases, the more problematic Ottoman settlement becomes. It becomes more difficult to control, bring and implement the Ottoman traditions and way of life, especially when the religious difference is taken into consideration. Ottomans created a municipal government where they were free in their internal issues whereas observant of the Ottomans in external issues. These municipal governments would have a voivode loyal to the Ottoman sultan, therefore they were chosen by the sultans with care. The same issue can be seen in North African lands such as in Tunisia and Egypt and the solution the Ottomans applied is the same: create municipal governments and let them be independent in their internal issues. Municipal governments in these lands have become so powerful in the 19th century that the Ottoman army started to lose battles against the municipal governments' armies, as in the case of Sultan Mahmud II and Mehmet Ali Pasha, the governor of Egypt.

The 16th century witnessed countless turmoil in terms of politics, but this century also served as the base of the 19th-20th century nationalism with renovations in language and literature – Latin has been the official language of Hungary until the late Middle Ages, yet it was indicated by the Hungarian Renaissance king, Matthias Corvinus (1443-90), the Italian humanist Marzio Galeotto (1427-90) that the Hungarian spoken by the King, the Hungarian elites and the peasants were no different. The resistance against Ottomans has been reflected in literature starting from the 15th century and centuries later, these works have been read and used for the nationalist movements (Marác, 2016, p. 237).

Considering the first military interactions between the Ottomans and Hungarians in 1399-1400 when the southernmost regions started to be occupied by the Ottomans until 1699, (until the Treaty of Karlowitz the date when the Ottomans lost a vast area of land for the first time), the Ottoman existence has been felt in every area, most importantly for our case – in

literature. The Ottoman existence served for Hungarian epic literature in terms of nationalism and unification of the Hungarians during the dates when the Ottomans were in Hungary and even after the Hungarians had their liberation.

Resistance to the Ottomans started at the border castles that have been deserted and far away from the inner lands. Bálint Balassi (1554-94), a soldier and a poet who contributed to the resistance against the Ottomans, mostly wrote about the bravery of the Hungarian soldiers during the attacks, as well as content different from war or resistance such as daily life and love stories. This kind of literary work established the base of modern Hungarian lyric and erotic poetry (Marác, 2016, p. 239), which also influenced the style of Gárdonyi. Count Miklós Zrínyi (1620-64) has been one of the most important figures for the Hungarian resistance against the Ottomans. As he was coming from a Croatian-Hungarian noble family, he played a role to uprise people against the Ottomans through his literary works, and he actively took place in the highest political and military positions on the side of the Habsburgs. The poetic works of Balassi and Sebestyén Tinódi have influenced Zrínyi. His first Baroque epic poem is depicting his ancestor's heroic acts against the Ottoman power and afterward, his pamphlet about discharging the Ottomans from the Hungarian lands (*A török áfium ellen való orvosság* (1661) - ('An antidote to the Turkish poison')) has been considered as a valuable work for Hungarian nationalism during its time and even later (Marác, 2016, p. 240).

From the 16th century until the 20th century and even until today, the Ottomans' existence in the Hungarian lands has been approached as an external threat and occupation to the country and to its religion. Hungary has been considered the last fortress between the East (Balkans under the control of the Ottomans) and the Western world. When the 18th century is observed in terms of the relationship between the Ottomans and the Hungarians, another important actor between those countries was in sight, which was Austria. Austria has been a significant power especially raised in the early 18th century and later, which gradually affected the relationship between Hungary and Austria. It is possible to see some important figures who fled to the Ottoman Empire while fighting against the Austrians, such as Imre Thököly. Another important figure was Prince Ferenc Rakóczy II, who had to flee to Tekirdağ (Rodostó) after being defeated by the Austrians. The same situation can be observed during Hungary's 1848-1849 War of Independence era. Lajos Kossuth has been one of the prominent leaders of the Hungarian Independence War and in the end, he had to take refuge in Kütahya within the Ottoman borders. What truly left an impact on the people of Hungary was that the Ottoman Empire refused the request of Austria and Russia on sending back the Hungarians

who fled to the Ottoman Empire. Given the fact that the mighty days of the Empire have come to an end on the abovementioned dates and these supportive gestures towards Hungary, embracing the Hungarian heroic figures, impacted the Hungarian public opinion in a positive manner (Beller-Hann, 1995, p. 225-226).

With the growing circles of national awakening, Hungarians started to look for their Asian past again and heads were turned to the Ottoman Empire. The fact that by the 19th century, Anatolian Turks were seen as people with close connections to Hungarians, and many travelers chose Anatolia to start their journey. Yet, there has been still a huge difference between the “Muslim Ottomans” and “Christian Hungarians”, as Islam has been perceived as the “other” by the Hungarians, but this otherness captivated both Hungarians and the rest of the Western world. This led to the “Oriental Renaissance” in Hungary in the 19th century with different characteristics and elements than in the West. This era should be evaluated with the day’s political and social events such as the desire to rise the Hungarian national identity, the outcomes of the failed 1848 revolution, and the mourning of the lost homeland. In this sense, the Orient served two purposes – the fights and wars with the Orient (Ottomans) were used to support the Hungarian national identity through the poetic stories and heroism against the Ottomans, and the Orient was used as a displaced metaphor for Hungary to express its desire to cut its ties with Austria (Beller-Hann, 1995, p. 226).

Naturally, it would be assumed that during the “Oriental Renaissance” period in Hungarian literature, the writers and poets were depicting the Turks as barbarians, infidels, and merciless oppressors but in reality, we see a slightly different scenario. Upon the evaluation of non-fictional writings, including the texts of the captives (including Georgius de Hungária, Benedek Kuripesics, Hans Dernschwam, and Dávid Ungnád), stereotypes created the basis of these texts and there was barely anything related to a person as an individual. As a soldier and considered as the most important Hungarian Renaissance poet, Bálint Balassi had several interactions with the Turks and naturally, this had an impact on his works as mentioned in this section. Additionally, he used the Turkish poetry of *asiks* and even translated some of them into Hungarian (Jankovics, 2000, p. 270).

Considering itself sinful and impotent, Hungary had this belief that they were being punished by the Turks and that it was the will of God. It was so acknowledged that Ferenc Kölcsey expressed this idea in a march he wrote in the 19th century, and it was recognized as the Hungarian national anthem later (Jankovics, 2000, p. 270).

“But our sins Your wrath provoked

as our deeds You pondered,

flashes through the Heavens burst

as in rage You thundered.

Soon the Mongols’ arrows rained

down upon your people,

then the Turkish yoke was set

on every house and steeple.

Often from wild Turkish lips chants of joy were shouted,

raised in triumph as they saw all our armies routed!” (Jankovics, 2000, p. 270).

He was not the only one who shared the same idea and expressed this in his poems or songs. Sebestyén Tinódi was another important figure of the time who depicted the wars, sieges, and clashes of the 16th century between the Turks and the Hungarians, with the Hungarian perspective being dominant. Tinódi even created an association between the Hungarians and the ancient Hebrews in his *Call to Lieutenants* (Jankovics, 2000, p. 271).

“Listen to me now, all of you listen!

You kinsmen of mine in God, hear my word!

Put your trust in God alone, brave soldiers,

and he will be your buckler and your sword.

Confess to God - all make your confessions! -

say you repent, that you will sin no more.

Forgive your enemies, and encourage

your comrades to fight bravely in the war.

Therefore, O God, remove us from your anger!

Pity us, and make our arms grow strong!

Let the pagan warriors fall before us,

Destroy them, destroy their wicked throng!

Our limbs are free and unfettered.

You have listened, Lord to our prayer!

Now you are with us, our lances are uplifted,

cry, »With Jesus leading us we dare! «” (Jankovics, 2000, p. 271).

In his poem, Tinódi uses only generalizations and stereotypical expressions towards the Turks, just like any other Hungarian writers of his time. Muslims have been named “dogs without fate”. Protecting and defending the “true faith” was the only way to survive against this kind of enemy. Yet, it should be noted that not only the negative sides were emphasized by the Hungarian writers. They were well aware of some positive attributes the Turks had as a habit or had to follow due to Islam. Discipline and their success in wars were well admired by the Hungarians. In addition, Islam prohibits any kind of alcohol for Muslims, and the exact opposite situation can be observed on the Hungarian side (Jankovics, 2000, p. 271).

Both of these works that were written in the 19th century and in the 16th century align with the Turkish image in *Eclipse of the Crescent Moon*, which was written at the beginning of the 20th century, and *The Siege of Sziget*, written in 17th century. This can lead us to think the following: When there is a direct threat from the Ottomans, the highlight on the Turks’ otherness increases to achieve and fashion the Hungarian identity. This case has been valid starting from the time when the first interactions between the Hungarians and the Ottomans occurred. Again, we can suggest that this highlighted otherness became a topic again during the national awakening movements of Hungary in order to fashion the self. Turks have been named as the “infidel”, “pagan” and “barbaric” and the reason why Hungarians had to face with such a destructive enemy is explained in the march of Ferenc Kölcsey as the punishment of the God and this kind of wrath was the God’s will. Writing this in the 19th century, we can trace this idea back in the 16th century from Sebestyén Tinódi’s poem *Call to Lieutenants*. It can be suggested that the Turkish image has been utilized during the times back in their first interactions started and continued during the national awakening era of Hungary. Therefore, it is possible to claim that the Turkish image became a part within the self. This coexistence and Turkish image can be further traced in *The Siege of Sziget* as a poem that has the purpose of fashioning the Hungarian nation through a brave Hungarian hero that has opposite attributes of the Ottomans.

2.2. *The Siege of Sziget*

As mentioned above in this section, Miklós Zrínyi has been one of the most prominent figures in Hungarian history. As a noble who comes from a Croatian-Hungarian family, he had been playing an active role in the Habsburg affairs and had several contacts with the Ottomans. *The Siege of Sziget*, an epic poem written by Zrínyi, has been an important piece in different terms, and it stands as one of the most decent instances of his era on the Hungarian approach to the Turks. Additionally, it contains several mythological elements and is based on a real historical event his grand grandfather was affected.

There has been a continuous change of ownership for the lands and territories at the Hungarian frontier for 150 years. This frontier area, Hungary, had several political and military turmoil as a result of this constant change. The sieges like in Szigetvár, demonstrate an example of the military campaigns of the time. In 1547, Sultan Suleiman signed a treaty with King Ferdinand which was about the Habsburgs paying 30.000 florins (or honorary gift) annually to the Ottomans and Ottomans giving their Hungarian lands to the Habsburgs in return. Yet, the sieges and campaigns of the Ottomans continued, and they broke the treaty when necessary on their behalf. In 1556, Hadım Ali Pasha of Buda surrounded Szigetvár as a result of bandits (haydud) from Szigetvár and other criminals breaking the law and he even wrote a letter to the lieutenant of the fortress regarding this issue:

“Therefore Toygun Pasha went and conquered those fortresses, and when he was about to position cannons against Szigetvár, your letter arrived, where you said about the fortress of Szigetvár: ‘This fortress belongs to us. Do not interfere with it!’ Then Toygun Pasha renounced conquering the fortress of Szigetvár. [...More evil deeds are enumerated...] Therefore our exalted padishah sent us and we attacked Szigetvár. [...More evil deeds are enumerated...] Toygun Pasha was dismissed, because he had failed to conquer the fortress of Szigetvár. He was not guilty of anything else. If you had known about the oppression and evil doings of the haydud, by my faith, you would have destroyed the fortress and killed the haydud!” (Fodor, 2019, p. 348-349).

Zrínyi’s own character and education made contributions while creating his ideal Christian and Hungarian hero. He was raised by Eva Poppel who was a great Protestant patroness. He got his education in Graz, Vienna and he finished studying at the early age of seventeen. After that point on, he started to defend his country against the Ottomans, and he

took part in politics actively since he thought politics would benefit him to do some favorable actions for his country (Basa, 2010, p. 7).

This military experience with the Turks helped him to write his prominent work *The Siege of Sziget*. As an idealized Christian hero is required for epic writing, he used the historical facts and his own experience for this purpose. Zrínyi did not get away from the historical facts and focused on the perspective of the spirit of the age and universal values he interiorizes such as “loyalty, devotion, and duty to God, the state and one’s family”, with this, he manages to take historical fact and artistic validity hand in hand. (Basa, 2010, p. 8). Miklós Zrínyi was not a saintly historical figure since he was an actual historical character, yet he became a Christian hero, as he was depicted as a martyr since he died while defending his faith and country. (Basa, 2010, p. 8).

In the poem, the outnumbered Hungarian army, mixed with Croatians, defends the Sziget castle and battles with the Ottoman army and the commander of the castle is feared by the Turks, who is the grand grandfather of the author Zrínyi. At the beginning of the poem, the narrator speaks from the mouth of God, and depicts the reason why the Turks are attacking the Hungarians as that the Hungarians are not following the path of its son, Jesus. In the poem, Zrínyi, speaking from the mouth of God, explains what God did for the Hungarians, as God brought Hungarians out of Scythia and how they destroyed their enemies for them, as well as how they established them in Hungary; feeling disappointed in their deeds, God, indirectly Zrínyi, says: “But they, in return for so many blessings, ah, it is difficult to say! Ah, they are ungrateful, and dared to leave me; They are not ashamed to betray their god, to sink into every wretchedness opposed to me.” (Zrínyi, 2011, p. 9).

Zrínyi writes in the poem that God sent the Turks on them on purpose. The Fury named Alecto takes the form of Selim I who was Sultan Suleyman’s father, and whispers to Sultan Suleyman in his dream to attack on Hungarians and not worry that they will get any aid. This is considered God’s revenge on Hungarians for their deeds as in the poem, Hungarians are thought to not be faithful Christians anymore:

“‘My son, you sleep,’ so began her speech, ‘And take no note of God’s grace, That He gave you strength, and courage, sound mind, sound council, and wealth sufficient. You sleep now, and do not look ahead At what a great storm Charles is gathering before you, And if you do not take note of it in time, Here you will be crushed, in bed. Believe, believe, on my august head, If you give them time enough, they will do away with you,

Country and all, the infidels, faithless dogs; For if there was unity, they would have strength. There will be, too, because they treat; so charge them, Do not delay, and give them no time to prepare. Thus I made the Mamelukes to flee, Thus I defeated Campson, and ruined the Syrians. ... Get up, gird a sharp sword to your side, Go with your armies upon the erring Magyars; I will be beside you, and over all your affairs I will faithfully watch, and over all your trifles. ... Be not afraid that anyone should aid the Magyars, Because I know well the idiotic infidels: Until they see their own house on fire, They do not help the houses of their neighbor.” (Zrínyi, 2011, p. 8-13).

Immediately, Sultan Suleiman encourages the generals to attack Hungarians. With four thousand janissaries and twenty-five thousand horsemen sent by the Sultan for the siege, thirty-two thousand Turks capture Gyula, and the captain of the fortress, Kerecseni László is captured; Sultan hastens his way, and meanwhile, Zrínyi becomes the captain of the castle. After the Sultan and his troops reach the fortress, Zrínyi manages to defend the fortress successfully and he even kills Sultan Suleiman himself, yet it is known that the Sultan passed away due to illnesses and old age in reality; Zrínyi himself gets killed by the Janissaries at the end of the poem as a national hero who defended his country honorably.

In Part One of *The Siege of Sziget*, the poet starts to talk and says:

“The great Almighty looked upon the earth, In one glance took in the world, But most of all noticed that the Magyars Do not walk on that path which His Son ordered. Saw He the Magyars’ wandering, Despising God to worship idols: That they pursue their pleasure without restraint, That they care only to stuff their throats” (Zrínyi, 2011, p. 8).

In fact, the poet, Miklós Zrínyi, is criticizing his own nation for not following the Christian values and only caring about earthly affairs.

Again, Captain Arslan from Buda writes to Sultan a script, saying that: “The Magyars, indeed, are the most idle of people; Each hates the other, like dogs; They have no generals, and even if they had, these Never listen to the officials of state.” (Zrínyi, 2011, p. 17). Even though a Turkish captain in Hungary writes this to the Sultan, it should not be forgotten that this epic poem was written by Zrínyi himself, it is possible to talk about an obvious criticism of his own nation for everyone hating each other and not following the orders and not having “one” leader, which puts the country in a less powerful state.

While fashioning the self, it becomes necessary to provide an ideal image for the reader. The stanzas below demonstrate a brave Hungarian hero who is feared by the Turks – just hearing that Zrínyi is ready for the war makes the Turks run away:

“The Turks’ power he had tried not just once, And in every battle, beaten them heroically. In all Turkey he was well known, Thus was he their greatest ruin For a Turkish camp’s total defeat It was enough to say: ‘Zrínyi is geared for battle!’ Like clouds before wind, it would scramble into motion, And the Turks would run back to their home. God gave him such power That enemies before him, like sand, were swept away; God knew well that he was a faithful servant, And so blessed him in all his doings.” (Zrínyi, 2011, p. 33).

Additionally, he is depicted as a figure who is following the “true faith”. As he is a faithful believer, God supports him in his deeds against their enemy and helps him to win. This approach in the lines above carries importance for self-fashioning as the author Miklós Zrínyi describes how a Hungarian warrior should be in order to eliminate their enemies.

Moreover, in *The Siege of Sziget*, Miklós Zrínyi had both national and familial reasons. As the protagonist of the poem is his grand grandfather who bears the same name, Zrínyi sketched his grand grandfather in a way to make him a national figure, as well as a “divine” figure. The Ottoman troops are scared just by hearing his name and in the end, Sultan Suleyman, who has a wall of flesh around him with the janissaries, is killed by him as he creates a path with his power:

“Suleyman to mount his good horse quickly hurries, But the bán’s speed had long brought him there, Ten of the emperor’s aides he cuts down there, And then to emperor Zrínyi thus began: “Bloodsucking selendek, despoiler of the world, The hour of your greed has come; God your sins no longer pardons, You must depart, ancient cur, to eternal damnation.” Thus saying, at his waist he splits him in two, His blood and his life he spills onto the earth; Cursing, the emperor releases his soul, Which his body held so proudly in life. This was the end of great emperor Suleiman, This, of his great renowned power; God allowed Count Zrínyi Miklós The glory of this extraordinary trial” (Zrínyi, 2011, p. 250).

In the stanzas above, Sultan Suleyman starts to run away on his horse when he sees Zrínyi but he manages to catch the Sultan and kills him in the end, he kills the ruler of the Empire which Hungarians were in a war situation with the enemy being a non-Christian

“Other”; it can be interpreted that his deed at the end of the poem actually represents the end of the Ottoman rule on Hungarian lands for Zrínyi when his interest in politics and country is taken into consideration. Additionally, according to frontier orientalism, he achieves the Hungarian identity by demolishing the other and rescuing the Hungarian existence. Zrínyi is killed by the janissaries afterward, which even gives him a more sacred national image as a martyr.

Again, in the lines above, Zrínyi calls Sultan Suleyman a “bloodsucking selendek” (which means ‘hunting dog’ in Croatian) and “despoiler of the world”. The poem consists of several unpleasant depictions of the other throughout the poem. This kind of approach is used in order to distinguish self from the other and focus on “we are not they are”: “My Lord, you see also those pagan Turks, How their mouths slaver, those faithless dogs, Over how they should injure the Christians; Their only purpose is to devise how they could wreak havoc” (Zrínyi, 2011, p. 34).

He names Turks “pagans” and “faithless dogs” and the only aim they have is described to harm and destroy the Christians. Moreover, he tells the “recipe” to partially accept the Turks:

“Of my friendship too I speak briefly: Never can I be a friend to a Turk, As long as I see that he hurts Christians; Friendship, harm cannot fit together. But if my friendship the emperor craves, It can be so; the Magyars’ possessions he may give back, And afterward not desire other Christians’; Then, perhaps I can be his friend” (Zrínyi, 2011, p. 93).

In the lines above, he basically tells the Ottomans to stop the threat to their physical (territorial) and cultural (religious) existence. In return, Zrínyi says only in this case the other can be accepted. What Zrínyi wishes to do here is to make the Ottomans a part of “Good Muslim”. According to frontier orientalism, the image of a “Good Muslim” is based on their interaction with the self – with Christians. “Good Muslims” are those who do not pose a risk to the very existence of the self and who support the self against the “Bad Muslim”. Like Bosnians, Zrínyi wants the Ottomans to be “Good Muslims” and provides this as his condition to accept the Turks.

Close to the end of the poem when the Turks started to be defeated by the Hungarians, Deli Vid from the Hungarian side claims that now God is not angry with Hungarians as they saw the faithfulness of the Hungarians. He also adds that not only the Ottomans, but also the Tatars as “Bad Muslims” for harming the Christians:

“The situation you now share with me: Not just Turks, Tatars bring us now destruction, But fire, but iron, but all the elements. God tries us in every way, Just as a master a goldcraft tries in a fire; And as He sees our faithfulness, He has prepared us a beautiful diadem in heaven. He is no longer angry with us, for now His punishment For our sins He has lifted, and His true law He has fulfilled: now faith’s reward He is preparing in highest heaven, and takes us there” (Zrínyi, 2011, p. 236).

Zrínyi’s poem clarifies the approach toward the Turks. As a Croatian-Hungarian noble person who lived in the 17th century, *the Siege of Sziget* can be considered a direct reflection of the Turkish image of those years. Zrínyi used the Turkish image of the time to not only warn the Hungarians against an external threat, but also tell them that the Turks have come to the Hungarian lands as the outcome of their disobedient actions to Christianity. While naming the Turks as the punishment of God, he was also addressing the Hungarians to correct their actions, especially by following Christian values better. In line with *The Siege of Sziget*, Kölcsey and Tinódi’s poems also have an emphasis on the wrath of God as a result of Hungarians not obeying Christian values and the wrath is no one other than the Turks. Believing in a different religion and having a different culture, the Ottoman Turks have been the Other for Hungary and other Central European countries and were seen as an enemy that they should protect their religion and lands. This approach naturally increased the discrimination between the self and the other and caused the fashioning of the self against the values and attributes of the other.

2.3. Frontier Orientalism in *Eclipse of the Crescent Moon*

With the importance of its story for the Hungarian national identity, *Eclipse of the Crescent Moon* was considered a masterpiece not long after it was published. After the First World War, the novel was regarded as a modern epic in the shape of prose by many critics. Some critics even went further and compared Gárdonyi to Homer; this shows the importance of the book for the Hungarians (Györke, 2005, p. 130). The stereotypes of this novel can be considered cultural and national icons; they are responsible for establishing the Hungarian nation as an “imagined community” (Györke, 2005, p.129). Until 1699, with the Treaty of Karlowitz, the Ottoman withdrawal from Europe was initiated and the power relations changed between the European countries and the Ottoman Empire. Before the abovementioned date, the Ottomans were considered “undefeatable”, especially by Hungarians who were in direct contact with them as frontiers. *Eclipse of the Crescent Moon* was written in a politically chaotic era with a national identity concept emerging. Therefore,

the literary work has the purpose of creating a strong Hungarian identity by using the concept of otherness to unite the Hungarians against one mutual enemy.

The Siege of Sziget demonstrates a major change in the representation of the Turks in terms of self-fashioning of the Central Europe. Zrínyi reminds the reader at the end of the poem that his self-identity was shaped by his own struggle with the Turks. Through his myth, he “fashions” himself and his ancestors as Hungarian nationalists and tries to arise a feeling of historical continuation by creating connections between his own experience with his grand grandfather’s experience (Sabatos, 2014, p. 64). Géza Gárdonyi, who was under the influence of Mór Jókai, does not follow his pattern and uses a more realistic approach than Jókai, who depicts the protagonists as a combination of mythical and historical figures. His biggest success is intertwining history and fiction in a way to make the reader believe that his story is real for generations. These mixed elements demonstrate the ambiguous role Ottomans have for Hungarians, as the Ottomans are a part of their national history while it is a distanced culture – they could be fictionalized with barbaric stereotypes (Sabatos, 2014, p. 120).

Egri Csillagok takes place in the first half of the 16th century, focusing on the 1552 siege of Eger castle located in Northern Hungary. The novel is based on a real historical event with a real protagonist, Gergely Bornemissza, yet his playmate and future wife, Éva Cecey is a fictional character; Gergely represents the stereotypical Hungarian man, shaping Hungarians through his deeds and bravery, while Éva is represented as the “ideal woman”. While half-orphan Gergely and the daughter of a landlord Éva are playing in the woods, a Turkish convert named Jumurdzsák captures them to be sent to the Ottoman Empire as slaves, along with other captives. With the bravery of 7-year-old Gergely, they manage to escape and rescue the other prisoners. After his mother is killed in a Turkish raid, he gets adopted by Bálint Török, who is a rich aristocrat. Years later, Buda is captured by the Turks, and Gergely witnesses Bálint Török taken as a captive to Yedikule Dungeons in the Ottoman capital of Istanbul. Meanwhile, when Éva is supposed to get married to another person named Adam Fürjes, Éva and Gergely run away and get married.

Along with other people, they go to Istanbul and try to save Bálint Török, but they fail in the end. This takes place in the third chapter of the novel, *The Captive Lion*; the chapter itself does not carry importance for the purpose of the book, yet it still draws the “brave Hungarian man” image and Géza Gárdonyi depicts the Istanbul view he drew in the chapter based on his own visit to Istanbul in 1899. He added lines where only someone who visited Istanbul can depict, just like the daily life of the stray dogs:

“For Constantinople is a paradise for dogs. There are no courtyards here, or if there is anything like that, it is on the roof of the house, so there is no room anywhere for dogs. Those red-haired, fox-like creatures swarm in hundreds through the streets in some parts. The Turks do not disturb them; indeed, when one or other of them has a litter of puppies, they throw down rags or a bit of rush-matting by the gate to help them. Those dogs keep Constantinople clean and tidy. Each morning the Turks empty the square tin dustbins beside their gate. The dogs eat the contents. They devour everything except iron and glass. And the dogs are not ugly or wild either. You can pat any of them, and they will wag their tail with delight. There is not one of them that is not glad to be stroked.” (Gárdonyi, 1991, p. 245).

The depictions of Istanbul in the book, where Géza Gárdonyi has visited himself, almost give the reader the feeling that it is an imaginary, supernatural place, as it sketches a contrary image of the East, Istanbul, and the West, where the characters of the novel come from, in terms of Orientalism suggested by Edward Said: “...the Orient has helped to define Europe (or the West) as its contracting image, idea, personality, experience” (Said, 1978, p. 1-2).

In 1552, the siege of Eger castle starts and István Dobó, the commander of the castle, defends the castle without any aid from the emperor with 2000 soldiers. Gergely joins the troop and has a crucial role to defend the castle. While Éva their son was left alone at their house, a stranger visits them. After a while, with the ring Éva saw, she realizes that the stranger must be Jumurdzsák himself. Later, she realizes he kidnapped his son. She masks herself as a man to enter the Eger castle to inform Gergely. At the end of the book, Hungarians defend the castle successfully and the Turkish army withdraws; Jancsi, the son of Gergely and Éva is exchanged for a captive Turkish boy named Selim.

Historically, the castle was taken in 1596 and has been under the Ottoman control until it was taken back by the Christian forces in 1687. The impact of this literary work has been so massive that even though the country has several castles with outstanding history, the famous castle is currently a place of remembrance and one of the most visited places, especially by school children through school trips after reading the book. With the narrative scope of the literary work, the castle has become a place of cult. The historical and fictional characters of the novel and their oaths are known by all the schoolchildren while the protagonists have the characteristics of being an archetype. The bravery of the female defenders of the castle is known by all and there are even paintings done by Bertalan Székely (Kusper, 2019, p. 130).

While there is a strong emphasis on the identity of Hungarians, self-criticism is utilized to fashion the ideal self. According to Greenblatt, as mentioned above, self-fashioning starts at the point where authority and an alien encounter, but at the same time, self-criticism can be considered as a way of fashioning the self. In *Eclipse of the Crescent Moon*, the warden of Yedikule Dungeons, Veli Bey, asks Móre why he is hated by Bálint Török and István Maylád even though he is a Hungarian as well. Móre answers him, saying: “That’s the reason why. Two Hungarians can get on all right, but three snipe at each other...” (Gárdonyi, 1991, p. 243). It can be suggested that those criticisms of Hungarians, as them not being on the path of Jesus and cannot unite as a nation, which can be interpreted through the example above, which they make about themselves have the intention to make the target reader rethink the situation they are in as a nation. Therefore, it is possible to talk about fashioning the Hungarian Self through criticism, as Géza Gárdonyi did.

Along with this self-criticism, as Wheatcroft suggested, the instances of accepting the bravery of each other could be observable in both literary works, even though both sides name the other as “infidel”. In *Eclipse of the Crescent Moon*, a commission of Hungarian leaders, Friar George, Werböczy and Bálint Török, along with Gergely, Mekcsey and Cecey, visit the camp of the Sultan Suleyman in Buda. The Sultan gives attention to the future King of Hungary, he is represented to the Sultan and that he is delighted “as if he were looking on his own child.” The interpreter continues: “He receives him as his own son and expends the wings of his world-dominating power over him.” (Gárdonyi, 1991, p. 159). What is meant at this point from the Ottoman side is that they will continue to extend their borders and have no intention to leave from Hungary, the opposite, the Ottomans desire to go beyond Hungary and control the lands there as well, and that Hungary is an “extension” of the Ottoman Empire and will stay like this in the future as well, as the Sultan accepts the infant Hungarian king as his own son.

While returning, they all agree that “Well, those Turks aren’t such a wild lot after all,” they said cheerfully. “They do respect the Hungarians. The Austrians are a lower order.” (Gárdonyi, 1991, p. 160). As it can be understood from this example, Hungarians accept it when their enemies do something “appreciative” and they even consider the Turks better than Austrians since they do respect them, yet later in the text, Turks were considered as “untrustworthy” again. Additionally, it is possible to talk about the displaced metaphor here, for Hungarians asked for independence from both the Ottomans and Austrians, yet they could not express it completely since a part of Hungary belong to Austro-Hungarian Empire. The

treaties and tributes done with the Ottomans were only beneficial for Austrians and not Hungarians, they still had to defend themselves and pay an annual tribute in the cases where the Ottomans did not follow the treaty conditions and that the Hungarian lands were utilized as a buffer zone by the Austrians. Unpleased with the situation, Hungarians did not consider the Germans, or the Austrians, as their allies, as they did not bring aid against the Ottomans on time and until then the Hungarian lands would be in the hands of the Ottomans.

In Italy, the expression “Mamma, li Turchi!” was used as an image of fear, which literally means “Mother, the Turks!”. In *Eclipse of the Crescent Moon*, this image was reversed to the Hungarian side; when Gergely, Eva, Mekcsey, Cecey, Jancsi, and Sárközi were running away from Jumurdzsák, they hear an angry woman’s voice, shouting at her child: “Sesini kes! Hunyadi geliyor! (Keep quiet! Hunyadi’s coming!)” (Gárdonyi, 1991, p. 255). It can be understood that this sentence in which a mother in the Ottoman Empire shouts the name of John Hunyadi, a leading Hungarian military and political character, to her child to scare them, does not sound realistic. When the conditions of the time in which the novel was written are considered, the reason behind this sentence can be perceived clearly. It was a time when unitary states were established under the motivation of nationalistic thoughts and creating a national identity had a crucial importance in this sense. It was important to fashion a brave, powerful, and honorary Hungarian image, therefore Gárdonyi chose a brave national-historical figure to fulfill this.

Another occurrence in *Eclipse of the Crescent Moon* where Gárdonyi represents a brave protagonist is referring to Gergely’s childhood. The book begins with a reference to the Bible where a serpent approaches Adam and Eve while they were living in the Garden of Eden in paradise. Eve takes bites from the apple and gives some of them to Adam. The serpent represents the devil and has a role to make Adam and Eve to be sent to the world. In the novel, Jumurdzsák represents the serpent, the devil, from Bible and he tries to lure Gergely and Eva with figs. When he takes the grey horse of Gergely and Eva, Gergely gets out of where they hide and stops him. Jumurdzsák captures both Gergely and Eva to take to the capital with other captives. In one evening, Gergely, who is barely a 7-year-old child, takes the grey horse tied to a smaller horse and runs away with Eva. Gárdonyi might want to emphasize on the bravery of the child Gergely to create a base for his honorary and powerful representation when he becomes an adult, and it creates a stronger meaning for the Hungarians since Gergely is a real historical figure.

In *Eclipse of the Crescent Moon*, László Mór  (Selim), who is a captive in Yedikule Dungeons and converted to Islam from Christianity, meets           and Istv        who are also captives of Yedikule. The warden of the dungeons, Veli Bey, sees T     , Mayl   , and M      arguing and says: “I don’t know what you’re arguing about, but the words of Selim are the truth. For he lives closer to the truth than you infidels do.” (246). T      and Mayl   , not knowing M      is a Muslim now, asks about who Selim is, and when Veli Bey answers them he “is the one who a few days ago was called L      M      in the language of the infidels.” (G       , 1991, p. 246).       T      answers: “Selim! And he’s the one who’s preaching to us about patriotism! Off with you, pagan, the shame of your father!” Both Veli Bey and the Hungarian captives are naming each other as “infidels” and “pagans”. L      M     , or Selim, as a Muslim now, belongs to the other and not “us” anymore, he is on the same side as the “Bad Oriental Muslims” whom Hungarians are considering it a necessity to protect their lands from.

When this case is examined from the side of the Ottomans, there is not much difference. In *Eclipse of the Crescent Moon*, after Buda is captured, the Sultan goes to the Church of Our Lady and says: “Blessed be thou, oh Allah, that thou hast spread thy powerful hand over the land of the infidels” (G       , 1991, p. 168). Again, there is an intentional emphasis on the word “infidel” and now, with the Ottomans extending their territories to Hungary, since they consider that Hungarians are “pagans” because of believing in a different religion, the Ottomans now see that “true” religion came to Hungary.

The depiction of Istanbul from the eyes of the protagonists is noteworthy as it consists of classical Oriental elements. Gergely, Eva, Mekcsey, Jancsi, Cecey and S        in Ottoman clothes get in a fishing boat in Golden Horn.

“In the glow of the setting sun, the towers of the minarets reached into the sky like golden pillars, and the gilded domes of the churches simply shone. The sea reflected all this glory. ‘It’s a dream world,’ marveled Eva, sitting at Gergely’s feet. ‘It’s more beautiful than a dream,’ replied Gergely. ‘But it’s like a legendary castle, my dear. Outside it looks splendid, but inside it’s full of dragons and the damned.’ ‘It’s a fairy city!’ Mekcsey broke his silence.” (G       , 1991, p. 236).

Their imagination and depiction of the Ottoman city of Constantinople are based on the approach of a modest 19th-century European as Said explained – they see the city from the outside as a place as if they are looking at a picture. As described by Said, they create their

own image and representation through a Western approach. Their comparison of the city with a dream/imaginary place can be the outcome of Gárdonyi's visit to Istanbul. When it is considered that literary works are not independent of their author's experiences or imagination, he might be reflecting and tailoring his own thoughts through the eyes of the protagonists.

While Bálint Török is still a captive in Yedikule Dungeons and the Turks advance towards northern parts of Hungary, the Sultan makes an offer to Bálint Török for him to become a pasha. "So I have to find a good pasha for Buda. A pasha who's no stranger to the Hungarians or to me either. You're an outstanding man. I'll return your estates to you. All of your estates." (Gárdonyi, 1991, p. 249). Bálint Török tries to understand if the Sultan offers him the place of Werböczy, who died in the year when Bálint Török came to Istanbul. The Sultan says, "...I am giving you the largest pasha's domain in my lands, and the most complete freedom." (Gárdonyi, 1991, p. 250). Bálint Török asks if he will be a Hungarian pasha but the Sultan corrects him that he will be a Hungarian pasha. "That I'm to become a Turk?" "A pasha". (Gárdonyi, 1991, p. 250). As his last answer, Bálint Török says "I think, Your Majesty, that even if the whole Hungary belongs to you and every Hungarian became a Turk, I shall not... No, I shall not!" (Gárdonyi, 1991, p. 251). Bálint Török refuses to give up on his identity in exchange for great power. The other offers him to be one of "them" whereas Bálint Török does not accept to be converted to become a frontier threat like Selim, with his former name László Móré. This rejection of the other carries significant importance since Bálint Török was a real Hungarian historical figure who led an uprising against the Ottomans and in the end, he was captured by the Ottomans and taken to Yedikule Dungeons. In *Eclipse of the Crescent Moon*, he gets rescued by Gergely but in reality, he was executed in the dungeons for leading the rebellion against the Ottomans. When the purpose and era of this literary work are considered, Bálint Török's rejection to change his identity, his religion, and his language represents how a brave Hungarian should act against an external threat who is not Hungarian.

Just like self-criticism plays a role in fashioning the self, accepting the bravery of the other can be named the same. In *Eclipse of the Crescent Moon*, a commission of Hungarian leaders, Friar George, Werböczy and Bálint Török, along with Gergely, Mekcsey and Cecey, visit the camp of the Sultan Suleyman in Buda. The Sultan gives attention to the future King of Hungary, he is represented to the Sultan, and he is delighted "as if he were looking on his own child." The interpreter continues: "He receives him as his own son and expends the wings

of his world-dominating power over him.” (Gárdonyi, 1991, p. 159). What is meant at this point from the Ottoman side is that they will continue to extend their borders and have no intention to leave Hungary, the opposite, the Ottomans desire to go beyond Hungary and control the lands there as well, and that Hungary is an “extension” of the Ottoman Empire and will stay like this in the future as well, as the Sultan accepts the infant Hungarian king as his own son. While returning, they all agree that “Well, those Turks aren’t such a wild lot after all,” they said cheerfully. “They do respect the Hungarians. The Austrians are a lower order.” (Gárdonyi, 1991, p. 160). As it can be understood from this example, Hungarians accept it when their enemies do something “appreciative” and they even consider the Turks better than Austrians since they do respect them, yet later in the text, Turks were considered as “untrustworthy” again. It is possible to mention the displaced metaphor here, for Hungarians asked for independence from both the Ottomans and Austrians, yet they could not express it completely since a part of Hungary belong to Austro-Hungarian Empire.

As mentioned before in this work, the treaties and tributes done with the Ottomans were only beneficial for Austrians and not Hungarians, they still had to defend themselves and pay an annual tribute in the cases where the Ottomans did not follow the treaty conditions and the Hungarian lands were utilized as a buffer zone by the Austrians. Unpleased with the situation, Hungarians did not consider the Germans, or the Austrians, as their allies, as they did not bring aid against the Ottomans on time and until then the Hungarian lands would be in the hands of the Ottomans.

There are quite a few clear instances where it is possible to see the emphasis on Hungarian nationalism. When István Maylád and Bálint Török talk at the garden of the Yedikule dungeons, they start to talk about their days back in Hungary and they come to the topic how they were chained in the end. Máylád talks about how he cried like a child because of his rage when the Turks chained him the moment he was captured. Bálint Török says: “‘I can’t cry. I’ve no tears. I didn’t even weep when my father died.’ ‘Haven’t you wept for your children either?’ Bálint Török went pale. ‘No. But every time I think of them, it’s as if a sword’s being turned in my breast.’” (Gárdonyi, 1991, p. 183). While they continue to talk, they hear the sound of music coming from far away and they learn from Kapudji that the music is because of the tulip festival. At night, Bálint Török looks outside, “‘How different even the sky is here,’ he thought. ‘It’s a Turkish sky, with Turkish clouds.’ And then since there was a long silence on the boat, he went on thinking, “Even the silence is different here;

it's Turkish silence.'” (Gárdonyi, 1991, p. 182). Afterward, he hears Hungarian music in the dark Turkish sky:

“Whoever drinks the Tisza's water will

Return there, his heart's longing to fulfill...

Alas! I too have drunk of it...” (Gárdonyi, 1991, p. 186)

As Bálint Török continues to listen, he starts to cry over the song. Tisza River has been considered the most Hungarian river since it used to flow entirely within the Kingdom of Hungary. Bálint Török shows a strong emphasis on homesickness about a song with Tisza River. Moreover, a *silahdar* tells Veli Bey that his servant realized the people who introduced themselves as Italian musicians are actually Hungarians – and one of them can be even Bornemissza. The servant heard them finding a skull while they were cooking, and they discussed whether the skull was Hungarian or Turkish. As the Turks bury their dead, they decided it was a Hungarian skull:

“‘Whoever you were in life, you died for the homeland: to me you're a saint!’ And he kissed the skull, and they dug it into the ground again.” (281). Another strong emphasis on homeland can be seen when Gergely talks to Hegedűs, “‘... You know very well what a great and sacred thing it is to defend one's homeland; it's just like children protecting their mother.’ Love for one's mother and love for the homeland are the same. The Turks can't destroy the soul.” (Gárdonyi, 1991, p. 441).

In these instances, Gárdonyi clearly wanted to create a contrast using Turkish and Hungarian attributes. The theme of otherness can be observed through Bálint Török's lines when he thinks about the difference of the Turkish sky. Thus, the discussion of Gergely and others about the skull and calling it a saint, and later, Gergely's speech to Hegedűs highlights the importance of defending their country as if it is someone who brings them to life. Again, this can be interpreted with Gingrich's approach – Bad Muslims should be pushed out of the borders and the risk of this destructive external threat should be eliminated. Protecting the motherland and defeating the Bad Muslim carries huge importance to forming the identity as it is a precondition to achieve creating one.

Written with nationalist motives, *Eclipse of the Crescent Moon* has the aim to demonstrate the bravery of the Hungarians and teach how a Hungarian should be. During the rise of independence movements and establishment of unitary states, the ideal way to apply

this would be through referencing a major external threat Hungary directly experienced for years. Therefore, in *Eclipse of the Crescent Moon*, the Hungarian identity construction was performed through creating lines between the nations at both sides of the border. The process of creating the other has been depending on the opposite attributes the other have compared to the self, as well as self-criticism. As a destructive force for the Hungarians, the Ottomans were usually depicted as “pagans”, “faithless”, and “infidels” whereas Hungarians were mostly shown as brave people and faithful Christians who defend their countries against the intruders. By defeating the other at the border, Hungarians complete the precondition to achieve identity.



3. *THE SIEGE AND 'THE SELF' THROUGH 'THE OTHER'*

3.1. Historical Background of Albania and the Voice of Kadare

The emergence of Albanian identity and the country's communist past have a direct correlation; therefore, it is not possible to separate one from the other. The communist experience has fashioned how the historical identity of Albania was created and the way it was perceived. It is important to understand the emergence of nationalism in Albania and the background of its communist past since Kadare uses the country's communist experience and historical identity in combination (Tarpley, 2009, p. 12). As he conveys his concern through this historicization and additionally, through several allegories, detailed background information should be provided to understand Kadare's concerns in depth.

Ernest Gellner describes nationalism as a product that is the result of modernity, which emerged as a natural outcome of the structural changes in Western societies due to the industrial revolution. According to Gellner, nationalism creates nations where none already exist; it does not cause nations to become conscious of themselves. He claims the reason behind this is not the nationalist movements themselves, as the national concepts are the products rather than the producers of modernity. Nationalism views the ideas of a nation and nationalism as part of human nature or as being fundamental social organizing principles that do not require further investigation or justification. Gellner further clarifies the difference between nationalism as it sees itself and as it actually serves as the foundation for a nationalist theory. He exemplifies this concept through the era before industrialization and the phase while passing to industrialized communities. Nationalism is a concept that should be taught, and it does not come with a person naturally; literature, language, and education systems play a crucial role to build nationalist thoughts. Nationalism, according to Gellner, is a social and cultural requirement of the highly mobile industrial society, and he further suggests that this results in an unequal modernization manner. (Rrapaj and Kolasi, 2013, p. 191-192). This kind of nationalism involves,

generalized diffusion of a school-mediated, academy-supervised idiom, codified for the requirements of reasonably precise bureaucratic and technological communication. It is the establishment of an anonymous, impersonal society, with mutually substitutable atomized individuals, held together above all by a shared culture of this kind, in place of a previous complex structure of local groups, sustained by folk cultures reproduced

locally and idiosyncratically by the micro-groups themselves. (Gellner, 1997, p.57. Cited by Rrapaj and Kolasi)

To summarize, according to Gellner, the industrial social organization gave birth to the concept of nationalism, and he considers this concept as an inevitable outcome. He considers this organization “is primarily a political principle, which holds that the political and national units should be congruent” (Gellner, 1983, p. 57. Cited by Rrapaj and Kolasi).

Gellner’s theory usually applies to the bourgeois and industrialized societies, but his theory remains insufficient to interpret the emergence of nationalism in the non-industrialized countries in the Balkans – the countries without a bourgeois community and related philosophical and political ideas. (Rrapaj and Kolasi, 2013, p. 192).

Balkan historians usually miss the effect and importance of the Ottoman Empire on Balkan nationalism. Nationalism had the aim to establish a new socioeconomic, political, and cultural environment and as a result, change the perception of those factors. In the Balkans, the Ottoman Empire has been held responsible for the absence of industrialization, therefore the “backwardness”. It is considered that the reason for the region not having a bourgeois society and therefore, not experiencing the socio-economic changes Western Europe go through is the governing structure of the Ottoman Empire. Due to the Empire’s centralized governing system and centralized production, the transformation of the Balkans had been impacted compared to the Western European countries (Rrapaj and Kolasi, 2013, p. 192-193).

To summarize, as the initial factor, Balkan nationalism has been under the impact of not having a bourgeois society. Secondly, the impact of the Ottoman Empire has a role on the Balkan nations as it was a foreign nation with a different religion. The third factor includes the folkloric and religious elements. The Balkan nations had to combine religion with nationalism in order to create national unity. Excluding Albanian nationalism, organized religion has been utilized while building new nations in the region. As the fourth factor, the origin of the nationalist ideas in the Balkan region is based on the literate community of the region, therefore it has an impact on a limited circle as it was a political/cultural elite phenomenon. Fifth, and the most important factor of all for this work, the independence struggles of the Balkan nations from the Ottoman Empire defined Balkan nationalism. In order to achieve that, the Balkan nations utilized the Ottomans as “the big other” or the opposite representation of the Empire. As the sixth and last factor, Balkan nations created a sense of national borders through the virtual and metaphysical image they historically created,

but due to the power relations and politics of the time, it was seen that the borders have been unequally determined. (Rrapaj and Kolasi, 2013, p. 196-197).

The case of Albania has been different compared to other communist regimes. Most of the communist countries started to decrease their restrictions mostly in the late 1950s. Isolation, repression, and the feeling of paranoia could be felt until 1990, under the shadow of a bronze Stalin statue located in the center of Albania's capital city, Tirana (Rosenberg, 1994, p. 85). During the dates before the communist regime, most people usually lived a traditional way of life which goes back to the 1500s – people in the southern regions mostly lived in the mountains with forests as clans and they did not have any connection with the contemporary world. The case of blood feud has been so substantial that it was affecting the activities of traders; they could not enter the areas where enemy families live. The remnants of this tradition, which was founded on strength, retribution, and honor, can still be seen in the northern regions even though it was out of the reach of centuries of foreign occupiers. The year 1912 marks the very first independence of Albanians won but later, occupied by Serbia, Montenegro, Austria-Hungary, Italy, Bulgaria, France, and Greece throughout the First World War period. After this era of its history, Albania established a parliament with political parties and experienced a democratic regime until Ahmed Zog, a feudal lord in Albania, got accepted himself as the King of Albania. He ruled the country until Italy, which was ruled by a fascist regime, under the leadership of Mussolini, occupied the country in 1939. With the fall of Mussolini's regime, Nazis replaced their force and had control of Albania until they left the country at the end of 1944. As the only active party in the parliament, the Communist Party won the elections the next year as the opposite force of the Nazi regime. Under the leadership of Enver Hoxha, the Albanian People's Republic was officially declared on the 10th of January 1946. As a devoted follower of the Stalinist regime, Enver Hoxha stayed as an advocate of Stalin and his regime until he passed away in 1985. The breaking point for Enver Hoxha has been the time when Khrushchev forced him to erase the shadow of Stalin from the country. Enver Hoxha refused to follow Khrushchev and instead, he made an alliance with Mao until Mao passed away. With the death of Mao, China gradually started to become liberated and this incident marked Enver Hoxha cutting his ties with China. Enver Hoxha had the priests and hodjas be killed and wearing a cross or having a bible was a sufficient reason for someone to be sent to prison. He asked the Christian cathedrals and ancient religious monuments to be destroyed and when the fields were left empty, they were built to become basketball courts. Wearing lipsticks and similar actions were enough reasons

for girls to be banished from schools. He made changes regarding the field of law – he ended the Ministry of Justice and the legal practice; additionally, he made the trials open to public. Only a group of people including minorities, mentally ill or retarded and foreigners had the right to defense themselves with an attorney (Rosenberg, 1994, p. 86).

When Enver Hoxha passed away in 1985, his successor Ramiz Alia started to govern the country and he followed the same ruling path as his predecessor. The initiatives to establish a Democratic Party in the country started to emerge only on 11st December 1990, when many countries under communist regime already cut their ties with communism. The people who came together to emerge a Democratic Party were communist intellectuals – but Alia himself pointed out that the country cannot proceed forward with its current situation, therefore he accepted the deeds of the new party. Elections were held in March 1991 and the distribution of the votes suggested an outstanding schema. Democratic Party had the majority of the votes in Tirana whereas the Communist Party, which started to be called Socialist Party, held more votes due to the people in the countryside being more closed to any kind of transformation and previously threatened by the Communist Party. Both parties failed to govern the country and another election became necessary in March 1992, which benefited the Democratic Party at the end, which made the cardiologist Sali Berisha the president of the country (Rosenberg, 1994, p. 86).

In an environment with lots of political and social turmoil, it would be easily guessed that artistic activities were influenced by this turmoil, even during the earlier decades before the national movements. The base of Albanian literature can be traced back to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, usually with a focus on religion and bible translations. This act could play a role in literary creativity even though the Catholic Church had control over artistic actions. The impact of Islam can be suggested with the arrival of the Ottoman Empire to Albanian lands and this interaction can be traced back to 1385. Over time, this interaction caused the cultural division of the country, and all these cultures had no relation with each other. Robert Elsie defines these independent cultures as follows:

“...1) the cosmopolitan traditions of the Islamic Orient using initially Turkish, Persian, and Arabic as their media of expression and later Albanian in a stylized *Aljamiado* literature, i.e. the so-called poetry of the *Bejtexhinj*; 2) the lingering Byzantine heritage of Greek Orthodoxy in southern Albania, which produced a number of religious and scholarly works in Greek script in the eighteenth century; and 3) the awakening culture and literature of the Arbëresh (Italo-Albanians) in southern Italy, nourished by a more

favorable social, political, and economic climate and by the fertile intellectual soil of Italian civilization.” (Elsie, 1991, p. 256-257)

The 1850s marks the rise of nationalist thoughts and actions to make Albania independent from the Ottoman Empire and the national literature of the time demonstrates a crucial understanding of the perception of Albanians even during modern days. This romantic literature (*Rilindja*) was usually written in Albanian, which acted as a rebellion against the alien forces in the country. The Ottoman Porte did not approve the usage of the Albanian language at schools, as well as the books to be published in Albanian, and see the Albanian culture and educational approach at the same level as the Ottomans. Due to this restriction of accessing information in their language, only a certain circle could reach literary creativity and intellectual thought (Elsie, 1991, p. 257).

Albanian literature can be divided into two for the time before and after World War II. After World War II, the influence of the communist regime can be clearly seen, and literature serves a purpose. Most writers and intellectuals left the country by 1944 and those who stayed within Albania had to face an internal exile, which they had to continue their lives in complete isolation. Throughout his life, Enver Hoxha never fully trusted the writers and intellectuals; for the intellectuals and writers, there has been more freedom and space for their different opinions during King Zog’s and Mussolini’s eras. The untrusted writers were prevented to be able to publish and this caused many of them to translate, instead of creating work themselves. Lasgush Poradeci (1899-1987), who was a pantheistic poet, articulated: “to break his pencil in two rather than write the kind of poetry ‘they’ wanted” (Elsie, 1991, p. 257). Soviet literary styles entered Albanian literature during the 1950s and writers started to follow these styles. As literature was utilized much for didactic and national purposes, the description of the “right” political approach has been prioritized over artistic purposes. The writers of the era were well aware that they are the first instances of newly emerging literature in their countries. (Elsie, 1991, p. 258). Conveying the Marxist ideology and the message of the New Albania to the public had importance for those who wished not to be outcasted and pushed into isolation and poverty. The message of the New Albania was emphasizing the national liberation war and the attempts of the country to build socialism (Elsie, 1991, p. 258).

The Cultural Revolution in China led Albania to use different topics than patriotism and socialist regime. The party secretary for ideological affairs Fadil Paçrami and the director of radio and television broadcasting Todi Lubonja led this approach. This was done through music and culture – they broadcasted some Italian pop music and even the Beatles. Enver

Hoxha soon banned this kind of music and culture. Both Paçrami and Lubonja were sent to prison as the leaders of this liberation, yet both were released after the death of Enver Hoxha (respectively, in 1991 and 1987) (Elsie, 1991, p. 258). Despite all the repressions, corruption, and poverty the country experience, Albanian literature established huge progress in the 1970s and 1980s. Ismail Kadare, born in 1936, is still the only Albanian writer who is internationally recognized. His boldness in taking on the system's literary mediocrity resulted in a degree of adaptability for socialist realism that allowed it to endure (Elsie, 1991, p. 259).

In an environment like this, Kadare raised his voice in his own way – with literature. Kadare wrote some of the most brilliant and subversive works that came out of socialist Eastern Europe, despite the fact that he lived in a place where writers were frequently persecuted, detained, tortured, and murdered. He became the Deputy of the People's Assembly and additionally, he was a respected member of the Albanian Union of Writers and the Party. These positions provided him with some privileges, but they also tied him to follow the orders above. Like other Albanian contemporary writers and intellectuals, he received threats, had to act in line with the desire of the governors, and had to face restrictions. Enver Hoxha and Ismail Kadare, both of whom come from the same town, Gjirokastër, Vlorë, had the chance to meet from the beginning of Kadare's writing career. According to Morgan,

“As the voice of an alternative, better Albania, Kadare offered his countrymen one of their few sources of hope for change. He was committed to Albanian language, culture, and national identity, he believed in European humanist ideals and was attracted, to begin with, by the communist model of modernization in his socially and economically backward land. At the same time he built an influential base in France, his chosen intellectual home in the West. Deeply aware of the need of Albanians to participate in European modernity, he nevertheless came to object profoundly to the ideal of the Albanian ‘new man’ propagated by the regime, and his works represent powerfully the positive force of ethnic identification.” (Morgan, 2010, p. 1-2).

As an internationally known and successful writer, especially recognized in France, he was under the gaze of Enver Hoxha, who claimed himself as a writer as well. Kadare expresses his thoughts after staying in Moscow and France regarding this situation as follows:

For the first time I realized that it was terrible to be known in a Stalinist country under the control of a tyrant as ferocious as he was cunning and who, unfortunately, also claimed to be a writer. (Morgan, 2018, p. 568)

One of his most famous novels, *Winter of Great Solitude* had to be published in two versions, and the first version was pulled out of the market. The first version was inspected by the regime in 1972 and the book started to be published in the early months of 1973. Kadare was requested to edit some parts of the book, including the title which was changed into *The Great Winter* for the second edition, and the revised version was returned to the market only in 1978. Kadare did not have the desire to obey their requests, therefore he tried to bypass these censors by disguising his thoughts as a writer with myths. The second revision of this book still included the message Kadare wanted to convey but with a focus more on “modern Albania” and Hoxha’s place in this mission. Enver Hoxha’s personality and attributes were still protected in the second revision, but the emphasis was put more on Albania. “The positive hero” of the story was Enver Hoxha himself but Kadare represented him as the leader of a collapsing nation with tragedy, misery, and poverty (Morgan, 2018, p. 572).

Kadare makes use of allegories – he depicts a constant winter state in the social life of Albania. At the beginning of the novel, he describes people trying to make their radios and televisions work by moving the antennas during the September storms and the book ends in the same way, by describing the snow-covered rooftops of Tirana. The allegories and representations in this book are highly related to the messages Kadare wants to give – the sequel, *The Concert*, gives the message of Albania’s isolation by using radio as a medium. Its contact with the world highlights the isolation of the country from the rest of the world by providing information cut with static and white noise. Affected by Shakespeare, Kadare uses equivocality in the title. With the original title from the first version, *Winter of Great Solitude*, Kadare highlights this suspicious isolation the country goes through. As previously available Italian and Yugoslav broadcasts were scrambled and there were increased penalties for illicit listening of those channels, access to the globe via radio and television decreased. This “great solitude” Enver Hoxha dreamed of and applied to the country did not benefit the country and its inhabitants. Kadare does not hide his appreciation for the acts that benefited the Albanians, just like his contemporary intellectuals who admired the communist regime at the beginning when Enver Hoxha started to govern the country as a communist patriot, but he also inquires the consequences of his isolation policy (Morgan, 2018, 571-572).

As a writer, Kadare used literature as a medium to express his opposing voice, instead of a doctrine or ideology. He demonstrated defiance by depicting the misery of daily life under socialism and by evoking an Albania that was older and more resilient than the new

Albania of Enver Hoxha. He steadfastly refused to give up his identity and language or to be sent into exile. Kadare is the epitome of twentieth-century European socialist literature as a writer who produced work in this Stalinist environment (Morgan, 2010, p. 2).

Kadare's novels were usually written with a historical theme in the 1970s. In a body of works that portrays his country's past from the viewpoint of the present, Kadare combines literary allegory and the historical novel. One of Kadare's greatest accomplishments is the development of the historical novel subgenre under communism. As implied by the title of his 1976 collection of poems, *Koha* (Time), history and the passage of time—both personal and communal as well as national—became a recurrent theme for the author as he approached his forties. The late 1970s are when Kadare produced some of his most well-known works. Additionally, these works usually include the concepts of leadership, cultural influence, domination, and the role of the authority figure. *The Siege* is based on the narrative of Martin Barletius named *Siege of Shkodra*. The Italian priest tells the Ottoman campaign to the Venetian-Albanian castle of Shkodra, which finally became the territory of the Ottomans in 1479 (Morgan, 2010, p. 190).

As a frontier back in the Ottoman era, Albania experienced a similar phase in its past but this time from a real external threat, which was a Muslim other. It has been one of the reasons why Kadare used the Ottoman Empire in his novels; this Muslim other was a threatening force that came outside of the country, then spread within the country – just like communism and later Enver Hoxha's dictatorship. As Kadare uses real historical facts and events, it is quite possible to interpret and study the frontier relationship between Albania and the Ottoman Empire. Kadare places historicization on the one side of the medallion whereas places contemporary political and social events to the other. The contemporary political and social events, being the alternative voice, carry importance as they present the reason for this book to be produced. Influenced by Marin Barleti's work on *The Siege of Shkodra*, he chose to convey his message through a siege depiction and the incidents both the self and the other go through. Having similarities with *The Siege of Sziget*, *The Siege of Shkodra* provides a clear background between the Ottoman and Albanian relationship and how the Albanians see the Turkish threat back in 1478.

3.2. *The Siege of Shkodra*

The Siege of Shkodra is a prominent work of its era for providing a detailed historical record on the Ottomans' campaign to the castle and additionally, exhibiting a clear Turkish

image the Albanians have. Just like in *The Siege of Sziget*, we can trace the attempts of the Albanians at the fortress on fashioning themselves against the other's attributes.

The siege of Shkodra is a real historical event that happened between the Albanians and the Ottomans in 1478. Written by Marin Barleti in 1504, the book *The Siege of Shkodra* is depicting this historical siege, which ended up in failure for the Ottoman side. The failure of this siege was unexpected for the Ottomans, and it affected the plans of Mehmed II of invading Rome negatively. Mehmed II sent a vast army four years later for a siege attempt on the fortress again, which he joined in person to the campaign to see the victory himself. Even after heavy attacks and five successive ground assaults, the citadel did not fall. This caused Mehmed II to follow a different strategy which he advanced his army towards the other fortresses around Shkodra (Žabljak, Drisht, and Lezha) in order to make the people in the fortress of Shkodra starve. The rest did not go as Sultan Mehmed II planned it to – the Albanians did not surrender but they had to face two options, as the Ottomans and Venetians signed a peace treaty in 1479. They would either be the subject of the Ottomans, or they would emigrate to a different place, which concluded with most of the Albanians in the citadel choosing the latter (Hosaflook, 2012, p. 79).

Marin Barleti was a Shkodran priest and experienced the siege of Shkodra in person. Upon this occupation, he wrote what he witnessed in his book. He wrote the book in Latin and by the 16th century, it was translated into different European languages. It was translated into Albanian only in 1962, which marks the 50th year of independence of Albania from the Ottoman Empire (Hosaflook, 2012, p.79).

The book of Marin Barleti consists of three books within itself. The first book draws an outline of Ottoman history and its past regarding the sieges. Barleti provided a summary of the Ottoman sultans including their major external rivals and major historical events of the Ottoman conquests. He also included the conquest of the Eastern Rome (Constantinople) and give information on Sultan Mehmed II. The second book usually focuses on the siege of Shkodra, Albania. It starts with the unsuccessful Ottoman siege of the Shkodra fortress and provides details about the siege. He provides an analysis of the five major attacks on the Shkodra fortress by the Ottomans and finally, the Sultan requests his army to retreat. Lastly, in the third book, Barleti writes about the other conquests of the Sultan. The conquered towns (Žabljak, Lezha and Drisht) have been encircling the town of Shkodra and the reason behind these conquests has been the strategy change of the Sultan after the failure of five grand

assaults. One year later of the siege, Shkodrans have been informed about the visit of Italian ambassadors to Constantinople in order to make peace with the Sultan.

It is known that Ismail Kadare wrote his novel *The Siege* with the influence of Marin Barleti's book *The Siege of Shkodra*, just like Gárdonyi being under the influence of Miklós Zrínyi's poem *The Siege of Sziget*. Even though both novels were written in the 16th century, they continued to have an influence even in the 20th century in a politically and socially troubled era where identity construction has been considered necessary. Throughout Barleti's work, the Ottomans are described with different images, most of which are negative as an intruder. In the second book under the section "An ultimatum from the Sultan", the Ottomans send a force to the market square just below the Shkodra fortress, claiming to have a message from the Ottoman Sultan to the commander of the fortress and the Shkodran residents. In the Ottoman's speech, the ambassador talks about the threats and dangers that are to come. Therefore, the sultan suggests the Shkodrans surrender just like Krujans without any further damage. In case they surrender, the sultan pledges to give every Shkodran gift independent from their status and let them live in their town as free people. But otherwise, "we have orders from the sultan to trouble and torture you to the death with all the means at our disposal." (Barleti, 2012, p. 78). In return, a man named Petrus Pagnanus, who is considered an honorable and educated man, moves forward, and answers the Ottoman ambassadors. He describes the people of Shkodra that there are Italians, marine soldiers and Shkodrans, or Epirotes, and says they are one in mind and heart. He adds, "Among us is not even the slightest dissension because we are all Christians. We all have the same God and only one religion. We do not worship Muhammad, neither the moon, nor the sun, nor Mars, nor Mercury, nor anything else; but we honor Christ, the Son of God, who will forever be One together with the Father and the Holy Spirit." (Barleti, 2012, p. 78) He further says:

"since we are sure that Christ the Lord is on our side, the one who chose to die on the cross for the salvation of all the peoples of the world, why should we tremble at the strength of that man you call your sultan? Because of all his clever ploys? Indeed, why should we fear his armies when Christ alone is omnipotent? Let your sultan know that no terror frightens us—it makes no impact on us. Let him bring as many armies as he wishes. Let him prepare every tool of warfare. Finally, let him send his entire force upon us, for we are committed first and foremost to our commander and the Venetian Senate. We are prepared to spill our blood and perish in the defense of this city. So if your sultan wants to take it, let him come! Let him attack it by iron and by all the strength he can

muster, because honorable people cherish nothing more dearly than their fatherland!” (Barleti, 2012, p. 78-79).

In the case above, it can be suggested that we see a type of self-fashioning through the submission to a factor outside of the self. As in *The Siege of Sziget*, submission to Christianity and God is highlighted in *The Siege of Shkodra* as an authority outside of the self – they claim that they know the authority, Christ, is supporting them and that even though there are people from different backgrounds in the town, they unite around Christendom. Moreover, as an answer to the threats of the Ottoman ambassadors, Albanians answer they are not afraid of the sultan and his army, and they will be there to defend their homeland in any situation. This point is where the Albanians start to fashion themselves against the other. As self-fashioning requires a subject outside of the self and is there to be eliminated, Shkodrans say they are ready to die, and they will not obey the sultan, therefore they do not abandon their identity and existence even though this act can result in their end. These lines also indicate a message within itself – according to Barleti, it can be suggested that this is the way the self should response to any external threat.

Throughout the book, Barleti usually uses the word “barbarian” to address the Turks, whereas the people of Shkodra are called “Christians”. Friar Bartholomew gives a speech to the public in Italy as a man who is called the great defender of sacred theology and considered a great authority as someone who proved himself during the battles with the Ottomans in Skanderbeg’s time, therefore knows the Ottoman traditions, customs, and way of living. Barleti represents the Friar as a divine figure, as in the poem of Zrínyi when he uses mythological figures describing his ancestor, with the following words: “he forsook the laity to surrender to religious service, being filled with the Holy Spirit and illumined by the divine light” (Barleti, 2012, p. 86). It can be suggested that the following lines from the speech of Friar Bartholomew when he was in Italy represent an instance of control mechanism:

“Mighty men and fearless friends! Those who want to attain true glory must be patient and resist every difficulty, danger, and distress, even the heaviest, because only by so doing will we highlight and emphasize the fundamental virtues necessary to lift people higher and higher. The sages have said that great achievements come by ceaseless labor and zeal and that sweat and toil yield their deserved fruit. Every one of us should be assured that we are gathered here by the will of God so that, with his help and by your glorious courage, this our city shall be protected from the tyranny and cruelty of all these barbarians. We are gathered here so that our true religion may emerge

unharmful and secure the height of radiance. We are assembled with the intent that this heartless and nefarious tyrant should experience, at last, that the only true and sure religion is the Christian faith and that Christ, our Lord, whom we honor and worship, is our only Lord, the creator and orchestrator of the universe, from whom all things on earth are sustained and before whom the brutal authority of every autocrat shrivels. Indeed, before him every power (whatever it be) tumbles and collapses in but an instant!” (Barleti, 2012, p. 86).

As highlighted above, Clifford Geertz suggests culture is a set of control mechanisms that include several factors in order to shape behavior and self-fashioning compromises of these control mechanisms. As an authority figure, Friar Bartholomew makes his speech on religion, which is part of a culture, in order to differentiate the self and the other. He talks about religion that should be protected to continue their existence. Friar Bartholomew uses the word “barbarian” and “heartless and nefarious tyrant” to depict the Turks, and he says the city should be “protected from the tyranny and cruelty of all these barbarians.” As he calls those from Christendom “mighty men and fearless friends” and the Turks with exact opposite names, he basically differentiates the attributes of Christians and the Turks to create the self and draw a line from the other. Besieged Christians are perceived as brave soldiers from Friar’s side and the Turks are recognized as barbarians and heartless tyrants, just as Zrínyi differentiates the Hungarians and the Turks.

According to self-fashioning, it is a must to have an encounter with someone outside of the self. This encounter with the external factor should be between an authority and the other. The other should pose a threat to the self and should be leading to a mutual attack that will lead the gained identity to be mutually destructed. In the end, this other should be demolished – it can be infidel non-Christian, etc. This image can be observed in the prayer of Friar Bartholomew. He suggests the people of Shkodra to “offer songs and praises to the true God even as the vain and empty prayers of the barbarians were ascending in effrontery.” (Barleti, 2012, p. 124) and the following lines in his prayer clearly represent the other as a figure to eliminate:

“O Lord of Israel, we are calling out for help, liberate us. Give honor and glory to thy name. Perform a miracle for us, even as we endure (to our ruin) this entire ruthless storm, all this destruction and bloodshed—to protect the religion of thy holy faith. Please allow thy punitive angel to come and wring out, rout, and annihilate thine enemy, the Turk, just as happened with the deliverance of thy people Israel from the cruelty of

Sennacherib, whose army, according to the command of thy will, was destroyed by thine angel—180,000 people in just one night...” (Barleti, 2012, p. 125).

As Friar Bartholomew expresses in his prayer, in order to protect the true religion and annihilate the Muslim threat they are experiencing, he prays God to send its punitive angel to eliminate the Turk, which he names God’s enemy. He describes this mutual destruction as a “ruthless storm”, “destruction”, and “bloodshed”. Additionally, according to Greenblatt, the self usually has unpleasant images and ideas of any attributes belonging to the other. This image of the self is reflected in the suggestion made by the Friar to the people of Shkodrans, in which he tells them to praise and sing for the true God even if they hear the empty prayers of the other.

Friar Bartholomew continues his prayer to the Holy Mary with the following lines: “O Glorious and Blessed Virgin, Mother of the Great King, Queen of Heaven, Earth and Sea, Matron, our Pillar and Defense, we humbly ask thy mercy to help thy faithful Christians, who, in order to protect the honor and holy religion of thine only Son, are fighting without ceasing with all the strength they have. These faithful have vested all their hope and faith exclusively in the high strength and mercy of thy Son, the King of all kings, and also in prayer, and in the support and help of thy majesty and holiness. Only thou canst guard and save us from the cruelty and savagery of the heartless and terrible Turks. Thou canst ask any favors of thine own Son; everything is allowed thee; thou must simply desire it. Help us, then, and intercede for us, O Queen and Empress (because the time for waiting is over). Cut off the arm of the sinner and the evil-hearted foe. Cut him off and vanquish him. Break his power. Blind his eyes. Bind him hand and foot because we reject the rule of such a ruthless and perverse nation.” (Barleti, 2012, p. 125).

His prayer to the Virgin Mary strengthens the argument suggested throughout this chapter – the Friar names the other, the external threat as “heartless and terrible” and “sinner and the evil-hearted foe” and calls the self as “faithful Christians” that should be saved from the torture of the other. By creating a strict distinction through the descriptions of the self and the other, the Friar initially sets the border between “us” and “them”. Secondly, he asks the Virgin Mary to cut off the arms of the other, break his power and bind him hand and foot – he is paying for the elimination of the other. And lastly, he shows with his praises to the Virgin Mary that he is a follower of the authority of the self and the Christians “reject the rule of such a ruthless and preserve nation”.

Moreover, the speech of Florio Jonimo represents the threat of the other against the existence and culture of the self. Approximately one year after the siege of Shkodra has started, a Venetian council goes to Constantinople in order to negotiate with the Sultan. During that time, Florio Jonimo gives the following speech to Shkodrans:

“Brave citizens! I believe you all know well the extent of the barbarians’ unrighteous and unendurable wrath. They are wild by nature; they persecute us without any right, only because they hate us. This is in their blood. They want to harm us. For thirty years, without being provoked by us, they have badgered us continually with wars that have brought us damage and danger. We have never done anything unrighteous to them, yet they have looted our lands. They have shamefully desecrated everything holy and humane. Not content merely with this blackness and these wrongs, they have tried to take our city with terrible attacks and, oh, with what a siege! They have tried to wipe our name from the face of the earth; but with the help of God and because of our bravery, we have always emerged victorious. They are shamefully broken, having endured terrible bloodshed. How can words express their hatred toward us? They promise everything, but they cannot be trusted. They will try with all their hearts to satiate their greed, to unleash all their venom against us.” (Barleti, 2012, p. 159-160).

As suggested by Greenblatt, there is rarely information related to a specific individual, but we rather see a generalization – in the case here, we see a generalization to the Turks in the speech of Jonimo. He clearly expresses his thoughts regarding the Turkish threat to their existence while saying “they have tried to wipe our name from the face of the earth”. He also claims the authority, God, is on their side and this is the reason for their triumph against the several attacks of the Ottomans.

The Siege, one of the most prominent novels of Ismail Kadare was written under the influence of Marin Barleti’s work *The Siege of Shkodra*. As a person who experienced the direct threat of an external enemy and have been under the Ottoman siege for around a year, Barleti and Shkodrans had a direct interaction with the Ottomans which affected the image of the other. As an external threat who has a different religion, different language, different clothing, and culture than Albanians, they are perceived as an enemy to be eliminated that poses a risk to the self. Therefore, in order to differentiate the self from the other, the attributes of the other are perceived as deceptive and wrong and the true path to follow is the attributes of the self. As this was a major influence on the besieged, the Ottomans are generally named “barbarians”, “tyrant” or “heartless”. The speeches of Friar Bartholomew and Florio Jonimo

demonstrate a clear Ottoman image for those who are under their threat as a frontier. The Ottomans are considered invaders and their siege is named unjust by the Shkodrans.

3.3. Frontier Orientalism in *The Siege*

The Siege depicts the Ottoman army coming to an Albanian castle under the leadership of a Turkish Ottoman commander. They stay near the fortress and try to take it for months under extreme heat with several attacks and plans to get into the castle. The concept of the graveyard can be easily recognized in the novel as a symbol of terror. Moreover, the story of *The Siege* and the events are hovering around the walls of the fortress. Kadare targets to highlight two kinds of resistance that Albania had to experience throughout its history: the first one is the resistance against foreign attackers whereas the second one is against the authoritarian communist regime ruling and oppressing the country. Kadare uses these myths as a weapon against this dictatorship rule. Thus, while aiming to narrate the hardships Albania and Albanians face through history and myths, he touches on the problems and experiences that attract foreign nations, and therefore, his work has been translated into several languages. Kadare's works contain the era that is subjected to the topic of the novel and the time and conditions Kadare write the novels, which leads to the discussion that we can talk about a combination of both time periods in his literary works. He adds the issues and problems of his day to his works by combining them with other factors such as myths and he usually utilizes historical settings to achieve his target. Therefore, it is possible to see the reflections of his period and the country's political and social turmoil – he hides the message behind his narrative with a disguise (Terziu, 2015, p. 25-26).

Kadare uses the Ottoman Empire to raise his voice on modern hegemonic powers and totalitarianism; he utilizes historiography and combines it with the contemporary conditions of his country. When Kadare wants to use the oriental other in his works, he usually uses the Ottoman Empire. *The Siege* and *The Three-Arched Bridge* are set in the rising period of the Ottoman Empire, while *The Palace of Dreams* is set in a declining phase of the Empire. However, the relationship between the Ottoman Porte and the Kremlin cannot be misunderstood by the Albanian reader. The obvious allusion to the USSR-USA competition in the provision of financial aid to small international nations is also more than clear at *The Three-Arched Bridge*, yet the messages inserted in *The Palace of Dreams* are more complex. (King, 2012, p. 263).

The Siege can be considered a particular work in many aspects. As stated above, the Ottoman Empire is the main mask used by Kadare. Due to Enver Hoxha's oppressive regime, Kadare had to hide his concerns and the messages he wants to convey to the reader behind Albania's past days with the Ottoman Empire. As a long-gone external threat, this historicization played a role in line with the desires of Kadare. The Ottoman Porte provided a clear representation of the oppressive regime of Russia, basically of Kremlin. Throughout the novel, the Ottomans have been represented as the invasive other, which aligns with the repressive regime of the communist Enver Hoxha's Albania. Throughout the novel, the feeling of the Albanians' being stuck in a box, in the citadel, can be recognized. There is no space to move or anywhere to go, the only action that can be shown from the Albanian side is a defense against the invaders.

The most drastic instance provided by Kadare in *The Siege* is where he describes the Ottoman soldiers being stuck in the underground when they were trying to access the citadel by digging an underground passage. "But suddenly, they felt a shock, as if the entire earth had woken up with a start, and then they heard a roll of thunder. Everyone went rigid. One torch went out, another fell over. The muffled roar of a rockfall could be heard from somewhere near the middle of the tunnel" (Kadare, 2008, p. 163). Albanians made the tunnel collapse after observing the bakehouse the Ottomans built. The carts have been entering empty and leaving full and the vast amount of smoke coming out of the bakehouse has revealed that there should be something else happening inside, as suggested by the Albanian bakers that there is no oven that can work in such force.

The Ottoman soldiers that were stuck in the underground and who were left alone there until it was dug again to bury the bodies properly represent the people of Albania. The base of this incident is the horror and despair Kadare highlights: under the shadow of the oppressive communist regime of Enver Hoxha, Albanians face with the same kind of negative feelings. The end of the tunnel being closed represents the isolation of Albania and its people under their governments. During the reign of Khrushchev, Enver Hoxha has been requested to leave Stalinist communism and loosen their oppressive regime like in the case of Russia. Rejecting this kind of approach, this is how Enver Hoxha built new connections with China and connect close relations with Mao. This kind of isolation, oppressiveness, and lack of diverse voices, as they were being prevented, led to an environment of despair and horror. After it was understood that the tunnel has collapsed by the Albanians, Ulug Bey, the astrologist, and the rest of the Ottomans soldiers, Ulug Bey asks the engineers' captain what

to do, he answers “Nothing,” (Kadare, 2008, p. 165). They think to cut a shaft, but they knew every move they made is watched. They think to surrender but they knew they would be slaughtered in return for the slaughter done by *akinxhis*. When the soldiers understand that there is nothing left but to die, they start to pray and moan in despair. As time passes “Prayers and moans once again broke the long silence. Now and again a short scream or a hiccup rang out but was soon muffled by sobs” (Kadare, 2008, p. 166). The astrologist later feels the presence of an invisible person behind him, saying “Do you want me to tell you the story of my life?” (Kadare, 2008, p. 66-167). The voice continues to talk and claims that he is an “alternate” and the reason why he was now underground was “him” not wanting the existence of the owner of the voice anymore: “...and that’s why I’m moulding away in this grave. There are a lot of undesirables down here, that’s to say, men who have been sentenced. Hundreds of others are under surveillance. Yet others are under interrogation. Not to mention torture...” (Kadare, 2008, p. 168). The voice continues his words, saying: “Half of the field hospital is under Kapduk Agha’s command. Many of the doctors are actually prosecutors. Behind the foundry workshop, on the waste land over there... there’s a reign of terror. As for spies, they’re all over the place, there are even some down here in this hole... I always keep on moving to cover my tracks. So I’m off...” (Kadare, 2008, p. 168). Later, the voice claims that he is the real Tursun Pasha, “I suspect it for ages, but now I’m sure of it. I am Tursun Pasha! The other one up there is just my double. But as often happens with alternates, he’s turned out to be the cleverer of us two, and he’s ousted me! In other words, he did to me what I should have done to him!” (Kadare, 2008, p. 170). If we see the Ottoman soldiers as a representation of Albanians under the dictatorship of Enver Hoxha, these lines can be interpreted as a hidden allegory of him – the invisible voice talking to the astrologist can be seen as the double of Enver Hoxha.

As a superstitious person who had a vast fear of accidents, Enver Hoxha had his double, *sosi* in Albanian, to not get killed in case any assassination happens. His “twin”, Peter Shapallo, was a dentist from the Gheg north and he was brought to Tirana by force. He had to undergo plastic surgeries and had the education to act and talk in the same manner as Enver Hoxha. His teachers and surgeons were overthrown from a cliff in Adriatic in a bus, so no one would learn about Enver Hoxha’s “twin”. His double was usually presented in front of the public and he had to join public events, make speeches, visit factories, and film as if he is the real Hoxha. He had to live in a villa when he was not in front of the public. He did not have an identity of his own, his previous identity was taken away from him – his wife and

two daughters were killed in the first week of his training and he only learned this when he was free after the real Enver Hoxha's death. They made him read the same books Enver Hoxha reads to change his literary preferences, especially in French and he was given Marxist books to read for his speeches to be realistic. He was even given the same amount of food for him to not lose or gain weight and physically look exactly like Enver Hoxha. After Enver Hoxha died, his double was set free but since he looked exactly like Enver Hoxha and everyone hated him and his regime, he has been outcasted and beaten wherever he went within Albania. In the end, he found the safest place to be the remote gulag camps and lived there. When the communist regime was officially deployed and Albania opened to the West, he also wanted to take a refuge in the Western countries but was harassed by other Albanian refugees due to his looks. He returned and died at a gulag camp shortly after scaring his face with a knife and taking one of his eyes out to not look like Enver Hoxha anymore (Carver, 1998, p. 96-97).

Considering this side of the story, it is possible to suggest that the voice talked to the astrologist is Peter Shapallo himself. As the Ottoman Empire represents the oppressive regime and communism in the book, the lines where the voice says "I am Tursun Pasha! The other one up there is just my double." may be interpreted in a way that Tursun Pasha, the commander of the Ottoman army, is Enver Hoxha, and the voice behind the astrologist is his double who had to spend his life like in prison due to Enver Hoxha. This allegory can be referenced to his "alternate" and moreover, as the main target of the Enver Hoxha's terror, the despair Albanians had to go through is told through his mouth. It can be suggested that Enver Hoxha's regime sent the unwanted ones "underground" and the others are under constant gaze. The doctors are there to kill and the spies are everywhere; "there's a reign of terror".

In mid-June, the Ottoman troops cross the Albanian border and prepare the camp in front of the fortress. A council including the commander-in-chief, Ugurlu Tursun Pasha, the Quartermaster General, Old Tavxha, Kurdisxhi, Mufti, Saruxha, Kara Mukbil and the architect Giaour gather to evaluate the date of the attack on the Albanian citadel and the attack is decided to be held the next day before the sunrise. The Ottoman army faces a major defeat, losing around three or four thousand of their soldiers. After the defeat, until the next attack, *akinxhis* raid to collect slaves and captives.

Meanwhile, the Ottoman side works to prepare their second attack on Albanians in a hidden way. The bakehouse at the camp is in fact just a mask and there is no dough or flour

for baking; there is an underground passage with a secret entrance through the cellar in the bakehouse. There are carts going in and out of the place, thought by everyone that they are just sacks of flour but in reality, they carry sacks of soil from the underground excavation. The covered carts are originally empty when they get in, and all loaded with soil when they are carried out of the bakehouse. The Alaybey suggests that as the digging advances, the soil will be spaded for the Albanian side to not hear the sound of the pickaxes and there are 12 days left for the whole process to be completed. Albanians realize that the bakehouse is too close to the ramparts of the citadel and after watching closely, they understand that the carts, despite their slow pace, are getting in empty and leaving full. Observation of the smoke made the Albanian bakers suggest that there is no oven that could work that way. With the realization of an underground passage being dug, they start to watch out for the sound of the digging to understand where the Ottoman soldiers are, but they could not find any trace.

During the night when the attack on the Albanians within the citadel take place, Ulug Bey, the astrologer, the architect, and the Alaybey get in the tunnel with soldiers, sappers, and porters. Somewhere near the middle of the tunnel, they hear the rocks falling, and Ulug Bey and his deputy rush towards the sound and see that the tunnel has collapsed. Albanians made the tunnel collapse after being sure that the Ottoman troops had stopped digging. They decide to make the tunnel collapse at its deepest spot to make the biggest destruction possible on the enemy, to bury the soldiers underground alive.

After this incident, the Ottoman side changes the plan and prepare to cut their water resources with the suggestion of Old Tavxha. They feed a horse very well for four days without giving it any water and let the horse run around the citadel, thinking that a thirsty animal can find the trace of water, therefore the waterpipes of the citadel. The plan works as they wish and as soon as the horse starts to dig a specific place on the ground, the *azabs* grab their sappers and start to dig the location. The next day after this incident, the Ottoman side sent a delegation to negotiate, which was answered negatively by the Albanian side. Tursun Pasha decides to attack during midday to punish the Albanian side with thirst, but the attack becomes unsuccessful.

The doctor of the camp, Sirri Selim, offers the use of infected animals, which he calls “Death Row”. They plan to throw fleas, grasshoppers, toads, and rats within the Albanian citadel, and while talking to the chronicler, Mevla Çelebi, the Quartermaster names this plan as “this is our last chance”, as the war season is almost over and rains would start soon after the end of August, and in case the siege becomes unsuccessful, they would come to attack

next spring. The Ottomans throw the rats into the Albanian side's freshly dug wells, in order to leave them completely out of the water before the rainy season starts, but Albanians realize the situation and take precautions immediately with the guards covering the well with a metal lid, whereas the other two wells are not affected since they were protected better.

The biggest problem in the Ottoman camp becomes the backfire of their infected animal plan. Tuz Okçan, a janissary who was in the last assault, is taken to the hospital as he was affected by the disease the animals carry. This makes everyone question if there is any other person infected with the disease in the Ottoman camp. The council gathers to decide on the next move they will make, and they decide to do one more attack which Tursun Pasha joins the fight in person. The outcome turns into a disaster for the Ottomans one more time. Tursun Pasha ends his life by drinking vials of sleeping draught and the troops leave Albania on returning the next spring again.

Historically, the Ottomans had the advantage over Albania as the Albanian territories have been divided and there has been a constant Venetian threat on the region. The local princes of Southern Albania were overthrown by Sultan Mehmed I (1402-1421) between the dates of 1415 and 1419 and he managed to place an Ottoman-feudal power instead. Central and Northern Albania had a different fate than the Southern region; the subjection of the large clans in the central and northern regions was accepted (Zhelyazkova, 2000, Skanderbeg's resistance to the Ottomans). The Albanian uprising and resistance were shaped by the leadership of George Kastrioti-Skanderbeg by approximately the end of the 15th century. This resistance depicts the Albanians "as an ethnos that confronted most valiantly and steadfastly the Ottoman conquerors." (Zhelyazkova, 2000, Skanderbeg's resistance to the Ottomans).

Another point that should be highlighted is that Albanian Renaissance intellectuals stressed the resistance to the Ottoman invasion led by George Kastrioti in the 15th century for having Western support and drawing a line between themselves and the Ottomans. The mentioned resistance became a historical myth, serving the national identity construction and a significant factor for social cohesion, as suggested by Schopflin (Jing, 2013, p. 87). Another purpose of this myth is its contribution to the collective identity of the Albanians, which depicts them as fighters for freedom. Thus, it serves for demonstrating the Ottomans as the Oriental Other (Jing, 2013, p. 87), which can be observed at the beginning of 20th century Hungary, as in the era *Eclipse of the Crescent Moon* was written.

Albania is a country that was under the Ottoman threat for centuries and gradually, the Ottoman Empire advanced within the country with several campaigns and wars, even though some parts remained untouched due to the geographical conditions of the country. It was not possible to advance with an army in some areas that were covered with mountains. During the early years of the campaigns, Albania has been in a situation of a frontier country that had a key importance for the Ottomans to advance more and in a healthy manner in the Balkans. This Ottoman threat has been so significant for the Albanians throughout their history that Ismail Kadare utilized the Ottoman Empire in his novels. As Enver Hoxha's oppressive regime did not give intellectuals the chance to openly express their opinions and they were instructed what to write by the government, Ismail Kadare hid his real thoughts behind the allegories, and Albania's past with the Ottoman Empire created a perfect base for his purpose. This also led his works to be read with different meanings – there is no one definite approach or meaning that can be observed in his works; the meaning depends on what the reader prefers to see. According to this work, *The Siege* is written through the eyes of the other, which is represented as the Ottomans. Hence, as these novel carries more than one approach, both the perception of the Ottomans and additionally, the Albanians', or Kadare's, approach will be analyzed.

Balkan nations, including Albania, built their nationalism based on their religion in the modern days but the case of religion has always been substantial, especially when a non-Christian external threat posed a risk to their physical and cultural existence, which includes religion, such as in the case of the Ottomans. In *The Siege*, the Quartermaster starts to explain Çelebi how Murad Han invited Skanderbeg to the Turkish capital, but he refused to go. Additionally, he would speak Latin instead of Turkish during peace negotiations to show he has no connections with the Ottomans anymore. Quartermaster continues by saying, "He broke one of the dreams of our empire. You know which one? The most beautiful dream of all: bringing the Albanian Catholics back into the bosom of Islam." (155). He further says that Albanians believe in Christianity since thirteen centuries ago and follow the Roman Catholic Church. The Ottomans received the news with joy when some Albanians started to embrace Islam. With the actions of George Kastrioti-Skanderbeg, the dreams of the Ottomans were destroyed: "...He ordered the Albanians who had become Muslim to return to their original faith, or else die by the sword. And he kept his word. He forcibly incorporated into Christendom those new Muslims who had just donned their first thin cloak of Islam..." (Kadare, 2008, p. 155-156).

Skanderbeg does not let the other exist within Albanian lands. The Muslim Albanians are seen as traitors for converting to Islam and therefore, they are treated as others, just like the Ottomans. In line with Gingrich's words on the encounter of the self and the other, the religion of the "big other" is considered a threat to the existence of the Self, even though in this case the other, Muslim Albanians, is a subject of Albania. They are an internal threat for being Muslims but also Albanians at the same time. It becomes possible to claim the distinction between the other and the self is inevitably there. As the other tries to make its culture accepted within the frontier lands, a counterattack can be observed in order to protect the culture of "the self". To achieve that, Skanderbeg draws a sharp line between the Muslim Albanians, who became a part of the "Bad Muslim" and the Catholic Christians, "the Self", by killing those who converted to Islam and refused to be Christian again. As suggested by Gingrich, protecting the country, and getting rid of the "Bad Muslim" is a precondition for identity formation. Skanderbeg aims to "sterilize" the country from the "Bad Muslims", and "others".

As this is a shared representation, the same issue can be seen on the Ottoman side as well. Both Çelebi and Quartermaster call Skanderbeg a "renegade" and "a two-horned devil" for preventing the plans of the Ottomans on spreading Islam within Albanian lands and for killing those who converted to Islam. We see a case of "the other", a Catholic Albanian, becoming one of "the self", a Muslim Albanian, but prevented by Skanderbeg. The difference between "us" and "them" is so significant that it may end up with ending the presence of someone who used to be one of "us".

The following lines have an emphasis on Gingrich's suggestion, which claims according to frontier orientalism, the East is represented as a factor that can demolish the local culture. Additionally, the Orient has the power to war and knows how to do it: "The light of the moon seemed to trouble and excite them at the same time. What we saw spread out beneath us was Asia in all its mysticism and barbarity, a dark grave getting ready to swallow us all. A putrid wind was blowing up from the plain. Despite going to pray before the icon of the Virgin, our hearts sank. The cross that rises above our chapel seemed very pale, as if it had gone white with fear." (Kadare, 2008, p. 3-64).

The Orient, which has a connection with the moon in Orientalism, is associated with "a dark grave" in *the Siege*. The Orient, the Ottomans, is depicted as a force ready to kill the Albanians. But even though Albanians feel the fear, they have the urge to defend their country. As a threat to the cultural and physical existence of the Albanians, the following

lines exhibit an appropriate instance of frontier orientalism's approach to receiving the other as a threat that should be pushed away from the border: "... these feelings did not weaken in the slightest our determination to fight to the end. On the contrary, never before had we felt so convinced that death would be far sweeter than the gloom and treachery laid out down below in plain sight" (Kadare, 2008, p. 63-64).

The lines told through the eyes of the Albanian side after several attacks and disease-spreading attempts of the Ottomans support the argument on defending their homeland as well: "They have tried everything to overcome us. God only knows what they will try next! But someone had to stand up and face this maniacal horde. As we have been chosen by history for this role, and we have accepted it, that means it is our fate and our cross" (Kadare, 2008, p. 292). The Albanian side considers the campaigns of the Ottomans as their fate; it is a must to defend "ourselves" and defeat the other in order to gain an identity – the Bad Muslim is there to eliminate.

Historically, the independence movements of the Balkan nations from the Ottoman Empire had an impact on the literature and presentation of the Ottomans. As an Albanian writer who uses the Ottomans as a historical figure in his novels, Kadare also uses this "the big other" image of the Ottoman Empire in order to emphasize Albanian identity. During the discussion between the Quartermaster and Evliya Çelebi, the Quartermaster starts to talk about the war in Kosovo:

"We confronted the Balkans sixty years ago, on the plains of Kosovo. My father was there, and he never stopped talking about that battle. That's when we saw them all gathered together – Serbs, Albanians, Bosniaks, Croats and Romanians, all allied against us. The fight lasted ten hours, as you know. For the first time we saw our army based on land and obedience up against an opponent driven by pride and daring. Our soldiers, who had no titles or *noms de guerre*, some of them whom didn't even have a family name, just their first names, overcame those proud counts and barons. ... " (Kadare, 2008, p. 150).

The words of Quartermaster define the unity of different Balkan nations against "the big Other" – all Balkan nations came together when the Orient threat posed a risk to their existence. The Kosova War had the aim to stop the further advancement of the Ottoman Empire in the Balkans and push them outside of Europe. He highlights the attribute of their opponent; the driving force of the Ottomans' opponent is pride and daring. And even though

the Balkan nations lose the war, they united against the Bad Muslim who is threatening to occupy their country, and therefore, they have a direct connection and experience with the Ottomans.

Keeping the above-mentioned unification of the Balkan nations in mind, we can observe the way Ismail Kadare tries to fashion the Albanians to keep unified. As Kadare disguised his concerns and messages he wanted to convey under allegories, it could be suggested that the following lines align with Greenblatt's self-fashioning. During the talk of the Quartermaster and Çelebi, the Quartermaster says "Nations are like grass, they grow everywhere. So we have to invent other, more stealthy means" (Kadare, 2008, p. 144). He adds the Padishah has men that are experts on denationalization, and he gives the example of Saruxha, who is specialized in demolishing castles:

"Yes... Craftsmen in the rotting and corroding of nations if I may say. But, my friend, you should know that peoples don't only dilate, they also contract. When they receive a great blow from the outside, from us, in this particular instance, they don't necessarily go into decline, they can also emerge from it and with added strength. On the other hand, damage from the inside, damage secreted from inside their own ranks, well, yes, that is the evil that can bring them to their knees..." (Kadare, 2008, p. 144).

Just like Gárdonyi aims to fashion the Hungarians through self-criticism, it could be suggested that with the lines above, Kadare talks through the mouth of the Quartermaster to fashion Albanians with a warning. In this case, the threat of the alien is directly on the existence of the Albanians. The external threat, which is the Ottomans in *The Siege*, moves with the aim to destroy the Albanian nation and as the Quartermaster explains to Çelebi, the Padishah has men specially trained for this purpose. Kadare highlights that this external attack does not have to necessarily weaken the nation, on the other hand, it can even strengthen the Albanians. But the real threat is the one coming from inside – he claims that this is the way to denationalize and make Albanians obey. As a nationalist, he warns the people of Albania to stay strong and connected as anything otherwise may bring the end of the nation.

In *The Siege*, after the encounter with the alien, Albanians protect the symbols that are a part of their identity, such as the Albanian eagle and the Christian cross. Even though the narrative is from the Ottomans' side in *The Siege*, there are sections told through the eyes of Albanians, and at the beginning of Chapter 2, we see a scene embracing the Albanian national identity when the other is on "attack". The Ottoman side sends a convoy to come to an

agreement with the Albanians and provide some conditions. Ottomans offer that they would not touch anyone and let everyone leave with their belongings and weapons in case they give the keys to the citadel to the Ottomans to change the flag from the Albanian eagle to the flag with the crescent. This has been the way the Ottomans showed everyone their possession of the territory – they place a symbol on the newly conquered land. Lastly, Ottomans claim they would hang anyone who wants to keep their Christian fate on the Holy Cross. The answer given by the Albanian commission represents the embracement of the self than obeying the other: “Our answer was short and firm: neither the eagle nor the cross would ever be removed from our firmament; they were the symbols and the fate we had elected, and we would remain faithful to them. And so that each of us may keep his own symbols and fate according to the dispositions of the Lord, they had no alternative but to leave.” (20). Despite the arguments of the possibility of individuals fashioning themselves with the effect of Christianity in query, we see that in *The Siege*, Albanians acknowledge their religion as a part of their national identity and it is not possible for them to replace it with the crescent, even though they were threatened to be killed by hanging on the cross.

When we study the case from the Ottomans’ side, we can see that there is a clear line between “them” and “us” in *The Siege* – people who are not the subject of Islam even though they are the subjects of the Ottoman Empire have been still perceived as foreign. Upon an unsuccessful attack, the Ottoman council gathers to evaluate the reason for the defeat and create a new plan for the next attack on the Albanian citadel. It was suggested to build mobile towers, spread diseases, and different kinds of other baits which include dressing some of the Ottoman soldiers with the clothing of the Albanian soldiers. When Giaour was asked to step forward and talk about his own plan, he laid his papers on kilim and started to explain. The council did not listen to him properly due to the way he speaks. The members could recognize some words such as “shaft”, “hole” and “underground” and these words have been taken from the “accursed language of the *giaours* themselves” (Kadare, 2008, p. 108). As his name at the camp explains enough about the way the Ottomans see him, the soldiers, viziers, and generals do not pay attention to his speech for he not choosing Turkish words. This can lead us to consider that the Ottomans’ perception of the Catholic Albanians will be the same and they will be continuing to be an other unless they are converted to Islam and use Turkish. This idea can be supported by the Quartermaster’s words when he was talking to Mevla Çelebi:

“What would we leave to the Balkan peoples, and what would we take away from them: their religion, or their language? Some thought we should take both away, others

reckoned we had to leave them one or the other. Naturally, all sorts of arguments were put, until, in the end, our camp seemed to have won. Which means we will leave these peoples their faith. As for their language, for the time being, we will only prohibit it being written down. It's too soon to ban the speaking of it" (Kadare, 2008, p. 147).

The Quartermaster's words have an open end – by saying “too soon to ban the speaking of it” for the Albanian language, he actually makes it clear that after the occupation, there may be gradually more restrictions on their language and religion. It can be suggested that the conversion to a “complete” Ottoman subject will happen over time after the invasion.

Additionally, the following instance strengthens the argument about the difference between the self and the other on the Ottoman side. While Sadeddin, Tuz Okçan, and Mevla Çelebi have a conversation after an assembly during night. They see hoxhas reading suras and they sit close to them to listen. In the meantime, *shehs* and old soldiers talk about the siege. A *sheh* says the Albanian flag trembles because of fear and in return, he receives the answer that the Ottoman flags shake as well. Drawing a line between his own flag and the other side's flag, *Sheh* resembles the Ottomans' flags to lions' manes: “Look at their flag at the top of the main tower,’ one of the *shehs* yelled, pointing to the fortress. ‘Look at it! You can almost see it shaking with fear!’ The soldiers turned their heads in the direction suggested. Although the emblem was very far away and looked quite pale in the moonlight, they really did think they could see it quivering. They had seen so many pennants waving in the wind these last weeks and months that they often saw flags in their dreams. ‘Our flags tremble too,’ someone said in the ill-lit night. The *sheh* glanced ferociously towards where the voice had come from. ‘Indeed they do!’ he thundered. ‘Our flags tremble with impatience as they wait for the start of combat, just as lions’ manes quiver before the attack!’ (Kadare, 2008, p. 52).

In this instance from *The Siege*, we see the Ottoman side embracing and being protective over its national symbol especially when the “other” or any representation of the other trigger the self. We can name this a way of internalizing authority. As mentioned, according to Greenblatt, the authority should be partially outside of the self, and he exemplifies it as the holy books or God. Additionally, the presence of an alien is required so that a border can be drawn between “us” and “them”. In this instance, the national elements, in the case here flags, can be considered as the “authority” for these elements are subject to protection and are to follow and obey.

As in *Eclipse of the Crescent Moon*, the strict distinction between “us” and “them” due to the lack of values one side has, which is dependent on the side one prefers to look from, can be seen in *The Siege* as well. Both sides accuse each other of being “renegades” or “infidels”. When Giaour, the architect, suggested a new plan to claim the citadel but no one gave attention to his words as he would not be understood due to his choice of foreign borrowed words: “borrowed from the accursed language of the giaours themselves” (Kadare, 2008, p. 108).

The border between “us” and “them” is so substantial that it can be even felt through the soil of the land. When Çelebi and an *azab* talk, the soldier talks about he has been in the service for eleven years and as soldiers, they are promised to be given land from the places conquered. He further says he has been in Karabogdan, in Bulgaria and Bosnia, and even in Szemendre in Hungary. He says there is good soil everywhere and adds:

“...So they promised us we’d be given plots around the fortress, and when we got here the first thing I did was to look carefully at the soil. I scooped it up in my hand, crumbled it and smelled it. It’s good earth. Wheat ought to grow easily here. But what’s the use? It’s foreign soil. I don’t know why it doesn’t cheer my heart, but it doesn’t, and it leaves a feeling of emptiness in my breast. It’s foreign soil, after all. You know what I mean? It even smells differently” (Kadare, 2008, p. 238).

Just like in the way Bálint Török addressed the sky as being different than in Hungary as it is the Turkish sky, the Ottoman *azab* shows the same kind of approach from his side. These lines can be considered as an emphasis on the concept of “otherness” – even though the soil is good, and he will be benefitting from it if they manage to obtain the Albanian citadel, he still sees it as a “foreign soil” and it leaves an empty feeling in him. He does not see the soil as a part of his identity and culture, therefore it does not connect with “the self”.

From the Ottoman side, this otherness was underlined by the difference in their religion. People at the Ottoman camp gather to watch the rather new dance of the *Dervishes*. One of the *Sheh* claims:

“We shall teach the Sacred Koran to these accursed rebels”. “On their lands which are as humped as a demon’s back, we shall raise minarets blessed by Allah! At dusk, from these high towers, the voices of our muezzins will fall on their untutored heads and take hold of their minds like hashish. We shall ensure that these infidels learn to bow

toward Mecca five times a day. We shall wrap their sick and troubled skulls in the balmy turban of Islam” (Kadare, 2008, p. 54).

This is a clear example of Gingrich’s frontier orientalism. According to the approach of people on the other side of the border, the Bad Muslim directly aims to destroy and annihilate their culture. As Kadare writes the book from the Ottoman perspective with the purpose to give a message to Albanians, it can be suggested that the external threat has the objective of destroying the other culture and instead, establishing their own, which will lead to the denationalization in line with the fears of the self.

As the “big other”, it is likely that Kadare wanted to put the otherness of the Ottomans forward and present them as a representation of fear and oppression, therefore directly threatening the existence of the Albanians, both culturally and physically. Çelebi’s and Quartermaster’s talk at his tent shed light on the Ottomans’ approach towards Albania – which leads us to understand the real target behind the other’s actions:

“‘Every spring,’ he continued, ‘when the green shoots reappear, we will return to these parts. The ground will shake under our troops’ marching feet. The valleys will be burned and everything that grows or stands in them will be reduced to ashes. The prosperous economy of the country will be ruined. Thereafter, the people round here will use the word “Turk” to scare their children. And yet, as I’ve already told you, Çelebi, if we don’t overcome them on this first campaign, then we will need twice as many men to win at the second attempt, and three times as many at the third attempt, and so on. If they escape from this hell, then it will be very hard to annihilate them later on. They’ll become accustomed to sieges, to hunger and thirst, to massacres and alerts. Meanwhile their first-born will be children of war. And the worst of it is that they will become familiar with death. They will get used to it the way an animal that has been tamed no longer causes fear. So even if we do conquer them in battle, we will never overcome them. In attacking them, in striking at them without mercy, in throwing our boundless army at them without succeeding in laying them low, we are unwittingly doing the Albanians a great service” (Kadare, 2008, p. 287).

The Quartermaster’s words put an emphasis on Gingrich’s claims about frontier orientalism. On the other side of the border, there is an other far away from being humiliated and oppressed, therefore openly posing a risk for the very existence of the country. The Quartermaster wants to carry this risk to an extent that the fear of the Turks will dwell in the

local cultures and be a folkloric representation, which is one of the reasons why Kadare frequently used the Ottoman Empire in his prose works. A reversed version of the fear of the Turks exists in the *Eclipse of the Crescent Moon* as well but with an approach from the Hungarian side. Due to the need of fashioning a brave Hungarian man during the rise of Hungarian nationalism, Gárdonyi preferred to reverse the contemporary perception and make Hunyadi a feared figure for the Turks. In the case of Kadare, he exhibits a clear instance of the feared other by making the Quartermaster talk about their persistent siege plans on Albania and by making the Albanian children to be afraid just by hearing the word “Turk.”

If we compare and analyze the *Eclipse of the Crescent Moon* and *The Siege* through frontier orientalism, we can suggest that both the Hungarian - Albanian and Ottoman sides share a mutual experience. Having an approach both from the self, Albanians, and the other, the Ottomans, *The Siege* provides an unusual image to the reader as it shows both sides of the story when the circumstances of Albania and the background information on the novel is considered. On the other hand, the *Eclipse of the Crescent Moon* usually expresses the thoughts and experiences of the self, Hungarians, and less of the other, the Ottomans. In both novels, the emphasis on the distinction between the self and the other can be analyzed thoroughly. Both countries had the experience of being a frontier and both are located in critical positions. Albania is in a key position to completely open the path to the Balkans and Hungary to the Western Europe. Naturally, their experiences have been different than those who did not have a direct contact with the Ottomans. Therefore, the image and representation created for the Ottomans have been different in the frontier countries and in our case, in Albania and Hungary. The distinction between the self and the other and the reflection of self-fashioning is reflected in both novels. Creation of the self consisted of the elements other does not have, therefore strict boundaries have been established between the self and the other. This has caused both sides, Albanian and Hungarian, to fashion themselves according to the attributes they see the other does not have. As nationalists, both Kadare and Gárdonyi had the aim to convey their message to the reader with a difference that Kadare carried political and social concerns in the background while writing *The Siege* whereas Gárdonyi wanted to highlight the Hungarian self-fashioning and nationalism. Being prominent during their time and still in contemporary literature, both works utilized the Ottoman Empire as a historical figure in order to transmit both national and political feelings to the reader, which created the base of this study.

CONCLUSION

The identity and cultural formation of both the Balkans and Central Europe have been shaped differently than in other parts of Europe. The sieges of the Ottoman Empire have played a major role in creating a representation and image of the Turks and it also made it mandatory to establish a distinction between the nations on the other side of the border. Those nations that were under a direct threat of being occupied by the Ottomans had a more negative and stereotypical image of the Turks than the ones who did not have a direct interaction. These stereotypical attributes have acted as a base for drawing a line between the “invasive” and the “besieged”. As mentioned, the countries subject to the novels have faced the East before other Western European countries, as both countries have been a gate for the Ottomans to advance further in Europe – one for the Adriatic Sea and the other one for Western Europe. Having the threat of being occupied, Hungary and Albania created a strict border between themselves and the Ottomans. These borders have been determined according to the cultural, social, and physical attributes as both nations felt the need to distinguish themselves from the Turks. These borders and interactions occurred as a result of the Ottoman Empire’s will to advance through Europe.

Being the buffer zone between Austria and the Ottomans, one of the most prominent events in Hungary’s history includes the Battle of Mohács (1526), in which Hungarians faced a major defeat. As a result of this war, Hungary had to go through a constant series of wars for 150 years, and in the end, there were three selected kings, which led to turmoil within the country. One of those kings was Ferdinand of Habsburg, who was the Archduke of Austria and the younger sibling of Charles V and the reason why he was selected by a part of the nobility was to have the support of the Austrians. Hungarians did not support his authority, but János Szapolyai, even though his brother gave him the Austrian holding of lands. His son, János Sigismund, was selected as the voivode of Transylvania by Sultan Suleyman. It became a vassal state of the Ottomans but in fact, it had liberty from both the Ottomans and the Habsburgs. And lastly, King Ferdinand, the King of Royal Hungary, ended up with paying annual taxes to the Ottomans in order to make peace and it was agreed that there would not be any major campaigns on the Hungarian lands. Yet, the Ottomans continued to do raids to the frontier border areas of Hungary and collect taxes and if necessary for them, ignored the treaty. The year 1699, in which the Treaty of Karlowitz was signed, marks the date when the Ottoman withdrawal from Europe started and the Ottomans have been pushed out even from the southernmost regions of Hungary.

On the other hand, there have been two major external factors in the case of Albania. In historical order, the first major external threat Albanians faced was the Ottomans. There have been attacks and sieges in different parts of the country by the Turks. The defeat of John Kastrioti to Sultan Murad II resulted in John Kastrioti giving his son, George Kastrioti, as a hostage to the Ottomans. He became known as Skanderbeg and led several uprisings against the Ottomans for 25 years. He especially became a prominent historical hero with the national awakening of Albanians in the 19th century and was represented as a national figure during the independence movements of Albanians from the Ottomans in this era. The second major external factor in Albanian history has been the arrival and adaption of communism. With the Nazis leaving Albania in 1944 after Mussolini occupied the country in 1939, the Albanian parliament only had one active party, which was the Communist Party. With the leadership of Enver Hoxha, the Albanian People's Republic was officially founded in 1946 and he stayed as the head of the government until his death in 1985. Throughout his years, he followed the path of Stalin and did not reform his ideas even after Stalin's death and the pressure of Khrushchev and the new government in China after Mao's death. Enver Hoxha had a constant fear and paranoia of Albania being occupied by external threats, therefore he closed his country to the outside and some people go out of the country with the approval of the state, as in the case of Ismail Kadare.

For both novels, the mutual external factor is the Ottomans. As both Albania and Hungary had the risk of being besieged by the Turks, their identity formation was affected by the events with the Ottomans. As suggested by Stephan Greenblatt, the 16th century was the turning point in terms of shaping an identity; people realized that it was possible to fashion one's identity with a manipulative and artistic process, even though due to the influence of Christianity, it was questioned if it is possible for someone to fashion themselves. Greenblatt argues that self-fashioning occurs when boundaries are crossed. These boundaries should be crossed between "the creation of literary characters, the shaping of one's own identity, the experience of being molded by outside of one's control, the attempt to fashion other selves" (Greenblatt, 1980, p. 3). He continues defining self-fashioning as the interaction between an alien and an authority. This interaction leads to an environment that has parts from both the alien and the authority. Moreover, self-fashioning mostly presents stereotypical images of the other, instead of anything personal. It has general depictions and assumptions. Submission is an important factor for self-fashioning as it requires authority to be followed. This authority should be a force that is not included

in the self, such as religion, God, or an institution. The encounter between an alien and the self is necessary for self-fashioning to begin. The other somehow should be there as a threat to the self and the self should be triggered to demolish the other. The images of the other are mostly displeasing and even though the self gets rid of the other, another other would be created by the self – the other is never singular. Yet, Greenblatt highlights that it is not possible to cut the connection between the self and the other.

This claim of Greenblatt strongly supports the theory of frontier orientalism demonstrated by Andre Gingrich and it can be suggested that both theories go hand in hand. In this theory, the image of the Orient carries importance as it is a way to the maintenance of cultural identity and he exemplifies his suggestions through the case of Austria. This Orient is usually depicted as a Muslim who knows how to war and is knowledgeable and sophisticated – this approach creates the basic difference between frontier orientalism and Edward Said's orientalism. According to Edward Said's book *Orientalism*, the Orient is depicted as a figure in the far east and a subject to be colonized. Additionally, it is considered as illiterate and needs to be controlled. Therefore, it can be claimed that even though Edward Said's *Orientalism* creates the base for the Orientalist theory, frontier orientalism of Andre Gingrich differs from it in many aspects. This Orient has the power to destroy the local culture and poses a risk to the very existence of the self. Folkloric factors and representations of the Orient as a reminder establish this local culture and they can be found in a specific region. As suggested by Baskar, "wars with the Turks" is a common theme throughout Central Europe and it is a reminder for the public regarding the past and events the nation experienced with the Other. These reminders have been used especially by the Habsburg Empire in order to unite the nation against an external threat.

A point to highlight is that this other or orient image is a dual concept – there is a distinction between "good Muslim" and "bad Muslim". The "good Muslim" can be named as those who provide support for the self, such as Macedonians. The "bad Muslim" is the one who poses a risk to the culture and existence of the self and therefore, the "bad Muslim" is there to be eliminated. According to the Ottoman representations of the Habsburg Empire, the Turks are the "bad Muslims" that have to be demolished as they threaten the existence and culture of "us". In frontier orientalism, this approach directly creates a strict distinction between "us" and "them".

Both in *Eclipse of the Crescent Moon* and *The Siege*, the traces of the "bad Muslim" and the perception of the "self" and the "other" are observable. Géza Gárdonyi used the Turkish

image as a result of the nationalist movements of the time and established the depiction of a brave and honorable Hungarian hero. The attributes of the Turks were demonstrated as an opposing image of the Hungarians. Initially, the Ottomans were represented as “other” whereas Hungarians as the “self”. The other was a Muslim, and the self was a Christian. Therefore, the other was an “infidel” and the self was “faithful”. The other was “barbarian” whereas the self was “brave” and “virtuous”. In the 16th century, Hungary was a buffer zone between the Austrians and Ottomans. With the Hungarian national movements at the beginning of the 20th century, the desire for Hungary to have its own country without an alliance with Austria increased and Gárdonyi reflected this desire in *Eclipse of the Crescent Moon*. He utilized the Orient as a medium to show his desire and it is a clear example of displaced metaphor, which the author used frequently in his book to demonstrate Hungary’s wish to cut its ties with Austria and exist as a separate country. He especially used the Ottomans as Hungary has been invaded by the Turks in its history and as Hungary belonged to the Austro-Hungarian Empire during Gárdonyi’s time, he could not openly introduce his desire in his book, but he expressed it through an Orient replacement. Additionally, throughout his novel, Gárdonyi used patriotism especially through Bálint Török, when he was a captive at the Yedikule dungeons, and he tells his stories of Hungary and his reaction upon hearing a Hungarian song about a river considered as the most Hungarian river. Moreover, he uses Gergely Bornemissza, who is a real historical character that took part in the defense of the Eger castle against the Ottomans, as a figure to reflect the ideal Hungarian man. He exhibits brave actions, especially in defending Hungary against the Ottomans - Gárdonyi uses his image to “teach” for patriotic reasons. His wife, Éva Cecey is representing how stereotypical Hungarian women should be according to Gárdonyi. Even though Gárdonyi was usually under the effect of Mor Jokai, it can be suggested that *The Siege of Sziget* by Miklós Zrínyi sheds a light on the work of Gárdonyi. With Gárdonyi being more realistic than Zrínyi, both novels focus on the concept of sieges and self-image through the representation of the Ottomans. Zrínyi makes use of mythology, and he uses his grand grandfather, who carries the same name as him, as a brave Hungarian soldier. He slightly twists the real historical events for his purpose, and he sets a border between the self and the other. Aligning with the theory of Self-fashioning, he uses the attributes of the other in order to define the self. At the end of the poem, the protagonist Miklós Zrínyi kills Sultan Suleyman, which in reality does not align with the real historical events. It can be suggested that he kills the other that threatens the cultural and physical existence of the self and achieves self-identity by killing eliminating the other, as claimed by Stephan Greenblatt

in his frontier orientalism theory. He makes use of self-criticism and talks through the mouth of God for Hungarians to correct their deeds, as he found Hungarians moving away from Christianity and its requirements. Therefore, through self-criticism, he also depicts how a Hungarian man should not be acting but instead, follow the path of the real hero, who is the protagonist.

For the case of *The Siege of Shkodra* written by Marin Barleti, which influenced Ismail Kadare to write his significant work *The Siege*, it can be suggested that they are similar in several aspects. Initially, both works have the theme of sieges in its center and both *The Siege of Shkodra* and *The Siege of Sziget* include divine images. As both works have been written from the perspective of the self as a result of a siege, both works praise Christian fate as a part of the self. In *The Siege of Sziget*, Miklós Zrínyi uses his grand grandfather as an idealized Christian hero that defeated the Ottomans and killed the Ottoman Sultan. The work of Zrínyi does not reflect the historical facts accurately – it is known that Zrínyi used mythological figures and provided exaggerated depictions. Yet, his poem depicts how a brave Christian hero should be acting against any kind of external threat, in this case, the Ottomans, and highlights the major values the self should have, which are loyalty, devotion, and duty to the God and the state and one's family. This depiction is reflected in the work of Barleti with one difference – he usually creates the image of the self by highlighting the attributes he gives to the other. He calls the Shkodrans “brave” and “faithful Christians” through the speeches of the Friar Bartolomew and Florio Jonimo. The emphasis on Christianity in both works is clearly used to draw a line between the self and the other, but this situation can also be interpreted through a slightly different approach. As mentioned, it is speculated if Barleti was of Italian or Albanian origin due to his name. What we clearly know is that he names himself as a citizen of Shkodra and feels himself as a part of Albania, even though it is likely that he is coming from a different background. The background of Zrínyi is both of Hungarian and Croatian origin and from the time on he started to defend his country against the Ottomans, actively took part in politics. When we consider that both writers have a different side in their origin, they both united around and created the bonds with their community through Christendom. Their faith has been one of the most significant attributes they have in their culture in order to differentiate the other from the self. Regardless of the background, religion plays an important role for the fashioning of the self. When there is a mutual enemy, even when the background is not the same, the religion has

a vital role to defend the self against the other. These similarities of both works provide a strong national background for both novels.

When we observe *The Siege*, written by Ismail Kadare, we see that the patriotic and nationalistic feelings are highlighted, as in *Eclipse of the Crescent Moon* but with one difference – *The Siege* has duality in its way of interpretation. Living and writing his novel under the oppressive regime of Enver Hoxha, which is especially threatening for intellectuals, he hid his real thoughts and messages he wanted to convey behind the image of the Ottomans. As he saw communism and the governing of Enver Hoxha as factors affecting Albania negatively, and as he would not be able to criticize Enver Hoxha and his regime openly, he made use of the very first external threat Albanians experienced historically. Just like in *Eclipse of the Crescent Moon*, it can be observed that the distinction between “us” and “them” is settled through religion. The death penalty of Skanderbeg for Albanians who refuse to convert back to Christianity from Islam and from the Ottomans’ side, the Albanians being renegades who need to learn the sacred Qoran demonstrates the distinction between “us” and “them”. Additionally, from the perspective of the self, the unification of Balkan nations as frontiers against the Ottomans who face with an open threat to be occupied by the Ottomans demonstrate how the “self” can gather all together regardless of the nationality as long as the religion is the same. This unification occurs as a result of achieving an identity by eliminating the other. As other threatens the self with destroying its existence and culture, it becomes necessary to demolish this risk and successfully achieve an identity. This identity search and the similar images of the Turks and the sieges represent the main issue of both *Eclipse of the Crescent Moon* and *The Siege*.

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