We Are Family: The Child and Modern Nationhood in Early Turkish Republican Cartoons (1923–28)

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"Little girls, little boys: You are the roses of tomorrow, the stars, the lights of the future. It is you who will restore the homeland to luminosity. Work hard with the knowledge of how important and valued you are. We are expecting a lot from you, girls and boys."
—Mustafa Kemal, speech delivered in Bursa, Turkey, 17 October 1922

Following a brutal Ottoman defeat in World War I, a nationalist movement led by Mustafa Kemal (1881–1938) emerged from the ashes of the exhausted empire, which found its territories gradually coming under Allied occupation in accordance with the stipulations outlined in the Treaty of Sèvres (10 August 1920).[1] The successful nationalist uprising known as the Turkish War of Independence lasted from 19 May 1919, when Mustafa Kemal arrived in the Anatolian town of Samsun, until 24 July 1923, when the Treaty of Lausanne was signed by the Turkish forces and the Allies of World War I. During this period of conflict and rapid change, the office of the sultanate was abolished on 1 November 1922 by the Turkish Grand National Assembly (TBMM) in Ankara.[2] This act officially ended Ottoman sovereignty.

The new Turkish state was established quite literally upon the ruins of the Ottoman Empire. Despite the state's remaining shared geographical territories, it was interested in differentiating itself from its predecessor. Changes were achieved by modernizing the state through the implementation of widespread nationalizing and secularizing social and political reforms, many of which were passed within the first decade of the Turkish Republic's establishment.[3] By declaring the new government a republic, Mustafa Kemal, the heroic leader who emerged from the Turkish War of Independence, rejected proposals and suggestions that he appoint himself sultan. Instead, he was elected president of the Turkish Republic on 29 October 1923, an office he would hold until his death in 1938. While such an institutional reform may not have had as direct an effect on the population as educational reform (3 March 1924) or hat reform (25 November 1925), on a symbolic level it meant the dawn of a new modern era—the birth of a renewed nation based on self-governance. Several months later, on 3 March 1924,

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Unless otherwise noted, all translations are my own.

1. For a brief history of the Ottomans in World War I, see Erik J. Zürcher, *Turkey: A Modern History* (London: I. B. Tauris, 1994), 110–21. For a discussion of Mustafa Kemal's role in World War I, see Andrew Mango, *Atatürk: The Biography of the Founder of Modern Turkey* (Woodstock, NY: Overlook Press, 1999), 140–82. The Treaty of Sèvres gave control of the Empire's finances to the victorious Allied forces, permitted them to occupy various parts of the Empire at will, and required the Ottomans to dissolve their military. If realized, the Ottoman state would have been reduced to a small land-locked territory in Central Anatolia. See Bernard Lewis, *The Emergence of Modern Turkey* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1966), 234–49.

2. The Turkish Grand National Assembly is more commonly known by its acronym, TBMM (Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi).

3. See Zürcher, *Turkey: A Modern History*, 172–73.

the caliphate was abolished, thus decisively severing the Republic's religious and symbolic ties to its Ottoman past.[4]

During the 1920s, the new Turkish state and its leading figures were featured prominently in cartoons of popular satirical journals. Images in support of the Republic strategically used visual motifs indicative of rebirth, newness, youth, and agility, which echoed the national discourse on change and progress that formed a vital part of the active effort to disconnect the new state from its Ottoman heritage.[5] Additionally, early Republican cartoons constitute the visual foundations of the modern "imagined community" that was in the process of being envisioned and built for the new nation.[6] The satirical journals in which these cartoons appeared thus served as vehicles through which images defining and promoting the Turkish Republic were disseminated into the public sphere.

This study seeks to examine political cartoons published during the first five years of the Republic (1923–28) to highlight one important step in the nation-building process, that of creating national devotion. The countless pro-Kemalist cartoons of this period strive to achieve this goal by visually equating abstract concepts such as nationhood and republic with children through a calculated use of text, image, and satirical wit. The child's liminal status as a link between past ancestral achievements and future transformation was exploited to present nationalist belief in the continuity and persistence of the solidary nation.[7] Likewise, the cartoons of this period also promote ideas of belonging to a national family,[8] a phenomenon also detectable in other emergent Muslim majority states.[9] Through the persistent metaphor of family, the cartoons convey a variety of messages that are essential to the development of a unified national identity. These messages include framing the Turkish nation as the sacred extended family of the reader and urging this reader to selflessly devote himself to the preservation and fortification of the Republic.

These copiously reproduced satirical journals only increased the resonance of the cartoons with their audience because of their popular appeal and repeated use of recognizable visual tropes. Within these cartoons, both the imagery and the language of the accompanying texts are simple and uncluttered. Like most printed materials of this period, the typography used in the cartoons is a simple *naskh*—a script valued primarily for its visual clarity.[10] The language used for labels and captions is a Turkish vernacular that is straightforward and avoids unnecessary verbal embellishment, thus rendering these cartoons accessible to a wide audience of literate Turkish speakers. According to both Benedict Anderson and Miroslav Hroch, print media contributed much to the building of national consciousness in European communities, whether real or imagined.[11] The emergence of daily newspapers and their widespread circulation allowed political ideologies to be dissemi-

4. For more information on all early Republican period reforms, see Suna Kili, *Türk Devrim Tarihi* (*History of Turkish Reforms*) (Istanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2001); and Zürcher, *Turkey: A Modern History*, 186–90. Other noteworthy modernizing reforms that took place between 1924 and 1928 include the closing of the *tekkes* and *zaviyes* or dervish lodges (30 November 1925), the adoption of the Gregorian calendar (enforced after 1 January 1926), and the acceptance of the *Türk medeni kanunu* (the Turkish civil code, on 17 February 1926).

5. Kemal H. Karpat, "Historical Continuity and Identity Change or How to Be Modern Muslim, Ottoman, and Turk," in *Ottoman Past and Today's Turkey*, ed. Kemal Karpat (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 2, 27.

6. The term *imagined communities* was coined and explored by Benedict Anderson in his seminal work *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (1983; repr., London: Verso, 2006).

7. This observation also holds true with regard to literature. As Alev Sınar shows in her study of child figures in Turkish literature, during the Revolutionary and early Republican years children were depicted as liminal persons who connected the past with the future. Novels and short stories of this period also frequently included children who were either affected by the war (during and in its aftermath, as fatherless or orphaned children) or else participated in it heroically. See Alev Sınar, *Hikaye ve Romanımızda Çocuk (1872–1950)* (*The Child in Our Stories and Novels, 1872–1950*) (Istanbul: ALFA Basım Yayım Dağıtım, 1997), 208.

8. See Kathryn Robinson, "Families: Metaphors of Nation (Overview)," in *Encyclopedia of Women and Islamic Cultures*, vol. 2, *Family, Law, and Politics*, ed. Suad Joseph (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 155–56.

9. For a study of the family trope used in early-twentieth-century Egyptian revolutionary cartoons, see Lisa Pollard, "The Family Politics of Colonizing and Liberating Egypt, 1882–1919," *Social Politics* 7 (2000): 47–79.

10. *Naskh* is commonly referred to in Turkish sources as *nesih*.

11. See Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 37–46; and Miroslav Hroch, "The Social Interpretation of Linguistic Demands in European National Movements," in *Regional and National Identities in Europe in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*, ed. Heinz-Gerhard Haupt, Michael G. Müller, and Stuart Joseph Woolf (The Hague: Kluwer Law International, 1998), 71–72.

nated with ease.[12] Moreover, their use of colloquial language, as is the case for the Turkish cartoons, aided in creating a readership joined by a common, legible idiom.[13]

Through these cartoons, simple images and labels serve to establish familial relationships between various participatory entities in the new Republic. The most prominent image is that of the child, which alternatively can represent the young Republic, the innocent nation, or future generations of the Turkish people. These cartoons bear the dual purpose of solidifying ideas of national community and brotherhood while also defining and unifying the imagined nation around a common order. As such, they aid in creating a social and political entity that is considered sacred, much like family or origins. This new national entity thus requires respect and protection to ensure its ontological wholeness and continued existence.

Led by the Father: A Victorious Nation Envisioned

The cartoons published in the satirical journals of the first decade of the Turkish Republic provide a vital source of information. Few other mass-produced visual materials remain from this period beyond stamps, currency, and grainy photographs published in newspapers and journals.[14] The biweekly satirical journals *Karagöz* and *Akbaba* are the most important and consistent in terms of their production, which was maintained throughout the period in question.[15] These journals consisted of a single full broadsheet folio folded vertically, and usually included at least two large cartoons in each issue. The cartoons commented on a number of topics from gender relations to daily concerns to political issues. Because of censorship laws enacted in 1925,[16] most of the publications from this period are sympathetic, if not openly supportive, of the new regime. As a result, their political cartoons are reflective of official rhetoric during the 1920s.

All of the cartoons include visual and textual components that require "reading" and interpretation on behalf of the audience. In his seminal article, "Rhetoric of the Image," Roland Barthes outlines the various ways in which an image can be infused with meaning through the use of textual elements and culturally encoded signs and symbols.[17] Barthes's article focuses primarily on advertisements.[18] However, similar visual and textual cues are found in early Republican satirical cartoons as well. Visually identifiable persons and characters are frequently arranged in close proximity to one another, so as to emphasize emotional closeness, whereas textual elements take the form of labels, captions, and dialogues located within and below the cartoon frame. These visuo-textual elements are used for didactic purposes and

12. Although the first official newspaper of the Ottoman Empire was published in 1832, it was not until the 1860s that Turkish newspapers gained a national readership. See Fatma Müge Göçek, "Political Cartoons as a Site of Representation and Resistance in the Middle East," in *Political Cartoons in the Middle East*, ed. Fatma Müge Göçek (Princeton, NJ: Markus Wiener Publishers, 1998), 6; Kemal Karpat, "A Language in Search of a Nation: Turkish in the Nation-State," in *Studies on Turkish Politics and Society: Selected Articles and Essays* (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 453–55; and Erol Köroğlu, *Propaganda and Turkish Identity: Literature in Turkey during World War I* (London: Tauris Academic Studies, 2007), 25.

13. For a discussion of daily newspaper consumption, see Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 35–37.

14. To my knowledge there exists no substantial collection of political posters from the pre–alphabet reform period. Occasionally commercial advertisements in the forms of posters can be found, particularly those designed by İhap Hulusi Görey. Such commercial posters have been on display at the İş Bankası Müzesi (Eminönü, Istanbul) and the Marmara Cumhuriyet Müzesi (Sultanahmet, Istanbul). Postcards with political themes dating from the early Republican period are also quite rare. A small collection of postcards is preserved in the Atatürk Belgeliği of the Milli Kütüphane (Ankara) and a number of revolutionary (pre-Republican) postcards are found in the Prints and Photographs Division of the Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

15. *Karagöz* was published twice a week (Mondays and Thursdays) in Istanbul from 10 August 1908 to 26 January 1935. This publication consisted of a single broadsheet-style folio, folded in half to create a four-page format. Between two and five cartoons were included per issue. Although often elaborate and detailed, the cartoons in *Karagöz* were generally not as aesthetically pleasing or artistically executed as those included in *Akbaba*. *Akbaba* was published twice weekly (on Mondays and Thursdays) in Istanbul from 7 December 1922 to 28 December 1977. It consisted of a single broadsheet-style folio, folded in half to create a four-page format. A single issue of *Akbaba* featured between seven and twelve cartoons or illustrations. Usually, the back page contained two to three republished cartoons from a European or American publication.

16. For more details on these laws, see Zürcher, *Turkey: A Modern History*, 178–79; and Ferit Öngören, *Cumhuriyet Dönemi Türk Mizahı ve Hicvi, 1923–1983* (*Turkish Humor and Satire in the Republican Period, 1923–1983*) (Ankara: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 1983), 89. The law was called the *Takrir-i Sükun Kanunu* (Law on the Maintenance of Order). It remained in effect until 1929.

17. See Roland Barthes, "Rhetoric of the Image," in *Image, Music, Text* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1978), 32–51.

18. Since Barthes's study, other scholars have explored the manipulation of images beyond the realm of advertisements. For instance, see Susan Sontag, *On Photography* (1977; repr., New York: Picador, 2001).

Figure 1: "The Republic is Walking!" *Karagöz* 1650 (9 January 1924): 1. Courtesy of Atatürk Kitaplığı, Istanbul.

carry ideological overtones, essentially propagating a particular point of view. In essence, the illustrations act as advertisements for specific beliefs and behaviors deemed appropriate for unifying the new Turkish citizenry around a national ideal.

One cartoon that uses various forms of textual and visual symbols was published in *Karagöz* on 9 January 1924 (fig. 1). The cartoon depicts the relationship between citizens and the state as an extended familial unit through the clever use of icons, labels, and captions. The cartoon, titled "The Republic is Walking!," shows the character of Karagöz (in the left corner) as proclaiming enthusiastically: "Walk my little, tiny child. Look, your big sisters are calling you. Run to them, my little one. As long as you are in their nurturing arms, you will grow up safe and healthy, and become a great, big man!" The new Republic is without a doubt the little child ambling in the right corner. The wobbly yet walking child—supported by Mustafa Kemal, the founder of the Republic and leader of the War of Independence—will be nurtured by his "big sisters," who extend a warm embrace. These sisters wear crowns inscribed with the words *Adalet* (Justice), *Refah* (Prosperity), and *Tecdid* (Rejuvenation). The female figures act as nurturing, knowledgeable, and experienced elders to the small child. Their towering size, crowns, and sister status render them authoritative figures for the child. The embodied Republic must follow a clear path toward development in which justice, prosperity, and rejuvenation herald and aid in the maturation of a secure, healthy, and great nation.

The Republic's growth is likened to a child's developmental phases in this cartoon. The act of walking is used as a literal illustration of human development, perhaps because it is the most visible and significant event separating a mobile child from a dependent baby. Indeed, bipedalism is a form of locomotion unique to human beings characterized by erect posture and a head held high. This form of transportation is considered more efficient, developed, and dignified than crawling. Like a family, the figures arranged around the child Republic are helping him stand on his two feet and to stride with ever-increasing speed toward adulthood.

The familial association that emerges from the scene depicts a connection that the reader is expected to share. The cartoonist relies on this connection as a basis from which to build the complex message of national unity and Republican promise. Perhaps most significantly, a beaming Mustafa Kemal towers over the small child. The national leader takes on the role of supportive father—a role that is stressed by his enthusiastic applause and close physical prox-

imity to the child.[19] Furthermore, this paternal leader would be given the last name Atatürk, or "Father Turk," by the TBMM on 24 November 1934 as a result of the *Soyadı Kanunu* (Surname Law) that was passed several months earlier on 21 June 1934, requiring every citizen to adopt a surname.[20] An additional law was passed the same year banning other individuals from adopting the last name "Atatürk."[21] As a result, Mustafa Kemal remains the sole "father" of the Turkish Republic to the present day.

In this cartoon, Mustafa Kemal embodies victory, wisdom, and leadership, in large part thanks to the successful War of Independence. He also is presented as the founding father of the nation-as-child. In turn, the reader is expected to relate to the child because of his or her own budding citizenship within the new Turkish state. The message of the cartoon is cautiously optimistic: will the child be able to walk, not fall, and reach the three "sisters?" In essence, the cartoon answers its own questions about the future through a simple covenant inspired by familial support. The covenant can best be seen in the center of the composition, where the struggling child's hands reach out toward the outstretched arms of the three sisters. When the child Republic takes the initial leap forward, he will be rewarded by the caring embrace of the three sisters, who will raise him to adulthood and keep him safe and healthy. The fatherly Mustafa Kemal is included as a reminder of the child's past (his lineage) and future promise of greatness as the progeny of this victorious leader.

Descriptions of Mustafa Kemal as the Turkish Republic's founding father antedate his official naming as "Atatürk" by several years. A cartoon published on 1 July 1927 in the newspaper *Cumhuriyet* (*Republic*) presents a family left behind by a martyred father and frames Mustafa Kemal's new relation to this fatherless family (fig. 2).[22] Depicted are a mother and two flag-waving children at a public gathering welcoming the great leader to Istanbul. This was a particularly significant event given the fact that Mustafa Kemal had been residing in Ankara, the new capital, since the war. This visit was his first to the former Ottoman capital in three years.[23] A title above the cartoon reads: "Our Father Is Coming!" Below the cartoon, a hypothetical dialogue between the mother and her older son is fabricated:

> "Mother, is it a holiday?"
> "Yes, my child. Our father is coming."
> "You mean my martyred father?"
> "No my son, he is the father of all of us; he is even the father of your martyred father. The father of the nation is coming!"
> "Long live our father!"

The cartoon verbally articulates the notion that the nation is a family that revolves around the father of all fathers, Mustafa Kemal, who is described in the cartoon's dialogue as the father of the fallen soldier, the father of the widowed mother, the father of the orphaned children, and the father of the nation. He is, in essence, the progenitor from whom the next generation emerges. The martyred father who is being replaced by Mustafa Kemal died under his leadership for a cause common to both men. The cartoon implies that because Mustafa Kemal and the martyred soldier both fought against a common enemy and for the independence of a common people, their combined sacrifices have merged their paths and families. This idea not only applies to the single anonymous family in the illustration, but it also is extended to all families who lost their own in the War of Independence. Furthermore, the

19. For a discussion of Atatürk as "progenitor," see Esra Özyürek, "Miniaturizing Ataturk: Privatization of State Imagery and Ideology in Turkey," *American Ethnologist: The Journal of American Ethnological Society* 31 (2004): 382–83; and Mango, *Atatürk: The Biography*, 498.

20. Although Parliament was the institution that formally gave Mustafa Kemal the surname "Atatürk," it was Mustafa Kemal who actually conceived of the name initially and submitted it to Parliament for subsequent bestowment. See Mango, *Atatürk: The Biography*, 498.

21. See ibid. So strict was the rule of not allowing anyone else to bear this last name that even his own sister, Makbule, had to choose a different surname. She settled for "Atadan," which means "of the Father." For a brief summary of forms of identification (through names, epithets, and titles) before the *Soyadı Kanunu*, see ibid., 27.

22. *Cumhuriyet* is a daily newspaper that is still published today. It began publication in Istanbul on 9 May 1924 as a six-page newspaper. Around the end of 1925 it occasionally increased to eight pages during the weekends. In the summer of 1928 the newspaper semipermanently became eight pages long until the alphabet reform at the end of 1928, at which time the number of pages dropped down to six. As a newspaper, it is heavy on photographic content but contains fewer cartoons than the satirical journals.

23. Other articles in this issue of *Cumhuriyet* discuss that Mustafa Kemal had not been to Istanbul since 1924.

Figure 2: "Our Father is Coming!" *Cumhuriyet* 1128 (1 July 1927): 6. Courtesy of Atatürk Kitaplığı, Istanbul.

struggles and sacrifices of both men benefitted not only their immediate families but also other families within the Turkish nation who fought for a common cause. Mustafa Kemal is thus symbolically positioned as the fatherly leader of all such Turkish families involved emotionally or physically in the war. The cartoon suggests that, as president, he is continuing to act as a responsible and fatherly mentor to the nation as it embarks on its path toward maturity.

The dialogue that unfolds between mother and child, moreover, reminds the reader of the shared goals between the martyred father and Mustafa Kemal. The cartoon alludes to the idea that Mustafa Kemal, as the legislative leader of the Republic, has the best interest of the nation in mind. Just as the "father of the nation" planned and carried out the struggle toward independence victoriously, he can be trusted to lead the nation in its struggle to prosper and develop.

Much like the example of figure 1, the cartoon in figure 2 promotes the contractual bond between founding leader and nation-state, which is explained through the metaphor of family. The parent acts as the generative force behind the child, while the child must identify his parent, to whom he owes his own existence. In return for the father's guidance and wisdom, which are necessary for the child's development and well-being, the child must respect and pay homage to him. Indeed, the cartoon depicts a form of paying tribute to the founding father since it is a public gathering to welcome him to the city. The "father of the nation" thus returns to his children-citizens.

Figure 3: "Ottoman Empire vs. Turkish Republic," *Akbaba* 199 (30 October 1924): 1. Courtesy of Atatürk Kitaplığı, Istanbul.

Bound to a Mother: Rearing the Child Republic

In addition to the father, another guiding force and source of wisdom to an inexperienced child is the mother. In figure 2 the mother teaches the child his familial relationship to Mustafa Kemal. She also corrects the child, who initially makes the mistake of thinking that his martyred father is his only father. Within nationalist ideologies, the mother is typically seen as the domestic nurturer of a child and the individual responsible for raising a good citizen properly initiated into the established social order.[24] The Turkish nationalist movement in particular heralded mothers as bearers and transmitters of national identity and culture.[25] Mothers in Turkish Republican cartoons are often depicted as actively performing this role, introducing the next generation into an imagined national narrative surrounding the unity of the Turkish people under their common father, "Atatürk."

Perhaps more immediate than cultural socialization is the biological nourishment a mother provides her child. A cartoon that appeared in *Akbaba* on 30 October 1924 draws on the uniquely biological role the mother plays in the child's life (fig. 3). This cartoon, published in honor of the one-year anniversary of the declaration of the Republic, relates the anniversary to the birth of a child in order to emphasize the nation's responsibility to the new regime. As a personification of the state, the woman nurtures the regime's growth and the proper development of its youngest citizenry.

The cartoon is composed of two vignettes. The frame on the right depicts two adult men suckling the breasts of an emaciated woman sitting on a wooden stool. It bears a caption that reads: "The 700-year-long history of the Ottomans." In the cartoon proper, the woman is labeled *Ana Vatan* ("Motherland"), whereas the two seated men are identified as *Saltanat* ("Sultanate") and *Hilafet* ("Caliphate"). A cat named *Millet* ("Nation") is left to dangle on a short leash held by the Sultanate. The aged Motherland is depicted as howling in pain as the now abolished offices of the Sultanate and Caliphate are sucking the life out of her overextended breasts. The claw of the Caliphate grabs the weak and defenseless host's arm to better anchor himself onto her body, like a leech. While the ghostly body of the Motherland is bare, the

24. See Elizabeth Warnock Fernea, "Childhood: Premodern and Modern (Overview)," in *Encyclopedia of Women and Islamic Culture*, vol. 3, *Family, Body, Sexuality, and Health*, ed. Suad Joseph (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 79.

25. See Katherine Fleming, "Women as Preservers of the Past: Ziya Gökalp and Women's Reform," in *Deconstructing Images of "The Turkish Women,"* ed. Zehra F. Arat (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1998), 128–31.

Caliphate and Sultanate are fully clothed and covered in a dazzling array of insignia. Thus, within this single frame, a clear contrast is conveyed between good and evil, poor and wealthy, giving and greedy.

The vignette on the left, on the other hand, depicts a bountiful present and envisions a brighter future and a healthier relationship between the motherland and her offspring. The child seated on the youthful mother's lap is labeled *Cumhuriyet* ("Republic") while the mother herself is labeled *Millet* ("Nation"). The caption below the cartoon reads: "The one-year history of the Republic." Once again, this cartoon aligns the child with the Republic through the visuo-textual establishment of a mother-and-child relationship. The sun rising behind the child's head indicates rebirth and hope as well as a bright and promising future. The mother nation cradles the child Republic as she feeds it from her fertile breasts. This weaning is shown as a natural process that starkly contrasts with the cannibalistic, parasitic relationship between the figures on the right. Thus, the child Republic gathers strength and nourishment from its parent, the mother nation. Like mother and child, the proper relationship between nation and state is reciprocal. Under the illustrated circumstances, the child Republic is expected to grow to be strong and healthy, ultimately benefitting the mother nation and compensating her for her sacrifices.

The cartoon employs a number of devices to communicate its multiple messages. First, it makes use of textual elements, such as labels and captions, to complement and expand the imagery as well as to bracket its range of interpretative readings. Second, it utilizes a number of icons, such as the caliph's crown and the imperial regalia, to remind the reader of the royal opulence that lead to the degeneration and ultimate demise of the Ottoman Empire. Even the chairs upon which the female figures sit are in stark contrast: the rickety, backless stool used by the old regime seems unsteady and outmoded compared to the modern, Western-style chair of the new nation.

The image of a mother breast-feeding a child signifies love, compassion, and nourishment in a variety of cultures. It was adopted by French revolutionaries as a symbol of equality and Republican bounty and opportunity.[26] Maternal breast-feeding was also used to illustrate the French revolutionary concept of *Charité* between the government and people in need of various government services.[27] In France, this figure (also known as Marianne) continues to serve as an unofficial emblem of French liberty and reason.[28]

The Turkish Republican use of French imagery that emerged well over a century prior to the 1920s is not without precedent. Palmira Brummett's study on early-twentieth-century Ottoman cartoons has demonstrated the influence French revolutionary imagery and rhetoric had on cartoons produced during the second Ottoman Constitutional period (1908–11).[29] Brummett observes that the upper classes of Ottoman society were becoming increasingly immersed in French language and culture at the turn of the century,[30] and that the French Revolution in particular, although somewhat distant, "took on mythic proportions and was idealized in the Ottoman press."[31] Turkish Republican satirists most likely drew from this late Ottoman tradition of embracing French revolutionary icons and ideals by applying them to their own works. In the case of figure 3, however, the French revolutionary iconography of Marianne that relates the child figure to the nation and the mother to the Republic is reversed. Unlike the French Revolution, the Turkish National movement saw

26. See Mary Jacobus, "Incorruptible Milk: Breast-Feeding and the French Revolution," in *First Things: The Maternal Imaginary in Literature, Art, and Psychoanalysis* (New York: Routledge, 1996), 215; and Marina Warner, "The Slipped Chiton," in *Monuments and Maidens: The Allegory of the Female Form* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), 267–93.

27. See Jacobus, "Incorruptible Milk," 222.

28. The painting *The Republic* (1848) by Honoré Daumier (1808–79) is a postrevolutionary example of the Marianne figure that is treated in a similar fashion to figure 3. Marianne is depicted seated and suckling two children. It thus uses the image of child and mother to communicate the relationship between a mature state and its young citizenry. Late Ottoman and early Republican Turkish cartoonists were familiar with the works of European cartoonists, especially the works of Daumier. One obvious instance of this awareness can be seen in an Ottoman version of Daumier's "Le Poires" ("The Pears," 1931) in which a pumpkin transforms into an Ottoman representative's head in four frames. For this image, see the satirical journal *Gıdık*, no. 15 (1912): 117.

29. See Palmira Brummett, "Revolutionary Exemplars: France and Iran," in *Image and Imperialism in the Ottoman Revolutionary Press, 1908–1911* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2000), 73–111.

30. See ibid., 78.

31. Ibid., 73.

the nation as the driving force behind the idealized Republican regime. In brief, the regime was begotten and nourished by the hard work and sacrifice of the national community.

However, like the French Revolution, the Turkish War of Independence concluded in the elimination of the Ottoman dynastic regime and the official religious establishment. This major change is condensed into a simple two-frame format contrasting the previous state of the nation with the present through the mother-and-child trope.[32] The maternal metaphor is ideal for the purpose of not only relating the symbiotic relationship between state and citizenry but also communicating multiple time periods through the generational sequence as represented by both mother and child. The act of breast-feeding links the two figures visually as well as conceptually, causing them to be interpreted as an unbroken chain between present (mother) and future (child). Thus, the child becomes a primary indicator of the thriving future as nurtured by the healthy present.

The cartoonist establishes a clear contrast between two similar arrangements of breast-feeding mothers, effectively from the "armoury" at his disposal.[33] According to Ernst Gombrich, cartoonists use a number of visuo-textual techniques to create a satiric effect in their subjects; such techniques include figures of speech, condensation and comparison, portrait caricature, political bestiary, nature metaphors, and contrasts. Most prominently featured in this cartoon are the visual tactics of condensation, comparison, contrast, and nature metaphor.[34] In this case, the binary arrangement of the two images acts as a highly effective method of establishing ideological counterpoints via graphic illustration. Here, the two vignettes juxtapose natural and unnatural relationships, happiness and misery, past and future, growth and suffering. They leave no question as to which political entity is more natural and more desirable.

The Child Nation: From Protected to Protector

In the postrevolutionary environment of 1920s Turkey, the sultan was replaced with an elected president. Moreover, religious affairs, once headed by the now abolished caliphate, were pushed out of the public realm in an attempt to implement secular nationalism. The resultant void in public religious life was replaced with other efforts to create social unity in defining the nation. In the absence of an overtly "Islamic" public sphere in which religion might serve to unify the populace into a common bond, national consensus was envisioned and strengthened through discourses that promoted brotherhood between citizens, which resulted in conceptualizing the nation as a sacred family unit. Imaging this new national family through the mass media was one significant means of making this imagined community more tangible.[35]

The metaphorical equating of nation and family is once more realized through another cartoon emphasizing the posterity of the nation through the strength of its military forces. The cartoon in question was published on 28 October 1926, the eve of Republic Day, in *Akbaba* (fig. 4).[36] Here, two children are depicted accompanying their mother to a parade of armed soldiers. The smartly dressed boy asks: "Mother, when I grow up, I am going to be a soldier too, right?" The mother replies: "Yes, my child. God willing." The daughter chimes in: "What about me, mother? Won't I be a soldier too?" The young mother responds enthusiastically: "Well, you will become a soldier's mother, my girl!"

The citizen's voluntary self-sacrifice for the nation is promoted through the dialogue between the mother and her two children. The marching soldiers and military procession provide the backdrop and context for this narrative. The cartoon occupies the dual realms of present and future as it represents both adult

32. Essays using this "before and after" narrative were abundant in the late Ottoman press. See Brummett, "Revolutionary Exemplars," 84. Similar narratives exist in the cartoons of the Republican period as well, of which figure 3 is a prime example.

33. See Ernst Gombrich, "The Cartoonist's Armoury," in *Meditations on a Hobby Horse, and Other Essays on the Theory of Art* (London: Phaidon Press, 1994), 127–42. For a more extensive treatment of forms of satirical communication, see David Worcester, *The Art of Satire* (New York: Russell and Russell, 1960).

34. See Gombrich, "The Cartoonist's Armoury," 130–32, 141–42.

35. See Oliver Zimmer, *Nationalism in Europe (1890–1940)* (Gordonsville, VA: Macmillan, 2003), 41–43.

36. *Cumhuriyet Bayramı* (Republic Day) on 29 October has been celebrated as a national holiday since 1925.

Figure 4: "When I Grow Up," *Akbaba* 407 (28 October 1926): 4. Courtesy of Atatürk Kitaplığı, Istanbul.

members of the nation and children who are already eagerly planning to participate in military endeavors when they become adults. Indeed, this cartoon depicts the youngest citizens of the nation as the primary force securing the state's safety and longevity. The children will keep the nation alive by protecting it: either by shedding their own blood in war, or else by submitting their offspring to the cause. Instead of the nation's milk feeding the Republic, the flesh and blood of the nation's children gives it its life force. While both children are presented as full of potential in their youth and enthusiasm, they are also the future defenders of the state. Once they reach adulthood, they will take the place of their own protectors: the mother and the soldiers. Like an extended family, the nation is imagined as a series of successive generations of

interrelated people who are raised in the state and who, through their covenantal bond, fight to defend it.

Not only does this cartoon emphasize citizen participation in national defense and preservation, it also depicts multiple participants in a national holiday celebrating the three-year anniversary of the establishment of the Turkish Republic. The ceremony, represented by the marching soldiers, binds these participants to one another and to the nation it claims to represent. According to John Breuilly, nationalism is by and large a self-referential system of belief in its celebration of the nation "rather than some transcendent reality."[37] Breuilly asserts that public ceremonies are an opportunity for a national community to physically unite and become manifest through the visual impact of their presence and through the various images put on display during these ceremonies.[38]

The self-referential nature of nationalist identity is further strengthened when the family unit is used as a vehicle for communicating the unity of the nation and its collective qualities and ideals. One of the nation's interests revolves around indigenous self-perpetuation, which is also the goal of human procreation on a familial level. By protecting and nurturing his or her offspring, a parent ensures not only the survival of his or her physical genes but also his or her culture as it is passed down through generations. When the family is extended to contain a wider group of individuals, the survival of their common culture can be guaranteed through the efforts and sacrifice of successive generations.

A further example of the familial metaphor appears in a cartoon commenting on the alphabet reform of 1928, at which time the Arabic script was replaced by the Latin alphabet. The cartoon, also published in *Akbaba*, features a fatherly figure with a young girl seated on his lap (fig. 5). The adult male is Mustafa Kemal and the child represents the new nation. Here, Mustafa Kemal takes on an instructive and protective role. His arms enfold the young child, shielding her from outside threats while also creating a comfortable environment for learning. The text above the cartoon introduces its subject matter with the following words: "The Republic who has just turned five is learning to read from the Great *Ghazi* [Warrior]." And below the image, the caption continues: "We are saved from the hands and language of the turbaned ones."

This cartoon commemorates two major events in the recent history of the Turkish nation. First, it lauds the recently accepted alphabet reform law, passed on 14 October 1928. The law replaced the Arabic script that had been used by Muslim Turks for centuries with the Latin alphabet used in European countries.[39] The most frequently cited reason for this change was that the Arabic script was difficult to learn and thus contributed to illiteracy. On a practical level, this reform was aimed to swiftly sever ties with the nation's Ottoman past. Beginning in 1929 all official correspondence was to be written in the new script and a new generation of schoolchildren was to be raised with the Latin script. Second, as a result of this reform, the public spaces of the new state, now devoid of Arabic script, were to appear less "Muslim" and thus more like the modern European nation-states. This cultural posturing toward Europe through the adoption of the Latin alphabet may seem antithetical to the nationalist creed of appreciating one's own heritage. However, it was not perceived as such by supporters of the reform. The new alphabet was cunningly named the "New Turkish Letters," thereby semiotically localizing the Latin alphabet for a Turkish consumership. As a "new" alphabet, it also was deemed a step toward modernization and hence compatible with the concurrent national program for progress.

Published on the five-year anniversary of the founding of the Republic, the cartoon can also be read as a celebration of the rebirth of

37. John Breuilly, *Nationalism and the State* (Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 1993), 64. Also see Ernest Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2008), 55; and Marcela Cristi, *From Civil to Political Religion: The Intersection of Culture, Religion and Politics* (Ontario: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2001), chap. 6.

38. See Breuilly, *Nationalism and the State*, 64.

39. See İlker Aytürk, "The First Episode of Language Reform in Republican Turkey: The Language Council from 1926 to 1931," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Third Series* 18 (2008): 275–93; and Nergis Ertürk, "Phonocentrism and Literary Modernity in Turkey," *boundary 2* 37 (2010): 155–85.

No. 614—Altmcı sene ◀ PAZARTESİ ▶ 29 Teşrinievvel 1928

AKBABA

5 KURUŞ

Pazartesi, Perşenbe günleri çıkar
Mizah gazetesi
SAHİBİ: YUSUF ZİYA

İdarehane İstanbul Ankara caddesi
akbaba gazetesi
TELFON: İSTANBUL 1876

بش یاشنه کیرمن « جمهوریت » بیوك غازیدن فیض آلوب اوقویور :

اصل بایرام

Figure 5: "We Are Saved," *Akbaba* 614 (28 October 1928): 1. Courtesy of the Milli Kutuphane, Ankara.

the Turkish nation, which is no longer under the cultural, spiritual, and linguistic influence of Arab and Islamic culture. Alphabet reform was a major cultural reform aimed at disconnecting the new Republic from its Ottoman-Muslim past, which during the early Republican period was systematically described as a "dark age" in Turkish history. The period of Ottoman rule was viewed as a barrier to the nation's path to modernity and greatness. The cartoon's caption—if not its image—clearly takes aim at Islam and the Ottoman regime while exalting the new young nation and the reforms it has enacted.

Furthermore, the use of the word *sarıklılar* (the turbaned ones) is obtuse in that it does not refer to an official faction, ethnicity, or ideology. Rather, a *sarık* refers to the wraps religious figures wear on their heads. The victorious Republican Party thereby displays its authority by the simple act of superimposing this derogatory term upon its enemies, effectively denying them the right to define themselves. Furthermore, by isolating religious figures as the enemy from which "we" (including the reader-viewer) have been saved, the cartoon highlights other reforms that have aided in the creation of a more secular and thus modern Turkish society. Since the caption refers to undesirable people by their headgear, the intention must be to remind the reader of the hat reform of 1925, at which time religious hats and fezzes were outlawed from

being worn in public. Last but not least, another secularizing action taken in 1928—i.e., the year during which the cartoon appeared—was the removal of a clause from the constitution stipulating Turkey's official religion as Islam.[40] The removal of Islam from the Turkish public sphere was thus effectuated through legislative acts as well as promoted via the visual arts.

A column titled "The Real Holiday" written by the editor of *Akbaba*, Yusuf Ziya, published alongside the cartoon focuses on the present national holiday and leaves little speculation regarding the many messages the cartoon seeks to impart. The short essay mercilessly mocks the two main holidays celebrated during Ottoman rule, namely, *Eid ul-Fitr* and *Eid ul-Adha*,[41] while praising the legitimacy and greatness of Republic Day. Ziya criticizes these religious holidays for being irrelevant and for not speaking specifically to the Turkish people, who should view holidays as "a day of collective national celebration."[42] The column adds context to the cartoon, which celebrates alphabet reform, by reminding the nation that this reform is part of a larger transformational process that seeks to break away from its "slavery to the sultan" by gaining the right to self-rule.[43]

While the cartoon provides a pedagogical visualization of the alphabet reform, it also establishes a familial bond between the "Father of the Turks," Mustafa Kemal, and the child Republic who receives instruction from him. The text above the cartoon reminds the reader of how the "five-year-old Republic" is actively learning from Mustafa Kemal. The adjacent editorial note proclaims that "we are living in the age of Mustafa Kemal" and "as long as he is before us there will be many more happy days ahead of us with many more holidays in the twelve months between every [Republican] holiday." Mustafa Kemal's leadership role is thus accentuated in the text surrounding the cartoon.

Like the Republic, the child in the cartoon appears to be around five years old. Many children begin primary school and learn to read at this age, a developmental stage that further enhances the child-as-Republic metaphor. The Republic and its people are thus all eager beginners on their path to grow in their statehood. The cartoon shows Mustafa Kemal as a leader with a successful past as well as the guarantor of the child's prosperous future. Parents provide for, educate, and protect their children. Like a nurturing father, Mustafa Kemal is depicted with his arms enclosing the child; he educates the girl by providing her young mind the knowledge necessary for national advancement.

The caption's use of the collective pronoun "we" also suggests that the pair are connected to each other, as well as connected to the reader. The closeness of the two figures indicates a familial tie while the textual reference to being saved from "the turbaned ones" suggests a shared history. Since Mustafa Kemal did not have any biological children of his own, the reader is perhaps expected to equate the child to the nation and the young Republic, and Mustafa Kemal to its founder, protector, and custodian. Thus, father and child create a unified polity—a familial nation—defending one another and overcoming their common adversary.

Defense is one method of preserving the nation. However, the nation's existence also relies on its unique cultural status and political autonomy. The image of the child adequately communicates this need for defining the self. Judith Butler argues that the child is most in need of definition because it arrives into an established pre-existing world of opaque beings.[44] The innately egotistical child, according to Butler, is faced with the task of defining itself in contradistinction to the many others who surround it.[45] She emphasizes that describing the

40. See Hugh Poulton, *Top Hat, Grey Wolf, and Crescent: Turkish Nationalism and the Turkish Republic* (New York: New York University Press, 1997), 92. On 10 April 1928 the phrase "Türkiye Devleti'nin dini İslamdır" ("The Turkish State's Religion Is Islam") was removed from the second article of the constitution.

41. These two religious holidays are more commonly known in Turkey as *Şeker Bayramı* (Feast of Sweets) and *Kurban Bayramı* (Festival of Sacrifice), respectively. These are the names used in the original text as well.

42. *Bayram bütün bir milletinin müşterek sevinç günüdür:* A holiday should be a nation's collective day of celebration (Yusuf Ziya, "Asıl Bayram," *Akbaba* 614 [1928]: 1).

43. *Bugün Cumhuriyet Bayramı, yani, en büyük, en müstesna günümüz: vatanın düşman, milletin sultan esaretinden kurtulduğu gün:* Today is Republic Day, therefore, it is our greatest and most extraordinary day: it is the day that the motherland was saved from her enemies, and the day the nation was saved from its slavery to the sultan (see ibid.).

44. See Judith Butler, *Giving an Account of Oneself* (Bronx, NY: Fordham University Press, 2005), 73–74.

45. See ibid., 77.

self is always a narrative and performative action that ultimately relies on the other.[46] In "We Are Saved" (fig. 5), the alphabet reform is shown as highly self-assertive, while the child is positioned against the other, "turbaned ones" as she is brought up into the new sociopolitical order.

The Child and Civil Religion

On the heels of defeat in World War I and the subsequent victorious uprising that took root in Anatolia, Turkish nationalism became the ideological foundation of the new state.[47] Leaders and supporters of the Turkish War of Independence identified their Arab neighbors, the European Allied forces, the passive Ottoman regime, and internal religious zealots as enemies of national struggle and independence.[48] As a result national unity relied on the convenient and easily differentiating juxtaposition of "us" versus "them."

Several of the cartoons discussed thus far use the first-person plural "we" in their captions. This collective pronoun is meant to extend to the reader, inviting him to project himself into the image and thus into the imagined national community. When produced en masse, cartoons such as "We Are Saved" address a wide community of readers who may sympathize with, and rejoice in, having been freed "from the hands and language of the turbaned ones."

Likewise, the cartoon in figure 2 that declares "Our Father is Coming!" makes use of a possessive pronoun that is similarly inclusive. It also depicts a mother, who states that Mustafa Kemal is not only the father of children whose fathers have been martyred in battle, but also "the nation's father." As Mustafa Kemal never fathered any biological children of his own, he could be imagined as the all-encompassing father of a nation. His sole responsibility was thus to the Turkish citizenry, his only progeny.

Mustafa Kemal regularly spoke of the importance of children to the progress and safeguarding of the nation. In his *Address to the Turkish Youth* delivered on 20 October 1927, he exalts his young listeners: "Your first responsibility is to forever protect Turkish independence and the Turkish Republic."[49] After explaining the hardships that were overcome by the nation in its most desperate hour during the War of Independence, the address ends with: "Oh child of Turkey's future . . . it is your duty to save Turkey's independence and the Turkish Republic! The power that you need is present in the noble blood of your veins." This poetic address to the country's youth envisions a homogenous community based on its shared blood, itself shed at the War of Independence. As such, Mustafa Kemal is addressing the children of the martyrs and veterans of war. The battles that were won and the blood that was spilled in the war in essence gave life to the Turkish Republic. Similar sacrifices are expected of the youth, whose brave fathers fought heroically for national freedom. While Mustafa Kemal's message speaks strongly to the family-like community envisioned in nationalist ideology, it also encourages self-sacrifice for the cause of the Republic. In his *Address*, he forcefully equates individual martyrdom to the state's survival.

Reflective of nationalist ideologies, here the state and the nation are depicted as sacred entities that must rely on the protection of the citizenry. In this way, the nation provides its own path to salvation: personal sacrifice is the way, and eternal existence is the goal.[50] Catherine Albanese has outlined ways in which nations developed civil, nontheological "religions" with elements that parallel traditional religious belief systems and structures meant to serve as unquestionable political ideologies. She demonstrates, via the example of the American Revolutionary War (1775–83), how a revolution can ignite feelings of unity based on a common bond other than religious belief. According to Albanese, US civil religion was "a self-conscious

46. See ibid., 28–29, 33, 66.

47. See Fatma Müge Göçek, "Decline of the Ottoman Empire and the Emergence of Greek, Armenian, Turkish, and Arab Nationalisms," in *Social Constructions of Nationalism in the Middle East*, ed. Fatma Müge Göçek (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2002), 20.

48. On the importance of designating a national enemy, see Miroslav Hroch and Jitka Malečková, "Historical Heritage: Continuity and Discontinuity in the Construction of National Histories," *Studia Historica* 53 (2000): 33–34.

49. Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, *Nutuk*, ed. Bedi Yazıcı (Istanbul: Ayvaryum Yayınevi, 1995), 872. The quotation is a frequently republished and cited passage from the six-day speech Mustafa Kemal gave in Parliament, delivered 15–20 October 1926. This *Address to the Turkish Youth* is featured in the front matter of most K–12 textbooks.

50. See Anthony Smith, *Nationalism and Modernism: A Critical Survey of Recent Theories of Nations and Nationalism* (London: Routledge, 1998), 90–91.

and deliberate faith contrived by the leaders of the revolutionary era to meet their need for a political ideology."[51] Furthermore, this civil religion "was an attempt to find some basis for public unity in the vulnerable federal republic."[52] Similarly, in the case of the Turkish Revolution, a new state emerged from the ashes of the Ottoman Empire, ruled by members of the House of Osman. That the state was new rendered it vulnerable. A unifying political ideology and new narratives of common origins were needed to fill the ideological void left by the absence of the seven-hundred-year-old Ottoman state. Not only does national community hold promise for self-governance based on collective values, but it also assures equality among its members. Anderson has aptly described this utopian vision of the national community as "a deep, horizontal comradeship" that denies any single family or class advanced social status without merit.[53] This baseline equality ultimately provides the perceived fraternal bonds among citizens that are necessary for mass sacrifice and ultimate survival.[54]

Nationalism and civil religion indeed share close ties.[55] Roughly speaking, religions, which seek to bring meaning and structure to all aspects of a person's life, require a creed, code, community, and *cultus*—or a complex assemblage of rituals connecting sacred people, places, and events—to create an all-encompassing spiritual experience.[56] Elements of these four components of religion can be found in most nationalistic ideologies as well, including Turkish republicanism.

Without a doubt, these four components of civil religion are found in the Turkish post-revolutionary experience as well as manifest in its earliest cartoons. Pride itself is a basic premise of Turkish nationalism. As declared by Mustafa Kemal himself during the tenth anniversary of the founding of the Republic, "Happy is he who calls himself a Turk."[57] Proud recognition and appreciation of Turkish identity thus seems to be the emotive precondition of this civil religion.

Additionally, defending the nation against threats to its existence and integrity emerges in a number of cartoons as a major code of conduct of the ideal citizen. Martyrdom and military service are the themes of the cartoons "Our Father is Coming!" (fig. 2) and "When I Grow Up" (fig. 4). In "Our Father is Coming!" the fruits of the martyred father's sacrifice are emphasized as his surviving family assembles at a celebration to greet the nation's victorious savior. Thus, the cartoon reminds the viewer that the modern Republic and the free Turkish nation exist because of his self-sacrificial patriotism. Likewise, in "When I Grow Up" two children are pictured with inherent desires to become soldiers for their country. These idealized young Turkish citizens were not prompted or asked if they wanted to join the military in the future. Instead, the children verbalize these desires to their mother voluntarily—the cartoonist thereby suggesting such aspirations are intrinsic to the nation's youngest citizens.

Because of the self-celebratory nature of nationalistic ideology, the imagined nation, abstract as it may be, becomes the beneficiary of devotional acts (including self-sacrifice) to ensure its continued existence. It is, however, the four components of *cultus*—that is, sacred saints, places, objects, and rituals—that elucidate what is sacred to the civil religion.[58] For most ideologies, *cultus* involves a complex matrix of sacred rituals linking persons, places, and objects with important historical or mythical events. For Turkish nationalism, the importance of each element of *cultus* can be traced back to the nation, itself considered a sacrosanct polity.

More specifically, cartoons such as "We Are Saved" (fig. 5) illustrate the status and impor-

51. Catherine L. Albanese, *America, Religion, and Religions* (Belmont, CA: Wadsworth Publishing, 1981), 297.

52. Ibid.

53. Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 7.

54. See ibid.

55. See, e.g., Cristi, *From Civil to Political Religion*, 187–221; and Albanese, *America, Religion, and Religions*, 308. Albanese also warns against assuming that her use of the term *nation* suggests an ethnic understanding when it comes to the American case (285). US nationalism differs in that regard from other nation-states such as Japan and Turkey.

56. See Albanese, *America, Religion, and Religions*, 8.

57. The Turkish "Ne mutlu Türküm diyene!" is a frequently quoted phrase that today appears in a wide variety of contexts, including schoolbooks, postcards, public monuments, government buildings, and automobile bumper stickers. The statement also appears printed across personal garments, such as shirts, and tattooed on bodies.

58. See Albanese, *America, Religion, and Religions*, 296–97.

tance of the civil saint Mustafa Kemal. Mustafa Kemal is pictured as a fatherly figure while his designation as the national leader and teacher is communicated through the various accompanying texts. The textbook bearing the letters of the new Turkish alphabet is celebrated in this cartoon as a national treasure that symbolizes a new era of enlightenment. In its capacity as a device for nurturing knowledge, literacy, and intellectual progress, the book and the alphabet are sacred entities. Furthermore, the child is sanctified in this context as it is a symbol of the independent nation.

"We Are Saved" was also published as a commemoration of a national holiday: Republic Day. While the holiday is celebrated publicly with ceremonies and parades, in newspapers and satirical magazines the ritual of celebrating the anniversary of a historically significant event is carried out with commemorative cartoons. Republic Day marks the date of a turning point in the nation's history, whereby the Turkish people's perseverance against the Ottoman rule was rewarded with a new and just regime of self-governance. The geographical territories of the state located within the political borders of the Turkish Republic are the sacred places of this civil religion. The land thus becomes sanctified in the eyes of nationalists, for the Turkish nation has shed its blood on these territories in an epic ritual of self-preservation.[59]

This nationalistic civil religion is completed by members of the Turkish nation, and it is this community that also forms an object of devotion. Indeed, the integrity of the national community depends on its *cultus*, codes, and creed for both its present stability and its future existence. To ensure the nation's prosperity and survival, its members must see their community as akin to their own family. Ideas of communal brotherhood are especially useful in this metaphorical equation, while the image of the child appears best suited to laud the promise and future of the young Turkish Republic.

Conclusion

In early Turkish Republican cartoon art, children are portrayed in two different ways: symbolically and literally. As a personification of the Republic, the anonymous child prompts the reader into feeling protective of the youth, and thus of the young Republic. While the image of the child represents the fragile nature of the state, it also symbolizes the promise of maturation and a prosperous future. The child image can also be understood as a literal, albeit idealized, representation of a young Turkish citizen. The cartoons therefore present a potentially young audience with proper behavior and nationalistic beliefs. This child is an example of a responsible citizen who is also a member of a larger national family. This idealized child is envisioned as a willing participant in ritual activities surrounding the sacred family. Such activities include devotion to the leader, adherence to the mother, and serving as protector of future generations. This nationalistic civil religion of the new Republic served to reinforce the fraternal and familial nature of this new imagined national community.

The children in these cartoons also communicate a more subtle message—a message now lost in the triumphalist history of the Turkish Republic. Indeed, we know that the new state survived because it still exists today. Although far from perfect, the new Republic was nurtured to adulthood and today boasts a booming young population, a functional democracy, a strong military, and the eighteenth largest economy in the world. But in the 1920s, cartoonists, newspaper audiences, and politicians were unsure of the young state's future. Quite appropriately, the political cartoons of this period used the image of the child to represent the unpredictability of the future. A work in progress, the child thus allegorically stands for the nation's hope despite the many uncertainties lying ahead.

59. See Köroğlu, *Propaganda and Turkish Identity*, 61–63. An early account of such beliefs can be found in the words of poet and Turkish nationalist of the Second Constitutional Period (1908–22), Mehmet Ali Tevfik, who said, "Every land in which Turkish blood has been spilt is part of the Turkish homeland, because every single drop of blood has given us rights over those lands, which in our hearts have become sacred."