

Caricaturing the enemy: caricatures and the Greek-Turkish War 1919-1922

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Abstract

A century ago, the Greek-Turkish War of 1919-1922 (Turkish War of Liberation/Asia Minor Campaign) was reaching its culmination point. The war was also fought in the pages of the Press. In this study, we look at the characteristics of the caricatures marshalled in the war effort by three publications. The Greek newspaper Skrip, and the Turkish satirical magazines Karagöz and Güler yüz. We find that most expectations based on semiotics and the concept of interstate rivalry are borne out. Depictions of the 'Other' are generally negative. That said we also find that Skrip dedicated the majority of its caricatures to targeting the internal 'Other', the Venizelist faction during the National Schism, in contrast to the more focused targeting of the Greek 'Other' by the Turkish publications. This finding indicates the dominance of domestic conflicts over the external conflict even during the inflation point of the Greek-Turkish Interstate Rivalry of 1866-1925.

Keywords: humour, caricatures, war, superiority-denigration theory, rivalry.

1. Introduction

One hundred years ago, the Greek-Turkish War of 1919-1922 (War of Turkish Liberation/Asia Minor Campaign) raged. It raged in battlefields and diplomatic conferences, and it also raged in the press. In this paper, we combine insights from political science, history, and communication studies to explore how the war was waged through the medium of caricatures. We focus on how

caricatures were used to represent the ‘Other’ within conditions of intensified interstate rivalry. We use three sources: the caricatures published between 1920-1922 in the Greek newspaper *Skrip*, the Istanbul/Constantinople based Ottoman satirical magazine *Karagöz*, and the Ankara based Turkish satirical magazine *Güleryüz*. This is a novel use of these under-utilised sources. Our analysis confirms the political science expectation that the ‘Other’ will be negatively presented, and unearths many of the elements of the use of caricatures noted by studies based on semiology and the use and abuse of humour. Our analysis indicates that the humour used in the caricatures of the two sides against each other, was indicative of their attempt to present their side as a champion of ‘Westernisation’ against an Oriental ‘Other’.

That said, we also find that in the case of *Skrip* more cartoons targeted domestic opponents, namely Venizelist supporters of Greek Prime Minister Eleftherios Venizelos, rather than was the case of the Turkish ‘Other’. This was especially the case in comparison to the coverage in the Turkish sources. This supports the findings of historical research that argues that, during the 1919-1922 period, at least the anti-Venizelist faction in power from 1920 to 1922, was more focused on domestic opponents than on the war. It also fits the expectation of using humour as a way to release pent up emotions created by social repression, and exorcise the period of political servitude by denigrating those who were seen as the authors of that repression.

The paper is structured as follows. We first explain our theoretical frameworks. We then present our theoretical expectations from the analysis. We then move on to presenting the analysis of *Skrip*, followed by the analysis of *Karagöz* and *Güleryüz*. In the conclusion, we take stock of what we learned.

2. Theoretical frameworks: semiology in conditions of interstate rivalry

There are two theoretical frameworks that guide this study. The first is the interstate rivalry framework. Rivalry studies were developed by political scientists studying international relations, as a framework for understanding why certain pairs of states tended to account for the majority of interstate wars in the post-1815 international political system (Klein et al. 2006; Colaresi et al. 2009; Goertz et al. 2016). Empirical findings associate interstate rivalry with the frequent onset of war in a dyad, making the condition of rivalry one of the most dangerous Steps to War (Senese & Vasquez 2008).

The most negative impact of Rivalry is the transformation of disputes over concrete issues that could be resolved by bargaining, into Manichean struggles of identity that permit no compromise. The issue becomes the ‘Other’, and the conflict a zero-sum game. Rivalry thus is a condition that fosters the use of force to resolve issues, and constricts the available bargaining space, while also promoting a narrative of enmity among the involved populations, making attempts to overcome and terminate a rivalry hard (Rudkevich et al. 2013). The rivalry argument is not based on the pre-existence of feelings of animosity between two states. “Ancient” hatreds can be mobilised to support a policy of enmity, but the causes are more prosaic. Instead, the focus is on explaining why and how, while the majority of interstate political and strategic conflicts that become militarised terminate quickly, a minority of them fester, leading to long-standing interstate rivalries that foster images of animosity and repeated military conflict. Rather than narratives of national animosity being the causes of interstate rivalry, they are instead one of the effects.

The Ottoman Empire and succeeding Turkish Republic were in a state of Interstate Rivalry with Greece between 1866 and 1925. The Greece-Turkey War of 1919-1922 can be considered the culmination point of this conflictual relationship. This was a very intense rivalry, with indicators that it was extremely resistant to external factors, such as major power interactions (Sert & Travlos 2018). Our focus is on the use of symbols, in the form of caricatures, to promote

the feelings of enmity during the Greek-Turkish War of 1919-1922. This brings us to the question of the study of symbols.

Caricatures can be seen as one more weapon in a Rivalry, where they are used as symbols to promote a specific narrative of enmity. This framework in turn is based on the interdisciplinary study of the issue of *representation* which has been appropriated by various fields in the academic world –whilst non-representational theories, embracing more-than-human and non-human agencies, have relatively recently emerged within the more contemporaneous geo-philosophical and critical cultural debates. Cultural studies, sociology, media studies, political science, anthropology are among the fields of study that have been tackling with the concept of representation. Central to this enterprise is the transdisciplinary concept of semiology (and semiotics), and can be defined as the study of signs and symbols and the observation of how symbols are produced, re-reproduced, and conceived (de Saussure 1916; Barthes 1964).

As we argue based on our case later on, the representation of the ‘Other’ is the central theme of the body of available illustrations used by both sides to comment on the war. Power and discursive strategies give shape to Otherness, which brings about the production of stereotypes (Mannarini et al. 2020). In other words, power and discourse, which is conveyed through various forms of media and the different socio-political structures of a society through representations, are important in shaping the definition of what the ‘Other’ signifies. Likewise, in *Representation*, Stuart Hall suggests that representation connects meaning and language to culture (Hall 2003 [1997]). Utilising a constructionist approach, which focuses on how meaning is constructed in and through language, Hall highlights how those meanings are derived socially and culturally, therefore through established conventions –rather than being fixed and ‘natural’. Thereupon, media representation, being a signifying practice, produces shared meanings about our environment and ourselves. This process consequently functions to justify the portrayal and framing of various social groups, and especially minorities within an unequal framework or category (Cottle 2000: 2)

Taking into consideration caricatures as symbols within the context laid out above, we can argue that caricatures represent the ‘Self’ and the ‘Other’ through conceptions of humour, which are embedded in cultures. Humour has a crucial role in the preservation of culture, whilst altering and reproducing it in multifarious ways (Lund & Lundström 2021: 278). In other words, humour consolidates stereotypes, allowing viewers to reevaluate particular representations by utilising established meanings reproduced by cultural practices. Correspondingly, the caricatures in the historic magazines of both Turkish and Greek societies that we will explore in this article should not be read as direct ‘mirrors’ of historical contexts, but as sophisticated media where meanings are produced, re-produced, and consolidated in order to define ‘Identity’ through navigating symbolisations and discourses about ‘us’ / ‘them’, or, ‘we’ (self) / ‘they’ (Other). All through the medium of humour.

Another significant aspect on the use of symbols for media and cultural studies is the consideration of audience. How one’s own or the ‘Others’ culture is portrayed, and how this will be received by the targeted audience, are crucial factors in choosing the media and the discourse when forming the message. In this respect, Ang (1996) pinpoints that the vitality of popular culture rests on how media messages are received by the audience, which embodies the processes of ‘sign systems’ -in the sense of semiology and semiotics-, ‘re-reading’, and ‘symbolising’. This connection in turn connects popular culture to the concept of hegemony and the reproduction of hegemonic narratives.

Analysing political caricatures from such a theoretical framework would again lead us to argue that the way reality is represented, makes bare within itself a particular worldview which reproduces and supports a social hegemony. This in turn makes representations of reality, in this case those conveyed through political caricatures, constructed. In other words, the messages

which caricatures carry are part of agreed upon conventions and ways of looking at history, therefore they are culturally bound.

As a result, there are limits to the ability of cartoonists to massage popular opinion. For caricatures to work they must rely on the existing preconceptions and popular beliefs of their audience (Hamilakis 2000: 58). Individual cartoonists must work within a world of symbols and images that make sense to their readers, with the result being that they are less trend-setters than indicators of public attitudes and cultural consciousness (Hamilakis 2000: 58; Aviv 2013). As a result, the subversive power of caricatures is conditioned and limited. Their depiction of the 'Other' is not independent of macro-politics, both in the sense of editorial line and in the sense of popular opinion (Rigatos 2018). In the case of the Greece-Turkey rivalry, cartoonists have operated along the lines of Superiority-Denigration Theory, seeking to use popular symbols and prejudices to exalt their own side, and denigrate the opposing side (Rigatos 2018: 5-6). This is more so the case in periods of intensification of interstate rivalry, when actual violent conflict hardens popular attitudes. As we show, the caricatures in each magazine studied have targeted their messages in accordance with the unique sign system of each society which are intertwined with their own unique culture, language, and accepted habitual practices and customs.

Another critical matter in question would be the 'contested heritage' between the two societies, Turkish and Greek; hence the signifying practices and the way how the 'Other' is (re)framed through political caricatures should be taken into consideration accordingly. In this regard, the cities of Istanbul/Constantinople and Izmir/Smyrna, which are part of Turkey, are part of this contested (cultural) heritage between the two countries. Especially the Turkish caricatures focus on the contested character of cities, with the goal of promoting the illegitimacy of the stakes made by the Greek Other. There are similarities here with other cases of contested heritage, for example the Republican Catholic - Unionist Protestant divide in Northern Ireland (Welch 2000; Remm 2011). The caricatures serve to reassert dividing lines between 'Self' and the 'Other' that many times might had been rendered invisible.

Cartoons and caricatures are tools of popular politics and have been used to define and guide political discourse along certain paths (Hamilakis 2000: 58). They can thus be used to promote a narrative of enmity among the general populace, and existing studies have explored that dynamic within the general context of the South-Eastern Balkans, Turkey and more specifically the Greek-Turkish rivalry (Parusheva 2008, 2013: 418-419; İnce 2014, 2015; Antonopoulos 2016; Rigatos 2018; Papa 2019; Okyar 2020). One of the main tools here is the mobilisation of ethnic stereotypes as a form of crude and aggressive humour in order to denigrate the enemy, and uplift the compatriot.

This type of ethnic humour is aimed at another ethnic group through negatively stereotyping them. It is common for such kind of a humour to be reserved for the residents of neighbouring countries or 'native' minorities (Parusheva 2008). Although 'similar Others' are viewed to be not insulting, those who stand out from the mainstream dominant culture are problematic (Kuipers, 2012: 178). Likewise, Turkey and Greece being neighbouring countries have, nevertheless, differing mainstream religious beliefs and practices, which have been mobilised to lambast the 'Other' in times of conflict.

It is humour, thus the linguistic construction of jokes, which enables negativity and moral judgement about the "Other" to be conveyed. Hence, humour embraces language, linguistics, and narrative in such an effective way that, according to Purcell et al. (2016), the late-night comedy shows have had major impacts on the political decisions of the audience. Just like how humour, such as in the form of comedy, transforms political imaginings, it can also act as a significant coping mechanism for people, a way of survival, in the hardest lifestyles of more despotic and totalitarian regimes. Fluri (2018), in this regard, examines how Afghan people in their everyday lives have utilised humour as way of dealing with conflict, corporeal insecurity, and dangerous and precarious situations. In a similar manner, Noderer (2020) examines how

humour has generated relief among Syrians during the time of various social movements such as the Arab Spring.

The above examples highlight that despite the diversity of forms, many of which seem to eschew any overt political meaning, humour is unavoidably political, and indeed can be a sophisticated tool for both resistance and survival. Of course, that diversity is driven by the diversity of the socio-political and cultural conditions within which humour is practiced, which can vary also by the time period during which it was practiced. As a result, understanding the use and abuse of humour as a political tool does not just require a grasp of the semiology and linguistics that give it form, but also the political conditions, including were relevant those of international relations. This is what makes semiology strongly intertwined with humour, as it allows to perceive and share the messages of a particular humour (be that a joke, cartoon strip, late-night comedy, etc.), especially considering the fact that the ‘art’ of conveying political messages through humour requires shared signification systems and practices which are delivered to the readers or audience through different forms of representation. In war the therapeutic potential of humour, interacts with its political one, helping people take courage by denigrating the enemy and presenting them as weak. But this is a problematic use of humour, as it reflects and reinforces popular prejudices. Both the Greek and Turkish caricatures make full use of this element of humour, and could be seen as playing their role in the increasing savagery of the war, and the unwillingness for compromise.

2.1. Expectations

In this paper, we focus specifically on the expression of the enmity that characterised the Greek-Turkish rivalry in its culmination point, as tracked through three publications that were published between 1920 and 1922. Our choice of sources was based on availability, and the use of caricatures as a medium of political message. On the Greek side, we focused on the newspaper *Skrip* which was one of the pioneers of the political cartoon among newspapers in Greece. On the Turkish side, we focus on the venerable *Karagöz* satirical journal, published since 1908, and the *Güteryüz* satirical journal, published specifically in the period of the war.

The Rivalry explanatory framework would lead us to expect all three publications to publish cartoons that denigrate the ‘Other’, the ‘Greek’ in the case of *Güteryüz* and *Karagöz* and the ‘Turkish Nationalist’ in the case of *Skrip*. However, one of the unique characteristics of the conflict was that it overlapped with strong domestic conflicts as well. In the case of Greece, the war was fought in conditions of severe domestic polarisation as a result of the National Schism between supporters of the image of the Megali Idea promoted by Greek Prime Minister (1917-1920) Eleftherios Venizelos, namely the Venizelists, and supporters of the competing national policy promoted by supporters of King Constantine I, with the main driving force of this Constantinist faction being the Greek Prime Minister (1920-1921) Demetrius Gounares (Mavrogordatos 2015). The period 1920-1922 saw an escalation, as after a period of authoritarian Venizelist rule, the politically excluded Constantinist faction came back to power in the November 1920 elections, and took control of the prosecution of the war in Anatolia/Asia Minor. Ultimately, the faction was burdened with the defeat and Catastrophe of 1922. *Skrip* was one of the most vehement Constantinist papers, seeing itself as engaged in war to the death with the Venizelist opposition. This trend in the Constantinist government of 1920-1922 has led some researchers to accuse them of violating central tenants of realist political thought by permitting domestic concerns to over-shadow the national interest (Tsirigotis 2020).

In the case of the Ottoman Empire, the War of Liberation overlapped with a conflict over the character of the Ottoman Empire, the rise of a Turkish nationalism as a central state ideology, and the opposition to the collaborationist government of the Sultan. While *Karagöz* was more circumspect in its engagement in this internal conflict, at least initially, *Güteryüz*, like *Skrip*,

was a fighting publication, dedicated to the ridicule of domestic opponents as much as external ones.

Our expectations going into our analysis are thus as follows:

- 1) Depictions of the External 'Other' will be overwhelmingly negative.
- 2) The Domestic 'Other' will be just as often depicted negatively as the External 'Other'.
- 3) This will be stronger in the Greek case compared to the Turkish Case.

3. The sources

3.1. Skrip

Skrip, originally published by Evangelos Kousoulakos, first appeared as a humour magazine in 1893. Kousoulakos was born in Kalamata in southern Greece, but had a connection with Istanbul/Constantinople, as he had worked as a reporter for *Neologos*, an Ottoman Greek publication. The name *Skrip* comes from the British phrase for receipts and was popularised from a financial crisis under the Soteropoulos-Ralles government. *Skrip* became a daily paper in 1895 (Zolota 2009: 32) Like other papers, published material included articles, news and opinion pieces, literature, and so forth. In 1903, after the death of Kousoulakos, the paper was passed on to the publisher Grigoris Eustratiades. During this period *Skrip* had one of the highest circulations in Greece (Zolota 2009: 5, 28-29, 33-34).

Politically, *Skrip* was the most vehemently anti-Venizelist newspaper during the 1915-1930 period. This was vehement enough that the 1917-1920 Venizelist regime prohibited its publication as part of its wartime censorship between 11 May 1918 (24 in new calendar) and 20 September (10 August in the new calendar) 1920. The paper was again closed down by the anti-Constantinist and Venizelist leaning military mutiny during January and November 1923. It was once again closed down by the Pangalos Regime, between June 1925 and January 1926. The paper stopped its circulation on 21 June 1930, and an attempt to revive it in 1939 did not last long.

The unique characteristic of *Skrip* among Greek newspapers of the era was that it still published caricatures in the front page, an inheritance of its origins as a satirical magazine. These were not present in all issues of the paper. Indeed, only a small minority of issues featured caricatures, but they were more often used in comparison to other Greek newspapers. The caricatures published in *Skrip* were not *per se* editorial cartoons, since there was no editorial article for the cartoons to support in the 1920-1923 period (İnce 2014: 6414-6415). Instead, the paper's main points were made mainly in the front-page opinion pieces written under the pseudonyms 'O Palios' (The Old One) and 'Tovias'. Rather, caricatures when present tended to target one of the two main targets of the paper, either Venizelists, or the Turkish Nationalist movement.

Between 1920 and 1922, *Skrip* published 802 issues, of which fifty-five (55) contained an illustration. Of those, 51 were caricatures and four were propaganda illustrations of King Constantine. The distribution of illustrations by year of publication can be seen in Table 1. We can thus say that caricatures were only present in 6% of the issues. The primary reasons for this was the cost. In 1920, caricatures were present in 14% of the issues. In 1921, this declined to 11%, as there was a preference to spend limited funds on photos from the front-lines. The collapse of the Greek economy in 1922 also affected the press. In 1922, only 1% of the issues had a caricature. Another indicator of the issue of cost was the reuse of the same caricature with just the caption being changed. We were able to locate signatures in twenty-eight (28) of the 52 caricatures, with Euthimios Papadimitriou (as ΜΙΜ ΠΑΠ [MIM PAP] and ΜΙΜ,

PAPADIMITRIOU) being one of the most prolific (eight pieces). We were not able to identify other artists.

Table 1. The Caricatures of Skrip

<i>Year of Publication</i>	<i>Number of Issues</i>	<i>Number of Caricatures</i>	<i>Caricatures Targeting Domestic Opponents</i>
1920	90	11	10
1921	353	36	16
1922	359	4	4
<i>Totals</i>	802	51	30

The table categorises the cartoons published in *Skrip* first based on whether they are caricatures targeting domestic or foreign opponents, or laudatory cartoons. We will not be discussing laudatory cartoons. Caricatures are then divided between those that target domestic opponents, in the case of *Skrip* mainly Eleftherios Venizelos and the Liberal Party, targeting foreign opponents, or both. The distribution tells us an interesting story. First of all, out of fifty-one (51) caricatures published, thirty (30) or 59% targeted exclusively domestic opponents. All caricatures published in 1922 targeted Venizelos. This was when *Skrip* expressed support for the military movement that overthrew the Constantinist governments, however still opposing a restoration of Venizelos in Greek politics. In 1920, when *Skrip* was engaged in supporting the Constantinist electoral ticket of the United Opposition, and saw itself as a guard against any reconciliation with the defeated Venizelists, ten of eleven caricatures were targeting Venizelos or the Liberal Party.

There was one caricature, published in the 30/12/1920 issue that targeted both the domestic opponents and the Turkish nationalist movement.¹ Figure 1 depicts a heroic illustration of King Constantine grabbing from the ear a grotesque caricature of a mustached figure supposed to represent a Turk, wearing a fez, knee high trousers, and a short-sleeve shirt, and forcing them to kneel, while a club lays in the ground next to them. In the background, a caricature of a short balding figure in a European suit is seen running away with their back to the reader. Considering depictions of Venizelos in other cartoons in *Skrip*, that figure is Venizelos routed after the electoral defeat of November 1920. The caption reads “Kemal Prepares to Attack”. The message is simple, just as the Constantinists have routed the domestic opponent so they will force the arrogant but weak foreign opponent to yield. The caption actually refers to the official justification given by the Greek Army for the operations that led to the Battle of First İnönü, called the Battle of Bozüyük or Reconnaissance in Force in Greek sources, which was that the Turkish nationalists were preparing to attack.

¹ Σκρίπ (*Skrip*), 28th Year, 4th Period, Issue Number 5922 (30/12/1920). All dates for Greek publication are in the old calendar as published original. To transfer them to the new calendar, add thirteen days. Or use the web programme at http://aulis.org/Calendar/Old_%26_New_Style_Dates.html, last accessed 10/19/2021 at 22:48 pm IST. Digital scanned copies of the *Skrip* paper, the source we used, are made available by the Digital Library of Newspapers and Magazines of the National Library of Greece. This can be reached at <http://efimeris.nlg.gr/ns/main.html>, last accessed 10/19/2021 at 22:53 pm IST. It is only available in Greek. For some reason this source is blocked in Turkey, and must be reached via VPN.



Figure 1: Above: Shortly. Below: Kemal Prepares an Attack. Source: Skrip 30/12/1920.

The situation is radically different in 1921, the period when the Constantinist governments dominated by Demetrius Gounares sought to impose peace in Asia Minor by major military operations. Of the thirty-six (36) caricatures published by *Skrip*, eighteen (18) or 50% target external enemies. Two more combine attacks against the two. Of those that target an external enemy, one targets Bulgaria (28/10/1921).² The others focus on the Turkish opponent. Two combine attacks against both domestic and foreign opponents. Specifically Venizelos or his supporters are depicted as traitors working with the enemy.³ This is based on the presence of the National Defence (Ethniki Amyna) in Istanbul/Constantinople, an organisation founded by purged Venizelist officers after November 1920. *Skrip* and many Constantinists accused Venizelos of being the motivating factor behind the organisation, which they saw as treasonous.

The caricature reproduced in Figure 2, is a characteristic example of this theme. Published in the 27/01/1921 issue, it depicts a caricature of Turkish baggage carriers in Istanbul/Constantinople.⁴ There is a classist sub-text here, which refers to the idea that most Muslims in the Ottoman Empire were mostly employed in manual labour, signified by the many baggage carriers (hamalides) of Istanbul/Constantinople. The caricature depicts five human figures arranged around a cat. All of the human figures wear the clothes associated with manual labour in the Ottoman Empire (long-sleeve shirts, with sleeves tucked up, rough trousers or knee-length breeches, waist sashes, Anatolian slippers or barefoot, fez or skullcaps with small turbans).

² *Σκριπ (Skrip)*, 28th Year, 4th Period, Issue Number 7108 (28/10/1921).

³ *Σκριπ (Skrip)*, 28th Year, 4th Period, Issue Number 5990 (14/01/1921).

⁴ *Σκριπ (Skrip)*, 28th Year, 4th Period, Issue Number 5949 (27/01/1921).



Figure 2: Above: After the Theory about the Fatigue of the Greek Army. Below: The Consultations of the Turkish Liberals in Constantinople, asked to vote for Venizelos as their honorary president. Source: Skrip 27/01/1921.

Two of them are drawn seated on boxes, one holding a small pipe (tsibouki). Those two are drawn with slanted eyes and beards. One, is standing and holding a long cigarette and is pictured having Semitic characteristics and a beard. The other who is standing is reflected as being more youthful. The caption reads “After the Theory about the Fatigue of the Greek Army” and “The Consultations of the Turkish Liberals in Constantinople, asked to vote for Venizelos as their honorary president.” The message here refers to Venizelos stating the Greek army as being fatigued, which led to *Skrip* to portray him as the enemy, connected to the Liberal Amynites of Constantinople, again portrayed as Turks.

The depiction of the Turkish baggage carriers is characteristic of the treatment of the Turkish ‘Other’ in the seventeen caricatures published in 1921 that focused on the Turkish side. The majority of the depictions used a human figure, with only one depicting the ‘Other’ as an animal, in that case as a goat wearing a fez.⁵ A striking caricature depicting tiny human figures was published on 01/08/1921.⁶ Reproduced in Figure 3, the caricature depicts a gigantic Greek in traditional tsolias (Evezzone) Vlach costume standing on a piece of land bearing the name Ionia using a broom to sweep a multitude of tiny turbaned and slipper wearing human figures from a point of map named Dorylaeum (the Greek name for Eskişehir). The caption reads “Enough! For 500 years you have been squatting on the heritage of my ancestors”. The message is that the Turkish side is weak compared to the Greek side, and also refers to the popular justification for the war in Greece, the Megali Idea, which staked a Greek claim to western Asia Minor on the basis of the connection between modern Greeks and the Byzantine State and ancient Greek colonists.

⁵ *Σκριπ* (*Skrip*), 28th Year, 4th Period, Issue Number 5942 (20/01/1921).

⁶ *Σκριπ* (*Skrip*), 28th Year, 4th Period, Issue Number 7023 (01/08/1921).



Figure 3: Below: Enough! For 500 years you have been squatting on the heritage of my ancestors. Source: Skrip 01/08/1921.

All other caricatures depict more normal-sized human figures. For most, exaggerations are not especially grotesque. There are two exceptions.⁷ The most grotesque of them was published on 18/07/1921 and is reproduced in Figure 4.⁸ The caricature depicts a Turkish soldier, in the uniform worn in 1912-1913, with a fez, standing on a barren rocky ground. The soldier wears no shoes or boots, and his bare feet are massive in exaggeration. The same holds for his flaying fists, which are again massive in exaggeration. This in comparison to his pencil thin body. His face is tiny, with a protruding chin, somewhat stupid look on the face, and whiskers for moustaches. The caption reads “Paris: Kemal will pursue the Greeks even with his fists”. It refers to a report of the French news agency Havas. The message of the caricature is that the Turkish side might seem big and strong and present itself like that to gullible foreigners, but in reality, the flabby arms and legs hide a thin and frail body.

⁷ Σκριπ (*Skrip*), 28th Year, 4th Period, Issue Number 5939 (17/01/1921).

⁸ Σκριπ (*Skrip*), 28th Year, 4th Period, Issue Number 7009 (18/07/1921).



Figure 4: Below: Paris: Kemal will pursue the Greeks even with his fists. Source: Skrip 18/07/1921.

A commonality of all other caricatures is the depiction of the Turkish side either in caricatures of the uniforms of the Abdülhamid II era, with fez, high collars, and frock coats, or in caricatures of traditional Ottoman peasant or warrior clothes.⁹ The semiology of these was to present the Turkish side as antiquated repetitions of Hamidian autocracy (so heavily caricatured in Western Europe during the Armenian massacres of 1894-1895). The Turkish ‘Other’ is presented as an ‘Oriental Other’ in conflict with the ‘westernised’ Greeks.

The caricatures of MIM PAP, bring all of these elements together and especially stand out. While characters are exaggerated and drawn in comical style, they cannot be claimed to be grotesque. MIM PAP, depicts Mustafa Kemal Atatürk alternatively with a Fez and without. He is alternatively depicted in European military uniform or European civilian clothes.¹⁰ The caricature published in 27/10/1921 and reproduced in Figure 5 is illustrative.¹¹ It depicts a morose Mustafa Kemal in a European suit holding his head and smoking, demoralised by the Anglo-French split over the resolution of the Eastern Question. A bearded fellow, also in civilian clothes, tries to cheer him up but in an insulting manner. The caption reads “Do not weep budala herif, it will be fixed by Buyan effendi”. *Budala* in both Greek and Turkish means idiot or stupid,

⁹ See for examples *Σκριπ* (*Skrip*), 28th Year, 4th Period, Issue Number 7033 (18/08/1921), *Σκριπ* (*Skrip*), 28th Year, 4th Period, Issue Number 7090 (10/10/1921). Salep is a popular winter drink, usually sold by sellers who carry it in a gourd on their back. Also see *Σκριπ* (*Skrip*), 28th Year, 4th Period, Issue Number 5944 (22/01/1921).

¹⁰ See for examples *Σκριπ* (*Skrip*), 28th Year, 4th Period, Issue Number 6025 (25/04/1921) and *Σκριπ* (*Skrip*), 28th Year, 4th Period, Issue Number 6071 (10/06/1921).

¹¹ *Σκριπ* (*Skrip*), 28th Year, 4th Period, Issue Number 7107 (27/10/1921).

herif means guy, and *Buyan* refers to pro-Ankara French diplomat Francois Bouillon. In this case, the cartoon attacks also French policy, presenting the Turkish nationalists as being fully dependent for success on perfidious France.



Figure 5: Above: After the Anglo-French Contention. Below: Do not weep budala herif, it will be fixed by Buyan effendi. Source: Skrip 27/10/1921

A reference to the internal tensions within the Turkish side, as seen by the Greek press, is also made in the caricature published on 11/02/1921.¹² Reproduced in Figure 6, it depicts a white-moustached figure who is wearing a fez in a hot air balloon. He is pulling on a rope tethering the balloon to an anchor on the ground. The balloon is showing tears, losing air. However, the rope is cut close to the anchor, by a bare-headed moustached figure in a European suit. The captions read “The Results of the Movement of Mustafa Kemal (Mustafa Kemal is left with Angyra and at the Sublime Gate...chaos).” The Sublime Gate refers to the Sultan’s government, and the figure on the hot-air balloon is representing perhaps Sultan Mehmed VI Vahdettin. Angyra is the Greek name for Ankara, which also means “anchor” in Greek. The figure cutting the rope represents Mustafa Kemal. The message of the paper is that while Mustafa Kemal has been able to hold unto Ankara, his policy is leading to the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire.

¹² Σκριπ (*Skrip*), 28th Year, 4th Period, Issue Number 5964 (11/2/1921).

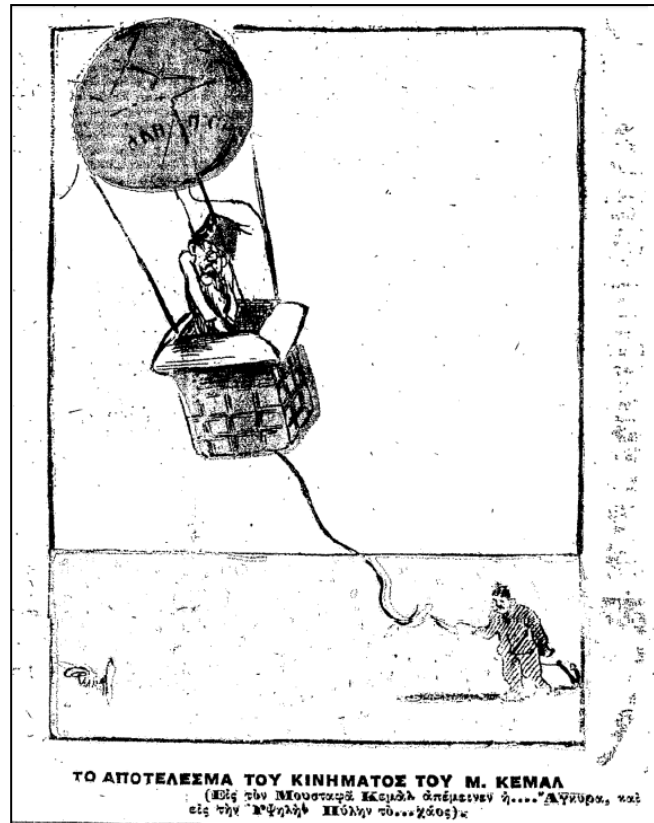


Figure 6: Below: The Results of the Movement of Mustafa Kemal (Mustafa Kemal is left with Angyra and at the Sublime Gate...chaos). Source: Skrip 11/02/1921.

Depictions of the ‘Other’ generally followed an orientalist logic, with figures representing the Turkish side either presented like clueless Ottoman Pashas of the Hamidian era, or as slothful oriental peasants. In general, exaggeration was not grotesque, with some exceptions, though body types were exaggerated for comical effect. If we compare the depictions of domestic opponents and external opponents, the caricaturists of *Skrip* were equal opportunity attackers. MIM P.A.P. depicted the Turkish side with the most variety, generally stressing the differences between what he saw as a more westernised elite, and more Turkish rank and file. As per Expectation 1, all depictions of the Turkish ‘Other’ were negative.

3.2. *Karagöz and Güleriyüz*

One of the most important satirical magazines published in the Ottoman Empire after the lifting of censorship in 1908 was *Karagöz*. Ali Fuad was the main caricaturist (Kılıç 2011: 240). Mahmud Nedim was the first editor, followed by Baha Tevfik in 1909-1912, and then Mahmud Sadık in 1912-1914. Aka Gündüz took the editorship during the First World War (Kılıç 2011: 241). During the war, the coverage of the paper was characterised by an extremely vulgar and insulting treatment of Entente powers, while exaggerating the prowess and avoiding any criticism of the allied Central Powers (Kılıç 2011: 241-243).

Between 1918 and 1922 *Karagöz* is owned by Aka’s sister Fatma Hanım, who brought on Burhan Cahit Morkaya as editor (Kılıç 2011: 243). He was editor until 1928. During the Turkish War of Liberation, the paper had a pro-Ankara position, though it had to temper it to avoid initial Entente censorship in 1918-1920 (Kılıç 2011: 244). Afterwards the paper passed through two editors, Orhan Seyfi Orhon and then Refik Ahmet Sevengil, and shut down in 1935. The paper was bought and published as a humorous magazine by CHP from 1935-1955.

The magazine was named after Karagöz (Darkeye), one of the two main characters of the classical Turkish shadow puppet play. The other character is Hacıvad (shortened version of *Hacı İvaz, İvaz the Pilgrim*). The characters are present also in the Greek version of the play. Both of the characters can be seen in the cartoons of the *Karagöz* magazine. Karagöz (the main character) mainly represents the Ottoman (and Turkish) country, public opinion and sometimes the state, and is always seen in the cartoons. Hacıvad represents himself and is present as the second person of the dialogue, mainly as tool to help express the situation to the reader. He is absent from some of the cartoons. The events (mostly socio-political) in the cartoons were always expressed through their sarcastic sense of humour.

At first, *Karagöz* had a negative view of the Turkish nationalist movement. In the 27 September 1919 issue, the national movement was regarded as the continuation of the Union and Progress Party (CUP), which was considered as responsible for the disasters associated with the Ottoman participation in the First World War (Çoruk 2008: 20). *Karagöz* considered the national movement as an uprising against the authority of the sultan and the government in Istanbul. For the magazine, its activity only served to deepen the chaos that was gripping the country, and suggested that they should be suppressed by force. This was the first and the last time that the editorial team opposed the national movement.

After the resignation of the Damat Ferid Pasha cabinet a month later, the editorial team rejected the argument that the Turkish national struggle in Anatolia was the continuation of the CUP. However, even after that development, the magazine still had questions about whether violence was the solution to the Turkish question¹³. Those doubts disappeared in time. By 1921, the magazine became one of the main supporters of the national struggle and regarded violence as the sole solution to the Turkish part of the Eastern Question (Çoruk 2008: 20-22)¹⁴. An example is reproduced in Figure 7, where Mustafa Kemal Atatürk is depicted preparing a new peace, analogised as a soup, using a rifle, representing the need to use force.



Figure 7: Hacıvad: Nobody drank this peace soup even though it is poured into fine Sevres porcelain. The taste is not good and nobody touched it since one year ago. Karagöz: I tried a lot of it, but cannot stomach the think. I am going to quench my thirst with the soup my Pasha is preparing with the fine honey of Ankara. Source: *Karagöz* No 1374 – 14/05/1921.

¹³ See *Karagöz* No. 1255, 20 March 1920, *Karagöz* No. 1259, 03 April 1920.

¹⁴ See *Karagöz* No. 1374, 14 May 1921, *Karagöz* No. 1418, 19 October 1921.

Before 1921, this change in stance was not reflected on the cartoons published in the magazine, being instead mainly expressed in written pieces. The fact that the magazine was also located in Istanbul/Constantinople, under Entente Occupation, also placed limitations to how open it could be about its support to the Ankara government. For example, the magazine avoided mentioning the conflict with France in southeast Anatolia because of fear of censorship. This circumspect attitude was changed after the declarations of neutrality by the Entente towards the Turkish-Greek struggle in the last months of 1920, in reaction to the restoration of King Constantine to the Greek throne after the November 1920 elections. In 1921, most of the front-page cartoons were committed to the war. The magazine still avoided mentioning the presence of Britain and France and essentially represented the Greeks as the sole enemy. The Ottoman Greek minority which cooperated with the Greek Army and the Turks who opposed the national movement were also targeted as the enemy, and the editorial line proclaimed that the need to purge the liberated country of such treasonous elements (Çoruk 2008: 37, 44-45).

Unlike Karagöz, *Güleryüz* (Smiling Face) used no conceptualised dimension and standing theme, and every cartoon has its own context. Sedat Simavi had started to publish *Güleryüz* with another caricaturist Cevat Şakir (Kabağağaçlı), later known as the Fisherman of Halicarnassus (*Halikarnas Balıkçısı*), just after *Karagöz* had started to feature aggressive cartoons in support of the Ankara government. Previously, the two had published *Diken* (Thorn). The main focus of *Diken* was the “war profiteers” and the magazine portrayed and criticised the newly emerged vulgar rich class who made their profits from hoarding and the black market during the First World War. The magazine had started to oppose the Entente occupation after the Greek landings in Izmir/Smyrna and praised Mustafa Kemal Atatürk and the Anatolian national movement. However, this was restrained due to the Allied presence in Istanbul. *Diken* was closed in mid-1920 and the first issue of *Güleryüz* was published in May 1921 at Ankara. Sedat Simavi and Cevat Şakir with their new magazine joined the unrestricted humorous propaganda warfare against Greeks, which had been declared by *Karagöz* (Çeviker 1991: 22).

Unlike *Skrip*, both *Karagöz* and *Güleryüz* published cartoons in every issue. During the period when censorship was lax or lifted, *Karagöz* published 102 issues in 1921, and 99 issues in 1922. It published two cartoons per issue, one on the front page and one in the last page. The cartoons of the front page generally referred to the war and political affairs associated with it, while of the last page to social affairs. Table 2 categorises the published cartoons in terms of whether they targeted domestic opponents only, or foreign opponents only, or both, or were just laudatory of the Turkish side. In 1921, the majority of published cartoons had some reference to the war and the politics around it. The vast majority of cartoons targeted foreign opponents, with the vast majority targeting the Greek Army. That said, three of the cartoons also targeted the other Balkan states, emanating a sense of imperial nostalgia where Ottoman rule was presented as far better than the squabbling of the independent Balkan peoples. The same proportions largely hold for 1922. *Karagöz* in comparison to *Skrip* or *Güleryüz* relied much more on the concept of antithesis in its caricatures, combining ridicule of the “Other” with laudatory depictions of the “Self”.

Table 2. The Caricatures of *Karagöz*

Year of Publication	Number of Issues	Number of Caricatures	Caricatures Targeting Domestic Opponents
1921	102	203	31
1922	99	99	1
Totals	201	201	6

Table 3. The Caricatures of *Güleryüz*

Year of Publication	Number of Issues	Number of Caricatures	Caricatures Targeting Domestic Opponents
1921	35	188	23
1922	54	256	34
1923	16	60	2
Totals	105	504	59

In the period 1921-1922, *Güleryüz* published 35 issues in 1921, and 54 in 1922. The depictions are broken down in Table 3. Unlike *Karagöz*, *Güleryüz* included cartoons throughout its pages including middle page spread cartoons, and last page cartoons. Totals per issue could vary from as few as three to as many as ten cartoons.

Both of the magazines opposed the presence of Britain and France, but were circumspect in their criticism of the Great Powers. Greeks and domestic collaborators, on the other hand, faced a merciless, extremely negative dark humour.¹⁵ The Greek leadership was described as incompetent. They were mocked and presented in deformed, absurd, and sometimes grotesque silhouettes. The Greek soldier was described as a coward; prone to run away and surrender, sluggish, and a pillager. In both of the magazines, the Greek soldier was mainly presented dressed in the *tsolias/evozne* costume, also used for depictions of the Greek soldier in *Skrip*, but in this case with the goal of ridicule via feminisation, focused on the presence of the *fustanella* skirt. An example was reproduced in Figure 8, where the Turkish soldier expressly presents the Greek *evzones* as fit for the role of *köçek* cross-dressing dancing boys due to their skirts¹⁶.

¹⁵ *Güleryüz* No. 4 (26 May 1921) is an exception to this. A British soldier was mocked in this cartoon.

¹⁶ *Köçek* is an old Ottoman tradition which flourished in the Ottoman palaces and in time dispersed throughout the empire. *Köçek* is originally a young boy who is dressed as a female and trained to dance in feminine manner. *Köçek* were considered by public opinion as a type of prostitute. Ottoman bandits used this figure as an element of humiliation. It was very common for them to force their male prisoners to cross-dress and dance like *köçek* a way to humiliate them.



Figure 8: Commander: Chase those who fled without respite, take the remnants to the barely field. Soldier: General, permit me to send those with skirts to the village. Let us make them dance for us when we return. Source: *Karagöz* No 1409 – 17/09/1921.

Unlike the Greeks, the Turkish national movement leaders were described as talented strategists and indomitable commanders who always made the most correct decisions, and trapped and toyed with Greek leaders. They were drawn with a highly realistic form with charismatic silhouettes.¹⁷ Turkish soldiers were brave; always ready for action, martial, masculine, and merciful (Çeviker 1991: 23, 28).

Compared to *Skrip*, *Güteryüz* had more sophisticated cartoons when depicting decision makers. The gallery of individuals depicted is large with King Constantine, Eleftherios Venizelos, Demetrius Gounares, and Damat Ferit Pasha being favoured topics. Beyond them though the cast was truly international and detailed, including Tevfik Pasha, Greek generals and politicians and foreign actors such as Lord Curzon, Bonar Law, and David Lloyd George. In all cases, the caricatures were recognisable and bore in exaggeration likeness to the normal visage of person depicted. *Karagöz* also relied on more specific depictions of decision-makers, although it did not have as wide a cast as *Güteryüz*. King Constantine and General Anastasios Papulas were the most frequent topics of caricature, followed by Venizelos, Gounares and General Chatzanestes. The cast is still international, and included references to broader issues. For example, there were a couple of caricatures alluding to German militarism, sometimes depicted using the figure of Field Marshal Hindenburg. Of Turkish personalities, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk is the main topic of depiction.

In comparison to *Skrip*, *Güteryüz* and *Karagöz* cast a much wider net of characters, and were cognizant to place the Greek-Turkish conflict in its international context. The cartoons indicate a much more sophisticated understanding of the Greek political conditions, compared to that exhibited in *Skrip* when it comes to the Turkish one. Both *Güteryüz* and *Karagöz* promoted the view of the Turkish effort as one seeking stability and peace compared to the threats of Soviet expansionism, German militarism, and Balkan strife.

The magazines closely followed military events and announcements by the Greek Headquarters, and never missed the opportunity to ridicule those announcements that did not reflect the perceived reality of the battlefield. One of the first instances of this was in reaction to the muddled Battle of First of İnönü, after which both sides claimed victory. *Karagöz*

¹⁷ Also, the British and French leaders were pictured realistically with no absurd deformation.

(*Güleryüz* was not published yet at the time), presented this incident as a revelation of the real power of the Greek Army; they were superior in material, but lacked courage. The official Greek designation of the operation was as “offensive reconnaissance”. *Karagöz* evaluated this declaration as a cover for failure and published a fake official Greek announcement on April 20th. According to this fake announcement, the Greek Army successfully retreated from the battlefield and with this “success”, the army accomplished the mission.

The next fake announcement, which was featured after the Battle of Second İnönü, related to the ineptitude of Greek commanders and their lack of knowledge about Anatolian geography. The announcement was a missing people’s report which was written as given by Papulas himself and which was about the Greek III Division that had failed to find its way while retreating and got lost around the town of İnegöl. Papulas was presented as very upset because of this incident, and the magazine tried to calm him down with the news that the Greek division was found, and taken as a guest by the Turkish cavalry (Çoruk 2008: 53, 55).

The caricatures posted after First and Second İnönü are no less insulting than the accompanying text. Greek soldiers were represented as experts at running away.¹⁸ After the defeats, the cartoons depict lifebuoys being added to the inventory of soldiers and officers, a reference to the expectation that they would be driven into the sea.¹⁹ We reproduce one such caricature in Figure 9.



Figure 9: Hacıvad on left: Wow *Karagöz*, Papulas is too haughty while he is returning from battle. However, what is the purpose of those life buoys? *Karagöz* on right: Do you not understand. When our heroes put more pressure on them, they will enjoy a dip in the sea.

Source: *Karagöz* No 1365 – 13/04/1921.

İsmet Pasha and Mustafa Kemal Pasha were the main figures of the victory.²⁰ Papulas and King Constantine were the main figures associated by cartoonists with the defeat. They were presented in comical manner; Constantine many times grotesquely. They either shared the same

¹⁸ See *Karagöz* No. 1383, 15 June 1921, *Karagöz* No. 1378, 28 May 1921, *Karagöz* No. 1390, 9 July 1921, *Karagöz* No. 1391, 13 July 1921.

¹⁹ *Karagöz* No. 1365, 13 April 1921, *Karagöz* No. 1367, 20 April 1921, *Karagöz* No. 1368, 23 April 1921.

²⁰ *Karagöz* No. 1370, 30 April 1921, *Karagöz* No. 1371, 04 May 1921, *Karagöz* No. 1392, 16 July 1921, *Güleryüz* No. 2, 15 May 1921, *Güleryüz* No. 70, 17 August 1922.

attitude with their soldiers or they did not know what was going on at the battlefield²¹. Figure 10 presents a caricature of Constantine combining the grotesque with the feminisation seen in the caricature of Figure 8. In it, a grotesquely drawn Constantine is depicted as a *köçek* dancing boy entertaining a band of bandits. What is interesting is also the depiction of the bandits. One is dressed in the traditional zeybek outfit of western Anatolia. Another is in Albanian trousers, and the final one wearing Bulgarian clothes. The caption notes that the bandits force the Greek King to dance Turkish, Albanian and Bulgarian dances. This is a reference to the view of the Turkish war effort as part as a broader effort in the Balkans against the growth of Greece.



Figure 10: Hacıvad on the right: This dancer boy from Athens is incompetent. Karagöz on the left: The bandits do not always order the choron dance. Sometimes, they demand the zeybek dance, sometimes the Albanian dance, and sometimes the Bulgarian polka. Source: No 1373 – 11/05/1921.

Both of the magazines never evaluated the Greek victory at the Kütahya-Eskişehir Battle of June-July 1921 as a Turkish defeat. *Güleyüz* totally ignored it and showed that the Turkish Army was still winning. In a caricature of *Karagöz* on the 6th of August 1921, the Greek advance was depicted as finally stopped at Seyitgazi and the Greek Army as beaten.²² By the summer of 1921, both magazines touched on the worsening economic condition of Greece. *Güleyüz* featured several caricatures about the inflation in Greece.²³ We reproduce one in Figure 11, where a Turkish soldier using his bayonet is puffing a puffed up coin bag in the form of King Constantine.

²¹ *Karagöz* No. 1366, 16 April 1921, *Karagöz* No. 1373, 11 May 1921, *Karagöz* No. 1385, 22 June 1921, *Güleyüz* No. 5, 02 June 1921, *Güleyüz* No. 10, 07 July 1921.

²² *Karagöz* No. 1398, 06 August 1921.

²³ *Güleyüz* No. 7, 16 June 1921, *Güleyüz* No. 37, 05 January 1922, *Güleyüz* No. 59, 15 June 1922.



Figure 11: Drahma is increasing in value with the new Greek Offensive. Source: Gülerüz No 7, 16/06/1921

No cartoon was seen in *Karagöz* about this subject, but it was touched on in a derisive poem (Çoruk 2008: 70). After the Battle of Sakarya (Sangarius in Greek), the worsening condition of the Greek Army was dealt with dark humour. The problem in securing adequate food for the troops had emerged during the Battle of Sakarya among the Greek ranks, and barley and wheat were found in the pockets of Greek prisoners. In order to ridicule the defeated Greeks, both magazines approached this diet as a preference rather than a result of desperation. In a cartoon of *Gülerüz*, the prisoners were placed in a barn, because the Turks got confused after finding barley in their pockets.²⁴ In *Karagöz*, Mustafa Kemal Pasha orders the prisoners to be taken to a barley field in order to feed them.²⁵ In a text in *Karagöz*, Karagöz (the character) was very uneasy because he smelled a serious increase of the price of animal feed coming because of the enormous consumption in the Greek Army. He also noted the “news” that Greek cavalymen had serious fights with their horses over food (Çoruk 2008: 70, 78-79). The goal was to present Greeks as no better than animals. This even extended to depictions of the domestic situation in Greece. The caricature reproduced in Figure 12 depicts a meeting of the Greek Parliament, were Prime Minister Demetrius Gounares threatens to feed the representatives barley if they do not calm down.

²⁴ *Gülerüz* No. 20, 15 September 1922.

²⁵ *Karagöz* No. 1409, 17 September 1921.

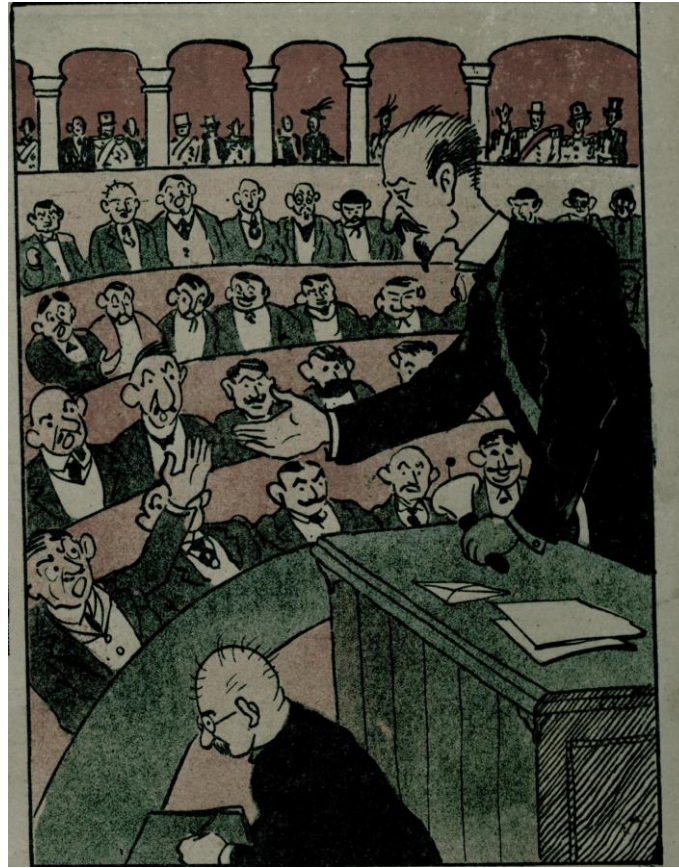


Figure 12: Aggression against Gounares in the Greek Parliament. Gounares: You are making so many different noises that I will have to distribute a sack of barley to you in order to ensure silence. Source: *Güteryüz* No 7, 20/09/1921

After the Battle of Sakarya, preparations for the new Turkish offensive and negotiations were added to the subjects of cartoons, and the humiliating cartoons were only limited to Greek decision-makers. Propaganda against the Greek minority was also added to *Karagöz's* cartoons in this era.²⁶ *Güteryüz* never targeted the Greek minority, although there were negative depictions of priests in some cartoons.

The cartoons of the Great Offensive represented a long-awaited eruption of nationalist sentiment, and the cartoons of the magazines returned to the battlefield again. Both of the magazines devoted caricatures to the political events in Greece after the Great Offensive as well as the ongoing developments in Turkey. *Karagöz* continued to target the Greek minority and suggested deportation as the only solution to the threat it posed.²⁷

4. Comparative analysis and conclusions

The analysis conducted above, and the numbers presented in Table 1 for *Skrip*, Table 2 for *Karagöz* and Table 3 for *Güteryüz*, lead to the following summary. It could be suggested that *Skrip* devoted the bulk of its caricature barbs against domestic political opponents in 1920-1922. This confirms Tsirigotis' argument that the Constantinists were mainly focused on internal opponents, rather than the ongoing war. Only during the year of 1921, when the Constantinists

²⁶ *Karagöz* No. 1468, 12 April 1922, *Karagöz* No. 1476, 10 May 1922.

²⁷ *Karagöz* No. 1515, 23 September 1922, *Karagöz* No. 1529, 11 November 1922.

governments launched major offensive operations, did the Turkish ‘Other’ garner some interest by the paper’s caricaturists – even though attacks on the Venizelist opponent continued receiving almost half of the coverage. There is clear dynamic here; *Skrip* turned its caricature guns on the Turkish ‘Other’ only in 1921, when the Constantinist regime seemed safe from internal subversion. In 1920 and 1922, when things were more fluid, it was the domestic enemy that was the main target. Thus, while we see behaviour in accordance with Expectation 2 in 1921, this was only possible when the domestic dynamics noted by Expectation 3 were under control. The external foe took secondary role to the domestic foe.

The situation was completely different in the case of *Güteryüz* and *Karagöz*. First of all, the majority of cartoons in both cases were not directly referring to the war and the politics around it. In both cases, domestic opponents were less often the targets of caricatures than external opponents. This was more pronounced in *Karagöz*, that still had to be wary of Entente censorship when it came to the Sultan and his cabinets, compared to the more secure *Güteryüz*. Still even in *Güteryüz*, depictions of the Greek ‘Other’ vastly outstrip depictions of the Domestic ‘Other’. Just as in the case of *Skrip*, Expectation 1 is met, with most depictions of the External ‘Other’ being negative. Interestingly, *Güteryüz* in later 1922 and 1923 tended to depict Venizelos sometimes in positive terms, for example, as a firefighter trying to put out the burning fire in Greece. However, most depictions were negative.

On the other hand, and counter to the *Skrip* case, Expectation 2 was not met. Despite the existence of domestic political struggle that went hand in hand with the war within the Turkish camp, domestic opponents were much less likely to be the targets of cartoons in the two Turkish sources. They were target of prose attacks, but not of cartoons. One reason for this is that in a society with low literacy rates, prose attacks were likely to be less popularised, and thus invite censorship, than pictorial ones, that even the illiterate could sample. As per Expectation 3, the Greek National Schism simply outpaced in intensity the Turkish political divisions, at least as expressed in the caricatures published by our sources.

This shows how the concept of the ‘Other’ is inconsistent and goes hand in hand with the identity politics that are influenced by the political and economic landscape of a particular temporal and spatial moment. Thus, we can see how the way and target of humour fluctuates, as the signification practices which create ‘we and us’ are constantly in flux. Taking stoke of such a standpoint, we can argue that humour in its various forms, in our case caricatures, also acts as a means of creating a ‘cheerful public’ in the midst of conflict and war. Nevertheless, humour, while aiming to entertain a specific group of people or society, does this at the expense of the exclusion of the ‘Other’, who can be viewed as those who are ethnically and politically ‘undesirable’ (Pater 2012).

In a different case study, Lund & Lundström (2021) have argued for the role of ‘pistaking’, which is making fun of or belittling another group in a very harsh manner, which can eventually be a form of a cultural interaction as it forms a symbolic landscape of meaning, where various cultural representations are performed and interacted. Although the case study of these authors’ is about humour in a school setting, the concept of pistaking can also be applied in our case. That is, the act of performing humour whilst creating an ‘Other’ can act as a two-way process; excluding and discriminating, but also forming an “inadvertent” platform of cultural interaction and interplay.

In conclusion, we can argue that the comparison of cartoons between the Greek and the Turkish sources provide another indicator for the more salient role of Greek domestic politics within the context of the inflation of the Greek-Ottoman/Turkish interstate rivalry in 1919-1922. The National Schism overwhelmed any focus on the external enemy, with variations, even in the state of rivalry. On the other hand, the Turkish sources indicate a much clearer view of the primacy of the external conflict over domestic issues. Humour thus was mobilised against the foe the respective audience considered the most salient at any given moment. In the case of the

Anti-Venizelist audience of *Skrip*, they sought relief from the recent three-year period of political repression. The Turkish enemy, being far away, was denigrated, mobilising what we can term the Orientalist prejudice images that the Greek public had borrowed from the ‘West’ since 1830.

For the Turkish side, the Greek army, primarily as a tool of opposing major powers, needed to be denigrated, in order to build trust to the ability of the nationalist movement. In the case of the audience of *Karagöz*, under occupation by Entente troops, denigrating the Greek enemy was in many cases the only permissible outlet for popular frustration with the collaborationist policy of the Ottoman Sultan. In many ways the cartoonists of *Güteryüz* and *Karagöz* were also mobilising images of Western Orientalism, presenting the Greek ‘Other’ with the negative stereotypes of Ottomans, that the ‘West’ tended to produce. For example, presenting King Constantine as Anatolian dancing boy. This is to be expected since both magazines by their very nature were tools of westernisation.

In a way, the cartoons presented here reach to the crux of the Greek-Turkish War of 1919-1922. Ultimately this was a conflict between two different worldviews that were united in presenting themselves as the champion of ‘Westernisation’ vs. the Oriental ‘Other’. In this way the internal conflict within each side on westernisation, became tied to the conflict between the two groups. It is these cartoons, published in magazines that are the result of a ‘westernisation’ process, where one can find clearly how that process both fed the conflict, and largely fashioned the image of it within societies, both during the conflict and up to today.

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