

70. Tracking civility and westernization through the performances of the characters in *Pride and Prejudice* and *Aşk-ı Memnu*

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Abstract

This study investigates the transition of Western culture into the late Ottoman society and the traces of westernisation through *cultural performances* and *performances of culture* in private and public life. Since the concept of *civility* in English culture appears to be compatible with *westernisation* in late Ottoman culture, this study discusses how these concepts were digested in the two societies and how they were transformed into real-life performances. An in-depth comparative analysis of the performances of the characters in Jane Austen's *Pride and Prejudice* (1813) and Halid Ziya Uşaklıgil's *Aşk-ı Memnu* (1900) points out the analogy between the socio-cultural lives of societies and sheds light on how structured cultural performances move from one society to another. Even the habits and daily routines of members of the communities in private or public spheres, which can be taken as performances of culture, are shaped according to the socio-historical context they are situated in. Thus, several daily performances which are considered civilized in British society are considered western in Ottoman society and indicate a social code. Since the patriarchal structure of societies leads to segregated roles between the two sexes, this study discusses female education and its reflections on their performances separately.

Keywords: Civility, westernization, performance studies, women

Nezaket ve batılılaşmanın izini *Gurur ve Önyargı* ve *Aşk-ı Memnu*'daki karakterlerin performanslarında sürme

Öz

Bu çalışma, Batı kültürünün geç dönem Osmanlı toplumuna aktarılmasını incelemekte ve Batılılaşmanın izlerini toplumsal hayattaki *kültürel performanslar* ve *kültür performansları* üzerinden takip etmektedir. İngiliz kültüründeki *nezaket* kavramının geç dönem Osmanlı kültüründeki *batılılaşma* ile uyumlu olması nedeniyle bu çalışma, bu kavramların toplum tarafından içselleştirilmesi ve gerçek hayatta performanslara dönüşümünü sorgulamayı amaçlamaktadır. Jane Austen'in *Pride and Prejudice* (1813) ve Halid Ziya Uşaklıgil'in *Aşk-ı Memnu* (1900) adlı eserlerindeki karakterlerin performanslarının derinlemesine karşılaştırmalı analizi, toplumların kültürel ve sosyal yaşamları arasındaki paralelliğe işaret etmekte ve kalıplaşmış kültürel performansların bir toplumdaki diğerine nasıl aktarılacağına ışık tutmaktadır. Bir topluluğun üyelerinin bir kültürü nasıl icra ettiklerini gösteren davranışları ve günlük rutinleri, içinde buldukları sosyo-kültürel tarihsel bağlam tarafından şekillendirilebilir. Buna göre, ister özel ister toplumsal alanda olsun, İngiliz toplumunda medeni, Osmanlı toplumunda ise Batılı olarak kabul edilen pek çok gündelik performans bu amaca hizmet eden araçlardır. Toplumların ataerki yapısı,

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kadın ve erkekler arasında ayrılmış rollere yol açtığından, kadınların toplumsal ve özel alandaki eylem ve alışkanlıklarını şekillendirmeyi amaçlayan kadın eğitimi ve bunun yansımaları çalışmanın son bölümünde ele alınmaktadır.

Anahtar kelimeler: Nezaket, batılılaşma, performans çalışmaları, kadın

Introduction

This study aims to present the similarities in terms of performances of the characters between two acclaimed novels in English and Turkish respectively; Jane Austen's *Pride and Prejudice* (1813) and Halid Ziya Uşaklıgil's *Aşk-ı Memnu* (*Forbidden Love*) (1900). As well as being best-loved books with common themes in British and Turkish literature among examples of the novel as a genre and thus illustrate how western culture is translated into Ottoman society. Although they are love stories on the surface, the authors' realistic angles provide the readers with elaborate historical depictions of the social lives of the communities they were produced in and illustrate the manners and daily habits of the peoples. The departure point in this study will be the daily habits, social and cultural life in these novels as an arena of constant performance as one should see the actual performance of the members of a society to understand how some concepts are actualized. The analogy of the cultural elements in the novels indicates the fact that locality of a culture can only be temporal because of the inevitable interaction between societies.

Although *Pride and Prejudice* (1813) was written earlier than *Aşk-ı Memnu* (1899), it is possible to say that the temporal gap between the novels was the midpoint in the transition period Ottoman society went into to adopt a western life style, which would be ever-lasting in Republican times. Ottoman society has entered a period of westernization after Tanzimat Edict (Imperial Edict of Reorganization)(1839), consisting of a number of military, administrative, legal and educational reforms (Berk, 2004, p. 13) that had affected the social and cultural life profoundly. When Uşaklıgil wrote *Aşk-ı Memnu*, the society had already adopted some forms of western life style. The novelist himself had a western education in a French school in İzmir, travelled abroad several times and had the opportunity to examine the western literary styles, and even translated from western languages (Parlatır, 1996, p. 87). Thus, his novel could not be deprived of the influence of westernization and the literary current it initiated.

As Robert P. Finn suggests "Uşaklıgil represents both the culmination of the early development of the Turkish novel and perhaps its finest achievement. He is the father of the western story and the western novel"(Finn, 1984, p. 93). Uşaklıgil's depiction of social life at the beginning of the twentieth century allows us to trace the transition period the society had entered. Nonetheless, this study argues how social and cultural life in *Aşk-ı Memnu* is a constant space of public performances in westernized forms in the capital city, İstanbul.

One can list quite a number of studies dealing with the role of translation in the westernization of Ottoman and early Republican societies such as Özlem Berk "Translating the "West": The Position of Translated Western Literature within the Turkish Literary Polysystem"(2006) in addition to her published Phd thesis, Şehnaz Tahir Gürçağlar's *The Politics and Poetics of Translation in Turkey(1923-1960)*(2008), Ayşe Banu Karadağ's *çevirinin Tanıklığında Medeniyetin Dönüşümü (Transformation of Civilization in Testimony of Translation)* (2009), Elif Daldeniz' article "Introduction: Translation, Modernity and its Dissidents: Turkey as a 'Republic of Translation'"(2010) and Ayşe Vardar's "Translated West in the Early Modernization Phase of Turkey"(2014). However, this study intends to

approach the same topic with a novel angle by providing a comparative analysis of social performances translated from British to Ottoman societies and thus point out the visible translation of culture.

The theoretical frame of the study consists of Richard Schechner's concept of daily life as performance which means "Any behavior, event, action, or thing can be studied 'as' performance, can be analyzed in terms of doing, behaving, and showing" (Schechner, 2002, p. 32) and Richard Bauman's idea that even if it is not put on display, a mode of communicative behavior can be a performance in a more neutral sense (Bauman, 1992, p.43). Many acts of the characters in the two novels can be approached from the perspective of "cultural performance" like concerts, plays, dances. In Bauman's words "Cultural performances tend to be the most prominent performance contexts within a community and to share a set of characteristic features" (Bauman, 1992, p. 46). They are scheduled, temporally bounded, spatially bounded, programmed, conditioned and heightened. Cultural performances are conducted in a "time out of time" and also they follow a pattern. Furthermore, they are reflexive as they are instruments of cultural expression.

In a later work, Schechner (2011) also distinguishes between "a cultural performance" and "performing a culture". Taking the daily habits and traditions in Austen's and Uşaklıgil's novels as performances of culture is a lot more appropriate as they refer to "the ways in which our everyday words and actions are reflections of our own enculturation and can therefore be studied as performances, whether we consciously think of them in that way or not." (Griffith & Marion, 2017)

One may also ground this claim on R. Schechner's opposition to "once-behaved behaviour" (Schechner, 2002, p. 23). From his point of view, everyday life activities such as dressing and taking a walk are "constructed forms of behaviours [which had been] previously behaved" (Schechner, 2002, p. 23), thus they can be considered cultural performances. Even talking to people to socialize is a way of acting and can be considered as a performance which is structured according to the restored experiences. The writer later puts the same claim in another way and notes that "In fact all behaviour consists of recombining bits of previously behaved behaviours" (Schechner, 2002, p. 28). He also supports Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett's proposal of performance theory and broadens it with the claim that any behaviour, event, action, or thing can be studied as performance (Schechner, 2002, p. 32). In a similar vein, "lifelike art" is inspired by the performances of common folk and makes us notice the rituals of everyday life and manners.

Likewise, In *Perspectives: An Open Introduction to Cultural Anthropology's* overview part, Lauren Miller Griffith and Jonathan S. Marion suggest that whereas each performance is unique due to the circumstances it takes place, it is part of a larger body of tradition as well (2017, p. 1). One may also argue that performances of culture can be on the move from one culture to another. Thus culture specific or national performances may transform into the international scale ones. In this sense both types of performances can be considered as symptoms of translation of a culture if they cross national borders and transform individuals and/or entire communities. In the novels examined in this study, there are many cultural performances implying the acculturation period Turkish society was going through in Uşaklıgil's age. In this frame, this study aims to reveal the westernized forms of performance adopted by Ottoman Turkish society which could also be considered forms of translation of cultures although the existence of incommensurable sides inevitably decelerated this motion.

From that perspective, this study also calls attention to translation of cultures as a very wide-spread term used by social anthropology. Talal Asad(1986) in his article entitled "The Concept of Cultural

Translation in Social Anthropology”, in agreement with Lienhardt’s definition, states that translation of cultures does not refer to linguistic content but modes of thought but his focal point is still on E. B. Taylor’s definition of culture and civilization supporting that social heredity was transformed into the notion of a text. In other words, in order to understand a concept or belief, we should understand the texts it occurs or individuals and societies that maintain them (p. 142). From this aspect, the novels analyzed in this study provide the readers with the opportunity to comprehend the themes of civility and westernization.

Ernest Gellner(1970) in his article; “Concepts and Society”, on the other hand, is more concerned with the functioning of concepts and beliefs which are, in a sense, institutions in societies (p.115). As he has a relativist functionalist approach, he insists that these concepts and beliefs, which he names social institutions- do not exist in isolation but in texts and in individual minds. This study will be an attempt to read the minds of two novelists and the texts they wrote containing two parallel concepts as counterparts in the West and in the East. On the grounds that the essence of functionalism is the stress on historical context, it is plausible for Gellner to see the claim of perfect stability and self maintenance of societies plainly false. Although every institution serves to the survival and stability of the society as a whole, still we can suggest fluctuation and constant transgression in societies as indispensable traits and even question so called culture bounded concepts and their move from culture to culture.

For this same reason, societies may remain in a hybrid cultural space rather than transforming wholly. H. Bhabha focuses on examples of this kind of hybridity as stubborn chunks or incommensurable elements. He refers to Mexican performance artist and writer, Guillermo Gomes Pena, to argue how migrations and interracial relations give cause for the emergence of hybrid transitional identities (Bhabha, 1994, p. 313). However he warns us against the dramatization of a culture’s untranslatability which would be contradictory to his term “dissemiNation” (Bhabha, 1994, p. 199), which he apparently owes to J. Derrida, and accompanies the feelings of alienation and disintegrity modern individuals suffer from inevitably. Rather than concentrating on such cultural elements resisting to dissolve and not easy to translate, this study concentrates on the more docile and malleable character of the Ottoman society, which adopted westernization on footprints of civility in Western societies, in the frame of *Aşk-ı Memnu* and will follow the traces of western life style illustrated in a previously written western novel, *Pride and Prejudice*. Nevertheless, one cannot deny that the tenacious eastern sides of the Ottoman society remained as they were for so long.

In this theoretical framework, the first part of this study discusses the concept of westernization in Ottoman society which substitutes the concept of civility in British society as it is illustrated with examples of performances in daily lives of the characters of the novels. The second part of the study is devoted to a discussion of compatible public and private performances of culture in the novels, such as daily routines, shopping, walking and cultural performances like dancing, playing and instrument, games etc. and other performances that aim at the presentation of “self” and thus compose the personalities of the characters. The last part of the study discusses how the education of women and its outcomes in real life in *Aşk-ı Memnu* are comparable to the ones in *Pride and Prejudice*.

1. Westernized and civilized performances

In Austen’s novel the idea of being civilized takes a very broad space both in the forms of manners and general courtesy rules, and politeness. Paula Byrne argues that conduct books addressed the newly emerging middle class rather than the aristocratic elite (Byrne, 2005, p. 298). These books were

instrumental to train this class about how to perform in society.² Austen employs a controlled vocabulary of related words around civility which can be called a word cluster. Mandal comments that the terms such as ‘manners’, ‘being agreeable’, ‘duty’, and ‘prudence’ recur frequently throughout Austen’s novels, and in combination can be seen as constituent elements in Austen’s ethical system” (Mandal, 2007, p. 27). A few adjectives like “amiable”, “tolerable” and “gentlemanlike” can be added to these. By “manners”, a character of mind, general way of life, morals, habits, ceremonious behavior, and studied civility are meant in Austen’s novels (Byrne, 2005, p. 297). Moreover, as Paula Byrne writes “politeness” is thought to be “a code of behavior that emphasized benevolence, modesty, self-examination and integrity. These virtues were seen as the product of nurture and education as opposed to innate superiority” (Byrne, 2005, p. 298). Obviously, Austen’s novel was an elaborate store of various examples of the polite vs. impolite, acceptable vs. unacceptable, desirable vs. undesirable performances of behavior and a constant critique of the observations she made in her own community. The novelist’s indirect criticism of the characters she created reflects her own morals. Her constant use of dialogues and direct and indirect speeches presents how conversation and everyday speech are means to perform all the above mentioned terms. Furthermore, even the least formal decorum; protocol and elegant ease of behavior are linked to “an ethical code of civic virtue” (Byrne, 2005, p. 298). In other words, everyday life was a constant cultural performance space in *Pride and Prejudice* just like all the rest of Austen’s novels as well as a way of building characters’ true personalities from the view point of the omniscient narrator and other characters.

When it comes to *Pride and Prejudice*, according to Debra Teachman states that it has often been depicted as a simple story of love between a wealthy, proud aristocrat and an intelligent, beautiful young woman born into a family of five sisters with little financial security (Teachman, 1995, p. 1). The novel conveys the social structure very meticulously in the first decades of nineteenth century, generally known as the Regency period in England (Teachman, 1995, p. 3), the historical period in the United Kingdom - specifically 1811-1820 - in which King George IV ruled as Prince Regent. The society then was highly stratified into classes: aristocracy, gentry, trades people, working poor, poverty stricken. Though the class system was considered very rigid in theory, it had considerable room for mobility (Teachman, 1995, p. 3). In the Victorian age (1837-1901), the historical period after the Regency period, the idea of civilization was very prominent, the traces of which can be followed very clearly in Austen’s work. At the onset of the Industrial Revolution in the midland and the northern counties (Le Faye, 2003, p. 308), the financial security the society was generally enjoying and the changing class structure (Stocking, 1991, p. 10) due to the rising trading class made the idea come to the fore. Jr. George W. Stocking states that “The verb ‘civilize’ the participle “civilized” and the noun ‘civility’ had long been used to express a contrast between European and ‘savage’ or ‘barbarous’ manners and social life” (Stocking, 1991, p. 11). In a way “civility” started to mean social intercourse if not manner merely.

Mr. Darcy being the only male heir of Pemberly, inherited not only the estate but also socially constructed ways of behaviors and attitudes which could be called manners from his parents. The education he had is superior to any other characters’ in the novel and it is reflected by the size of the library he owns. His long-term and constant relations with the people around him stems from his permanent ownership of the estate which he runs very well. Thus he becomes the ideal example of country gentleman morally and socially as the only successor of an astonishingly huge and beautiful estate. Nevertheless, he is the representation of male masculinity, rationality and subsequent mastery and competence (Hamilton, 6). His friend Bingley is, on the other hand, “a much more urban mindset”

² Conduct books are discussed in relation to female education in the next part in detail.

(Hamilton 2008, 20) on the transition from feudalism to commercial capitalism and he could make his wealth from resources other than real property. Hamilton describes his social ethics as byproducts of the early industrial revolution (Hamilton 2008, 20) and he as a good natured, amiable, cheerful, kindly merchant.

When the main characters, Mr. Darcy and Elizabeth are compared to the above mentioned characters, as Darcy confesses, neither of them performs to others (Austen, 1987, p. 209). They do not care about the rules of courtesy very much to the degree of ignoring the bad image they leave on others which makes one of them a hero and the other a heroine in the eyes of the audience. Elizabeth dares to refuse to answer the questions of Lady Catherine and resists her order to play the piano whereas Darcy is not very close to being agreeable or sociable since he does not try to gain either the acquaintance or sympathy of the people he does not know.

When it comes to *Aşk-ı Memnu*, it represents the culmination of the first period of Turkish novel as a genre and is considered the first novel in the Turkish language according to Western understanding. It is regarded a remarkable work from a scholarly point of view as the first novel in the Turkish language according to Western understanding. This study suggests that in Uşaklıgil's writing, "westernization" as a concept replaces the part which "civility" plays as it is in several other contemporary novels. From Rıza Öztürk's point of view, Uşaklıgil is the far most well-known writer in the literature of Servet-i Fünun³ period, who defended the westernizing movement (Öztürk, 1998, p. 124). He is agreed to be the contributor and innovator of the modern novel in Turkish literature. In the literary circle the novelist comes from - Servet-i Fünun, there was a conflict of westernized characters. In the works of the writers in this circle, the fictional characters who synthesized Western and Turkish culture in a positive way and the others who were mere copyists were contrasted (Kerman, 1995, p. 6). It is intriguing to observe that westernized characters are not compatible with the traditional Ottoman characters but to the other westernized ones as everybody seems to have adopted a way of western life style at least in the upper classes. This novel also depicts the characters in terms of codes of ethical behavior.

The high society which is represented with Adnan Bey, the leading male character in the *Aşk-ı Memnu*- a gentleman from one of the wealthiest families of Istanbul, and people around him who live in his residence by the sea in Bosphorus are depicted to the readership with their life styles which had already been shaped by the norms of the westernization in the era. In the period of Servet-i Fünun, westernization is experienced in a fast way. The writers of this period support women to be as free as a western woman. In this period, contrary to the "Tanzimat", women were given more space because they were free to do and live whatever they want in the frame of traditions, but true independence was unthinkable for women in Ottoman society. Halid Ziya partially achieved giving his characters freedom in his work because main male characters he created accept the women have their feelings and thoughts and respect them. However, their freedom is only based on entertainments like visiting acquaintances to socialize or having tea parties at home or going shopping. Although they are educated in a western style based on literacy, speaking foreign languages, particularly French and studying classical Turkish literature, the education does not open them a path for a job to earn a living so they are insecure financially and depend on their male relatives inevitably.

First of all, the men in the family of Adnan Bey do not work just like the men in the aristocracy and gentry in England. Adnan Bey looks very much like a gentleman with his gloves to his gold-framed

³ *Servet-i Fünun* was a literary magazine. The phrase itself means the source of sciences. A group of writers wrote for this magazine and constituted a literary circle.

glasses and well-combed hair. (Uşaklıgil 1998: 29) Adnan Bey's young handsome nephew Behlül, being the son of a civil servant, has difficulty to afford and maintain his lifestyle and his constant urge for entertainments. When Adnan Bey and Behlül are compared, the character of the men like Behlül is criticized by the authors in *Servet-i Fünun*, just like Uşaklıgil himself, as his way of westernization is not very virtuous. Although Behlül is an eager participant of both westernized ways of performance (like opera, theatre concerts, balls and even cinema⁴) and traditional ones (Uşaklıgil, 2005, p. 110-113) and he is very civilized in daily life on the surface and performs very well to the others with the stories he tells, his politeness towards women and his way of dressing and even tone of speech, his moral degradation in his real actions makes his outstanding performance hollow. Unlike him, Adnan Bey is elevated to the status of a real gentleman who synthesized western and Ottoman styles in terms of his performances of culture with all his behaviors, personality, dressing and lifestyle which combines the positive sides of Ottoman and European way of life (Kerman, 1995, p. 118).

It is known that after Tanzimat Edict, a new rising class emerged in Ottoman society (Kerman, 1995, p. 84). Unlike the upper classes that inherited property and income, this new class is unfamiliar to the high society and almost rootless. The main female character of the novel, Adnan Bey's young wife Bihter, comes from such a family. Her family circle is called "Melih Bey Takımı" (Melih Bey Circle) which is composed of women who scattered around Istanbul by way of marriage (Uşaklıgil, 2005, p. 21). The secret curtain that draws around "Melih Bey Takımı" is a reflection of the prejudice against this new community that gets wealthy by way of marriage. Although they like the pretentious life style they lead, they are financially insecure and dependent on the men around them. Thus, their lifestyle is a mere display of false prosperity (Aktaş, 1996, p. 111) and pretended joyfulness they perform to strangers perfectly.

A character of Austen, Mr. Wickham, resembles Behlül in terms of his moral corruption and his way of life which exceeds his income. Although he performs in a very civilized way, he is insincere and his politeness is unnatural. When he elopes with Lydia, Elizabeth's sister, ignoring the humiliation he causes to both the girl and the family, his real character is uncovered to the surprise of everyone who was misled by his good manners and civility. Thus it can be said that good manners and courtesy rules everyone obeys is a kind of performance stage that hides the real personalities of the characters in both of the novels.

2. Performing a culture in the form of daily routines and habits

In this part of the study, in order to reveal the similarities between the two novels, public and private behaviors of the characters will be discussed. In *Aşk-ı Memnu*, many of these indicate the westernization movement and the subsequent acculturation period of the Ottoman society was in. As stated earlier one also needs to distinguish the performances done individually and the ones requires the presence of the others to perform a culture.

Everyday performances took a broad space in both of the novels. In *Aşk-ı Memnu*, the routines of the family members are revealed very clearly. The children have their classes in the morning after a morning coffee and a walk in the garden. In analogy, in Austen's time, the morning hours were devoted to education, improvement of accomplishments and some leisure time activities like letter writing and

⁴ These were the days cinema started to take its place in Ottoman cultural life. For further information see *Sinemannın Osmanlıca Serüveni (The Ottoman Adventure of Cinema)* by Ali Özuyar (Özuyar 1999 32,33) and *Karagözden Sinemaya Türk Sineması ve Sorunları (Turkish Cinema and its Problems from Karagöz to the Cinema)* by Nijat Özön (Özön 1995).

reading for oneself (Lane, 1996, p. 39). Le Faye states that letter writing was “an essential part of social life, both to maintain family connections and to act as mini-newspapers” (Le Faye, 2003, p. 108). In the afternoon the residents of Adnan Bey’s mansion are left free in the residence. If they do not go out for a visit or errands, they spend their time however they like. In *Pride and Prejudice*, the evening hours are devoted to family entertainments and spent together in the drawing room. Reading aloud, playing the piano and singing or simply having a conversation were the routines of the Bennet family. When they had visitors for dinner or coffee after dinner, they used to play various card games like casino, quadrille, loo, whist etc. Performance of the participants to these games was significant. For example Lydia’s obsession in the games was a reflection of her character just like Collins’ constant failure. Although, they could be played just for amusement or to gamble, when these games were played for money, the attention was a lot more essential. In *Aşk-ı Memnu*, the routines of the evening hours are not described very clearly. Offering of Turkish coffee is a ceremonious performance for both the servants and the residents of the mansions in Istanbul (Ayverdi, 1964, p. 17). The traditional cups of Turkish coffee which were placed in “zarf”⁵ in Ottoman culture were as precious as the chinaware used for coffee offerings in English society.

In terms of the activities done outdoors, men are comparatively more active than women in both of the novels. Horse riding and hunting⁶ were the basic activities done by men in *Pride and Prejudice*. In terms of the activities both men and women do together walks and picnics should be mentioned. In *Aşk-ı Memnu*, both of these entertainment forms exist.⁷ However, readers are not provided with any sporting activity for men apart from boat trips in the Bosphorous and in Göksu, a picnic site. Outdoor activities are ad hoc and depend on the weather but still steady in form in the novels.

It should be kept in mind that Longbourne House of the Bennets and Adnan Bey’s mansion were both very spacious buildings suitable for big gatherings. However, although Austen makes Bennets’ house very lively with dinner and tea parties, Uşaklıgil isolates the mansion from these kinds of social events. The family members look disconnected from the neighbors, relatives and acquaintance of any kind. Therefore, the life of Adnan Bey’s family is rather monotonous while Bennet’s is ornamented with surprise visits and constant visitors. The Bennets are good performers thus they are never alone whereas Adnan Bey’s family is withdrawn from the social life for unknown reasons and this makes the novel very unrealistic and artificial from time to time. The windows that open to the outer life in Uşaklıgil’s novel were Behlül and Bihter’s family. While Uşaklıgil depicts the psychological states and inward lives of his characters more than Austen because of the isolated manner his characters are presented, the Bennets’ constant touch with the rest of the society in the village they live makes their personalities clearer.

As it was previously stated, walks and shopping are important entertainment forms in both of the novels. Being a well-known and respected customer in the shops of Beyoğlu was of great importance for the social status of a person in *Aşk-ı Memnu*. Moreover, it is an opportunity for the women to show their taste for clothes, jewelry and perfume and meet acquaintances and make new ones. Almost all members of the family happen to be there for shopping in a few scenes in the novel. In *Pride and Prejudice*, shopping is equally important for the same reasons. The Bennet girls used the opportunity to travel to big towns, London in particular, to shop for fabric for clothes and clothing ornaments like ribbons and

⁵ “Zarf” means envelope in Turkish but here it is a copper, silver and metal cup with special handworks in which the ceramic cups are placed.

⁶ Mr. Bingley and Mr. Darcy ride their horse and hunt in their lands. Sometimes hunting parties are organized and guests come. Mr. Darcy invites Elizabeth’s uncle for a hunt in Pemberley.

⁷ The family sits in the camellia in the garden of the mansion. Behlül and Nihal go for a carriage ride in the forest in Büyük Ada (One of the Prince Islands of Istanbul). Additionally, they, as a family go on a picnic altogether to Göksu by boat.

hats. As they did not live far from the town, they had an idea about the fashion. For example Lydia buys an ugly bonnet and thinks of decorating it with satin (Austen, 1987, p. 246). Going for shopping to the big cities during travels was also common as it is impossible for the country people to find everything in the small towns where they lived.⁸ It should be kept in mind that girls were supposed to be chaperoned during all of these activities. However, Austen is critical to this in several performances of her characters, especially Elizabeth as she walks to Netherfield, Bingley's house from her own house, Longbourne House, three kilometers in mud to see her sister gets sick there to the surprise of the owners of the house who thought such a thing incredible (Austen, 1987, p. 79). Moreover, Lady Catherine strongly opposes young women's travelling alone by post carriage unless they are properly guarded and attended by men, at least men servants (Austen, 1987, p. 240). However, Bennet sisters constantly walk to Maryton whether they are chaperoned or not and Elizabeth goes for a walk in Rosings's park- Lady Catherine's lands. When the beautiful lands of Pemberly- Mr. Darcy's stately home, is mentioned, Elizabeth's aunt decides that they will need a carriage as it is too big to walk around. Thus, the lands of a house- whether they are cultivated or not- could provide refreshment. Elizabeth's walk with Mr. Wickham, her son-in-law, and Mr. Bingley and Mr. Darcy were examples of this established habit. As it was an opportunity for a conversation, it was always welcome for both of the parties. Likewise, in *Aşk-ı Memnu*, the garden of Adnan Bey's mansion and summer and winter houses of Istanbul and their surroundings provided opportunities for outdoor activities like sitting in the camellia, going out for walks in the wilderness or forests and going on carriage rides.

3. Playing music and dances as cultural performances

In both of the novels there are some characters that perform to others in public very well; Behlül, Bihter and her sister, Peyker in *Aşk-ı Memnu* and Mary and Mr. Wickham in *Pride and Prejudice*. They are very much alike in personality as they are both very good performers in public. Bihter, who does not seem to be very interested in music in her daily life, picks up the lute and entertains the audience in the wedding they attend while her sister, Peyker, accompanies her on the piano.

On the other hand, Adnan Bey's daughter Nihal, in spite of being deeply attached to music and plays the piano even to the degree of soothing her deepest sorrows with the piano, simply rejects playing to strangers for entertainment purposes in the same wedding (Uşaklıgil, 2005, p. 295-296). In other words, although she is not eager to display performances for strangers, she actually performs a western culture in her daily life.

When it comes to *Pride and Prejudice*, Mary, the main female character- Elizabeth's little sister who is the plainest one in the family, we see that she is not only obsessed with practicing the piano but also playing to an audience in public events which can be very embarrassing for the rest of the family because of her stiffness in denying the taste of her audience. Mary was critiqued as she plays with "a pedantic air and conceited manner" (Austen, 1987:, p. 71) while "Elizabeth, easy and unaffected, had been listened to with much more pleasure, though not playing half so well" (Le Faye, 2003, p. 104). It is clear that Mary's keenness on the instrument stems from a need to display her talents and show off to the others. From that aspect, she can be thought of a character that performs to others like Bihter and Peyker- Adnan Bey's wife and her sister- but could not please the audience.

Among a variety of performances in *Pride and Prejudice*, both public and private, the most socially important one was dancing, the chief way in which young people could become acquainted. However,

⁸ See Austen's *Sense and Sensibility* for visits of that kind.

this performance was carefully chaperoned like almost all of the recreations such as taking walks, shopping and visits. It was very important as Deirdre Le Faye states in Austen's life time, "dance floor was the best, and indeed almost the only place, where marriage partners could be identified and courtship could flourish" (Le Faye, 2003, p. 99). It also allowed the first touch between opposite sexes although it was in a very formal and restricted form. Country dance, which comes from French "contredanse", was very popular those days which was French in origin (Le Faye, 2003, p. 104).

Performance of the characters in dancing in Austen's novel was subjected to praise or criticism. Elizabeth's first dance with Collins was very embarrassing as a performance from the point of Elizabeth as he was a terrible dancer. Austen depicts her dance as follows:

The two first dances, however, brought a return of distress; they were dances of mortification. Mr. Collins, awkward and solemn, apologising instead of attending, and often moving wrong without being aware of it, gave her all the shame and misery which a disagreeable partner for a couple of dances can give. The moment of her release from him was ecstasy. (Austen, 1987, p. 133)

Her dance with Mr. Darcy is quite the contrary and their performance as a couple was appreciated by Sir Williams. He comments on their performance very highly saying, "I have been most highly gratified indeed, my dear Sir. Such very superior dancing is not often seen. It is evident that you belong to the first circles" (Austen, 1987, p.135). Even Darcy's asking Elizabeth for a dance is considered a compliment because of his social status and his reluctance towards dancing in general. In a way he singles her out from the rest of the women in the ball.

In the Regency period, as well as private balls given by the upper classes and public assemblies (Lane, 1996, p. 55), home parties could be the places to dance. The furniture was just moved and enough room was provided to the couples. Whereas the music in the balls were played by professional male musicians(Lane, 1996, p. 54), at home parties girls who attend to the party used to enliven the atmosphere with the songs they sang and played at the piano. Men could accompany them in duets but these were the main opportunities for a woman to display their talents to the men just like dances which were opportunities for them to display their figures.

In terms of their approaches to dance, Austen's characters vary. For Sir William Lucas there is nothing like dancing and he considers it as one of the first refinements of polished society. On the contrary Darcy is almost indifferent to this public performance and scorns it with the words that "Every savage can dance" in an arrogant manner (Lane, 1996, p. 55). In contrast to this comment, Darcy himself is an excellent dancer and does not hesitate to ask for Elizabeth's hand despite her inferior connections- her family.

In analogy with Darcy's attitude, in *Aşk-ı Memnu*, dance is not considered of a very high value. Although a few young women dance in the wedding they attend, Nihal does not know to dance. One of the young visitors gossip about Nihal as she neither sings nor dances thus she is considered stiff and remote. Uşaklıgil writes that young women dance in the weddings and Nihal was expected to do so. As far as Uşaklıgil depicts, man and women have separate entertainments, however we are not informed about the male dances as dancing is totally out of question for men. The socially unitary dance forms of

Republican times, like waltz and traditional western Anatolian dances were yet to come. The westernization movement would go further to catch the westernized forms of dance in a few decades.⁹

4. Female education and performances

One needs to devote some space to discuss the similarities between the novels in terms of female education and performances women display in accordance with it. Both of the novels give a very clear idea about the quality of the education given in the time of the novels. In the Ottoman Empire, the education of the women started to be discussed only after Tanzimat Edict (1939). By the time Uşaklıgil wrote his novel the influence of the westernized forms of female education was quite significant. The education women have in both of the novels are very gender specific but very similar due to these influences. The education they got leads to performances in many facets of the daily life.

First of all, it should be stated that the Austens were “unusual in sending their daughters to school” in an age when female education was “limited” and “ad hoc” and generally given at home either by a governess or the mothers (Lane, 1996, p. 46). In that age, tutors would visit houses or the families could have a governess. That is why Lady Catherine was so shocked to find out that the Bennet sisters had no governess (Austen, 1987, p. 199). Furthermore, learning that her mother was not involved in their education either, she concludes that they were neglected.

In Austen’s age, the girls were given literacy and numeracy- simple counting enough for housekeeping, a little bit of history, geography and maybe philosophy. They were expected to speak modern languages especially French. Moreover, they were given religious education. However, in their teenage years they were left to their own tastes most of the time (Lane, 1996, p. 45-46). The education they got was never directed to have a practical, work-related outcome. The only profession which was open to girls was being a governess or a schoolmistress.¹⁰ While, being a schoolmistress seemed to be a job which requires a considerable amount of wealth to own and run a school first of all. Austen thinks of being a governess as very close to slavery and scorns the job (Emma, 1958). Moreover, being a governess means that the girl in question has failed in *the marriage market*.

On the other hand, the education a girl had was of practical value in elevating her rank in the marriage market to have a husband. In Garry Kelly’s words “All Austen heroines except Emma are almost Cinderella’s, bringing to marriage more of the intellectual, moral and cultural capital accumulated through education than the cash or property necessary for what was called ‘improvement’ of the estate” (Kelly, 2005, p. 255). However, however intellectual they were and if they were allowed to reveal their intellect was a very problematic issue. As being a woman with an educated mind or showing your wit was thought to be inconvenient and almost dangerous. There were various “conduct books”¹¹ which were

⁹ Arzu Öztürkmen states that The Republic of Turkey distanced itself from the Ottoman tradition to adopt a westernization reform program (Öztürkmen 2003: 38). According to her “The impact of this reform was felt in the field of dance, as European opera and ballet groups visited big cities of the empire”(Öztürkmen 2003: 42). For further information see Arzu Öztürkmen (2003), “Modern Dance Alla Turca: Transforming Ottoman Dance in Early Republican Turkey,” *Dance Research Journal*, Summer 2003, 35/1, pp. 38-60.

¹⁰ It should be kept in mind that Austen’s characters were generally middle, upper middle and upper classes.

¹¹ Byrne sums up some advice given by the conduct books in the following lines:

Conduct books gave advice on how women should behave during courtship and marriage, and how they should be dutiful daughters, wives and mothers. One of the most popular and influential was John Gregory’s *A Father’s Legacy to his Daughters* (1774), which contained sections on religion, conduct and behavior, friendship, love and marriage. His precepts included not eating in public, being silent in company and keeping one’s intelligence and education “a profound secret, especially from the men, who generally look with a jealous and malignant eye on woman of “cultivated understanding.” Gregory even warned against the dangers of clever words. Wit is the most dangerous talent you can possess. It must be guarded with great discretion and good nature, otherwise it will create you many enemies. (Byrne, 2005, p. 298)

also called the ladies book of etiquette that give advice to women about how they ought to behave and function as a guide to manners.

Therefore, the rule for girls was to have education and hide its traces. The education a woman got was expected to be used to perform merely the gender specific roles. Moreover, the performance of silence was vitally important in terms of manners young women had to abide by. To give an example, Lady Catherine was so surprised to find out that Elizabeth gives her opinion very decidedly for so young a person (Austen, 1987, p. 200) because expressing herself so firmly was unfavorable for a girl. She was expected to be submissive and silently accompanying and approving.

Kelly notes that females were excluded from such broad intellectual and moral education and instead trained in what were called accomplishments (Kelly, 2005, p. 256)¹². Thus, real performance the women were expected to show was in accomplishments which would lead them to be chosen as wives. These were very vital as women had very few property rights outside of marriage, and marriage was the only way to survive respectfully (Kelly, 2005, p. 254). In Kelly's words "accomplishments' enabled marriageable and married women to display the cultural distinction that demonstrated social distinction and advanced upper- and middle-class family interests" (Kelly, 2005, p. 257). Thus, accomplishments were the distinctive performances to show one's class. While being accomplished was encouraged, being learned- "bluestocking" was set against being learned. To exemplify the disadvantages of being learned Kelly gives conduct books' advices against it as follows:

'Learning' was accordingly condemned by female conduct books, satirized by male and female conduct books, satirized by male and female writers and excluded from most females' education. 'Learning' meant knowledge proper to male education and restricted to male participation, and included classical and Biblical languages, analytical and scientific discourses, controversial writing, theology and mathematics. The Austen sisters were not 'learned' in this sense, though they were both 'accomplished' and 'notable' (Kelly, 2005, p. 258).

The consequences of this restriction on the part of woman were quite negative for the society. Woman of Austen's age were deprived of the intellectual independence and strongly dependent on men in terms of judgment and authority. The inconvenient inheritance laws supported this pitiful state of women as;

Stability of the family estate across generations was ensured by primogeniture, or inheritance by the first son (rather than division of the estate among all the sons or all the children), and by entailing the estate, in default of a direct male heir, on the nearest male relative. Judging by her novels, Jane Austen had reservations about these practices. Women's interests were entirely subordinated by them and women had few property rights in or outside marriage. (Kelly, 2005, p. 254)

¹² Kelly comments on female education which is composed of three elements as follows:
Basic schooling comprised practical skills such as literacy and numeracy – by Austen's day girls were being excluded from the few grammar schools that offered them more advanced schooling. Household management included supervision if not participation in domestic needlework, food preparation, the regular but epic activity of washing-day and care of the sick, the young and the aged. Religious instruction, considered indispensable, inducted the young female into the family's church. Basic schooling occurred at home, sometimes augmented through attendance at day or boarding school; domestic training and religious instruction also occurred at home. Accomplishments, too, could be acquired at home, though usually from governesses and private tutors, perhaps with 'finishing' at a day school or boarding school, such as the one Cassandra and Jane Austen attended at reading...
'Accomplishments' included several elements. Dancing, singing and playing music displayed the young woman's body and bearing at school occasions to attract a suitor. Drawing, painting, fashionable modern languages (especially French and Italian) and decorative needlework demonstrated taste and "polite" knowledge as markers of cultural distinction, as did the social arts of conversation and letter-writing, with accompanying knowledge of the "belles-lettres". (Kelly, 2005, p. 256-257)

These unfavorable circumstances were conveyed to the readers of *Pride and Prejudice* directly. Elizabeth who refuses to perform as a suitable girl to be married and even turning down Mr. Collin's and Mr. Darcy's marriage proposals respectively was not performing the role she ought to do to secure herself and the rest of her family. Since Mr. Bennet- her father- had no son, the estate of the family will pass to his cousin- Mr. Collins after Mr. Bennet's death. As a result the whole family will be left with almost nothing. The social and financial destruction his death would bring could be prevented only marrying a suitable man as women had the social position of her father to be replaced by that of her husband if she married (Teachmen, 1995; p. 2-3). These circumstances were very close to Jane Austen's own reality. She, unmarried all her life, was provided for by her brother in her adult life and had to write under the pen name "A Lady" which was very courageous to earn a living.

In terms of accomplishment, Austen's critical stance is revealed with Elizabeth's ideas about the term.¹³ She is very realistic as in the country it is almost impossible to be accomplished in the way it was understood in the city. Mr. Bingley describes an accomplished lady as follows:

"No one can be really esteemed accomplished who does not greatly surpass what is usually met with. A woman must have a thorough knowledge of music, singing, drawing, dancing, and the modern languages, to deserve the word; and besides all this, she must possess a certain something in her air and manner of walking, the tone of her voice, her address and expressions, or the word will be but half deserved."

"All this she must possess," added Darcy, "and to all this she must yet add something more substantial, in the improvement of her mind by extensive reading." (Austen, 1813)

Mr. Darcy's idea of being accomplished which is demanding requires improvement of mind by reading though it was not very clear what he thinks women ought to read. Throughout the novel, the readers are not informed about the ideal reading material¹⁴ a woman should have but we become aware that Austen really despises conduct books, which were considered appropriate for young women by Mr. Collins. (Austen, 1987, p. 113)

When it comes to the performance of accomplishments, although Elizabeth does needlework; it is never at the core of the novel. For instance when Darcy arrives with Bingley to Longbourne House, "she sat intently at work, and without daring to lift up her eyes..."(Austen, 1987, p. 344). The novelist refers to needlework with the word "work" as no other work women had in those days and it was the usual word used instead. Sitting at work was a way of calming herself down and looking interested in something else than Darcy for Elizabeth.

When it comes to the age *Aşk-ı Memnu* was written in, schooling was very rare. Roderic H. Davison writes that "it looks as if, in the century before 1914, the Ottoman Empire had received a massive infusion

¹³ "All young ladies accomplished! My dear Charles, what do you mean?"

"Yes, all of them, I think. They all paint tables, cover screens, and net purses. I scarcely know anyone who cannot do all this, and I am sure I never heard a young lady spoken of for the first time, without being informed that she was very accomplished."

"Your list of the common extent of accomplishments," said Darcy, "has too much truth. The word is applied to many a woman who deserves it no otherwise than by netting a purse or covering a screen. But I am very far from agreeing with you in your estimation of ladies in general. I cannot boast of knowing more than half a dozen, in the whole range of my acquaintance, that are really accomplished."

"Nor I, I am sure," said Miss Bingley. "Then," observed Elizabeth, "you must comprehend a great deal in your idea of an accomplished woman."

Yes, I do comprehend a great deal in it." (See chapter 8 in *Pride and Prejudice*)

¹⁴ Byrne writes that "The idea that novels as opposed to didactic moral treatises were a means to paint 'manners and morals'- a common pairing of terms- was relatively new and seriously controversial." (Byrne, 296) Although Austen was a devoted advocate of novel as a genre to educate the society morally, in the book we do not come up with any opinions of her on novel.

of Western education” (Davison, 1990, p. 168). About schooling, he records the following “by the time of 1908 Young Turk revolution Turks in Robert College constituted between three and five per cent of a student body which totaled over 300” (Davison, 1990, p. 169). The students were mainly the sons of the elite. When it comes to females’ education at school, it was comparatively restricted but still existent:

Both of the Turkish graduates of the American School for Girls by the same date were daughters of enlightened and well-educated government officials. The first was Gülistan, daughter of a Circassian slave girl freed from Sultan Abdülaziz’s harem and of General Tevfik, a man who evidently believed strongly in education for girls. Gülistan completed the high school curriculum and graduated in 1890. The second was Halide Edip[Adıvar], who after graduation with an A.B. degree in 1901 was to become known as a leading author, feminist, patriot and professor. (Davison, 1990, p. 167)

Therefore it is possible to say that by the time the novel was written, girls could attend to foreign schools though it was very rare. If the readers look for a westernized form of education in *Aşk-ı Memnu*, the education Nihal has from her governess has similarities with the education given to girls in Austen’s times. In addition to the westernization movement the empire entered, foreign governesses started to look after the children of the Ottoman elite, which affected the quality of the education inevitably. Although, Matmazel de Courton in *Aşk-ı Memnu* is depicted as a very respectable woman, the women who worked as governesses were the people who generally had left their countries with bad memories of all kinds. Matmazel de Courton’s father for example had committed suicide after wasting his fortune in horse races.¹⁵ After having sheltered in one of her relatives’ house and taking the responsibility of their children for a while, she came to the Ottoman Empire as a governess. Adnan Bey and his family are considered lucky to have such a good governess as Matmazel de Courton after trying many others. When the quality of the education Matmazel de Courton gives to Nihal, it is possible to say that it is very similar to the education a young woman ought to have in Austen’s time.

It is very clear to see the influences of the western style of education on the home education Nihal has. She was thought French, music; mainly Italian operas for piano like Clementi, Cimarosa, Donizetti, Mercadante and Rossini, and drawing and handwork; like needlework and paperwork. Her Turkish classes were given by her father though they were not on a regular basis and Nihal seems doing better in French than Turkish (Uşaklıgil, 1998, p. 66-75). As language learning was a part of her education after Matmazel de Courton, her governess, leaves them, she starts to write letters to her in French. Reading novels was strictly forbidden for her.¹⁶ It is not surprising to see that novels were considered dangerous for girls in Austen’s time, too. Byrne states in Austen’s age that “The idea that novels as opposed to didactic moral treatises were a means to paint ‘manners and morals’- a common pairing of terms- was relatively new and seriously controversial.” (Byrne, 2005, p. 296) Noting that Nihal’s education is based on accomplishments, she was not expected to have expertise on any science.

However, due to her own personality, Nihal was not a girl to perform to entertain others. Throughout the novel, we, as readers, learn that she constantly plays the piano for her own desire and pleasure and also for the other members of the family. As there are not any occasions for her to perform to strangers,

¹⁵ Matmazel de Courton’un, Behlül’ün o kadar alaylarına amaç olan şapkaları ne kadar süslü, tantanalı ise hayat hikayesi o derece sade, kısaydı. Zenginliğinin son kırıntılarını Paris’in Longchamps koşularında kaybettikten sonra, ancak bir kuş kafası dolduracak kadar beynini kurşunla yakan bir babanın kızıydı. O vakit evlenmek için pek geç kalan Matmazel de Courton, ya ailesinin bütün soyluluk tarihini lekeleyecek bir hayatla Paris kaldırımlarına düşmek, ya da ömrünün sonuna kadar yoksul ama soylu bir kız olarak vilayetlerinden birinde, akrabalarının yanında sığınacak yer bulmak yollarından birini seçmek zorundaydı.

¹⁶ “Not letting young girls read novels was a necessary educational rule for Mademoiselle de Courton, and it was one that she strongly maintained about Nihal” (Uşaklıgil 1998: 75). (Translation of the quote is done by the writer of this article).

it is hard to say that it is directed to have public attention. As the inheritance laws in the Ottoman Empire were not very different from Austen's time, the estate and the property of a family used to pass to a male heir in the male line of the family,¹⁷ Nihal was as vulnerable as Elizabeth financially.

Bihter, on the other side, has been a girl whose education was neglected just like Elizabeth's. In the book there is no reference of her having a governess. Her mother was so involved in her own concerns of having fun and so deprived of motherly affection that she never had the desire or patience to educate her daughters. Bihter knows a little bit of everything however she has never mastered anything in particular. She could read stories in Turkish, speak enough French to shop in Beyoğlu and a little Greek picked up from the maids of foreign origin. She could sing and play certain songs on the piano and even play "ud" which she learned on her own (Uşaklıgil, 1998, p. 32) which indicates that she is quite a performer to display her accomplishments in public. Unlike the female protagonists of both novels-Elizabeth and Nihal, Bihter did not enjoy the presence of a father who could encourage her intellectually and helped her moral maturation. She has grown up in unfavorable circumstances and due to the unexpected and premature death of her father; she was left to her own instincts and talents totally rather than having.

It should be noted that two important events mark the teenage years of the girls in the Ottoman and English societies. Although they are different in substance, socially and culturally they are very much comparable that can be called cultural performances in Bauman's terms. Both of these terms are culturally bound and they have the same timing and ceremonies (Bauman, 1992, p. 46). In Austen's age a girl who is old enough to be married is introduced to the society with an event which is called coming out. This proves that the girls are mature enough to be in public and they have the opportunity to go to public gatherings like assemblies and balls. If there is more than one girl in a family, the younger ones were not introduced to the society before the elders are married. That is why Lady Catherine finds the Bennet sisters coming out all together at once unacceptable (Austen, 1987, p. 200). In a way, coming out means the girl is ready to accept proposals of marriage. In analogy, in *Aşk-ı Memnu*, the readers are told how important wearing "çarşaf"¹⁸ for the first time is. For Nihal's first "çarşaf", they go to shopping to Beyoğlu and choose a special cloth that is different from adult women's. At the same time the hems of her skirts and dresses were lengthened. When Nihal wore this "çarşaf" for the first time, both Behlül and Adnan Bey reacted as if they were being introduced to a young woman and commented on her way of walking. Uşaklıgil calls this event an opening ceremony to maidenhood (113). This clothing revealed the fact that Nihal had become a teenage girl leaving the childhood years behind. After wearing her "çarşaf", Nihal refuses to kiss with Behlül and only offers her hand instead, while her little brother, Bülent kisses her sister on the lips instead of cheeks as a joke which means he, himself, saw her a grown-up young woman, too (Uşaklıgil, 2005, p. 153-157).

Conclusion

This study has questioned how Uşaklıgil's *Aşk-ı Memnu* is similar to Austen's *Pride and Prejudice* from the perspective of performances. As they are written within the same century, they reflect a couple of stock forms of cultural performance and performances of culture. Although many performances are considered culture specific, it is intriguing to observe that the daily habits and routines in the novels are very alike, which is a result of the westernization movement Ottoman Empire was going through in the nineteenth century. Therefore, as social and cultural life is a rich arena to illustrate the daily and cultural

¹⁷ See *İbrahim Efendi Konağı* (1964) by Samiha Ayverdi.

¹⁸ An outer garment covering a woman from head to foot and designed to hide her body from the view of men.

performances of the novelists' ages, this study has also the claim of indicating translations of cultures in the form of performances. The ones that tend to see everyday life as an arena of performances of cultures in addition to other structured cultural performances may recognize the civil and western behaviors/habits/attitudes as the translation of the same concept. Despite the fact that stagnant elements always remained, one may accept Ottoman cultural space as a hybrid one and as a good example of dissemination of cultures.

To draw a frame, the first part of the study is devoted to the discussion of westernization and civility which are two compatible concepts in the two novels to suggest that the concept of westernization in Ottoman society substitutes the concept of civilization in English society because both of these concepts dictate the same patterns of behavior. The following part convey the rest of the daily performances of culture dressing, shopping, walks and daily routines and cultural performances which are both private and public such as singing and dancing. The next part deals with the analogy of female education and performances in both novels which are composed of "accomplishments" mainly. The study indicated that the female home education given in the Ottoman Empire shows the signs of westernization intensely and thus it leads to similar performances. In summary, the study proved that social and cultural life is a constant field of various performances in both of the societies as the novels illustrate. Moreover, the western socio-cultural life had an impact over the Ottoman Empire to a certain degree although overall overlapping is impossible under any circumstances.

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