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For A Comparative Topography of Desire: Mimetic Theory and the World Map

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When Girard opposes “Romantic lies” to “novelistic truth”, in *Desire, Deceit and the Novel*, he is not thinking of Keats or Shelley but of the second-hand Romanticism of some literary critics whom he never names. “Romantic critics” extol Don Quixote for living his dream and admire Julien Sorel’s ambition, seeing in them the embodiment of the bogus ideals of originality and spontaneity that they cherish. Literary criticism of this kind, Girard observes, is the victim of the same form of mediated desire that controls the characters of novels. If we want literary criticism to be “real knowledge”, Girard argues, we have to think comparatively and systematically.¹ There are two points I would like to make about Girard’s idea of systematic comparative criticism and about the particular hermeneutic system he constructs in *Desire, Deceit and the Novel*. In the first part of my paper I will look at what mimetic theory can tell us about the organization and functioning of space in realist novels. In particular, I am interested in seeing how far Girard’s structural model can be inscribed into a physical geography of the novelistic world. In order to investigate this, I will look at two of the novels Girard discusses in his book, namely Stendhal’s *The Red and the Black* and Flaubert’s *Sentimental Education*. Secondly, I will discuss ways in which triangular desire is active in novels outside of the cultural area of Western realism, again with a focus on space and geography and using the example of Orhan Pamuk’s novel *Snow*.

“Literary interpretation must be systematic because it is the continuation of literature” says Girard.¹² As Robert Doran has explained, Girard does not offer us a theory of literature but rather a reading of “literature as theory.”¹³ In an essay of 1963 entitled “Formalism and Structuralism in Literature and the Human Sciences” Girard has a bit of fun finding passages that look like Lévi-Strauss in Proust and vice versa.¹⁴ This is where, I think, Girard differs from the typical structuralist position: he is always eager to show that he has not invented or designed structural models such as
the triangle of metaphysical desire. He has found them in the texts. In Girard’s view, the professional reader (i.e. the critic) sees structures emerge from the “unsystematic, irrational, and chaotic” conglomerate that is a literary text. Systems are not the product of systematic thinking; systematic thinking only brings to the surface and make evident what is hidden in the texts and in human civilization itself. I will come back to this point later.

In the first pages of *Desire, Deceit and the Novel*, Girard explains the functioning of mediated desire: we imagine that desire connects the desiring subject and the object of his or her desire with a straight line. But this is just a Romantic lie. Novels show us characters who desire by imitation, copying someone else’s ambitions and desires. The straight line is deviated and forms a triangle whose three corners are occupied by the desiring subject, the mediator, and the object of desire. The relative distance between the points can vary, but the mechanism remains the same: desires do not come spontaneously but via the influence of a mediator (who can be a model, a rival, or himself the object of desire). Early on in the book Girard makes clear that “the triangle is no *Gestalt*. The real structures are intersubjective. They cannot be localized anywhere; the triangle has no reality whatsoever; it is a systematic metaphor, systematically pursued.”[^1] This means that the triangle is a topology and not a topography, which does not exist in actual space but only as an abstract representation of the relationship described above. It is a spatial metaphor, not the actual shape that space takes. Even if Girard never addresses the issue of space directly, the constant references he makes to places and settings end up calling his reader’s attention to where the three poles of mediated desire are actually located and why. What I am asking here is whether the triangle as a structural model finds any correspondence in the actual geography of novels where triangular desire is active.
Girard claims to have “found” the model in the texts. Might he have found it in the landscape of the text? In other words, does the structure of triangular desire also play a role in the way space is organized?

A good example of the spatial embeddedness of desire is the switch Girard describes from external to internal mediation, which presupposes a closer proximity between the desiring subject and his or her mediator. Girard makes it clear that “obviously is not physical space that measures the gap between mediator and the desiring subject.”

Even if they ride side by side, Don Quixote always remains an external mediator for Sancho Panza, whose vicarious dreams of owning an island are never in competition with his master’s plans. Later on, however, Girard makes some considerations on the reciprocal position of subject and mediator: “At the beginning of The Red and the Black the distance between the hero and his mediator is as great as in Madame Bovary. But Julien spans this distance; he leaves his province and becomes the lover of the proud Mathilde; he rises rapidly to a brilliant position.”

In Stendhal’s novel the move from external to internal mediation happens by means of a transfer in space, from the small town of Verrières to Parisian high society, the setting of so many of his dreams of glory and success.

Girard argues that internal mediation is facilitated by the structure of modern society, where differences between men have become less marked and there is increased social mobility. Julien Sorel, the protagonist of The Red and the Black, lives in a post-revolutionary governed by the laws of “vanity” (vanité), where actions and even feelings are motivated by envy, mutual suspicion, and an exaggerated pride. It seems that at every stage of his advancement Stendhal’s plebeian hero is helped along by the fortuitous combination of multiple currents of mimetic desire. First, M. de Rênal takes him on as tutor for his children only to outdo his rival Valenod. The
brainy, self-absorbed Mathilde, daughter of the Marquis de la Mole, falls in love with him because he fits the Romantic picture of fervent passion and courage she has derived from her own family history (she wants to emulate Queen Marguerite and her lover Boniface de la Mole, who was beheaded on Place de Grève in 1574) and from novels (she measures her own feelings against “the descriptions of passions she had read in Manon Lescaut, La Nouvelle Héloïse, the Letters from a Portuguese Nun etc.”).

Stendhal sees nineteenth-century France as a permeable, traversable space, but one where linear movement is impossible: the force of internal mediation has caused a curvature in space. Julien crosses and gets caught in a multitude of triangular force fields that divert, accelerate or reverse his trajectory, while all of the time thinking he is moving in a straight line. Julien flatters himself that he can use other people’s “vanity” to his own advantage. Upon learning that the Marquis has given him a bogus aristocratic title and made him a Lieutenant he declares: “My story is ended, and all the credit goes to me alone. I’ve succeeded in making this monster of pride [Mathilde] fall in love with me; her father can’t live without her, nor she without me.” But this is a mere romantic illusion: as Girard explains, the world is now better described by means of a more complex, nonuniform “Einstenian” geometry, where “the straight line is in reality a circle which inevitably turns us back on ourselves.” At the height of his success Julien is so close to the mediator he almost becomes him, and starts believing that he might actually be “the natural son of some great lord”. But proximity fosters understanding, which inevitably leads to disappointment and then hatred, both of the Other and of oneself. This psychological circle is expressed spatially in the novel, and is one of the possible explanations of Julien’s sudden decision to travel back to Verrières and revenge himself on Madame de Rênal, who
had sent a letter to the Marquis denouncing Julien as a fortune seeker. The letter, besides wrecking his plans, also reveals to Julien how similar he has become to the scheming courtiers he despised so much. Wounded pride and deep self-loathing then, more than rancor, fuel the blind fury that takes possession of Julien as he fires his pistols at Madame de Rênal.

The space of *The Red and the Black* is apparently docile and traversable but it hides a secret resistance. Julien crosses and gets caught in a multitude of triangular force fields that divert, accelerate or reverse his trajectory, and the physical topography of the novel maps this intricate web of competing desires. It should be noted that the city of Paris is almost nonexistent in the novel. Whenever the action moves to the city, the focus remains on the residence of the Marquis de la Mole, who entertains close relations with Julien’s native Jura district as the major landowner and main political influence. Stendhal’s map is not centered on the capital but embraces a number of small and middle-sized cities: the fictional towns of Verrières and Vergy in the Jura, as well as Besançon, Strasbourg, and Metz.

The modern metropolis is central to the type of experiences Girard associates with a further stage of mimetic desire: extreme metaphysical desire, which is entirely concentrated on the mediator and completely disregards the nature of its object. This development becomes evident when comparing the map of Flaubert’s *Sentimental Education* with that of Stendhal. “The environment of *Sentimental Education* is the same as that of *The Red and the Black*,” says Girard, “again the provinces and Paris are opposed to one another, but it is clear that the center of gravity has moved toward Paris, the capital of desire, which increasingly polarizes the forces of the nation.” Stendhal’s map is a network of small towns, medium-sized cities, and the capital – the sides of the triangle are long and movement, although it ends up being circular,
nevertheless spans some distance. Flaubert’s map instead reflects the obsessive nature of metaphysical desire. The circle narrows, Paris dominates the scene, and Frédéric Moreau, the protagonist, is clearly going nowhere.

Frédéric is a much less purposeful character than Julien Sorel. He actually moves around a lot more: he is always walking around Paris, meeting people, starting some new initiative, spending money, travelling. And he does not lack desire either, most of directed towards Madame Arnoux. But for all his hectic movement he achieves very little, and his desire too is stunted and ineffectual. The concept of metaphysical desire offers an elegant explanation of Frédéric’s irritating inconclusiveness. But does space have something to do with it, too? Girard talks about the multiplication of mediators that takes place in modern “democratic” societies. “Beginning with Proust”, he explains, “the mediator may be literally anyone at all and he may pop up anywhere. Mystical revelation presents a constant danger. A chance encounter along the promenade at Balbec decides Marcel’s fate.”

In the populous anonymity of bourgeois society, individuals become vulnerable to the magnets of countless mediators. This is also a prevailing mode in Sentimental Education. The “apparition” of Madame Arnoux at the beginning of the novel tends to eclipse the rest of what happens on the ferryboat that takes Frédéric back home from Paris. But actually Madame Arnoux is not the first to capture his attention. He notices her husband first, and recognizes him as the proprietor of a well-known art-journal and gallery, L’Art Industriel. Frédéric is struck by Arnoux’s genial and worldly manners: he offers advice on women, talks confidently about politics and business, knows famous people, and has travelled widely. To some extent Arnoux becomes Frédéric’s mediator: he desires Arnoux’s wife and later his lover, and acquires a taste for the same objects d’art and orientalist furniture that fill Arnoux’s
apartment. In Flaubert’s novel, internal mediation spreads and grows stronger thanks to the way people interact in the city. The whole Arnoux affair would be all but forgotten, if one day Frédéric did not chance upon L’Art Industriel shop on the Boulevard. A few days later, in the midst of a clash between rioting students and the police, he makes friends with one Hussonnet who, it turns out, works for Arnoux and introduces Frédéric to his circle. The “ontological sickness” induced by mediated desire spreads via chance encounters on the street, on public transport, at the theatre, in shops, cafés, and other characteristic sites of modern city life.

“In the world of internal mediation, the contagion is so widespread that everyone can become his neighbour’s mediator without ever understanding the role he is playing.”xxv Paris in Sentimental Education is a space of promiscuity and convergence, where accidental multiple mediations solidify around Frédéric into a hard and inescapable reality, and other people’s desires become introjected and part of his own life. Isabelle Daunais makes this point clear when she argues that Frédéric, “subjected to the geographic and architectural contingencies of his environment, adopts its curves and accidents, which instantaneously replicate themselves in the itinerary of his life course.”xxvi Just like in The Red and the Black, the configuration of space determines movement and shapes the course of the events in the character’s life, but Flaubert has replaced the map of France with Paris’ city plan. Paris has become the center of the magnetic field, attracting a crowd of young men from the provinces, whose paths constantly cross and hinder one another in a narrow space that condemns them to a limited horizon made of “bitterness, malice, and petty rivalries.”xxvii

What I have tried to show with these examples is that the presence of mediated desire causes major shifts in the representation of space and the choice of
setting. The measures of Girard’s metaphorical triangle, which grows smaller and smaller as the mediator gets closer, are translated into physical distances in the novel’s geography. What is still a relatively wide scenario in *The Red and the Black* becomes a claustrophobic urban world where the eyes of the mediator are always upon you. Girard continues his analysis with Proust and Dostoevsky, charting a process by which metaphysical desire intensifies as the mediator moves nearer, from the same city to the peer-group to the family (as among brothers or between father and son), until it brings its disaggregating force inside the psyche of the character. The extremity of the “ontological sickness” ultimately causes “the complete disintegration of the subject”, which Dostoevsky represents in the physical and spiritual self-destruction of his characters. Girard develops his topography of desire on two dimensions: one the one hand, as we have seen, space tends to shrink following the progressive contraction of the distance between subject and mediator; on the other hand it expands as society becomes more and more “democratic”. The increased political and economical equality paradoxically aggravates the malady of desire, because it multiplies the potential mediators and rivals ad infinitum. And if everything is up for grabs and competition is open to everyone, the intensity of desire, envy and impotent hatred becomes intolerable. Stendhal, Proust and Dostoevsky have described the effects of vanity in a society where differences among classes and individuals gradually disappear. But what happens when Western modernity is “exported” elsewhere, and the logic of mediation invests other nations and cultures?

At the end of the chapter on *The Red and the Black*, Girard looks ahead to the consequences of imitative desire in the twentieth century. In an ominous-sounding passage he describes the double impact of mediation on the individual and the global sphere: “Double [i.e. reciprocal] mediation has invaded the growing domain of
collective existence and wormed its way into the more intimate depths of the individual soul, until finally it stretches beyond national boundaries and annexes countries, races, and continents, in the heart of a universe where technical progress is wiping away one by one the differences between men.\textsuperscript{\textasteriskcentered} Girard gives no further explanation and never returns to discuss the present time in the rest of the book. So it is hard to say what this apocalyptic vision exactly refers to. Totalitarianism? Globalization? Or perhaps materialism and the erosion of traditional values? Yet, if we remain within the domain of cultural politics, it might be possible to read this statement by Girard in the light of more recent theories of world literature, as developed among others by Franco Moretti, who constructs world literature as a system of power relations connecting literary cultures across the globe. Can mimetic theory also describe relations of admiration, imitation, and antagonism that exist between cultures?

In his essay “Conjectures on World Literature”, published in 2000, Moretti talks about the system of world literature as being “one and unequal: with a core and a periphery…that are bound together in a relationship of growing inequality.”\textsuperscript{xx} Peripheral literatures “borrow” and “imitate” the more prestigious and fashionable forms from the core (which still corresponds to Europe and North America), while the core completely ignores the culture of the periphery. The realist novel, for example, has been “imported” into various literary cultures outside of Europe, which by doing so have entered into a form of debt with the West. Moretti’s conjectures are sketched in broad and rapid strokes, and are heavily dependent on economical and political theories. Perhaps Girard’s psychology of the triangular desire can be used to complicate the picture, and shed light on the workings of global mediation as represented in world novels. It is Girard himself who claims that mimetic theory can
help us understand relationships between texts: “the idea of mediation encourages literary comparisons at a level which is no longer that of genre criticism or thematic criticism. It may illuminate the works through each other; it may unite them without destroying their irreducible singularity.” In other words, it can provide the tools for a new kind of comparative analysis that considers how different texts represent the workings of mediated desire, comparing for instance Stendhal’s vanity and Flaubertian bovarysm. In what follows I will try and apply the same method to literature outside the European “center”, to see whether the triangle of resentful, imitated desire is still present and what shape it takes.

Ka, the hero of Pamuk’s novel Snow, returns to Istanbul after a twelve-year stay in Germany. Once there, and for no clear reason, he decides to travel to the remote city of Kars, in North-East Turkey. According to Moretti, the system of world literature is dominated by the tension between center and periphery. The geography of Pamuk’s novel seems to mirror that. Places are defined by their respective positions in the East-West, center-periphery polarity: Frankfurt is West compared to Istanbul; Istanbul is a Westernized city and the center of cultural innovation compared to the poor, isolated city of Kars. Tucked away in a corner of Eastern Anatolia, Kars’s function in the novel has been interpreted as emblematic of the peripheral position of Turkey in relation to the Western world, as well as “the repressed ‘East’ within Westernized Turkey.” In Girard’s topology mediator and desiring subject are relative functions, and depending on what triangle you are looking at, each player can be playing different roles at the same time. On a bus to Kars, Ka strikes up a conversation with to fellow passenger from a local village. The narrator comments: “It had been a long time since [Ka] had enjoyed the fleeting pleasure of empathizing with someone weaker than himself.” Ka feels inferior and provincial in Frankfurt,
but in Kars he is an upper-class intellectual and people treat him as a sophisticated representative of the center. Positions of inferiority and superiority, center and periphery, and the role of desiring subject and of mediator are shown to be mobile, relative.

Girard argues that “imitative desire is always a desire to be Another.”³xiv Ka is the son of a bourgeois Istanbul family who have long adopted Western ways. In Istanbul, Ka has never been to a mosque to pray. In Kars, he has long conversations about faith and attends religious gatherings. At the Sheik’s house he makes a public confession: “I grew up in Istanbul, in Nişantaşı, among society people. I wanted to be like the Europeans. Because I couldn’t see how I could reconcile my becoming an European with a God that required women to wrap themselves up in scarves, I kept religion out of my life.” But after twelve years in Germany, he now wishes to end his isolation and become just like all other “common” Turks who believe in God, talk politics all of the time, and are never tired of watching television. “I’m provincial, too,” he says, “and I want to become even more provincial. I want to be forgotten in the most unknown corner of the world under a blanket of snow.”³xxv Ka hopes that Kars’s Eastern authenticity and remoteness will help him shake off the European mediator, but that is a mere illusion. Kars is no safer than Istanbul from the large-scale metaphysical desire that makes secularized Turkey the “slave” to “ruthless Europeans” (331). On the contrary, in the microcosm of the provincial town these tensions become magnified, and a cascade of double and multiple mediations flows down from the global to the national and then the personal sphere.

The most serious case of ontological disease is Ka’s relationship to Blue, the charismatic leader of the “Pilgrims”, an underground Islamist group. In a brilliant reversal of the stereotype of the long-bearded fanatic, Pamuk makes Blue an
exceptionally handsome man and a high-minded freedom fighter who has read Franz Fanon and is adored by women. xxvi After his last meeting with Blue, Ka writes a poem entitled “Jealousy” whose subject is “the link between love and hate,” a very Girardian feeling that unites “an unveiled contempt and a secret adoration.” xxvii Ka suffers the emotional agony of a subject who has lost his autonomous identity and agency to an overpowering mediator, or, in his case, two mediators that pull in opposite directions: first, the European culture that he cherishes, but has alienated him from his Eastern roots; and second, his rival Blue, who has emancipated himself from Western influence (and has been Ipek’s lover before Ka). Pamuk reaches new heights of “vérité romanesque” when he constructs a further triangle around his narrator, who, as it is often the case in Pamuk’s novels, is a novelist called Orhan Pamuk. Orhan the narrator has taken up the task of collecting Ka’s lost notebooks and reconstructing the events of his life. Soon Orhan’s admiration for his dead friend transfigures into jealousy and a desire to replace him, particularly in Ipek’s affection. Showing off his writerly skills in self-mastery and analysis, and perhaps his knowledge of literary theory, he comments: “A man can shut out love if he so desires. However, to do so, he must free himself not only from the woman who has bewitched him but from the third person in the story: the ghost who has put temptation in his way.” xxviii Pamuk makes explicit how the feelings of a writer towards his character might take the shape of mimetic desire.

Depending on where he stands, Ka is in turns Turkish or Westernized, the subject of imitative desire (via Blue) or the mediator (for Orhan). One of Ka’s defining features is the complete, despairing solitude he lives in, unable and unwilling to learn German, living like a recluse in a city where he knows nobody. As mentioned above, it is not clear what causes Ka’s sudden decision to travel to Kars. At one point
the trip is presented as “an attempt to step outside the boundaries of his middle-class upbringing” and “the desire to look further afield for childhood and purity” in what is now the “poorest, most overlooked corner of Turkey.” As Irzık has noted, Pamuk deliberately accentuates the “Orientalist ring” of Ka’s nostalgia. Imitating Western fantasies about the East, he sees the poverty and backwardness of the Eastern town as an opportunity for spiritual regeneration and personal fulfillment. So even Ka’s search for autonomy and authenticity ends up being guided by precisely the Western models he is trying to escape.

But no matter how far it is from the European core, Kars is not safe from the destructive influence of its mediation. The city is ripped apart by political strife. Pamuk enacts long debates about the most controversial issues of the moment: the headscarf ban, the status of Turkey in Europe (Turkey is currently in the process of applying for membership of the EU), the cultural and religious identity of Turkey and the influence of the West. All areas of the political spectrum are represented: the old communists (Ipek’s father), the political Islamists (Blue), the more moderate God’s party (Muthar and the group that meets at the Sheikh’s house), the army and the Kemalists (Colonel Colak, Sunay Zaim, the director of the Institute of Education), ethnic minorities (Kurds, Georgian immigrants) and the liberal intellectuals (Ka himself). As explained by Girard’s theory, the differences between factions are only superficial. What they are really competing for is a place under the sun of the mediator. In fact there is one thing on which they all agree: they are unhappy about their image as Turks in Europe, and they want to send a message to the West. Ka gathers them all together with the pretext of composing a statement for a German newspaper where he claims he can get it published. One voice rises above the others in the confusion of the assembly. It is a young Kurd who cries out: “In Germany, they
can spot people from Turkey just by the way they look. There’s no avoiding humiliation except by proving at the first opportunity that you think exactly as they do. But this is impossible, and it can break a man’s pride to try.”

Girard wrote that Stendhal’s novels ask the question “Why are men not happy in the modern world?” Pamuk asks the same question about the inhabitants of the global periphery. Stendhal’s answer was: because men are vaniteux and they let themselves by ruled by metaphysical desire. Characters in Pamuk’s novel have become victims of the same “ontological sickness”: they feel painfully conscious of their provinciality because they have become aware of the presence of a center, elsewhere. The interference of the culture of the center has the effect of replacing the old “innocence and purity” with a subordinate peripheral identity.

The flow of mediated desire in this global system forms a new type of triangle. The asymmetry Moretti sees between a marginal culture intersected and altered by a source culture that completely ignores it is reproduced in the world of the novel. Ka and the people of Kars constantly talk about how Turkey could make itself visible and acceptable to European eyes without losing its pride, while the West seems to take no notice of their agonizing preoccupation. Europe would then be in the position of an absent, external mediator. But other elements suggest that we are dealing with a form of metaphysical desire: the mixture of reverence and hatred Ka feels for Europe and its culture, the fits of self-loathing in which he falls and the dilemma he faces between the impossibility to be on an equal footing with Westerners and his incapacity to be a real Turk. These are all symptoms of extreme internal mediation. Girard claimed that triangular desire had invaded all areas of contemporary society, stretching from “the more intimate depths of the individual soul” to “countries, races, and continents.”

The new triangle resembles the shapes of fractal geometry, where the same pattern is
reproduced in an infinitely small and infinitely large scale. The space in which it is inscribed is no longer the nation state or the metropolis. The entire planet is divided into a center and an extended periphery, which in turns are fragmented into smaller, relative centers and peripheries, until we reach the inner world of the individual’s consciousness, also composed of multiple, constantly shifting centripetal and centrifugal tensions.

Snow offers no possibility of reconciliation between the hero and the world comparable to the Julien’s “reawakening” at the end of The Red and the Black and his renunciation of sick metaphysical desire, which allows him to go to his death with a mindful and serene attitude. Ka too is executed, shot down on the street in Frankfurt, apparently in retaliation for informing on Blue, and his notebook of poems is never found. The poems, we are told, were made of apparently meaningless fragments ordered in a perfect geometrical structure, so as to reveal “the world’s hidden symmetry.” The form the collection should take is revealed prodigiously to Ka in “a vision of extraordinary power” that shows him how “everything is interconnected”, and he, too, is “inextricably linked to this deep and beautiful world.” Knowledge of, and liberation from, the twisted schemes of triangular desire are achieved only in the poems – which are lost forever.

A space-oriented analysis of The Red and the Black and Sentimental Education suggests that the triangle of imitative desire might have a much stronger physical presence in the space of the texts than Girard himself had imagined. Following Girard’s method of using literature as theory, the example of Pamuk’s Snow has served to illuminate the mechanism of triangular desire in the context of globalization and world literature. Pamuk’s oeuvre is an interesting case because it is self-consciously the locus of triangular desire, where the mediator is the European
novel. At the same time, it is also an attempt to resolve this tension productively and reach a new synthesis through literary appropriation and innovation. In his Nobel lecture Pamuk talked about his struggle as a young writer caught between his own literary heritage and the attraction of Western models: “At one end, there were Istanbul’s books – our literature, our local world, in all its beloved detail – and at the other end were the books from this other, Western, world, to which our own bore no resemblance, to which our lack of resemblance gave us both pain and hope”xxxvi – the same pain and hope that Ka has inherited from his European ancestors (and perhaps mediators) Julien Sorel and Frédéric Moreau.

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ii Girard, *Deceit, Desire and the Novel*, 3.


iv Now in *Mimesis and Theory*, 80-95.


xi Girard, *Deceit, Desire and the Novel*, 74.


xviii Girard, *Deceit, Desire and the Novel*, 279.


xxiv Girard, *Deceit, Desire and the Novel*, 84.


xxvi Pamuk, *Snow*, 328.


xxviii Pamuk, *Snow*, 388.


xxx Sibel Irzık, “Orhan Pamuk’s *Snow*”, 195.
Pamuk, *Snow*, 284.


Pamuk, *Snow*, 299.


(accessed 15 August 2012).