

antonia majača

**ako sam pravedan i dobar,  
pokaži mi svoju sreću, nasmiješi se!\***

**if i am right and good,  
show me your happiness, smile!\***

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\* Stih iz pjesme *Slika* turskog nacionalističkog pjesnika Behçeta Necatigila kojom djeca u Turskoj uče kako se odnositi i što osjećati prema Atatürkovim slikama koje se nalaze u učionicama; izvor: Esra

Özyürek, *Nostalgia For The Modern. State Secularism and Everyday Politics in Turkey*, Duke University Press, Durham/London, 2006.

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\* A verse from the poem *Picture* by Turkish nationalist poet Behçet Necatigil, through which Turkish children should learn how to relate and what to feel about Atatürk's pictures hanging

in their classrooms.  
Source: Esra Özyürek, *Nostalgia For The Modern. State Secularism and Everyday Politics in Turkey*, Duke University Press, Durham/London, 2006.

**1. Atatürkova fotografija u istanbulskoj zalagajnici / Atatürk's photograph in an Istanbul diner,**  
foto / photo: A. Majača

**2. Trg Taxim na Dan Republike / Taxim Square on Republic Day,**  
foto / photo: A. Majača



► U avionu do Istanbula ove jeseni čitam *The Economist* u kojemu anonimni urednički tim još jednom u fokus stavlja Tursku, ustanovljavajući, prije svega, da nakon ljetošnjih izbora premijer i vođa pobjedničke Stranke pravde i razvitka može, po svemu sudeći, nastupiti još samouvjerenije prema vojsci i kemalistima, koji diktiraju državnu politiku u manjoj ili većoj mjeri još od vremena uspostavljanja Turske republike 1923. Kako ju nazivaju zapadni mediji, uključujući i moje avionsko štivo, 'blago islamistička' stranka premijera Recepta Tayyipa Erdoğana preuzima formu islamsko-socijalne partije koja suptilno restaurira tradicionalne vrijednosti vraćajući ih u javnu sferu istodobno se zalažući za daljnju 'modernizaciju' države i njen ulazak u Europsku uniju. No, što u tome smislu uistinu znači modernizacija u Turskoj danas naspram 'one prošle' modernizacije u rano doba republike i o kakvom je novom modernitetu riječ?<sup>1</sup>

Čini se da su posljednji izbori u Turskoj konačno utvrdili neke nove političke pozicije koje su se počele formirati već tijekom 90-ih ukazavši na činjenicu da novi srednji sloj, koji u posljednjih nekoliko godina profitira od stabilnog ekonomskog rasta, ne želi ekstremni islamizam ali ni diktaturu kemalista.<sup>2</sup> Kako nam možda najbolje dočarava turski pisac Orhan Pamuk,<sup>3</sup> tijekom ranog razdoblja stvaranja republike, u vrijeme nametnute kolektivne amnezije i brisanja svih veza s 'orijentalnim', u javnoj sferi novi se turski identitet kreirao kroz 'performativni' politički odnos prema Europi na način sličan onome koji ruska spisateljica Svetlana Boym u slučaju odnosa Istočne Europe prema Zapadnoj definira kao zavodljivost Europina erosa u kojoj se udvarač ljubljenoj nastoji približiti i zavesti je preobražavajući se u sve što odbranica želi da on bude.<sup>4</sup>

● On a flight to Istanbul earlier this autumn, I was reading an issue of *The Economist* in which this magazine's anonymous editorial team was once more heavily preoccupied with Turkey: after this summer's elections, Prime Minister and leader of the winning Justice and Development Party, Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, has obviously taken an even more self-assured attitude towards the army and the Kemalists, who had more or less dictated the state policy since the times of establishing the Turkish Republic in 1923. That 'mildly Islamic' party of Erdoğan's, as it has been called in the Western media including my airplane reading, has adopted the format of a social Muslim party, subtly restoring the traditional values and bringing them back to the public sphere, while at the same time endorsing further 'modernization' of the state and its entry into the European Union. But what does it really mean to modernize Turkey, as opposed to the 'previous' modernization in the early phase of the Republic and what sort of modernity is it actually all about?<sup>1</sup>

It seems that the recent elections in Turkey have finally established a new political constellation, which started to form as early as the 90s, pointing to the fact that the new middle class, which has in the past few years profited from the stable economic growth, is rejecting Islamic fundamentalism and Kemalist dictatorship alike.<sup>2</sup> Perhaps Turkish novelist Orhan Pamuk has illustrated this most aptly:<sup>3</sup> in the early period of the Republic, at the time of enforced collective amnesia and erasure of all ties with the 'oriental', the new Turkish identity was created in the public sphere through a 'performative' political stance towards Europe, which in a way resembled what Russian author Svetlana Boym has defined, referring to the attitude

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<sup>1</sup> Na umu ovdje ponajviše imam definicije modernizacije, moderniteta i modernizma kako ih jednostavno početkom osamdesetih definira Marshall Berman koji modernitet definira kao zajedničko vitalno iskustvo vremena, mjesta i životnih mogućnosti ljudi, modernizaciju kao društveni proces promjena koje to iskustvo donose, i koje su u stalnom obnavljanju i nastajanju, te modernizam kao skup ideja, vizija i vrijednosti koje ljude čine i subjektima i objektima modernizacije i daju im moć da promijene

svijet koji njih mijena. Marshall Berman: *All That Is Solid Melts Into Air. The Experience of Modernity*, Penguin Books, 1988.

<sup>2</sup> Republika, nastala pod vodstvom Kemala Atatürka na ruševinama Otomanske države 1923., sustav je utemeljila na ideji sekularnog pozapadnjenja te društvenoj kontroli temeljenoj na ideji progresa i intenzivne modernizacije. Atatürkove su reforme donijele novi sustav obrazovanja, prekid države s religijom, stari je otomansko-turski alfabet zamijenjen latiničnim pismom, itd.

<sup>3</sup> U slučaju Turske, kako prenosi Pamuk, te su transformacije, zatiranje svega egzotičnog i orijentalnog te dodvoravanje zapadnom pogledu nerijetko uzimale apsurdan, čak humoran format pa tako primjerice jednom prilikom istanbulska gradska vlast, nakon što zapadni tisak izvještava o 'egzotičnom' fenomenu čoporâ pasalutalica u gradu, odlučuje pohvatiti sve pse i transportirati ih na jedan od obližnjih otoka da bi nakon ponovljenih napisa o tome kako je takav potez nevjerovatno egzotičan

neđužne životinje ponovno transportirala natrag u grad. Orhan Pamuk, *Istanbul*, Vuković & Runjić, 2006.

<sup>4</sup> Svetlana Boym, *Budućnost nostalgije*, Geopoetika, Beograd, 2005.

<sup>5</sup> U istoj se ulici nalazi i Platform Garanti Centar za suvremenu umjetnost. Platform već godinama djeluje kao svojevrsna najistočnija točka mape europske suvremene umjetnosti i predstavlja neku vrstu vrata umjetničkog svijeta prema 'Istoku' dok se istovremeno Turska u tome smislu, kroz umjetničke platforme

i mreže sve više povezuje s regijom Istočne Europe. U regionalnom poimanju umjetničke scene Istočna Europa je bliska zapadnoj Turskoj jer su obje 'više zapadne' od Bliskog istoka, ali nedovoljno zapadnjačke za Zapad. <sup>6</sup> Zidni crtež umjetnik je načinio našavši malu i nepreciznu reprodukciju na Internetu.

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<sup>1</sup> I am mainly referring to the definitions of modernization, modernity, and modernism as they were plainly defined in the early 80s by Marshall Berman, who has characterized modernity as the vital common experience of time, place, and living options of individuals, modernization as a process of social changes that this experience entails and which is in constant renewal and recreation, and modernism as a cluster of ideas, visions, and values that makes people both the subjects

and the objects of modernization and gives them the power to change the world that has been changing them. Marshall Berman: *All That Is Solid Melts Into Air. The Experience of Modernity*, Penguin Books, 1988.

<sup>2</sup> The Republic that emerged in 1923 on the ruins of the Ottoman state under the leadership of Kemal Atatürk, based its system on the idea of secular Westernisation and social control, which was in turn based on the idea of progress and intense modernization. Atatürk's reforms brought a new

system of education and the separation of state and religion, the old Ottoman alphabet was replaced by Latin letters, etc.

<sup>3</sup> In Turkey's case, as Pamuk has observed, these transformations, namely the subduing of all that was exotic and Oriental and currying favour with the Western worldview, have often adopted absurd and even comic forms. On one occasion, for example, the Western press reported on the 'exotic' phenomenon of packs of dogs roaming around Istanbul and the municipal authorities

decided to capture all dogs and transport them on a nearby island. After the West proclaimed such measures unbelievably exotic, the innocent animals were transported back to the city. Orhan Pamuk, *Istanbul: Memories of a City*, transl. by Maureen Freely, Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 2005.

<sup>4</sup> Svetlana Boym, *The Future of Nostalgia*, Basic Books, New York, 2001.

<sup>5</sup> The same street contains Platform Garanti Contemporary Art Centre. Platform has been functioning for years as a sort of easternmost

point on the map of European contemporary art and a 'gate' for the world of art into the 'East'. At the same time, Turkey has been increasingly establishing connections with the region of Eastern Europe through artistic platforms and networks. In the regional understanding of art scene, Eastern Europe stands close to western Turkey because both of them are 'more Western' than Middle East, though not Western enough for the West.

Ekonomska je slika tijekom 90-ih, međutim, bitno utjecala na poljuljavanje političke dominacije vojske, a nova je elita, isprva ekonomska a onda i politička, počela stizati s istoka zemlje donoseći uz ostalo i povratak tradicionalnih vrijednosti u javnu sferu. Kao rezultat toga tursko je društvo danas polarizirano, a javni prostor određen binarnostima. Portrete Atatürka - karizmatičnog, galantnog i modernog 'oca republike' zatječemo posvuda - od gradskih trgova i institucija do malih buregdžinica, od automehaničarskih radionica do frizerskih salona. Istodobno, u najeuropskijem dijelu Istanbula, četvrti Beyoglu, i jednoj od najdinamičnijih pješačkih zona - ulici Istiklal, usred urbane mješavine progresivnih umjetničko-aktivističkih kolektiva, pripadnika supkulturnih grupa i uličnih glazbenika šetaju žene obavijene crnim burkama, ali i mlade djevojke koje samouvjereno kombiniraju pripijene haljine živih boja s tradicionalnim muslimanskim maramama. Riječ je o slici karizmatičnog Istanbula ispunjenog suprotnostima, kakvog voli i 'umjetnički svijet', koji pak, tijekom dana otvorenja bijenala, formira još jednu paralelnu, privremenu zajednicu središte koje je upravo ta četvrt.<sup>5</sup>

Tenzije i paradoksi prošlosti i budućnosti, zatim javnog i privatnog na humoran se način reflektiraju u radu mladog umjetnika Ahmeta Öğüta (čiju je samostalnu izložbu zagrebačka publika imala priliku vidjeti u Galeriji "Miroslav Kraljević" ovoga proljeća). Automobil kao simptom i označitelj modernizacije, ali i autoriteta države i prostora Javnog, omiljeni je motiv Öğütovih radova. On se prvi puta pojavljuje u radu *Devrim/Revolucija* prikazanom u Centru Platform Garanti 2005. godine u obliku zidnog crteža u kojemu umjetnik arheološkim postupkom u digitalno doba<sup>6</sup> restaurira sliku i priču o legendarnom prvom turskom

of Eastern Europe towards Western Europe, as the seductiveness of (Western) Europe's Eros, in which the wooer seeks to get closer to his beloved and seduce her by transforming himself into anything that she might want him to be.<sup>4</sup>

However, in the 90s this image gained a significant impact in terms of unsettling the political dominance of the army, since the new elite, at first economic and then also political, was increasingly coming from the east of the country and it brought – among other things – the return of traditional values into the public sphere. As a result, the Turkish society has become largely polarized, its public space determined by binary oppositions. Portraits of Atatürk – that charismatic, gallant, and modern 'father of the Republic' can still be seen everywhere – from city squares and various institutions to the small *börek* stores, car mechanics, and hair salons. At the same time, in the most European district of Istanbul, Beyoglu, and in one of the most dynamic pedestrian zones, the İstiklal Avenue - in the midst of that urban mixture of progressive and activist art groups, subculture, and street musicians - one can see women enveloped in black *burqas* along with young girls boldly combining close-fitting dresses in bright colours with traditional Muslim veils. It is an image of charismatic Istanbul, rich with contrasts appreciated also by the 'art world,' which during the days of the Biennial forms yet another parallel and temporary community with the same district as its centre.<sup>5</sup>

Tensions and paradoxes of the past and the future, the public and the private, are reflected with humour in the work of young artist Ahmet Öğüt (whose solo exhibition could be seen in Zagreb last Spring, in Galerija Miroslav Kraljević). Automobile as the symp-



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automobilu nazvanom "Revolucija" proizvedenom prema američkom uzoru 1961. Uz prikaz automobila umjetnik ispisuje priču pod naslovom "Devrim 29. listopada 1961" uz sljedeće objašnjenje: "Prvi automobil napravljen u Turskoj nazvan 'Revolucija' izrađen je po naredbi predsjednika Turske Republike Cemala Gürsela i odvezen vlakom na probnu vožnju predsjedniku u Ankaru. No, s obzirom da su ga inženjeri zaboravili napuniti benzinom, auto se zaustavio nakon svega šest metara. O projektu automobila 'Revolucija' raspravljalo se da bi ga se potom obustavilo." Pored teksta stajao je i citat predsjednika Gürsela: "Turčin napravi auto ali zaboravi ga napuniti benzinom".

Öğüt se ovdje zabavlja s jednom od crtica iz povijesti Turske Republike ironizirajući, ne bez stanovite naklonosti, novo restauriranu nostalgiju za vremenom vjere u modernizaciju i progres. Istodobno, uzimajući upravo ovu priču iz povijesti, implicira i tragi-komični sraz državne ideologije i mogućnosti njezina apliciranja u svakodnevicu, upozoravajući na jednostavnu kontradikciju koja se sastoji u tome da pristup

**3. Atatürkovo kulturni centar, Istanbul / Atatürk Cultural Centre, Istanbul, foto/photo: A. Majača**

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<sup>6</sup> The artist has produced the mural drawing after a small and imprecise reproduction on the Internet.

<sup>7</sup> The interview of Vasif Kortun with the artist was published in the exhibition catalogue *Ahmet Öğüt: Softly But Firmly*, Galerija Miroslav Kraljević, Zagreb & Revolver, Frankfurt, 2007.

tom and signifier of modernization, but also of state authority and the space of the Public, is a favourite motif in Öğüt's art. It first appeared in his piece entitled *Devrim/Revolution*, presented at Platform Garanti Contemporary Art Centre in 2005, in the form of a mural drawing in which the artist used an archaeological procedure in order to restore, in this digital era,<sup>6</sup> the image and the story of the first and famous Turkish automobile, the "Revolution", which was produced in 1961 on the basis of an American model. Next to the drawing, an accompanying text entitled "Devrim 29 October 1961" told the story of how that automobile, first ever produced in Turkey, was made at the orders of Turkish president Kemal Gürsel. It was then taken by railway to Ankara so that he might take it on a test ride. However, since the engineers forgot to fill the tank with petrol, the car stopped after only 20 feet. The project of the car called 'Revolution' was debated and eventually suspended. There is also a quotation by President Gürsel: "The Turks can make a car, but then they forget to fill the tank with petrol."

Öğüt was evidently entertained by this anecdote from the history of the Republic of Turkey, communicating with irony, but also with certain sympathy, the new nostalgia for the times when people 'believed' in modernization and progress. At the same time, by taking precisely that historical event, he also articulated the tragicomic conflict between state ideology and the possibility of applying it in everyday life, by pointing to a simple paradox – that the approach from above, in which the state tells its citizens: "You may not know what's good for you, but we know it!" mostly fails to correspond with the real possibilities, mentality, habits, or history. In Turkey, the oppressive modernizing reforms have created a secular public ideology and public rituals that were sometimes rather 'clumsily' synchronized and integrated into the everyday lives of people, with their ethnic identities, religion, etc.

In that socio-political constellation, public space was identified with the space of state regulation and authority, which was unified and in which the state indicated its extensibility. In his last piece, symptomatically entitled *Ground Control*, Öğüt simply spilt asphalt all over the ground floor of the newly established Rodeo gallery in Istanbul. On the one hand, this action can be easily interpreted from the standpoint of institutional critique – in the sanctified space of art, the street may seem a symbolic gesture of solidarity and welcome to an occasional passer-by. On the other hand, for Öğüt it has a different meaning: it is the urban signifier, a place that has been reached by the arm of the state.<sup>7</sup> In other words, the place to which the asphalt has arrived is modernized and subjected to state intervention, regulated by its institutions, its citizens 'brought to heel' and under control. Asphalt in a gallery is not only an encounter between the 'outer' and the 'inner', but conveys the penetration of the 'general public,' which 'belongs to all,' into

odozgo u kojem država poručuje građanima: "Vi ne znate što je dobro za vas, ali mi znamo", uglavnom ne korespondira s realnim mogućnostima, mentalitetom, navikama i poviješću. U Turskoj su modernizirajuće, opresivne reforme kreirale sekularnu javnu ideologiju i javne rituale koji su se ponekad prilično 'nespretno' sinkronizirali i integrirali sa svakodnevicom građana, njihovim etničkim identitetima, vjekom, itd.

U takvoj društvenopolitičkoj konstelaciji javni je prostor izjednačen s prostorom državne regulacije i autoriteta u kojem vlada ujednačenost i gdje država markira svoju protežnost. U posljednjem je radu simptomatičnog naslova *Ground Control* Ögüt naprosto izlio asfalt po cijelom prizemlju novoosnovane galerije Rodeo u Istanbulu. S jedne strane, ovu akciju jednostavno se može interpretirati iz pozicije institucionalne kritike – ulica u posvećenom prostoru umjetnosti djeluje slučajnom prolazniku kao simbolična gesta solidarnosti i dobrodošlice. No asfalt za Ögüta ima drugo značenje: on je označitelj grada i mjesta do kojeg je dosegla ruka države.<sup>7</sup> Drugim riječima, mjesto do kojeg je došao asfalt je modernizirano

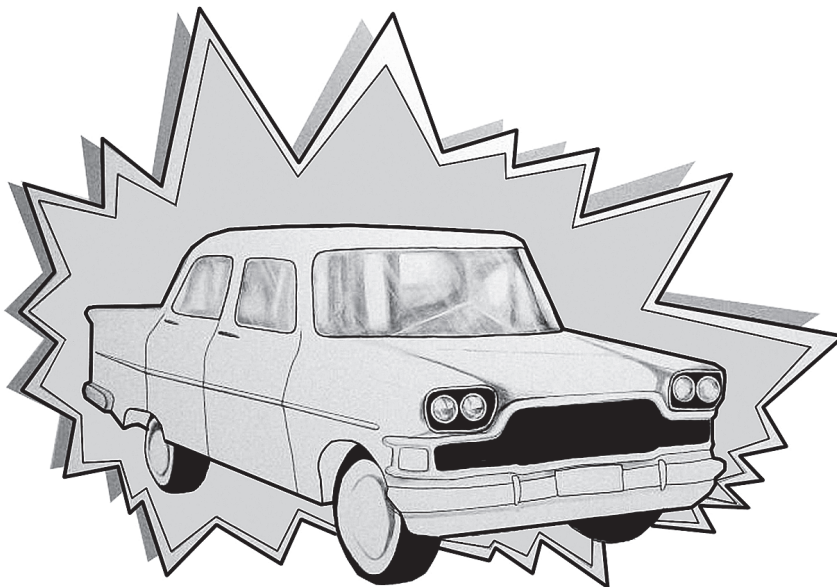
▷ Razgovor Vasifa Kortuna s umjetnikom objavljen u katalogu izložbe. *Ahmet Ögüt: Softly But Firmly*, Galerija "Miroslav Kraljević", Zagreb & Revolver, Frankfurt, 2007

#### 4. Ahmet Ögüt, *Revolucija / Revolution*

the 'particular public,' which belongs to someone or to a few. In fact, it does not convey so much the entry of the street into the gallery as that of the public into the private, alluding to the internalisation of modernisation and the privatisation of politics. Privatisation and nostalgia of ideology (whose symptoms are, among other things, Atatürk's pictures in people's homes and small craftsmen's shops), same as the return of religion and tradition into the public sphere, reveal a powerful moving force in neo-liberal democracy, which transforms and creates a picture of local politics even on the margins of state regulation.

The recent political turn towards Islam and the revival of traditional values has resulted above all from the new economic situation, linked to the emergence of a new type of modernity – the neo-liberal one. Erdoğan's party has firmly endorsed joining the EU as a token of economic stability, even though Turkey has remained a problematic candidate for gaining the hand of seductive Europe because of the latter's fear of Islamic fundamentalism. The apparently benign fact that irritates both secularists and the West is

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## Revolution

29 October 1961

The first car made in Turkey, named 'Devrim' (Revolution), was made by order of the president of the Turkish Republic, Cemal Gürsel, and taken to Ankara by train for him to test drive to the mausoleum of Atatürk. But, as the engineers forgot to fill the tank with petrol, the car stopped after only moving forwards 20 feet.

The 'Devrim' project was much debated and eventually shelved.

'The Turk manufactures automobiles, but forgets to fuel them'  
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rano i pod ingerencijom države te regulirano njezinim institucijama, a građani 'dovedeni u red' i pod kontrolom. Asfalt u galeriji čin je ne samo susreta 'vanjskog' i 'unutrašnjeg', nego predstavlja penetraciju 'općeg javnog' koje 'pripada svima' u 'partikularno javno' koje pripada nekom ili nekima. Zapravo on predstavlja manje ulazak ulice u galeriju a više ulazak javnog u privatno, aludirajući na internalizaciju ideologije modernizacije i privatizaciju politike. Privatizacija i nostalgizacija ideologije (čiji su simptom, između ostalog, Atatürkove slike u domovima i malim obrtničkim dućanima), jednako kao povratak religije i tradicionalnosti u javnu sferu s druge strane, predstavlja moćnu pokretačku silu u neoliberalnoj demokraciji te transformira i kreira lokalnu političku sliku i na marginama državne regulacije.

Recentni politički zaokret prema islamu i povratku tradicionalnih vrijednosti proizlazi prije svega iz novih ekonomskih prilika vezanih uz pojavu neoliberalnog moderniteta. Erdoğanova stranka se čvrsto zalaže za ulazak u EU kao zalag ekonomske stabilnosti; s druge strane, Turska je problematična kandidat-

**5. Ahmet Ögüt, Devrim, Apexart, New York, 2007.**

the fact that Erdoğan's wife and daughter have been appearing in public wearing traditional head veils. What does it mean in today's Turkey, where veils are still forbidden in public institutions? Since the birth of the Republic, they have been banned from the public sphere, even though Turkish women keep fighting actively, through associations and lobbying, for the right to wear that symbol of traditionalism and religiosity. While they argue that it should be a basic human right, Europe has confirmed the ban as legitimate. It is precisely through the problem of veils at the universities that Islamic identity has entered the public sphere, which used to be firmly controlled by secularism. By making its appearance at the university – the place of knowledge, progress, and modernity – the veil has caused destabilization in all those binary oppositions that used to maintain the privileged position of secularism as a second name for the modern, educated, urban society.

Work of another young Turkish artist, Köken Ergun, reveals anxiety, reserve, but also fascination with the dichotomy of tradition and modernity,



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**6.-8. Ahmet Ögüt, Ground Control, 2007.**

**220 m<sup>2</sup> izložbenog prostora prekriveno sa 2 tone asfalta / 220 m<sup>2</sup> of exhibition space covered with 2 tons of asphalt  
Ljubaznošću umjetnika i Rodeo Gallery / Courtesy of the artist and Rodeo Gallery**

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kinja za ruku zavodljive Europe zbog straha od islamskog fundamentalizma. Naizgled benigna činjenica koja izaziva zazor sekularista, ali i Zapada, jest činjenica da se Erdoğanova supruga i kćer u javnosti pojavljuju s tradicionalnim maramama. Što to znači danas u Turskoj, gdje su marame i dalje zabranjene u javnim institucijama? Marame su od početka Republike protjerane iz javne sfere, iako se turske žene kroz udruge i lobiranje aktivno bore za mogućnost nošenja ovog tradicionalnog i vjerskog obilježja, argumentirajući to svojim stavom da je riječ o elementarnom ljudskom pravu, dok istodobno Europa proglašava da je zabrana legitimna. Upravo se pojavom marama na univerzitetima islamski identitet pojavio u javnoj sferi koja je oduvijek bila pod kontrolom sekularizma. Pojavom na sveučilištu – mjestu znanja, progressa i modernosti – marame je prouzročila destabilizaciju svih binarnosti koje su održavale privilegiranost sekularizma kao nazivnika za moderno, obrazovano, urbano društvo.

U radovima drugoga mladog turskog umjetnika, Kökena Erguna, čitamo strah i zazor od dihotomije

which has created a hybrid or, to quote the artist, a 'mutant' public body in a permanent performative. His video *Untitled* from 2004 documents a performance before the camera, in which the artist places traditional Muslim veils of various patterns on his head, one after another, in a long series and with a strategy of persistence, tying them in a variety of traditional ways. In the patterns of this repetitive series, there are two that do not appear especially conspicuous – the Turkish flag and that of the European Union. The fact that a man is wrapping veils around his head contains an element of humour and even of queer culture, while the duration of the event and the performer's painful persistence are reflected in his facial expression, which is changing throughout the video from calm and indifferent to mildly frustrated and tired, until a final tragicomic turn brings tears to his face.

Why is the artist crying? In fact, it may be considered an act of solidarity, empathy, and symbolic support to the disturbance of uniformity in the pub-

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9-10. Köken Ergun, *Bez naslova / Untitled*, video, 2004.



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tradicije i modernizacije, koja stvara hibridno ili, kako ga sam umjetnik naziva, 'mutantno' javno tijelo u stalnom performativu, ali istodobno i fascinaciju svim time. Njegov videorad *Untitled* iz 2004. dokumentira performans izveden pred kamerom u kojemu umjetnik u dugome nizu, strategijom izdržljivosti, na glavu stavlja tradicionalne muslimanske marame raznih uzoraka, vežući ih na nekoliko različitih tradicionalnih načina, dok se među uzorcima umetnutima u repetitivni niz pojavljuju dvije marame koje se ne ističu posebno – jedna s uzorkom turske zastave i druga s uzorkom zastave Europske unije. Činjenica da muškarcac omata glavu maramama posjeduje elemente humora pa i *queer*-geste, dok dugotrajnost i mučnu izdržljivost performerera posreduje izraz njegova lica tijekom trajanja videa, koji se mijena od smirenog i ravnodušnog preko blago frustriranog i umornog sve do tragikomičnog zaokreta kad se na njegovu licu pojavljuju suze.

Zašto umjetnik plače? Riječ je zapravo o činu solidarnosti, empatije i simboličke podrške uzurpiranju uniformnosti javnog pogleda sekularne države, koja je prihvatila univerzalnu percepciju moderniteta kao gotovo isključivo europskoga. Ergun čini vidljivim upravo subverzivni postupak osviještenih turskih žena koje uvođenjem marame u javnu sferu uporno destabiliziraju postojeće klasifikacije. Kao što sugerira Judith Butler,<sup>8</sup> moguće je preispitivati kategorije identiteta koje su nadređene tijelima i mjestima

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<sup>8</sup> Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble; Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*, Routledge, New York, 1999., 185.

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<sup>8</sup> Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble; Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*, Routledge, New York, 1999, p. 185.

alic outlook of the secularist state, which has adopted the universal perception of modernity as almost exclusively European. Ergun has revealed the almost subversive act of free-thinking Turkish women, who have been persistently destabilizing the existing classifications by introducing the veil into the public sphere. As Judith Butler has suggested,<sup>8</sup> it is possible to question the categories of identity superimposed on bodies and places through the 'public eye', not by avoiding that eye and retaining the position of the invisible, but precisely by acquiring that visibility in ways that elude and diminish the values of the existing categories. Such newly acquired visibilities provoke amazement, anger, and even scandal precisely because they are unexpected and non-categorizing. The veils that the artist has used as the symbol of such destabilization threaten the privileged public eye because they challenge the authority of that eye and the possibility of hierarchical positioning of its Other. The determination of Turkish students in wearing their veils in urban public places has acted precisely that way – by subverting the authority and control of the secular public eye, whereas the subversive effects of Islamic visibility (such as the veil) have resulted from its power to disturb the binary oppositions imposed by the secular discourse.

Since the beginnings of the Turkish Republic, the institutionalisation of modernity in the public sphere has been based on preserving the duality that places

kroz 'pogled javnog' ne izbjegavanjem toga pogleda i zadržavanjem pozicije nevidljivosti, nego upravo zadržavanjem te vidljivosti na načine koji izmiču i umanjuju vrijednosti postojećih kategorija. Takve novo zadobivene vidljivosti izazivaju čuđenje, bijes i skandal upravo zato što su neočekivane i nekategorizirajuće. Marame koje umjetnik koristi kao simbol takve destabilizacije prijete privilegiranom javnom pogledu jer izazivaju autoritet toga pogleda i mogućnost hijerarhijskog pozicioniranja njegova Drugoga. Inzistiranje turskih studentica na nošenju marame u urbanim javnim mjestima djeluje upravo na taj način – subvertiranjem autoriteta i kontrole sekularnog javnog pogleda, a subverzivni efekti islamske vidljivosti (kao što je marama) proizlaze iz njihove moći da uznemire binarne pozicije koje nameće sekularni diskurs.

Institucionalizacija moderniteta u javnoj sferi od početka Turske Republike temelji se na očuvanju dualnosti koja sekularizam smješta u centar, a islam na periferiju (nerijetko izjednačenu s tradicionalnijim istokom zemlje). Umjetnik (muškarac) u performativnoj gesti repetitivnog stavljanja marame dodatno uzurpira tu jednadžbu – s jedne strane ironizirajući cijelu politički i medijski eksploatiranu problematiku pojave marama, dok s druge činom transvestije dodatno destabilizira binarne pozicije kategorija roda, ali i društvene klasifikacije u kojima javni pogled označava islam kao tradicionalan, neobrazovan i nazadan, dok su istodobno sve te nametnute kategorizacije islama u posljednjem desetljeću očigledno pokazane kao neodržive i radikalno izmijenjene.

Čini se, dakle, da sekularizam u Turskoj više nije javan, a islam privatn, da sekularizam nije jedini koji je urban i progresivan (dok je islam ruralan), te konačno da sekularizam nije više univerzalan, a islam partikularan. Stoga se nameće pitanje: s koje strane dolazi ta nova modernizacija, odnosno novi modernitet u Turskoj o kojoj piše *The Economist* i govori premijer Erdoğan, i je li ona uistinu utemeljena na strategijama razvoja i jasnom pogledu u budućnost? Čini mi se da polarizacija turskog društva danas počiva na dvije polumitske točke u prošlosti. S jedne strane ona se ogleda u restauraciji tradicionalnih vrijednosti, ali i novoj popularizaciji orijentalnog i otomanskog, dok s druge strane ideja progresa za sekularne Turke znači također vraćanje u prošlost. Turska autorica Esra Özyürek<sup>9</sup> vidi modernost u Turskoj (na koju se dobrim dijelom na tragikomičan način referiraju radovi Ahmeta Öğüta i Kökena Erguna) kao neprestano razvijajući izum, ali i objekt nostalgije koja se ogleda i u javnoj i u privatnoj sferi. Taj se fenomen, kako opaža Özyürek, javlja upravo u uvjetima u kojima kemalistički Turci ne mogu locirati modernost ni u sadašnjosti ni u budućnosti Turske, ali ni u sadašnjosti Europe, pa se stoga nužno okreću prošlosti. Na prvi pogled takva se nostalgična vizija modernosti čini kao kompleksna ironija, kao neočekivano okretanje koje pojedinci što su promišljali modernost s obzirom na ideju progresa i usmjerenosti prema budućnosti nisu mo-

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<sup>9</sup> Esra Özyürek, *Nostalgia For The Modern. State Secularism and Everyday Politics in Turkey*, Duke University Press, Durham/London, 2006.

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<sup>9</sup> Esra Özyürek, *Nostalgia For The Modern. State Secularism and Everyday Politics in Turkey*, Duke University Press, Durham/London, 2006.

secularism in the centre, while pushing the Islam to the periphery (as it is often identified with the more traditional, eastern part of the country). The artist (a man) has disturbed that equation additionally through his performative gesture of repeatedly placing the veil on his head – on the one hand by treating with irony the entire issue of the veils, exploited by the politics and the media, and on the other hand by additionally destabilizing, with his act of travesty, the binary oppositions of gender and the social divisions in which the public eye has discarded Islam as traditional, uneducated, and regressive, even though these forced categorizations have proven unsustainable and changed radically in the past decade.

It seems, therefore, that secularism in Turkey is no longer public, nor Islam private, that secularism is no longer the only one that is urban and progressive (while Islam should be rural), and that, eventually, secularism is no longer universal, nor is Islam particular. And that leads to the following question: where does this new modernization come from, what is that new Turkish modernity that *The Economist* has been writing or Prime Minister Erdoğan speaking about, and is it truly based upon the strategies of progress and a clear gaze into the future? It seems to me that the polarization of the Turkish society is now based on two semi-mythical points in the past. On the one hand, the revival of traditional values has also brought a new popularisation traditional values but also of the Oriental and the Ottoman; on the other hand, the secular Turks' idea of progress also means turning to the past. Turkish writer Esra Özyürek<sup>9</sup> sees modernity in Turkey (to which the artworks of Ahmet Öğüt and Köken Ergun largely refer in a tragicomic way) as a permanently evolving invention, but also as an object of nostalgia, reflected both in the public and in the private sphere. That phenomenon, as Özyürek has observed, has emerged precisely in those circumstances in which the Kemalist Turks can no longer locate modernity neither in Turkey's present nor in Europe's present, which is why they are naturally turning to the past. At first glance, such nostalgic vision of modernity seems like complex irony, an unexpected twist that could never be predicted by those who thought of modernity in terms of progress and as future-oriented. However, as Özyürek concludes, that phenomenon is simply a different expression of modernity, above all in its non-Western form, since that one has always been located in the non-present. It is precisely to these two types of modernity that Turkish artists have been referring to, bringing them into a direct relationship with one another, but at the same time preserving an ironic distance with respect to both (the nationalist type and the present, neo-liberal/capitalist type) and questioning the collective hopes placed in morality and social progress, but also those placed in modernization as a form of dominance and control over personal freedom and 'public welfare'. Turkey has demonstrated that being

gli predvidjeti. No, kako Özyürek zaključuje, taj fenomen predstavlja naprosto različit izraz modernosti, prije svega kao njezin ne-zapadni oblik koji se uvijek iznova locira u ne-sadašnjosti. Upravo na ta dva moderniteta osvrću se umjetnici u Turskoj, dovodeći ih u izravnu vezu, ali zadržavajući ironijski odmak prema oba tipa (onom nacionalističkom i današnjem neo-liberalno-kapitalističkom), preispitujući kolektivne nade u moral i društveni progres, ali i modernizaciju kao oblik dominacije i kontrole nad osobnim slobodama i 'javnom srećom'. Turska danas pokazuje da biti moderan i dalje znači živjeti u paradoksu i kontradikciji: biti tradicionalan i revolucionaran istodobno, dok umjetnost koja se zaokuplja javnom sferom ukazuje da modernost postoji jedino kao jedinstvo mnoštva nejedinstava. ▶

modern still means living in paradox and contradiction: being traditional and revolutionary at the same time. Art, preoccupied as it is, with the public sphere, demonstrates that modernity exists only as the unity of a number of disunities. ○

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