

‘The Other’ At The Border: Literary Sieges and Identity Construction

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Preprint

Abstract

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

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

Keywords: Eclipse of the crescent moon; frontier orientalism; history; national identity; self-fashioning; the siege

INTRODUCTION

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

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

Ottoman Empire and USSR can be considered the two main external factors for the history of Albania and its identity formation. Albania persisted in an anti-Ottoman approach for 25 years with the leadership of George Castrioti Skanderbeg (Treptow, 1995, p. 2), who was given to the Ottoman Empire as a hostage by his father John Castrioti when he was defeated by Sultan Murad II (Noli, 1945, p. 93). The other external factor can be seen as Soviet Russia or rather communism. With the fear of being invaded by the USSR, and even China, Enver Hoxha closed up and designed the whole country to defend itself against any intruders. He controlled the country as if it is a citadel when his party took over in November 1944 and he turned the country

into a closed shell until he died in April 1985. His successor, Ramiz Alia, pursued Enver Hoxha's ideology and both demonstrated a type of regime that was impossible for opposing voices to be heard. Similar to the modern world's North Korea in terms of ideology, a deserted and isolated European country was established under his regime (Fevziu, 2016, p. IX).

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

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

Eclipse of the Crescent Moon, one of the novels that will be analyzed in this work, has the reflections of the words of Árpád Göncz, who was the first post-communist president of Hungary. Despite the fact that it is written in prose and not poetry, the novel has a significant place for Hungarian identity formation; it is still on the suggested reading list for Hungarian elementary school kids. This novel of Géza Gárdonyi was published in book format in 1901 for the first time. It was the era that had ongoing independence movements, especially in the Balkans, and the idea of "kingdoms" and "kings" being replaced by a more unitary system.

These political issues and the deep search for establishing a national Hungarian identity have been reflected in the literary works of the early nineteenth and twentieth centuries. There has

been a need to distinguish one from the other and one way to achieve this has been by drawing a line between oneself and the opposite side. In the case here, the ones on the other side of the line were the Ottoman Empire. Being under the 'Orient' Ottoman threat for centuries has helped Hungary in this mission.

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

As will be discussed more in detail in the second and third parts of this work, according to self-fashioning suggested by Stephen Greenblatt, there was a growing realization that human identity could be fashioned as a manipulative and artistic process in the sixteenth century. This self-consciousness existed among a big group in the classical world, yet with Christianity, it was interrogated increasingly how a man could shape an identity. He further suggested that self-fashioning is the result when an alien and an authority encounter each other and this encounter has elements from both authority and alien that will be attacked, therefore, "any achieved identity always contains within itself the signs of its own subversion or loss." (Greenblatt, 1980, p. 9).

The second approach is introduced by the anthropologist Andre Gingrich. He has suggested the concept of frontier orientalism as a "relatively coherent set of metaphors and myths that reside in folk and public culture." (Gingrich, 1996, p. 119. Cited by Sabatos, 2018). Frontier orientalism contains a kind of contrariety within itself as it requires a strict distinction between "the self" and "the other" – there is a conflict between two major elements. From a reverse perspective, it can be interpreted that while "the self" tries to define itself, it defines the borders

of the “other” from its own approach and this causes the other to live within “the self”. A clear example of this perspective can be observed in Vienna, Austria. Having countless negotiations and several wars with the Ottomans throughout history, especially the Sieges of Vienna I and II, the traces of the influence of the Ottomans on Austria can be seen on the residential building murals of the city. This has the role of a reminder for the Austrians regarding their past with the Ottomans. When the case of Albania is interpreted in the same way, it can be observed that Islam started to be widespread after the Ottomans started to take over Albanian territories and were controlled by the Communist regime later. A part of Albanians accepted the religion of the other, which caused the “other” to continue to live within the “self”. And in the case of Hungary, the depictions of the Ottoman-Hungarian wars on the Millennium Monument in the Heroes’ Square in Budapest can be suggested as an instance of the other living within the self. The conflicts and wars with the other became a part religious or national part of the self and it became inseparable over time.

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

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

Created with different motives, both *Eclipse of the Crescent Moon* and *The Siege* have the common “other” depicted as a threat to the continuation of their existence and both countries

subjected to the novels have the importance of being frontier. The identity construction has been created by drawing lines between the self and the other. In the second and third parts of this analysis, the mentioned aspects will be studied through the perspective of frontier orientalism and self-fashioning with examples from both literary works.

RESULTS

Central Europe, being a frontier between the East and West, had its cultural identity shaped by the threat of the Ottoman Empire's invasion and occupation. The national works of literature in the historical fiction genre did not stop being formed under the impact of this interaction, even after the permanent withdrawal of the Ottoman Empire from Central Europe at the end of the 18th century. (Lukacs, 1962, p. 3. Cited by Sabatos, 2018). The image of the Turk was fashioned depending on the country and the interaction they had with the Turks. While there is a direct interaction between the Turks and Hungarians and Balkan nations, a different scenario is valid for Bohemia where the Turkish image exists as a symbol. (Sabatos, 2014, p. 16).

For *Eclipse of the Crescent Moon* and *The Siege*, as well as *The Siege of Sziget* and *The Siege of Shkodra*, the mutual external factor is the Ottomans. As both Albania and Hungary had the risk of being besieged by the Turks, their identity formation was affected by the events with the Ottomans. If we compare and analyze the *Eclipse of the Crescent Moon* and *The Siege* through frontier orientalism, we can suggest that both the Hungarian - Albanian and Ottoman sides share a mutual experience. Having an approach both from the self, Albanians, and the other, the Ottomans, *The Siege* provides an unusual image to the reader as it shows both sides of the story when the circumstances of Albania and the background information on the novel is considered. On the other hand, the *Eclipse of the Crescent Moon* usually expresses the thoughts and experiences of the self, Hungarians, and less of the other, the Ottomans. In both novels, the emphasis on the distinction between the self and the other can be analyzed thoroughly. Both countries had the experience of being a frontier and both are located in critical positions. Albania is in a key position to completely open the path to the Balkans and Hungary to the Western Europe. Naturally, their experiences have been different than those who did not have a direct contact with the Ottomans. Therefore, the image and representation created for the Ottomans have been different in the frontier countries and in our case, in Albania and Hungary. The distinction between the self and the other and the reflection of self-fashioning is reflected in both novels. Creation of the self consisted of the elements other does not have, therefore strict boundaries have been established between the self and the other. This has caused both sides, Albanian and Hungarian, to fashion themselves according to the attributes they see the

other does not have. As nationalists, both Kadare and Gárdonyi had the aim to convey their message to the reader with a difference that Kadare carried political and social concerns in the background while writing *The Siege* whereas Gárdonyi wanted to highlight the Hungarian self-fashioning and nationalism. Being prominent during their time and still in contemporary literature, both works utilized the Ottoman Empire as a historical figure in order to transmit both national and political feelings to the reader, which created the base of this study.

DISCUSSION

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

interpreted with the base concept of otherness –threatening the other side with sieges at the gate of the Self, even though they have different perspectives.

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

A constant recrimination is seen when one side talks about the other – one side blames the other for being barbarian and infidel for not being Christian and being invaders whereas the other side blames them for not being Muslim and not following the “true path”. These expressions can be considered as a way of justification, but this caused an unintentional outcome. Both sides started to define themselves according to the attributes opposite of the other side. This situation, naturally, reflected national works of literature and was used as an active element for fashioning the nations' own identities.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Being a frontier between the East and the West and interacting with the Ottomans before any other Western countries as a buffer zone, Hungary’s perception of the Ottomans has been shaped accordingly. Due to the risk of being besieged, Hungarians mostly had an unfavorable image of the Ottomans. As they were considered as an Orient with strong military power with a different religion and culture, Hungarians perceived the Ottomans as a major threat to their existence, and the formation of the Turkish image was shaped in line with this perception.

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

Both *The Siege of Sziget* and *The Siege of Shkodra* create the base of *Eclipse of the Crescent Moon* and *The Siege*, respectively. Miklós Zrínyi has been one of the most prominent figures in Hungarian history. *The Siege of Sziget*, an epic poem written by Zrínyi, has been an important piece in different terms, and it stands as one of the most decent instances of his era on the Hungarian approach to the Turks. Additionally, it contains several mythological elements and is based on a real historical event his grand grandfather was affected. In the poem, the outnumbered Hungarian army, mixed with Croatians, defends the Sziget castle and battles with the Ottoman army and the commander of the castle is feared by the Turks, who is the grand grandfather of the author Zrínyi. At the beginning of the poem, the narrator speaks from the mouth of God, and depicts the reason why the Turks are attacking the Hungarians as that the Hungarians are not following the path of its son, Jesus. In the poem, Zrínyi, speaking from the mouth of God, explains what God did for the Hungarians, as God brought Hungarians out of Scythia and how they destroyed their enemies for them, as well as how they established them in Hungary; feeling disappointed in their deeds, God, indirectly Zrínyi, says: “But they, in return for so many blessings, ah, it is difficult to say! Ah, they are ungrateful, and dared to leave me; They are not ashamed to betray their god, to sink into every wretchedness opposed to me.” (Zrínyi, 2011, p. 9).

Zrínyi writes in the poem that God sent the Turks on them on purpose. The Fury named Alecto takes the form of Selim I who was Sultan Suleyman’s father, and whispers to Sultan Suleyman in his dream to attack on Hungarians and not worry that they will get any aid. This is considered God’s revenge on Hungarians for their deeds as in the poem, Hungarians are thought to not be faithful Christians anymore. In fact, the poet, Miklós Zrínyi, is criticizing his own nation for not following Christian values and only caring about earthly affairs.

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

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

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

On the other hand, when we analyze *The Siege of Shkodra*, it is also possible to consider this work as a prominent work of its era for providing a detailed historical record of the Ottomans’ campaign to an Albanian castle and additionally, exhibiting a clear Turkish image the Albanians have. Just like in *The Siege of Sziget*, we can trace the attempts of the Albanians at the fortress on fashioning themselves against the other’s attributes.

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

“since we are sure that Christ the Lord is on our side, the one who chose to die on the cross for the salvation of all the peoples of the world, why should we tremble at the strength of that man you call your sultan? Because of all his clever ploys? Indeed, why

should we fear his armies when Christ alone is omnipotent? Let your sultan know that no terror frightens us—it makes no impact on us. Let him bring as many armies as he wishes. Let him prepare every tool of warfare. Finally, let him send his entire force upon us, for we are committed first and foremost to our commander and the Venetian Senate. We are prepared to spill our blood and perish in the defense of this city. So if your sultan wants to take it, let him come! Let him attack it by iron and by all the strength he can muster, because honorable people cherish nothing more dearly than their fatherland!” (Barleti, 2012, p. 78-79).

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

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

“Mighty men and fearless friends! Those who want to attain true glory must be patient and resist every difficulty, danger, and distress, even the heaviest, because only by so doing will we highlight and emphasize the fundamental virtues necessary to lift people

higher and higher. The sages have said that great achievements come by ceaseless labor and zeal and that sweat and toil yield their deserved fruit. Every one of us should be assured that we are gathered here by the will of God so that, with his help and by your glorious courage, this our city shall be protected from the tyranny and cruelty of all these barbarians. We are gathered here so that our true religion may emerge unharmed and secure the height of radiance. We are assembled with the intent that this heartless and nefarious tyrant should experience, at last, that the only true and sure religion is the Christian faith and that Christ, our Lord, whom we honor and worship, is our only Lord, the creator and orchestrator of the universe, from whom all things on earth are sustained and before whom the brutal authority of every autocrat shrivels. Indeed, before him every power (whatever it be) tumbles and collapses in but an instant!” (Barleti, 2012, p. 86).

Clifford Geertz suggests culture is a set of control mechanisms that include several factors in order to shape behavior and self-fashioning compromises of these control mechanisms. As an authority figure, Friar Bartholomew makes his speech on religion, which is part of a culture, in order to differentiate the self and the other. He talks about religion that should be protected to continue their existence. Friar Bartholomew uses the word “barbarian” and “heartless and nefarious tyrant” to depict the Turks, and he says the city should be “protected from the tyranny and cruelty of all these barbarians.” As he calls those from Christendom “mighty men and fearless friends” and the Turks with exact opposite names, he basically differentiates the attributes of Christians and the Turks to create the self and draw a line from the other. Besieged Christians are perceived as brave soldiers from Friar’s side and the Turks are recognized as barbarians and heartless tyrants, just as Zrinyi differentiates the Hungarians and the Turks. Ismail Kadare uses the Ottoman Empire to raise his voice on modern hegemonic powers and totalitarianism; he utilizes historiography and combines it with the contemporary conditions of his country. When Kadare wants to use the oriental other in his works, he usually uses the Ottoman Empire. *The Siege* can be considered a particular work in many aspects. As stated above, the Ottoman Empire is the main mask used by Kadare. Due to Enver Hoxha’s oppressive regime, Kadare had to hide his concerns and the messages he wants to convey to the reader behind Albania’s past days with the Ottoman Empire. As a long-gone external threat, this historicization played a role in line with the desires of Kadare. The Ottoman Porte provided a clear representation of the oppressive regime of Russia, basically of Kremlin. Throughout the novel, the Ottomans have been represented as the invasive other, which aligns with the repressive regime of the communist Enver Hoxha’s Albania. Throughout the novel, the feeling

of the Albanians' being stuck in a box, in the citadel, can be recognized. There is no space to move or anywhere to go, the only action that can be shown from the Albanian side is a defense against the invaders.

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

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

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

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

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

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

In *Eclipse of the Crescent Moon*, László Mór  (Selim), who is a captive in Yedikule Dungeons and converted to Islam from Christianity, meets B lint T r k and Istv n Mayl d who are also captives of Yedikule. The warden of the dungeons, Veli Bey, sees T r k, Mayl d, and M r  arguing and says: “I don’t know what you’re arguing about, but the words of Selim are the truth. For he lives closer to the truth than you infidels do.” (246). T r k and Mayl d, not knowing M r  is a Muslim now, asks about who Selim is, and when Veli Bey answers them he “is the one who a few days ago was called L szl  M r  in the language of the infidels.” (G rdonyi, 1991, p. 246). B lint T r k answers: “Selim! And he’s the one who’s preaching to us about patriotism! Off with you, pagan, the shame of your father!” Both Veli Bey and the Hungarian captives are naming each other as “infidels” and “pagans”. L szl  M r , or Selim, as a Muslim now, belongs to the other and not “us” anymore, he is on the same side as the “Bad Oriental Muslims” whom Hungarians are considering it a necessity to protect their lands from. When this case is examined from the side of the Ottomans, there is not much difference. In *Eclipse of the Crescent Moon*, after Buda is captured, the Sultan goes to the Church of Our Lady and says: “Blessed be thou, oh Allah, that thou hast spread thy powerful hand over the land of the infidels” (G rdonyi, 1991, p. 168). Again, there is an intentional emphasis on the word “infidel” and now, with the Ottomans extending their territories to Hungary, since they consider that Hungarians are “pagans” because of believing in a different religion, the Ottomans now see that “true” religion came to Hungary.

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

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

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

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

The Orient, which has a connection with the moon in Orientalism, is associated with "a dark grave" in *The Siege*. The Orient, the Ottomans, is depicted as a force ready to kill the Albanians. But even though Albanians feel the fear, they have the urge to defend their country. As a threat to the cultural and physical existence of the Albanians, the following lines exhibit an appropriate instance of frontier orientalism's approach to receiving the other as a threat that should be pushed away from the border: "... these feelings did not weaken in the slightest our

determination to fight to the end. On the contrary, never before had we felt so convinced that death would be far sweeter than the gloom and treachery laid out down below in plain sight” (Kadare, 2008, p. 63-64).

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

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

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

The words of Quartermaster define the unity of different Balkan nations against “the big Other” – all Balkan nations came together when the Orient threat posed a risk to their existence. The Kosova War had the aim to stop the further advancement of the Ottoman Empire in the Balkans and push them outside of Europe. He highlights the attribute of their opponent; the driving force of the Ottomans’ opponent is pride and daring. And even though the Balkan nations lose the war, they united against the Bad Muslim who is threatening to occupy their country, and therefore, they have a direct connection and experience with the Ottomans.

Keeping the above-mentioned unification of the Balkan nations in mind, we can observe the way Ismail Kadare tries to fashion the Albanians to keep unified. As Kadare disguised his concerns and messages he wanted to convey under allegories, it could be suggested that the

following lines align with Greenblatt's self-fashioning. During the talk of the Quartermaster and Çelebi, the Quartermaster says "Nations are like grass, they grow everywhere. So we have to invent other, more stealthy means" (Kadare, 2008, p. 144). He adds the Padishah has men that are experts on denationalization, and he gives the example of Saruxha, who is specialized in demolishing castles:

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

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

In *The Siege*, after the encounter with the alien, Albanians protect the symbols that are a part of their identity, such as the Albanian eagle and the Christian cross. Even though the narrative is from the Ottomans' side in *The Siege*, there are sections told through the eyes of Albanians, and at the beginning of Chapter 2, we see a scene embracing the Albanian national identity when the other is on "attack". The Ottoman side sends a convoy to come to an agreement with the Albanians and provide some conditions. Ottomans offer that they would not touch anyone and let everyone leave with their belongings and weapons in case they give the keys to the citadel to the Ottomans to change the flag from the Albanian eagle to the flag with the crescent. This has been the way the Ottomans showed everyone their possession of the territory – they place a symbol on the newly conquered land. Lastly, Ottomans claim they would hang anyone who wants to keep their Christian fate on the Holy Cross. The answer given by the Albanian commission represents the embracement of the self than obeying the other: "Our answer was short and firm: neither the eagle nor the cross would ever be removed from our firmament; they

were the symbols and the fate we had elected, and we would remain faithful to them. And so that each of us may keep his own symbols and fate according to the dispositions of the Lord, they had no alternative but to leave.” (20). Despite the arguments of the possibility of individuals fashioning themselves with the effect of Christianity in query, we see that in *The Siege*, Albanians acknowledge their religion as a part of their national identity and it is not possible for them to replace it with the crescent, even though they were threatened to be killed by hanging on the cross.

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

“What would we leave to the Balkan peoples, and what would we take away from them: their religion, or their language? Some thought we should take both away, others reckoned we had to leave them one or the other. Naturally, all sorts of arguments were put, until, in the end, our camp seemed to have won. Which means we will leave these peoples their faith. As for their language, for the time being, we will only prohibit it being written down. It’s too soon to ban the speaking of it” (Kadare, 2008, p. 147).

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

“We shall teach the Sacred Koran to these accursed rebels”. “On their lands which are as humped as a demon’s back, we shall raise minarets blessed by Allah! At dusk, from these high towers, the voices of our muezzins will fall on their untutored heads and take hold of their minds like hashish. We shall ensure that these infidels learn to bow toward Mecca five times a day. We shall wrap their sick and troubled skulls in the balmy turban of Islam” (Kadare, 2008, p. 54).

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

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

“Every spring,’ he continued, ‘when the green shoots reappear, we will return to these parts. The ground will shake under our troops’ marching feet. The valleys will be

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

The Quartermaster’s words put an emphasis on Gingrich’s claims about frontier orientalism. On the other side of the border, there is an other far away from being humiliated and oppressed, therefore openly posing a risk for the very existence of the country. The Quartermaster wants to carry this risk to an extent that the fear of the Turks will dwell in the local cultures and be a folkloric representation, which is one of the reasons why Kadare frequently used the Ottoman Empire in his prose works. A reversed version of the fear of the Turks exists in the *Eclipse of the Crescent Moon* as well but with an approach from the Hungarian side. Due to the need of fashioning a brave Hungarian man during the rise of Hungarian nationalism, Gárdonyi preferred to reverse the contemporary perception and make Hunyadi a feared figure for the Turks. In the case of Kadare, he exhibits a clear instance of the feared other by making the Quartermaster talk about their persistent siege plans on Albania and by making the Albanian children to be afraid just by hearing the word “Turk.

CONCLUSION

The identity and cultural formation of both the Balkans and Central Europe have been shaped differently than in other parts of Europe. The sieges of the Ottoman Empire have played a major role in creating a representation and image of the Turks and it also made it mandatory to establish a distinction between the nations on the other side of the border. Those nations that were under a direct threat of being occupied by the Ottomans had a more negative and stereotypical image of the Turks than the ones who did not have a direct interaction. These stereotypical attributes have acted as a base for drawing a line between the “invasive” and the

“besieged”. As mentioned, the countries subject to the novels have faced the East before other Western European countries, as both countries have been a gate for the Ottomans to advance further in Europe – one for the Adriatic Sea and the other one for Western Europe. Having the threat of being occupied, Hungary and Albania created a strict border between themselves and the Ottomans. These borders have been determined according to the cultural, social, and physical attributes as both nations felt the need to distinguish themselves from the Turks. These borders and interactions occurred as a result of the Ottoman Empire’s will to advance through Europe.

Being the buffer zone between Austria and the Ottomans, one of the most prominent events in Hungary’s history includes the Battle of Mohács (1526), in which Hungarians faced a major defeat. As a result of this war, Hungary had to go through a constant series of wars for 150 years, and in the end, there were three selected kings, which led to turmoil within the country. One of those kings was Ferdinand of Habsburg, who was the Archduke of Austria and the younger sibling of Charles V and the reason why he was selected by a part of the nobility was to have the support of the Austrians. Hungarians did not support his authority, but János Szapolyai, even though his brother gave him the Austrian holding of lands. His son, János Sigismund, was selected as the voivode of Transylvania by Sultan Suleyman. It became a vassal state of the Ottomans but in fact, it had liberty from both the Ottomans and the Habsburgs. And lastly, King Ferdinand, the King of Royal Hungary, ended up with paying annual taxes to the Ottomans in order to make peace and it was agreed that there would not be any major campaigns on the Hungarian lands. Yet, the Ottomans continued to do raids to the frontier border areas of Hungary and collect taxes and if necessary for them, ignored the treaty. The year 1699, in which the Treaty of Karlowitz was signed, marks the date when the Ottoman withdrawal from Europe started and the Ottomans have been pushed out even from the southernmost regions of Hungary. On the other hand, there have been two major external factors in the case of Albania. In historical order, the first major external threat Albanians faced was the Ottomans. There have been attacks and sieges in different parts of the country by the Turks. The defeat of John Kastrioti to Sultan Murad II resulted in John Kastrioti giving his son, George Kastrioti, as a hostage to the Ottomans. He became known as Skanderbeg and led several uprisings against the Ottomans for 25 years. He especially became a prominent historical hero with the national awakening of Albanians in the 19th century and was represented as a national figure during the independence movements of Albanians from the Ottomans in this era. The second major external factor in Albanian history has been the arrival and adaption of communism. With the Nazis leaving Albania in 1944 after Mussolini occupied the country in 1939, the Albanian

parliament only had one active party, which was the Communist Party. With the leadership of Enver Hoxha, the Albanian People's Republic was officially founded in 1946 and he stayed as the head of the government until his death in 1985. Throughout his years, he followed the path of Stalin and did not reform his ideas even after Stalin's death and the pressure of Khrushchev and the new government in China after Mao's death. Enver Hoxha had a constant fear and paranoia of Albania being occupied by external threats, therefore he closed his country to the outside and some people go out of the country with the approval of the state, as in the case of Ismail Kadare.

For both novels, the mutual external factor is the Ottomans. As both Albania and Hungary had the risk of being besieged by the Turks, their identity formation was affected by the events with the Ottomans. As suggested by Stephan Greenblatt, the 16th century was the turning point in terms of shaping an identity; people realized that it was possible to fashion one's identity with a manipulative and artistic process, even though due to the influence of Christianity, it was questioned if it is possible for someone to fashion themselves. Greenblatt argues that self-fashioning occurs when boundaries are crossed. These boundaries should be crossed between "the creation of literary characters, the shaping of one's own identity, the experience of being molded by outside of one's control, the attempt to fashion other selves" (Greenblatt, 1980, p. 3). He continues defining self-fashioning as the interaction between an alien and an authority. This interaction leads to an environment that has parts from both the alien and the authority. Moreover, self-fashioning mostly presents stereotypical images of the other, instead of anything personal. It has general depictions and assumptions. Submission is an important factor for self-fashioning as it requires authority to be followed. This authority should be a force that is not included in the self, such as religion, God, or an institution. The encounter between an alien and the self is necessary for self-fashioning to begin. The other somehow should be there as a threat to the self and the self should be triggered to demolish the other. The images of the other are mostly displeasing and even though the self gets rid of the other, another other would be created by the self – the other is never singular. Yet, Greenblatt highlights that it is not possible to cut the connection between the self and the other.

This claim of Greenblatt strongly supports the theory of frontier orientalism demonstrated by Andre Gingrich and it can be suggested that both theories go hand in hand. In this theory, the image of the Orient carries importance as it is a way to the maintenance of cultural identity and he exemplifies his suggestions through the case of Austria. This Orient is usually depicted as a Muslim who knows how to war and is knowledgeable and sophisticated – this approach creates the basic difference between frontier orientalism and Edward Said's orientalism. According to

Edward Said's book *Orientalism*, the Orient is depicted as a figure in the far east and a subject to be colonized. Additionally, it is considered as illiterate and needs to be controlled. Therefore, it can be claimed that even though Edward Said's *Orientalism* creates the base for the Orientalist theory, frontier orientalism of Andre Gingrich differs from it in many aspects. This Orient has the power to destroy the local culture and poses a risk to the very existence of the self. Folkloric factors and representations of the Orient as a reminder establish this local culture and they can be found in a specific region. As suggested by Baskar, "wars with the Turks" is a common theme throughout Central Europe and it is a reminder for the public regarding the past and events the nation experienced with the Other. These reminders have been used especially by the Habsburg Empire in order to unite the nation against an external threat.

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

Both in *Eclipse of the Crescent Moon* and *The Siege*, the traces of the "bad Muslim" and the perception of the "self" and the "other" are observable. Géza Gárdonyi used the Turkish image as a result of the nationalist movements of the time and established the depiction of a brave and honorable Hungarian hero. The attributes of the Turks were demonstrated as an opposing image of the Hungarians. Initially, the Ottomans were represented as "other" whereas Hungarians as the "self". The other was a Muslim, and the self was a Christian. Therefore, the other was an "infidel" and the self was "faithful". The other was "barbarian" whereas the self was "brave" and "virtuous". In the 16th century, Hungary was a buffer zone between the Austrians and Ottomans. With the Hungarian national movements at the beginning of the 20th century, the desire for Hungary to have its own country without an alliance with Austria increased and Gárdonyi reflected this desire in *Eclipse of the Crescent Moon*. He utilized the Orient as a medium to show his desire and it is a clear example of displaced metaphor, which the author used frequently in his book to demonstrate Hungary's wish to cut its ties with Austria and exist as a separate country. He especially used the Ottomans as Hungary has been invaded by the Turks in its history and as Hungary belonged to the Austro-Hungarian Empire during Gárdonyi's time, he could not openly introduce his desire in his book, but he expressed it

through an Orient replacement. Additionally, throughout his novel, Gárdonyi used patriotism especially through Bálint Török, when he was a captive at the Yedikule dungeons, and he tells his stories of Hungary and his reaction upon hearing a Hungarian song about a river considered as the most Hungarian river. Moreover, he uses Gergely Bornemissza, who is a real historical character that took part in the defense of the Eger castle against the Ottomans, as a figure to reflect the ideal Hungarian man. He exhibits brave actions, especially in defending Hungary against the Ottomans - Gárdonyi uses his image to “teach” for patriotic reasons. His wife, Éva Cecey is representing how stereotypical Hungarian women should be according to Gárdonyi. Even though Gárdonyi was usually under the effect of Mor Jokai, it can be suggested that *The Siege of Sziget* by Miklós Zrínyi sheds a light on the work of Gárdonyi. With Gárdonyi being more realistic than Zrínyi, both novels focus on the concept of sieges and self-image through the representation of the Ottomans. Zrínyi makes use of mythology, and he uses his grand grandfather, who carries the same name as him, as a brave Hungarian soldier. He slightly twists the real historical events for his purpose, and he sets a border between the self and the other. Aligning with the theory of Self-fashioning, he uses the attributes of the other in order to define the self. At the end of the poem, the protagonist Miklós Zrínyi kills Sultan Suleyman, which in reality does not align with the real historical events. It can be suggested that he kills the other that threatens the cultural and physical existence of the self and achieves self-identity by killing eliminating the other, as claimed by Stephan Greenblatt in his frontier orientalism theory. He makes use of self-criticism and talks through the mouth of God for Hungarians to correct their deeds, as he found Hungarians moving away from Christianity and its requirements. Therefore, through self-criticism, he also depicts how a Hungarian man should not be acting but instead, follow the path of the real hero, who is the protagonist.

For the case of *The Siege of Shkodra* written by Marin Barleti, which influenced Ismail Kadare to write his significant work *The Siege*, it can be suggested that they are similar in several aspects. Initially, both works have the theme of sieges in its center and both *The Siege of Shkodra* and *The Siege of Sziget* include divine images. As both works have been written from the perspective of the self as a result of a siege, both works praise Christian fate as a part of the self. In *The Siege of Sziget*, Miklós Zrínyi uses his grand grandfather as an idealized Christian hero that defeated the Ottomans and killed the Ottoman Sultan. The work of Zrínyi does not reflect the historical facts accurately – it is known that Zrínyi used mythological figures and provided exaggerated depictions. Yet, his poem depicts how a brave Christian hero should be acting against any kind of external threat, in this case, the Ottomans, and highlights the major values the self should have, which are loyalty, devotion, and duty to the God and the state and

one's family. This depiction is reflected in the work of Barleti with one difference – he usually creates the image of the self by highlighting the attributes he gives to the other. He calls the Shkodrans “brave” and “faithful Christians” through the speeches of the Friar Bartolomew and Florio Jonimo. The emphasis on Christianity in both works is clearly used to draw a line between the self and the other, but this situation can also be interpreted through a slightly different approach. As mentioned, it is speculated if Barleti was of Italian or Albanian origin due to his name. What we clearly know is that he names himself as a citizen of Shkodra and feels himself as a part of Albania, even though it is likely that he is coming from a different background. The background of Zrínyi is both of Hungarian and Croatian origin and from the time on he started to defend his country against the Ottomans, actively took part in politics. When we consider that both writers have a different side in their origin, they both united around and created the bonds with their community through Christendom. Their faith has been one of the most significant attributes they have in their culture in order to differentiate the other from the self. Regardless of the background, religion plays an important role for the fashioning of the self. When there is a mutual enemy, even when the background is not the same, the religion has a vital role to defend the self against the other. These similarities of both works provide a strong national background for both novels.

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

achieve an identity. This identity search and the similar images of the Turks and the sieges represent the main issue of both *Eclipse of the Crescent Moon* and *The Siege*.

Preprint

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