APPROACHING THE LIMIT OF EXPERIENCE:
MEMORY AND IMAGINATION IN AHMET HAMDI TANPINAR AND ZAVEN BIBERYAN

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO
THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES
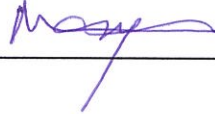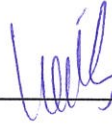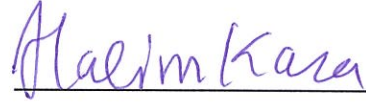OF
İSTANBUL ŞEHİR UNIVERSITY

BY

HİLAL YAVUZ

IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR
THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS
IN
CULTURAL STUDIES

AUGUST 2019

This is to certify that we have read this thesis and that in our opinion it is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a thesis for the degree of Master of Arts in Cultural Studies

Examining Committee Members:

	DECISION	SIGNATURE
Assist. Prof. Fatih Altuğ (Thesis Advisor)	Accepted	_Ḟ̇ataç_
Assist. Prof. Mehmet Fatih Uslu (Thesis Advisor)	Accepted	_Masy_
Assist. Prof. Hale Sert	Accepted	_Ḥal̲y_
Assist. Prof. Şima İmşir	Accepted	_Şı_
Assoc. Prof. Halim Kara	Accepted	Halim Kara

This is to confirm that this thesis complies with all the standards set by the Graduate School of Humanities and Social Sciences of İstanbul Şehir University.

Date

07 / 08 / 2019

Seal/Signature
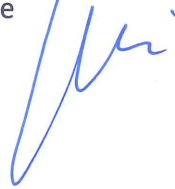
I hereby declare that all information in this document has been obtained and presented in accordance with academic rules and standards of ethical conduct. I also declare that, as required by these rules and standards, I have fully cited and referenced all material and results that are not original to this work.

First Name, Last Name: Hilal Yavuz

Signature

ABSTRACT

APPROACHING THE LIMIT OF EXPERIENCE: MEMORY AND IMAGINATION IN AHMET HAMDI TANPINAR AND ZAVEN BIBERYAN

Yavuz, Hilal

MA in Cultural Studies

Thesis Advisor: Assist. Prof. Fatih Altuğ

Thesis Co-Advisor: Assist. Prof. Mehmet Fatih Uslu

August 2019, 82 pages

The aim of this study is to conduct a comparative analysis of Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar and Zaven Biberyan based upon the theory of experience developed by Walter Benjamin. What is decisive for experience in Benjamin's consideration is "not the causal connections established over the course of time, but the similarities that have been lived" (Benjamin, 1996, p. 553). This explains why he examines the change in experience with its implications of memory and imagination, rather than knowledge. This thesis suggests that the link between experience, memory, and imagination occupies an important position in both Tanpınar's and Biberyan's literature. On the one hand, this link plays a key role in Tanpınar's concept of *terkip* that functions not only as an aesthetic paradigm, but also as a response to the national identity crisis in the early Republic of Turkey. On the other hand, Biberyan's attempt to approach the Catastrophe in the realm of literature cannot be separated from the split between experience and knowledge of experience. The focal point of the study is the experience of the city because the change in experience is closely related to the changing environment of big cities.

Keywords: experience, imagination, memory, city

ÖZ

DENEYİMİN SINIRINA YAKLAŞMAK: AHMET HAMDİ TANPINAR VE ZAVEN BİBERYAN'DA HAFIZA VE HAYAL GÜCÜ

Yavuz, Hilal

Kültürel Çalışmalar Yüksek Lisans Programı

Tez Danışmanı: Dr. Öğr. Üyesi Fatih Altuğ

İkinci Tez Danışmanı: Dr. Öğr. Üyesi Mehmet Fatih Uslu

Ağustos 2019, 82 sayfa

Bu çalışmanın amacı Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar ve Zaven Biberyan metinlerini Walter Benjamin'in deneyim kuramı bağlamında karşılaştırmalı olarak incelemektir. Benjamin'e göre deneyim için belirleyici olan "zamanla kurulan nedensel bağlantılar değil, yaşanılan benzerliklerdir" (Benjamin, 1996, p. 553). Bu nedenle Benjamin deneyimin değişen yapısını bilgi temelinde değil, hafıza ve hayal gücü ile ilişkisi bağlamında ele alır. Tez kapsamında hem Tanpınar'ın hem de Biberyan'ın metinlerinde deneyim, hafıza ve hayal gücü arasındaki ilişkinin merkezi bir konuma sahip olduğu iddia edilmektedir. Bu ilişki, Tanpınar'ın sadece estetik bir paradigma olarak değil, aynı zamanda erken Cumhuriyet döneminin milli kimlik krizine bir çözüm önerisi olarak işlevselleştirdiği terkip kavramı açısından önemlidir. Öte yandan Biberyan'ın Felaket'e edebiyatın sınırları içerisinde yaklaşma çabası deneyim ve deneyimin bilgisi arasındaki kırılmadan ayrı düşünülemez. Deneyimin değişen yapısının büyük şehir deneyimiyle yakın ilişkisi göz önünde bulundurularak şehir deneyimi bu çalışmanın odağında yer almaktadır.

Anahtar kelimeler: deneyim, hayal gücü, hafıza, şehir

To my mother

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I should have the longest words of gratitude for Uğur Çalışkan. He has been part of my academic life and put the most effort into making me who I am now.

There are many friends to whom I am indebted. My dearest friends Nisan Alıcı and Asiye Duman were always there to help me in moments when I needed help and company. Enise Şeyda Kapusuz and Yonca Bayram my friends for the past decade, thank you so much for your emotional support. Aylin Sarıdere and Berk Polat thanks for taking care of me every time I was in Istanbul.

I will be always grateful to Aykut Öztürk. Thanks for taking care of me when I really needed in Yerevan.

My father Fuat, my sister Zülal, my brother Muhammed, and my aunt Esra thank you so much for all your support.

Finally, I would like to thank and dedicate this study to my mother Sevdet for showing me how to have great strength and courage in times of trouble.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

Readers of Ovid's famous narrative, the *Metamorphoses* will probably remember the scene in *Book VI*, the Lydian weaver Arachne is transformed into a spider for challenging Minerva to a spinning contest. Once Arachne becomes aware that she is better than her god, she is proud of her accomplishment rather than feel guilty. And she refuses to obey Minerva's demand for an apology for being proud of her work. Soon after, Minerva's rage makes her to try to hang herself. The goddess, however, has decided otherwise. Arachne is destined to spin a thread as a spider forever and to "carr[y] on the art of weaving as she used to do" (Ovid, 2004, p. 210).

In spite of the diversity of Arachne's symbolic and metaphorical meanings, this myth has mostly understood as having the connotation of women writing (Bloomberg, 2001, p. 1). This is why I will not argue that it is the perfect metaphor for the writers considered in this study, Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar and Zaven Biberyan. But it is actually possible to suggest that there is always a similarity between the figure of Arachne and a writer because there is a parallelism between the metaphorical concept of weaving and the act of writing. It is a remarkable fact that this myth has frequently been told from a point of view that one is against the existing order. Following this association, the story of Arachne makes one able to think about the act of writing as a form of resistance against established authority.

What I partially try to show in this study is that Biberyan was fighting against not only the state's authority, but also the existing order in the Armenian community. When he returned to Istanbul from his military service which designed in the form of forced labor for the non-Muslim citizens, he had to deal with the negative reactions of the Armenian community because of his series of articles. As a result of his courage to speak of the issues that have never spoken, he was jailed and interrogated. After receiving a lot of pressure by the governmental officers, he was forced to leave the country for six years. On the other hand, it is also possible to find a weak similarity between the figure of Arachne and Tanpınar's position in which his way of creating a

1

historical narrative which had been contradicted with the nationalist historical narrative in a sense. However, as you can follow through the discussions conducted in this study, he was mostly integrated with the politics implemented by the single-party regime in the early Republican period.

But the main reason of why I began with the myth of Arachne is actually based on my suggestion that there is a parallelism between the image of spider in these writers' specific novels and the way that the protagonists of these novels experience the city. In Tanpınar's *Huzur* [*A Mind at Peace*], it appears either as something similar to an acrobat (p. 57), or as a creature which has capability to eat its own legs (p. 77), or as the feeling of jealousy that weaves its web (p. 282). Considering these connections, it can be said that the image of spider emerges as having the reference to one's self in Tanpınar, rather than the relation to the other. On the other hand, in Biberyan's *Angudi Siraharner* [Merciless Lovers], it is used for depicting the others which have become a serious threat that makes someone feel anxious, powerless, and afraid. It refers not only to a web weaved by the others, but also to the eyes of them that follow the protagonist. The principle subject of this study is to reveal this contrast from many respects.

The experience of the city mentioned in this study functions as a common ground that makes possible to read Tanpınar and Biberyan in a comparative way. But actually not only the experience of the city is scrutinized in my discussion; there is also an extensive examination about all manner of the change in experience. However it is defined, experience always brings a large complexity as a conceptual term. The difficulty to manage it has been one of the significant problems for twentieth-century thinkers who "have felt compelled to mull over its multiple meanings and contradictory implications" (Jay, 1998, p. 47). Nevertheless, no one has been as profound in the elucidation of its most sophisticated varieties as Walter Benjamin.

To approach experience, Benjamin (1996) invites us in his 1917 text "On Perception" to imagine that a painter sits in front of a landscape and copies it: "[T]he landscape itself does not occur in the picture; it could at best be described as the symbol of its

artistic context" (p. 95). The artistic context refers to the associations which seek to cluster around the landscape, in other words, the *aura* attaching to the object of perception. In the 1940 text "On Some Motifs in Baudelaire," he writes that these associations are "at home in involuntary memory" and precisely correspond to the experience in the sense of *Erfahrung* (Benjamin, 2003, p. 337). Experience in the sense of *Erlebnis*, on the other hand, does not occur in the picture, but it could be described as the way of imitating the landscape which remains unattainable to anyone else except that the painter who draws it.

As a result of which *Erlebnis* suffers from losing its connection with *Erfahrung* that is indicated in Benjamin's several texts, the communicable form of experience has decreased not merely on personal level, but human experience in general. In other words, because *Erlebnis* and *Erfahrung* are increasingly disconnected, it is more difficult for humans as individuals and as collectives to share their experience with one another. In the 1936 text "The Storyteller," Benjamin (2002) associates this change with the decline of storytelling and the rise of the novel at the beginning of modern times (p. 146). That is to say, the changes in experience and in genre are strongly connected. An important question that arises here is what explains such a drastic change in experience.

In his reading on the philosophy of Walter Benjamin, Giorgio Agamben (1993) notes that "[n]othing can convey the extent of the change that has taken place in the meaning of experience so much as the resulting reversal of the status of the imagination" (p. 24). He demonstrates how the act of imagining has been excluded from the realm of the reality and expropriated by the act of reasoning with the birth of the modern science. However, as he writes, "the removal of imagination from the realm of experience (...) casts a shadow on the latter" (p. 25). As the shadow of imagination, desire has become increasingly important for individual experience from the point of psychological view.

I aim to conduct a comparative analysis of Tanpınar and Biberyan based upon the theory of experience developed by Benjamin rather than the disposals of the

psychological theories, because the conceptual framework he suggested makes me able to consider the exercise of imagination as integrated not only with individual experience but also with social and political practices. If it is true that the reinvention of desire is the shadow of imagination that casts on experience at the beginning of the twentieth century, I suggest that it is possible to trace the associations between the exercise of the imagination in Tanpınar's literature, and his formulations on national identity in several texts. What is more, I introduce Biberyan's way of approaching the catastrophic event in his literature has some similarities with his confrontation with the state's anti-Armenian policies through his newspaper articles.

In the first chapter of this study, I dwell on Tanpınar's concept of *terkip* as something has its implications not only in individual experience and aesthetic forms, but also in social and political practices. Looking the definitions of *terkip*, the Ottoman Turkish dictionary offers "a synthesis, a composition, a putting together, a fusion" (Devellioğlu). Which meanings are activated by Tanpınar? Is it something make him able to construct a harmonious wholeness, or a fragmented structure? In what context he needs to refer it? These are some questions that I answer in the first part of my thesis. In this chapter, I also examine Benjamin's theory of experience within the scope of its associations with Kantian formulations of experience and Hegelian dialectics to support my suggestion that Tanpınar's *terkip* with its version involved in his first and unfinished novel *Mahur Beste* [Song in Mahur] might have some similarities with Benjamin's elaboration of experience in the sense of *Erfahrung*. In this process, Tanpınar's *terkip* functions as a concept which makes one able to approach Benjamin's *Erfahrung* in a different perspective.

In the second chapter of this study, I focus on Biberyan's approach to what remains of the catastrophic event, the extermination of the Armenians of the Ottoman Empire by considering his newspaper articles and his novel *Mrchiwnneru Verchaloysĕ* [Sunset of the Ants]. Embraced by Marc Nichanian as a conceptual term, the Catastrophe refers not only to the destiny of the Ottoman Armenians, but also to the loss of language as something that constitutes the truth. For precisely because it is defined as beyond all reason, all history, and all memory, I argue that it might have some

similarities with Benjamin's *Eingedenken*, that is, the dialectical relationship between remembering and forgetting. What is the similarity between these two concepts? What is the difference between them? Following these questions, I suggest that Biberyan's way of approaching the Catastrophe through literature makes one able to answer these questions in a broader sense.

There is no doubt that the change in experience is also closely related to the changing environment of big cities. On the one hand, the "processes of urbanization and the development of increasingly complex structures of social organization create the environment of urban shock," and on the other, the development of new technologies, and so the decline of *aura* lead to a change in the artistic gratification of the sense perception (Beasley-Murray, 2007, p. 79). This is why in the final chapter of this study, I have a comparative analysis of the experience of the city in Tanpınar's *Huzur* and Biberyan's *Angudi Siraharner*. My main question is what are the similarities and the differences between the ways the protagonists experience the city Istanbul and remember the past while they are walking around it? One more important question to ask at this point is: Are there any connections between two writers' approach to the memory of the Catastrophe and the ways they constitute the experience of the city in their novels?

Both Tanpınar and Biberyan have grown up in the same society, in almost same period, but it is not that simple to discuss them in relation to one another. I am aware that their worldviews, interests, and in particular, their languages are incommensurable. Despite of the fact that there are several differences need to be considered in a comparative analysis of these writers' positions as an intellectual figure in the early Republican period and of their way of approaching experience, memory, and imagination, the centrality of the city experience in their novels led me to have such a comparison.

Another reason of why I attempt to compare these writers is the increasing interest in their literature in recent years. Although Biberyan's all novels were translated from Armenian to Turkish and published by Aras publishing, there is almost nothing in

academia about his life and literature yet. On the other hand, Tanpınar has a remarkable popularity in the realm of literary criticism over the past several years. Through the website *tanpınarmerkezi.com*, not only his archives but also lots of texts written about his life and literature were opened to the public access by the Institute of Literary Research on Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar, established in 2017. His project for publishing the letter of Suad, who is one of the prominent characters in his novel *Huzur*, was recently realized as an outcome of an ongoing archive work conducted by this institute. Despite of the fact that there are numerous academic studies on Tanpınar and his writings in different fields, there is no comparative study that focuses on his consideration on the destiny of the Armenians in Ottoman Empire.

What is more, if one appraises the construction of national identity and its close relationship with the fabrication of literary canon in Turkey, the first name that comes to mind, of course, is Tanpınar because his work *Ondokuzuncu Asır Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi* [History of Nineteenth-Century Literature] still has an authoritative account in modern Turkish literature. That is why, I suggest that this study can contribute to the future studies that will attempt to approach the absence of Zaven Biberyan in the literary history of Turkey.

CHAPTER I

ON THE MIMETIC PERCEPTION

The word "experience" is derived from the Latin *experientia*, which means "trial, proof, experiment" (Experience). Martin Jay (2005) observes that "insofar as 'try' [*expereri*] contains the same root as *periculum*, or 'danger,' there is also a covert association between experience and peril, which suggests that it comes from having survived risks and learned something from the encounter" (p. 10).

Tecrübe, *deneyim*, and *yaşantı* in the Turkish language are translated by the one English word, but have come to imply different notions of experience. The word *tecrübe*, which is derived from "trial" [*tecrib*] that contains same origin with "manner" [*tecribe*] in Ottoman Turkish (Devellioğlu), was in common use in the Ottoman period. Following the language reforms of the Republic, the word *deneyim*, which is derived from "experiment" [*deney*] entered the dictionaries and remained in common use in everyday vocabulary of Turkish speakers today (Nişanyan).[1]

In the text of "Melih Cevdet: İkinci Yeniden Sonra" ["Melih Cevdet: After the Second New"], Orhan Koçak (1990) mentions that there were either *hayat* or *ömür*, which both implied "life" and *tecrübe* with the meaning of "manner" and *deneyim* that implied only scientific experiment in the Turkish language, but there was no *yaşantı* until 1960 (p. 25). The word *yaşantı*, which is derived from "to live" [*yaşamak*], is suggested by him as the equivalent word for *Erfahrung* in the German language. As derived from "to travel" [*Fahren*] that contains same origin as "danger" [*Gefahr*], *Erfahrung* mostly means experience in the sense of learning from life in an extended period with activating "a link between memory and experience" (Jay, 2005, p. 11). It is distinguished from *Erlebnis*, which is derived from "to live" [*Leben*] that implies "immediate, pre-reflective, and personal variant of experience" (p. 11). Presumably

---

[1] It first appeared in the dictionary of *Felsefe ve Gramer Terimleri* [Philosophy and Grammar Terms] prepared by the Turkish Language Institute in 1942 (Nişanyan).

because both are derived from "to live," there is a claim in the Nişanyan dictionary that the word *yaşantı* is the equivalent word for *Erlebnis* in German.

The change in the meaning of experience in the Turkish language cannot be seen as a matter of words, but it needs to be considered as something dependent on the social and political context. Koçak argues that because any form of experience had its necessary correlation in governmental authority until the end of the 1950s, there was no room to the idea of an autonomous individual self in the realm of literature. This is why he writes, "the meaning was not inside, but outside; it was not something created, but given; and it was not immanent to experience, but transcendent" for the writers of the time (Koçak, 1990, p. 27). Such a cultural climate, as Koçak mentions, had resulted in limitation of the continuity of the self, which can only be achieved by adopting the unity of experience on the basis of a sort of interrelation between subject and object (p. 28). What made possible to overcome those limitations, for him, was the emergence of the Second New movement[2] in the Turkish literature in the 1950s that embraced a phenomenological approach in poetic composition.

Although experience in the sense of *yaşantı* was first included in the Second New movement, this is not to say that anyone was not aware of the lack of phenomenological perspective in literature before that. By quoting from Tanpınar's words in the 1936 text entitled "Bizde Roman" ("Our Novel") about "the narrowness of individual experience" in the Turkish literature (Tanpınar, 1977, p. 130), Koçak considers him as the first critic who opened up this issue for a general discussion.

Tanpınar attempted to construct an autonomous self in continuum in his literature and literary criticism by emphasizing the very close relationship between experience and artistic composition. For example, in the 1959 text "Fuzuli'ye Dair" ("About Fuzuli") he identifies the manner, which contains same origin with *tecrübe* as the common ground for both art and experience (Tanpınar, 1977, p. 152). In the 1960

---

[2] The Second New movement represents an innovative language in modern Turkish poetry around the 1950s and 1960s.

text "Şark ile Garp Arasında Görülen Esaslı Farklar" ("Differences between East and West"), he claims that one cannot separate the lack of individual experience from the lack of attention in the Turkish literature, which needs to be regarded as the main difference between Western civilization and Muslim world (Tanpınar, 1977, p. 130). Following these words, it is possible to suggest that his concerns about the inadequacy of Turkish literature are connected to his discomfort about the lack of individual experience in Turkish culture.

While the word *deneyim*, which had the meaning of scientific experiment, did not allow embracing the associations between individual experience and poetic composition, the word *tecrübe* was deprived of the dangerous nature of experience. This is why I suggest that Tanpınar attempted to conceptualize the word *terkip* as something made him able to imagine a dynamic form of experience which has its implications not only in individual life and the work of art, but also in social and political practices.

The concept of *terkip* functions as a cultural politics to formulate Turkish identity's relations not only to Western culture but also to the Ottoman past in Tanpınar's non-literary texts. In the first part of this chapter, I will examine such an aspect of *terkip* in Tanpınar's texts in the light of the characteristics of the socio-political context. On the other hand, it is also activated as an aesthetic paradigm not only in his criticism, but also in his novels. This is why it would not be wrong to argue that Tanpınar's concept of *terkip* has some similarities with Benjamin's elaboration of experience in the sense of *Erfahrung*.

To prepare a proper base for the following study I will explore the change in experience as a concept in the course of centuries at the second part of this chapter. This will not be limited to Benjamin's point of view, because taking experience as a point of departure to his philosophical questioning is not unique to him. Two thinkers who will be helpful in this study are Kant and Hegel. I will not be asking whether Benjamin was influenced by these philosophers; instead, I will draw on them to give me a broader perspective for some of the issues that are at stake.

And finally, I will analyze Tanpınar's *Mahur Beste* [Song in Mahur][3] by considering some conceptual tools that I traced their evolution in the second section on the basis of Benjamin's theory of experience. I will attempt to answer the questions that what Tanpınar means when he uses his *terkip* as an aesthetic paradigm and in what ways it is similar to Benjamin's *Erfahrung*.

1.1. The early Republican period of Turkey

1.1.1. Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar's biography

Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar was born in Şehzadebaşı, a district of Istanbul, as the son of an Ottoman bureaucrat family on June 23, 1901.[4] Şehzadebaşı located in the oldest part of Istanbul plays an important role with its coffeehouses, *çayhane*s, and theaters in Tanpınar's texts. In the "Istanbul" section of *Beş Şehir*, it appears as one of the places that has already lost its vivacity, but still has been continuing to designate the present in narrator's imagination. It is because his father's profession frequently required relocation; Tanpınar has spent his childhood in several cities of Anatolia. In the Armistice years,[5] he went back to Istanbul for his high school education. He started to study at the Veterinary College, but one year later, he resumed his academic career at the Literature department at the Darülfünun,[6] where Yahya Kemal was included in teaching staff (Okay, 2000, pp. 12-3).

Yahya Kemal has a strong influence on Tanpınar. In his unfinished work named *Yahya Kemal*, Tanpınar (1995) describes him as a fascinating intellectual figure whose thought is always up to date and engaged with the problems of homeland (p. 18).[7] Other figures from the circle of *Dergâh*, which was one of the significant journals of

---

[3] First serialized in *Ülkü* in 1944, *Mahur Beste* was published in book form in 1975.

[4] For all information in this study about Tanpınar's biography without specifying any sources, see http://www.tanpinarmerkezi.com/ahmet-hamdi-tanpinar/biyografi/.

[5] The occupation of Istanbul (1918-1923) by British, French, and Italian forces, took place in accordance with the Armistice of Mudros, which ended Ottoman participation in the First World War.

[6] Today's Istanbul University. It was envisioned by Ottoman reformers as an institution of higher education that would be distinct from *madrasahs*, which taught traditional sciences. They coined the name, which literally means "house of sciences," to denote a modern university (İhsanoğlu, 2014).

[7] Nurdan Gürbilek (2017) says that "for Tanpınar, Yahya Kemal's nationalism, which compared the Malazgirt victory with the conquest of Istanbul and the Turkish War of Independence with the French Revolution, must have seemed a more civilized proposition" unlike Mehmet Akif's Islamism and Ziya Gökalp's Turkism (pp. 144-45).

the time, also have influence on Tanpınar's imagination, such as Ahmet Haşim, who provokes the idea that art and politics need to be considered as two different conceptual realms, and Abdülhâk Şinasi Hisar with his nostalgic approach for the purpose of fueling the imagination (Tanpınar, 1977, pp. 111-22).[8]

Tanpınar completed his bachelor's degree by writing a thesis on *Hüsrev ü Şirin*.[9] For a while he worked as a literature teacher at high schools in different parts of Anatolia. During that period of time, apart from his poems, stories, and translations, his articles on the contemporary Turkish literature have been published in various journals, mostly in *Görüş*, which was a journal published in his collaboration with Ahmet Kutsi Tecer.[10] In the course of his working at the Educational Institute of Gazi in Ankara, he participated in the Congress of Turkish and Literature Teachers held in 1930. Here he suggested that the classical literature should be outside of the official curriculum and the Turkish literary history should begin with the Tanzimat period. But reconsidering his position later on, he writes:

> Until 1932, I was a radical proponent of Westernization whom completely rejected Eastern thought. After 1932, I started to live a place like the East where I built for myself. I think what we need is to live in such a place, in such a *terkip*. *Beş Şehir* and *Huzur* can be considered as a search for such *terkip*. (Tanpınar, as cited in Akün, 2008).

In this passage, Tanpınar conceives the concept of *terkip* as the core of his individual experience that allows him to solve the crisis in Turkish identity which oscillates between the West and the East. What makes him able to imagine *terkip* in that way might be related to his understanding of experience as something that is associated with the realm of aesthetics. Before approaching how Tanpınar offers the concept of *terkip* as a strategy that can elucidate identity issues, one needs to pay attention to the cultural politics of the time.

---

[8] *Dergâh* was published in totally 42 issues, between 1921 and 1923. Yakup Kadri, Falih Rıfkı, Halide Edip, and Ruşen Eşref were also among the writers who have contributed to it.

[9] It is supposed that Şeyhi would have written it in the years 1421-1430 in Kütahya. As a poet in the form of *masnawi*, it consists of nearly 7000 couplets (The Islamisation of Anatolia).

[10] Tanpınar stated that they had the opportunity to speak of their aesthetics for the first time thanks to the *Görüş* magazine (Kurt, 2008, p. 647).

1.1.2. Cultural politics in the early Turkish Republic

At the crossroad of the decline of the Ottoman Empire and the foundation of the Turkish Republic, a series of wars, massacres, and genocides were carried out. It is outside of the scope of this study to revisit adequately the complex discussions on all the events of the period. Among the others, the annihilation of Armenians has a critical importance in this study, not just because it took a form of genocide, but what remains after the event, as Marc Nichanian claims, has become constitutive to the Armenian literature produced by diaspora writers as well as those of remaining in Turkey. I will return to this "issue"[11] in the next chapter where I attempt to approach Biberyan's life and his novel *Mrchiwnneru Verchaloysĕ* [Sunset of the Ants].

Right after the Republican state was founded by Mustafa Kemal (1923), a series of the reforms has been applied in different stages to facilitate the goal of a break with the Ottoman past. Intellectuals, scholars, and other opinion makers made their contributions to the reform movement in a way of that they participated numerous congresses held in the early 1930s. For example, the Turkish alphabet reform of 1928, "which replace[s] Arabo-Persian writing with Latin orthography, and the language reforms of the 1930s," which supposed to clean up the Turkish language from Arabic and Persian words (Ertürk, 2008, p. 48), were introduced in the Turkish Language Congress.[12] To understand why the young Republic of Turkey avoided having any connection with its Ottoman past, one should probably examine Ziya Gökalp's formulation of national identity.

Ziya Gökalp embraced Turkism as a strategy that was compatible with nationalism which spread across the world during the ages of World War I. The primary goal of this strategy was to assimilate each individual in a collective identity to guarantee the

---

[11] Hazal Halavut (2012) claims that naming the crimes committed by the state as "the issue" ["*mesele*"], creates "a comfort zone in Turkey by enabling a mode of talking without talking about it" (p. 2). It is true not only for the case of the Armenian issue, but also for the cases of the Kurdish issue, the Alevi issue, and the woman issue (p. 11).

[12] Geoffrey Lewis (1999) defines the Republican language reforms as a catastrophic success, and writes that they were catastrophic "not just because of the loss of Ottoman Turkish, but also the loss of its natural development, the Turkish of the 1920s and 1930s, the language of Halide Edip, Sabahattin Ali, Yakup Kadri, and Reşat Nuri" (p. 4).

future survival of culture and society. Thus, he defined nation as a collective entity "consisting of individuals who have received the same education, and who have a common language, emotions, ideals, religion, morality and aesthetic feeling" (Parla, 1985, p. 36). For Ziya Gökalp, there is no contradiction between culture [*hars*] and civilization [*medeniyet*], or between religious views and nationalism. In doing so, he managed to claim that Turkism, Islamism, and Westernism do not contradict each other. However, Ottomanism was not acceptable "because it considered humanity as a single 'civilisation, common to all men, whose members are not nations but individuals'" (Ziya Gökalp, as cited in Koçak, 2010). Thus, because of promoting cosmopolitanism rather than internationalism, Ottomanism has been excluded from the realm of the national identity.[13]

For the period from the founding of the Republic to 1950, Orhan Koçak (2010) suggests to make a distinction between before and after the year of 1938 in the realm of cultural politics. He designates the former as "a time of expurgation," and the letter as "a time of relative restoration" (p. 306). The main concern for both periods was about defining the Turkish national identity in comparison with its other, that is, "the West." However, the way the Republic of Turkey imagines itself through its connection to "the West" had changed from the former to the letter.

The first period crystallizes in Ziya Gökalp's perspective, which can be summarized as follows: "Westernisation in defiance of the West, in order to be freed of Persian and Arab influences" (p. 305). Following this statement, Koçak claims that the Turkish national identity bears an inherent contradiction, which is partially maintained even today's political sphere, that is, the idea of "Westernisation against the West." The language reforms can be considered as the most obvious example of this way of thinking, in which it was aimed to release the Turkish language from the Persian and Arab influences by means of Latinization of the alphabet. However, if any Western language "attempts to supplant what it destroys," according to Ziya Gökalp, that means that "it has itself become harmful and should be resisted" (Ziya Gökalp, as

---

[13] Because of its appreciation of Ottomanism, the Tanzimat reforms initiated by Sultan Mahmut II were also under attack by him.

cited in Koçak, 2010). The words created by the Turkish Language Institute as being Turkish equivalents for foreign words that had entered the language can be considered in this context.[14]

In this period, the city Istanbul was also undervalued not only because of its strong engagement with the Ottoman past, but also the remaining cosmopolitanism of it. On the other hand, as Koçak notes, the second period contains an increasing interest in the city of Istanbul through literature, memoirs, and articles. However, it would be wrong to assume that such an increasing interest in Istanbul in Turkish literature was associated with the city's cosmopolitanism. In the following pages, I will try to show how Tanpınar annuls the cosmopolitan environment of Istanbul in his effort to activate the concept of *terkip* as a cultural politics. Before that, I want to give some details about "the time of relative restoration" in the realm of cultural politics of Turkey.

The second period has been shaped by the reforms in the realm of education with the emphasis of humanism. Hasan Ali Yücel, who was appointed as Minister of National Education in 1938, put the humanist reforms in practice as a cultural policy. During his time as Minister, some crucial developments took place; such as the university reforms, the establishment of the Village Institutes,[15] and the translation of the world classics into the Turkish language.[16] What is proposed by humanism, for Yücel, is "an organic relationship between universality and particularity" which cannot be thought in a relation with Ziya Gökalp's formulation of the harmonious combination of Turkism, Islamism, and modernism. Thus, he writes: "The present Turkish revolution is holistic and systematic, not eclectic. We don't wish to be three things at once, as Ziya Bey prescribed: what we want is to be one thing" (Yücel, as

---

[14] "Plenty of peculiar creations are to be found in *Felsefe ve Gramer Terimleri*, the little book of philosophical and grammatical terminology published in 1942. They include almaş 'alternation', değşinim 'mutation', koram 'hierarchy', sonurgu 'result', uran 'industry', simge 'symbol', imge 'image', and yöntem 'system', 'method'" (Lewis, 1999, p. 112).

[15] The system of the Village Institutes aims at the training of primary school teachers and promoting a rural intellectual elite.

[16] A national library was established in the 1940s, and hundreds of Western classics were translated into Turkish and published by the Ministry for Education (Konuk, 2010, p. 82).

cited in Koçak, 2010). What he mentions in this statement as "one thing" is to be Turk without confirming any religious affinity.

Kader Konuk (2010) notes that the goal of the humanistic reforms was not merely "to copy essential ingredients of European culture but to generate a Turkish renaissance in the European model" (p. 79). Considering the institutional arrangements of the education system in Istanbul University in the year of 1933, which include the dismissal of two-thirds of its Turkish instructors, and hiring European professors[17] and Turks trained in Europe, as a point of departure for the humanist movement in the early Republican period, she suggests that "the humanistic reforms enacted as a form of cultural mimesis through Turkey tried to became the flagship of Western European civilization" (p. 79). In such a way, the Turkish humanism appears not as a less perfect form of the Western model anymore, but as a distinct practice to represent "the West."

1.1.3. "A return to the true self"

As an instructor of contemporary Turkish Literature working at Istanbul University (1939-1943), Tanpınar was in the middle of all these discussions. He was aware of the role of the Turkish intellectuals "in maintaining the idea of humanist Europe at its Turkish periphery" (Konuk, 2010, p. 76). For example, in his article "Yılbaşında Düşünceler" ("Some Thoughts at the New Year's Eve") written towards the end of World War II, Tanpınar notes: "[W]hile other countries suffered devastating experiences during the war, Turkey was able to preserve its peace and even make constructive progress" (Tanpınar, as cited in Konuk, 2010). Thus, it might be suggested that Tanpınar was agreed with the other intellectuals of the time that the Turkey's particular experience is ready to put itself in the lead for representing the Western model.

---

[17] Because the reforming plans of the state coincided with the exclusion of German-Jewish academics from Nazi Germany, more than forty German scholars, such as Leo Spitzer and Erich Auerbach were worked at Istanbul University among many others who were employed by other universities and institutes across the country. Thus, Konuk suggests that the Turkish humanist movement cannot be thought just as the work of Turkish politicians and intellectuals, but the contributions of the emigrant scholars also should be taken into consideration.

Tanpınar's consideration about the national identity's relation to Western culture is disconnected with Ziya Gökalp's synthetic formulations in many respects. What is more important, he does not agree with Ziya Gökalp about refusing the connection with the Ottoman past. By following Yahya Kemal's vision and his call for "a specifically Turkish historical consciousness" (Konuk, 2008, p. 82), he activates the concept of *terkip* as something that makes one able to include two sources of Western and Ottoman culture. To show how it is impossible for him to choose between the two, he writes in his 1943 text "Asıl Kaynak" ("The Original Source") as follows:

> It seems to me that, neither loving the past, nor knowing the West and admiring it, is adequate for us (…) We are only able to look at the East or the West as two separate sources. Both are ours (…) meaning they are inside our realities. But their presence in and of itself cannot be valuable, and (…) invites us to create, in our life, for ourselves, a life that is common to us, a broad and comprehensive *terkip*. So that the coalescence and confrontation within us can be fruitful it is necessary to produce this life, this *terkip*. This is possible through understanding the third main source as "the reality of the country." (Tanpınar, as cited in Staudt, 2017)

Towards the end of World War II, Tanpınar was mostly writing in *Cumhuriyet* by focusing on the city Istanbul and its glorious history. In his article "Yaklaşan Büyük Yıldönümü" ("Upcoming Great Anniversary"), he writes:

> We have taken Istanbul from a civilization which is claimed to have other successors and there, we have made a new taste and cultural *terkip* for these lands, even for the world. (…) To tell the truth, Muslim East, in no time, in nowhere, has never been as beautiful, tasteful and restrained as with us. Other architectures did not satisfy Greece proportion and Rome hauteur and majesty with pure renaissance grace as much as we do. Mystical philosophy and religion merge that closely with it in very few places, without decaying life. The spirit merriment of our music is the same as its enthusiasm in the old saying. We own one of the rare and concise civilizations in where stone, wall, gilded writing, tune and poem are the possession of whole life (Tanpınar, 1970, p. 133).

The image of Istanbul appears as a space that contains a mixture of Greek and Roman elements intertwining with the Ottoman culture. Through his efforts of awakening some mystical and ritual elements, the city opens up its poetic face to him, and becomes a landscape with its whole architecture. Thus, the image of Istanbul contains the possibility of becoming the core of *terkip*.

In the text "The Return of the *Flâneur*," Benjamin (1999) writes that "the city splits into its dialectical poles" to return back to the gaze of the *flâneur* whom the most prominent figure of the modern city (p. 263)*.* Accordingly, the city appears not only "as a landscape that opens up to him" but also "as a parlor that encloses him" (p. 263). It would be wrong to search for the figure of *flâneur* in this passage because the narrator is not on the streets of the city. However, there are some similarities between the narrator's position here and the position of Tanpınar's protagonists (especially in *Huzur*) in terms of perceiving the city. I will return this point in the final chapter of this study. For now, it might be suggested that because the city in Tanpınar's narrative emerges as something opens itself to the gaze of the viewer; he can imagine Istanbul as an infinite space which makes him able to activate the concept of *terkip* as a cultural politics. On the other hand, it is because Tanpınar does not consider the boundaries of the city that enclosed the viewer, *terkip* stays far away from revealing the possibility of dialectics.

Once the possibility of dialectics that might be opened to the gaze of the viewer through the experience of the city is dismissed, Tanpınar's concept of *terkip* evolves a strategy into a search for "a return to the true self" (Tanpınar, 1977, p. 89) which can be defined as Turkishness in this context. Although there is no emphasis on the Turkishness of Istanbul in the above-mentioned piece, the main focus of the second part of his article is completely about how Istanbul belongs to the Turks. Thus, it can be said that Tanpınar's emphasis to the "us" in this passage has its correlation in the idea of Turkishness. To affirm the Turkishness of the city, he expands his narrative around the themes of conquest, victory, and civilization.

Following this path, it might be suggested that the image of Istanbul has a double-meaning in Tanpınar's exercise of imagination. On the one hand, it contradicts with the nationalist historical narrative by considering the Ottoman past as part of the collective identity, but on the other, it reconciles with this narrative by ignoring the cosmopolitan social fabric of the city. In that way, he achieves to erase the non-Turkish and the non-Muslim elements of the city by using his concept *terkip*. Although Tanpınar ignores the cosmopolitan face of the city, he invites the reader to embrace

the Ottoman past of the city in a mixture of Greek and Roman elements. In other words, even though he erases the traces of the other inside, he does not hesitate to imagine a continuum between Greek and Roman and Ottoman culture. A question arising here is what Tanpınar means when he refers to the "us" in such a continuum.

In her text "Dandies and Originals" Nurdan Gürbilek reminds us Tanpınar's words on the lack of originality in the Turkish scene when he compares the Turkish novel with the Western model. For precisely because such discussions have always emerged with fastening a lack, as she suggests, there is always a presupposition here which can be summarized as being in "a state of infant-like helplessness before the foreign ideal" (Gürbilek, 2003, p. 602). Thus, Gürbilek argues that Tanpınar's call for returning to the self "disregards the fact that this self is already shaped by the other," because the effort to produce "an autonomous aesthetic culture in a belatedly modernized culture itself is inevitably a belated strategy" (p. 624). If Gürbilek's discussion is considered with Koçak's above-mentioned emphasis on the inherent contradiction in Turkish national identity, it can be suggested that the meaning of whether the true self or the us in Tanpınar's consideration is contradictory in itself because it is already shaped by the other, the West which is supposed that it has its originality that what appears as a lack in the Turkish context. However, if Konuk's perspective is considered here, it might be possible to read Tanpınar's emphasis on the lack of originality in the Turkish novel as something that can be solved in a way of representing the Western model in Turkish scene, rather than remaining as an unresolved contradiction.

In his speech entitled "Milli Bir Edebiyata Doğru" ("Towards a National Literature"), Tanpınar (1977) claims that what is distinctive about European culture is not only associated with its knowledge of the self but also its search for a continuum in art and literature (p. 90). Alongside of the literature, he also underlines the importance of music and architecture as the core components of collective experience that can be seen as the sites of embracing the chain of the continuity. For him, because all these forms of artworks contribute to the self-knowledge of European nations, one has to consider them as the key to constitute "a national self" for Turkey in a sense

18

of continuity. Considering these words, I suggest that the concept of *terkip* has another function in the above-mentioned passage about Istanbul, which can be considered as a form of cultural mimesis. In this context, the image of Istanbul which has some traces of Greek and Roman elements integrated with the Ottoman past embraces the chain of continuity in his imagination and makes him able to construct the self as something that represents Western culture in itself.

It can be concluded that the image of Istanbul has multiple functions in Tanpınar's consideration, which is closely connected with his concept of *terkip* as something that makes it possible to construct the self. On the one hand, it contradicts with the nationalist historical narrative by embracing the Ottoman past, but at the same time it reconciles with this narrative by ignoring multicultural and multinational face of the city. On the other hand, it makes him able to imagine a continuum in between Greek and Roman culture and the Ottoman past. Thus, the self is constructed as something that has the capability to represent the other from outside in itself.

Although the overall project of Tanpınar by using the concept of *terkip* as a cultural politics is not compatible with Benjamin's elucidation of the experience, there is a critical similarity between them in terms of addressing the mimetic faculty of human experience. In the following section, I will focus on the mimetic capacity of experience in Benjamin's account that appears as something has been destructed in the course of the centuries but it is not completely lost.

1.2. The split between experience and knowledge of experience

1.2.1. On experience

Kant achieved shifting the direction of philosophy from the nature of reality to the structure of experience in his refutation of the connection between knowledge and experience through a speculative deduction of the world. Instead, he argued that the only justifiable relationship between knowledge and experience is in the realm of nature. To support his argument, he first had to make a division between absolute

knowledge (*noumena*) and experience (*phenomena*),[18] and then separated the concept of scientific experience from the ordinary experience. He finally attempted to secure the certainty of human knowledge of nature in the forms of intuition (space and time) and the integrity of categories to avoid the collapse of his view of knowledge into the concept of experience.

Agamben (1993) defines Kantian formulation of experience as "the last place where the question of experience within Western metaphysics is accessible in its pure form - that is, without its contradictions being hidden" (p. 32). The contradictory nature of Kantian formulation is originated in "the reunification of the transcendental subject [*I think*] and empirical consciousness [*I*] in a single absolute subject" (p. 32). In this picture, because *I* lacks the capacity to be a basis for real knowledge in itself, needs to *think.* In that way, the transcendental subject makes the empirical consciousness able to attribute to an identical me by sensory experience. For precisely because the transcendental subject is not capable of intuition in itself, "it therefore cannot even know itself as a substantial reality" (Agamben, 1993, p. 31), that is to say, *I think* does not have its ground in experience. In other words, as the condition of *I*, *I think* is posited in the absence of experience. While trying to construct "sure road" to human knowledge according to the model on which the exact natural sciences are based, as Agamben (1993) remarks, Kant recognized that the only experience possible for humankind is "the absence of sure road" (p. 29). Thus, modern experience has been marked by a loss of certainty, even though it is thought to be identifiable by being more certain than what was before.[19] As a result, experience became "something it is possible only to *undergo*, [but] never to *have*" (Agamben, 1993, p. 23).

Through its contradictory nature, Kant's formulation of experience functions as a departure point for Benjamin. He, first of all, questions main assumption of Kantian

---

[18] Kantian separation between pure knowledge and experience is explained in the historical context by Benjamin (1996): "[I]n an age in which experience was characterized by an extraordinary superficiality and godlessness, philosophy, if it was honest, could have no interest in salvaging this experience for its concept of knowledge" (p. 95).

[19] It is a remarkable fact that the loss of certainty has been already declared in the Cartesian thought to the extent of displacing experience as far as possible outside the individual.

experience based on the hierarchical relationship between the subject and the object. For Kant, the subject perceives its objects through synthesizing their representations. First, the unity of representations is given; second, a certain rule for reproducing them in imagination prevents the possible chaos in perception, and finally they are recognized as concepts (McLear). The change for the object of perception, in this perspective, is possible only through "a continuous action of causality" insofar as it is given in a unity of its representations (Kant, 1998, p. 315). Accordingly, the change does not involve the objects, but it is established "in space as their effect" over the course of time (p. 435). For Benjamin (1996), on the contrary, as he writes in his text "Experience" what is decisive for the relationship between the object and the subject is not "the causal connections established over the course of time, but the similarities that have been lived" (p. 553).

According to Benjamin's phenomenological approach, when we look at an object, we imbue it "with the ability to look back at us" (Benjamin, 2003, p. 338). What arises from our glance to the object in this sense is called the *aura* of the object. In his account, there are two important dimensions of the *aura*: our way of seeing the object and the object's uniqueness. By uncovering the object's uniqueness, Benjamin manages to diminish the role of the judging subject and constitutes a sort of equality in the subject-object relation. However, he does not neglect to warn us about the change in the mode of perception in the age of technological reproductivity. In this process, on the one hand, the copy of the object gains its independence from the original, and on the other, the copy has the possibility to replace the original "in situations which the original itself cannot attain" (Benjamin, 2002, p. 103). Both contribute to overcome each object's uniqueness "by assimilating it as a reproduction" (p. 105) and reduce the subject's capability to seeing the similarities. Therefore, it may be concluded that the technological developments of the twentieth century give rise to the decay of the *aura* in both directions.

By arguing that the similarities are decisive for our relation with the objects, and the *aura* of the object is based on our way of seeing them in their uniqueness, Benjamin underlines the mimetic faculty of human perception. In so doing, he attempts to trace

the marks of the imagination in ordinary perception. However, "the gift of mimetic perception" has disappeared from certain fields in the course of centuries (Benjamin, 1999, p. 695). The removal of mimetic faculty from the scope of perception lies on not only technological reproduction, but also "the increasing emergence of the masses and the growing intensity of their movements" (Benjamin, 2002, p. 105). The desire of the masses to get closer to the objects, and at the same time, "their equally passionate concern for overcoming each object's uniqueness" can be seen as the social basis of this change (p. 105). This is why the decline of the mimetic perception can actually be considered as the symptoms of "the experience of the modern city-dweller" (Benjamin, 2003, p. 325).

When Benjamin speaks of the mimetic faculty of perception, he does not just refer to sensuous similarities in lived experience but he also refers to the non-sensuous similarities in language have also importance for his approach to experience. Wolfgang Bock (2009) asserts that the non-sensuous similarity emphasized in Benjamin has much in common with the concept of mimesis embraced in Aristotelian thought (p. 30). Accordingly, mimesis does not mean a simple imitation based on a relationship of model and copy, but something new arises in the process of representation. I need to delve more deeply into Benjamin's concept of language since it has a central role in his theory of experience.

1.2.2. On language
As I have already mentioned, Kant rejected absolute experience through his separation between absolute knowledge and experience. By recalling the absolute again in the form of language as a configuration of that all signifier coincides with what is signified, Benjamin provokes a holistic pattern of the creation involved in religions and mystical traditions. When it comes to human language, as he supposed, it emerges as a medium between the absolute and the nature, and reflects to the creation by naming objects. In Benjamin's narrative, this faculty has been lost when paradise was lost to humankind, but it has not been completely destroyed (Bock,

2009, p. 26). As a result of this lost, the relation between signifier and signified in the system of signs has been marked by the arbitrariness.[20]

The arbitrariness leads to the degradation of human language that becomes just a means of communication, but at the same time it produces a diversification of language, which emerges as the possibility of making language free from the limits of the original. This freedom is merely established on the grounds of translation from one language to another. A translation, Benjamin (1996) writes, "instead of imitating the sense of the original (...) makes both the original and the translation recognizable as fragments of a greater language, just as fragments are part of a vessel" (p. 260). Even though the original language is not reachable as a whole, what remains in its fallen counterparts in that way might provide "hints of ways to transcend the melancholy that followed the loss of the Adamic unity between name and thing" (Jay, 2005, p. 321).

On the base of his analysis of language, Benjamin (1996) declares that Kant failed to systematize "a concept of knowledge gained from reflection on the linguistic nature of knowledge [which] will create a corresponding concept of experience" (p. 108). The reason of why Kant could not manage to search out the linguistic nature of knowledge is explained as that he was as ignorant as his predecessors to investigate the distinction between experience and knowledge of experience.

For Benjamin (1996), it may be suggested that "the experience we experience in reality is identical with what we know in our knowledge of experience" (p. 96), if it is true that the only mode of language is to communicate in the realm of human speech. Under this condition, there can be nothing to prevent us supposing that experience and knowledge of experience are not separated one from the other. However, before

---

[20] Benjamin's account of arbitrariness differs from what theorists of linguistic call an arbitrary relation between meaning and word. For Saussure (1983), the characteristic role of human language is to act as an intermediary between signifier (image) and signified (concept), and they are related to one another arbitrarily, without having any logical ground (p. 110). For Benjamin, "the assertion that language is arbitrary is a way of loosening the grip of its semiotic element, but one cannot do that from within one's language, as even Saussure knew" (Hirschkop, 2010, p. 9).

having such a conclusion one needs to consider that "language is in every case not only communication of the communicable but also, at the same time, a symbol of the noncommunicable" (p. 74). In other words, language as communication has its necessary correlation not only in what is communicable in the scope of human speech but also in what is not communicable in the spoken word.

Considering the speechlessness of language makes him able to suggest that animate or inanimate nature also partakes of language. In his text "On Language as Such and on the Language of Man" Benjamin points out the speechlessness of nature to conclude that there has been always a lament in nature by virtue of its deepest inclination to speechlessness (p. 72). Therefore, human experience for Benjamin has something in common with experience in nature based on the possibility of mourning in language. And what tears human experience away from its knowledge is nothing but that possibility. I will return to this topic in the following chapter where I attempt to approach the (im)possibility of mourning in Biberyan's novel *Mrchiwnneru Verchaloysĕ*.

Once language was capable to communicate only itself, as Benjamin notes, it was the highest application of mimetic faculty. For now, it only represents "the medium in which objects encounter and come into relation with one another" (Benjamin, 1999, p. 697). It is true that we are still capable of seeing similarities, but "our gift of seeing similarities is nothing [other than] a weak rudiment of the once powerful compulsion to become similar and also to behave mimetically" (p. 698). The only place that the mimetic faculty of human experience is still alive might be the wordless experience of infancy, which is defined as the original status of experience by Benjamin. This is why he writes in his letter to Adorno: "The fact that the roots of my 'theory of experience' can be traced back to a childhood memory" (Benjamin, as cited in Jay, 2005). Considering these words, it might be asserted that even though it is not possible to return either the wordless experience of early childhood or the original faculty of language; the traces they left behind in aesthetic experience might make one able to approach them.

When it comes to aesthetic experience, Adorno (2002) asserts that "dialectics does not give any instructions for the treatment of art," but it is something that is immanent to art (p. 140). I suggest that Adorno's consideration of aesthetic experience has parallels to Benjamin's conceptualization of experience in the form of *Erfahrung*. To approach the dialectical structure of *Erfahrung*, I will explore Hegelian dialectical thought right after considering the concept of criticism developed in the Romantic tradition that precedes it. In doing so, I suppose to clarify the structure of *Erfahrung* in Benjamin's account, which crystallizes in his opposition to Hegelian dialectics. Before starting the discussion, it is important to point out that certain simplifications cannot be avoided here, for the interest of overall clarity of present study.

1.2.3. Rethinking of dialectics

As a prominent figure in early German Romanticism, Fichte begins his investigation with criticizing the main contradiction in Kantian structure of experience, that is, the idea of *being-in-itself*. To solve the problem in Kantian approach, Fichte attempts to define a third intuition as a condition for experience; i.e. intellect. In that way, he achieves to reunify the transcendental subject and the empirical consciousness in an absolute subject whom discovers its function as an active subject in "a process of reflection which is potentially infinite" (Caygill, 1998, p. 41). Schlegel approves the necessity to restore the idea of infinity to the concept of experience by means of reflection, but he does not agree with Fichte about locating the source of reflection in an acting subject. He reverses the basis of subjectivity in a way of considering the productive imagination as the source of reflection.

Through his readings of Schlegel, the infinite is identified as something immanent to experience, which cannot be considered as an aspect of thinking, but as a form of remembrance [*Eingedenken*] by Benjamin. He characterizes the infinite through revealing its association with our capability of remembering and forgetting. I will delve into details of how memory is specified as *Eingedenken* in Benjamin's texts in the next chapter of this study.

Following Fichte's proposal, Hegel rejects the duality of *phenomena* (appearances constitute our experience) and *noumena* (being-in-itself which constitutes reality), by claiming that there is no being-in-itself. According to him, there is only being-itself and being-itself is being-for-itself insofar as being-for-other. To put it in another way, it might be said that there is nothing beyond the subject's conscious experience bounded up in the goal of obtaining knowledge of itself, which is not achieved without being part of a collective entity for Hegel.[21]

As Agamben (1993) notes, "[Hegelian] experience ceases to be merely a means or a tool or a limit of consciousness, and becomes the very essence of the new absolute subject: its altering structure in the dialectical process" (p. 33). Unlike the Kantian subject of questioning, Hegel's subject recognizes all its contradictions to "be involved in a process of *Bildung* (formation/education) with the goal of attaining knowledge of itself, not as an 'I' but as a 'we', that is to say, as part of a collective entity" (Gürle, 2013, p. 97). On the other hand, the subject does not have any peculiar position in Benjamin's theory of experience, so that he focuses on the process of imagination [*Einbildung*] rather than the process of *Bildung*.

For Benjamin, the dialectical movement of experience cannot be characterized as a progressive process, because experience has a very disastrous nature from many respects. The objection to the idea of progression leads him to refuse the positive

---

[21] To make clear how this process works, he introduces three moments of experience: immediacy in sense-certainty, dialectical relation, and positive relation. At the first moment, the sense-certainty appears in the simplest unite of language, that is, "this" which is defined as the subject's immediate contact with the object. If we take *this* in the twofold shape of its being (the *now* and the *here*), "the dialectic which it possesses in itself will take on a form as intelligible as the 'this' itself" (Hegel, 2008, p. 95). Once the dialectics manifests itself in *this now*, the self-maintaining "now" is no longer an immediate "now," but a mediated *now*. The same argument is repeated for "here" and *here* in the scope of this here. Following this articulation, it can be possible to suppose that the dialectical process for Hegel is immanent to any moment of human consciousness. At the end of its first act, because the subject is not adequate to achieve a certainty yet, Hegel invites us to think about the division between the object and its properties. For the object's nature is defined as being the object of perception, it has to express itself as an object of many properties in spite of its exclusive oneness. In this process, the object, which has been negated once, is negated again for the sake of that the subject achieves its own certainty. At the end of the second moment, the dialectical relationship between the subject and the object is transformed into a positive relation. In a way of negating all contradictions, the subject recognizes the object to surpass it in a progressive process.

relation founded on the principle of identity in the dialectical process. By doing so, he makes his concept of experience free from the categories of understanding and reveals the dialectic possibility, which has been lost in a positive relation. In such a way, he finally manages to suggest that there is a kind of inter-subjective relationship between the subject and the object rather than a hierarchical one, which has been declared by the Cartesian thought, but achieved its certainty in Hegelian phenomenology.

Whenever Benjamin speaks of the impoverishment of experience, a decay of the *aura*, or the decline of mimetic perception, he actually implies the removal of the imagination from the realm of experience. Although experience in the sense of *Erlebnis* has nothing than the shadow of imagination, experience in the sense of *Erfahrung* still maintains its position in the house of imagination in the form of artwork. If *Erfahrung* is the dialectic structure of experience, therefore, the artwork cannot be thought as separated from the possibility of dialectics. Because *Erfahrung* no longer produces synthesis or reconciliation of the opposites in Benjamin's account, it remains as a space of contradictions.

In Hegelian structure of experience, on the other hand, the relationship between the individual and the society presupposes a "happy unity"[22] which is achieved at the end of the individual's journey in a dialectical process. As opposed to Hegelian formulation, for Benjamin the only possible way that an individual feels itself as part of a collective entity is buried in the flow of memory. And, the *aura* of material objects remains as the only possible way that individual memory might access to the collective by canceling the possibility of lived experience [*Erlebnis*], which makes someone able to imagine himself as being involved in a community.

In the final section of this chapter, I will focus on Tanpınar's *terkip* as an artistic paradigm in comparison with Benjamin's *Erfahrung* as an aesthetic experience. For doing so, I will focus on Tanpınar's first and unfinished novel *Mahur Beste* since I

---

[22] One can actually find many versions of this "happy unity" in Hegel's phenomenology, such as "the original unity" and "the home."

believe that it is the most fruitful outcome of his search for the poetic form that makes his literature intertwine with individual experience on the basis of memory.

1.3. Reading *Mahur Beste* as a *terkip*

Mahur Beste centers on the story of Behçet Bey, who does not feel comfortable getting in touch with other people. Tanpınar invites us to imagine Behçet Bey in a room full of objects from the past. He lies on a large bed made by black ebony while listening to the tick-tock of the clocks. There are a bunch of antiques scattered in every corner of the room. Lots of old books ready for binding are on the table. His dead wife's clothes are in the closet, her shoes and slippers are under the bed. On the walls, there are some musical instruments, which have not been played for years. He occasionally looks into the mirror, which has been recently bought from a collector. The reason of why he has this mirror which was sold by the heirs of Necip Paşa, who lived with his very beautiful handmaidens in a splendid cottage by the sea, is that it makes him remember the pleasure of his adolescent dreams.

The narrator of the story tells us all details of what those objects mean to someone like Behçet Bey who does not want many people around him. The reader learns that the most meaningful part of one's life, for him, is to be surrounded by beautiful, colorful, and valuable objects from the past. As it is narrated:

> Behçet Bey likes the beautiful, colorful, and valuable objects from the past. The most meaningful part of one's life, for him, is to be surrounded by these objects. He frequently visits antique stores, auction houses, Bedesten, and some other places where the private collections of his friends are exhibited. He stands around the old mirrors, small jewelry boxes, glassware, candlesticks, pitchers, and books by admiring them with enthusiasm. He caresses the covers of books and rugs as gently as caressing a female body, imagines a spring in the flowers of ornaments, and speaks to the mysterious figures from the past in the abyss of mirrors. He wanders around these objects, approaches them and moves away; asks questions about people who had previously owned them, the places where they came from, and the craftspeople who had made them. In short, he lives in their aura with his six senses until he becomes conscious of how much time he spent around them. By leaving them behind with a feeling of sadness, he walks towards the ferry to remember what he had seen and what he had heard (Tanpınar, 2012, p. 17).

These objects are valuable not only because he supposes that they might make him able to reach the unique experiences of other people, but Behçet Bey also believes that it might be possible to trace the marks which of their craftspeople left behind. He visits private collectors, dealers and auction houses, even though he does not really care and attach importance to whether the objects exhibited in these places are original. Instead, he is interested in collecting information about people who have previously touched them and the places where they came from. In that way, he desires to be able to recollect the memory of these objects at any time later he wants in his memory.

Behçet Bey is about to fall asleep, but the tick-tock of the clocks like the amorphous crowd of passers in the streets makes him uneasy. Tanpınar writes in his letter to Behçet Bey: "(...) this is no longer your story. It started as your story but you carried such a big crowd onto the stage after you that it ceased to be your story" (Tanpınar, as cited in Oğuzertem, 1994). The stage mentioned here is nothing but Behçet Bey's memory. It is full of not only the information about the objects from the past, but lots of people from his own past who are mostly unwelcome. He is continuously haunted by the memory of his dead relatives, although he shows no inclination to remember them. The reason of why he attaches that much importance to the information about the objects from the past might be related to his wish to retain no traces of his own past experiences. He nevertheless cannot manage to escape from the past murmuring in his story.

On the one hand, Behçet Bey's close attention to the objects from the past as the medium of attaining others' memories cancels the possibility of lived experience. On the other hand, his desire to forget his own past becomes the condition of *Mahur Beste*, which will be used as a motif representing the impossibility of happy ending in Tanpınar's novels *Huzur* and *Sahnenin Dışındakiler* [Those outside the Scene]. Thus, it might be said that while the contradiction immanent to *Mahur Beste* abolishes the possibility that Behçet Bey's story continues towards an end, it nevertheless

functions as a powerful narrative, which has influence on the other novels of Tanpınar.[23]

As it is written in his letter to Behçet Bey, Tanpınar (2012) designates him as a *terkip* (p. 153). The question arising here is: What does he mean by *terkip* in this context? In his text "Şiir Hakkında" ("On Poetry"), he writes, "a powerful artwork is a *terkip*, which is not separated into its pieces" (Tanpınar, 1977, p. 14). He suggests that the poetry is the only possibility of which one can bring a *terkip* to a higher level of perfection. All scatter pieces of sensation and imagination come in contact with one another in the *aura* [*hava*] of poetry. The *aura* of which has its correlation in words and images to the poetry is like the feeling of bright daylight flooding a room (p. 19). Following these words, it can be suggested that the concept of *terkip* embraces the meaning of "composition." Although it is possible to find a similar terminology to Benjamin's way of describing experience in the sense of *Erfahrung*, there is no simultaneous correspondence between them because Tanpınar's definition of *terkip* in this context includes the idea of wholeness; it is not fragmented.

In her text "Original Resemblance" Kaitlin Staudt (2017) writes that emphasizing the meaning of *terkip* as "synthesis" implies that "Tanpınar understood the term as a fusion of separate identities into a new whole," but this is not a sufficient translation to make explicit his proposal to achieve a kind of relationship between the East and the West through this concept (p. 219). Considering Tanpınar's above-mentioned words, it might be suggested that *terkip* refers to a sort of composition but this is also inadequate translation to demonstrate its dynamic structure. Staudt (2017) suggests that the word *benzemek*, which means resemblance "functions in tandem with the concept of *terkip* in Tanpınar's fiction and literary criticism" by considering its implications in Tanpınar's story *Yaz Gecesi* [Summer Night] (p. 216). Thus, one needs

---

[23] Oğuz Demiralp (2008) argues that Behçet Bey is a one dimensional character in terms of his way of perceiving the time when it is compared with Tanpınar's other protagonists in *Huzur* and *Sahnenin Dışındakiler*. While it is possible to cover up the dualism in these novel, there is no way to be far away from the contradiction between the opposite poles in *Mahur Beste* (p. 260).

to consider this meaning of *terkip* as well in the context of searching for its similarity with Benjamin's *Erfahrung*.

As I have already mentioned, the image of Istanbul appears as the core of *terkip* as becoming not only a space which contains a mixture of Greek and Roman past with the Ottoman, but also it represents a continuum in between them. Therefore, it can be seen as a strategy to create a narrative, which makes one able to imagine a chain of continuity between the Western culture and the Ottoman past. If it is possible to consider this effort as a form of cultural mimesis by fortifying it with Staudt's claim about the relationship between the concept of *terkip* and the word of *benzemek*, I suggest that when Tanpınar calls Behçet Bey as *terkip*, he actually refers to his own mimetic effort in *Mahur Beste*.

Jale Parla (2008) pays attention to the parallelism between Tanpınar's *firari zaman* [lost time] in *Mahur Beste* (Tanpınar, 2012, p. 157) and Proust's search of lost time, where she argues that Tanpınar's approach to the time in his aesthetics oscillates between a holistic structure and fragmented (p. 658). What makes me able to introduce a parallelism between Benjamin's *Erfahrung* and Tanpınar's *terkip* is this oscillation that sometimes remains in impasse which makes *terkip* closer to the experience in the sense of *Erfahrung*. But sometimes as a cultural politics that is embraced for the constitution of the self with all its ignorance to the other inside, it makes Tanpınar far away from the possibility of dialectics.

For returning to the story of Behçet Bey, I invite you to remember his close attention to the objects from the past and his desire of forgetting his own past experiences. In this background, I suggest that his memory functions as the condition of dialectics of remembering and forgetting. Like a man digging the ground, he seeks to remember the memory of other people by means of the *aura* of objects. In the meantime, he cannot manage to escape from his own past murmuring in his story in spite of his desire of forgetting. As a result, his story ends up with the impossibility of *terkip* by having its connotations either in a synthesis or in a composition. And it remains

incomplete, but this failure enables Tanpınar to return to *Mahur Beste* in his other *terkip*s over and over.

CHAPTER II

THE REMNANTS OF THE PAST

Memory has been acknowledged as a top line concept of recent studies. This interest with the past is expressed by memoirs, testimonies, films with historical themes, museums, and monuments (Assmann, 2006, p. 210). But the precise mechanism behind memory with all types of its use and its manipulations is still a riddle wrapped in a mystery inside an enigma. It does not function as a material storage waiting to be remembered, but it contains the remnants of the past, which are now forgotten. It might be possible either to suppose that one remembers something from the past while they actually imagine it, or to create something new while remembering. Therefore, the reliability of memory as a source of knowledge is controversial because it stands at the tension not only between remembering and forgetting, but also between imagination and reality.

Maurice Halbwachs (1992) argues that it would not be wrong to suppose that there is such a thing as collective memory generated in common forms of life. He defines it as "reconstruct[ing] an image of the past which is in accord, in each epoch, with the predominant thoughts of the society" (p. 40). In his effort to solve the complex relationship between imagination and reality, he separates "the dream state," which is defined as being deprived of the support of society from "the waking state," which allows using language to interact with the other members of the society. What is more, he identifies forgetting as a deformation in the act of remembering as a result of distraction (Halbwachs, 1992, p. 172).

It is so noticeable that Halbwachs' formulation of collective memory is based on someone's conscious experience of remembering. Benjamin, on the contrary, focuses on the unconscious data of memory by developing the concept of *Eingedenken*.[24] The

---

[24] This unusual German word invented by Ernst Bloch, in his book *Geist der Utopie* (1918). "By forming this bizarre noun from the phrasal verb 'eingedenk sein', Bloch tries to outline a utopian experience: an act by which the subject brings to light some potentialities hidden in a forgotten past" (Marchesoni).

word of *Eingedenken* in German is understood as derived from "remembrance, commemoration" [*Gedenken*] that contains same origin as *Andenken*, which is translated as "the act of honoring the memory of somebody or something; a reminder" (Ulrich, 2001, p. 13). It is actually not a part of standard vocabulary in German, but suggested by Benjamin as a special form of memory that has some similarities with Proust's *mémoire involontaire*.

Proust, as Benjamin quoted, characterizes *mémoire involontaire* as a form of memory that remains from an event or a situation, which is not experienced consciously. In other words, it is defined as opposed to *mémoire volontaire* which corresponds with lived experience [*Erlebnis*]. In Proust's exercise of imagination, even though the past situated in material objects is beyond the reach of conscious intellect, it might be possible for individuals to encounter it by chance before they die (Benjamin, 2003, p. 315). At the moment of encountering, for Benjamin, *mémoire involontaire* might function as "a weak messianic power" under the condition of decentering subjectivity in a practice of "cultivating an ability to exercise the mimetic faculty" (Ulrich, 2001, p. 36).

On the other hand, the concept of *Eingedenken* in Benjamin's texts appears as not the exact equivalent of *mémoire involontaire*, but it is the tension between *mémoire involontaire* and *mémoire volontaire*. By considering Freudian understanding of memory, Benjamin defines it as something "accumulated and frequently unconscious data that flows together in memory [*Gedächtnis*]," rather than the product of facts settled in memory [*Erinnerung*] (Benjamin, 2003, p. 314).

In Hegel's phenomenology, *Erinnerung* refers to a form of recollection ready for transformation into being-for-self by means of being-for-other in subjective sense. It corresponds to *Aufhebung*, that is, "the moment of recollection" that manifests itself at any moment of a dialectical process in objective sense (Ulrich, 2001, p. 94). The concept of memory [*Erinnerung*] operates in a form of recognition, which neutralizes the dialectical possibility in a positive relation. As I have already mentioned, Benjamin thinks that the contradictions immanent to a dialectical process cannot be resolved

on the ground of recognition. Thus, the difference between *Erinnerung* and *Eingedenken* appears in the difference between Hegelian dialectics and Benjamin's rejection of it.

The data of *Eingedenken*, in Benjamin's account, are associated with the *aura* of objects; that is to say, they are bounded up with mimetic perception. It is because the *aura* of the object with "the gift of mimetic faculty" of perception has disappeared from certain fields, the only possibility of *Eingedenken* is hidden in the remembering author. However, it would be wrong to suppose that it is what the writer experienced (Ulrich, 2001, p. 240). Instead, it appears in the writer's way of weaving of memory, which has some similarities with the Penelope work of remembrance (Benjamin, 2003, p. 202). The structure of *Eingedenken* is thus associated with experience through its mimetic capability, but at the same time "Benjamin insists that there is always a temporal depth, "a murmur of the past" to be heard, when two disparate fragments of experience resonate with one another" (Ulrich, 2001, p. 243).

In this chapter of this study, I will start with exploring the difference between historicism and historical materialism in Benjamin's texts, which appears as an important point to understand how the dialectical structure of *Eingedenken* differs from Hegelian structure of memory, *Erinnerung*. Secondly, I will approach to the change of experience concerning the catastrophic event, the annihilation of the Armenians of the Ottoman Empire. As it is suggested by Marc Nichanian (2009), the event which resists the rules of validation governed by the archive and proofs needs to be considered as the very destruction of traditional historicism. This is why it is no longer possible to constitute the truth in language, and thus there is no way to define the history as something is capable to transmit the past experiences of humanity in the form of "the facts."

As a person who embraces socialism, Zaven Biberyan defines history, in his article "Aysoroian Angiinatartsĕ" ("Today's Collapse") as the class antagonisms between the exploiters and exploited that have been marked by crimes and catastrophes

(Biberyan, 1946). Rather than emphasizing the task of representing "the facts" in his definition, he speaks of the catastrophic nature of the history. Does Biberyan's understanding of the history draw any parallelism with his fight against anti-Armenian policies of the state in the early Republican period? This is one of the main questions that I will try to answer in this chapter.

Nichanian suggests using the word "catastrophe" with its capitalization for naming the event and examines its implications in the realm of politics and literature. What I suggest in this chapter is that it might be possible to have a better understanding about the very complex relationships between history, memory, and literature by considering the affinity of Nichanian's conceptualization of the Catastrophe and Benjamin's conceptualization of *Eingedenken*. Following this path, I will finally attempt to trace what remains of the Catastrophe in Biberyan's novel *Mrchiwnneru Verchaloysĕ* and how its protagonist perceives it in a place that the Catastrophe has never ended and continuously affected the experience of Armenians who remain in Turkey after the event of 1915.

2.1. "An infinite amount of hope"

What is called collective memory, Susan Sontag (2004) writes, is not a remembering but a validation of the archives of images "which encapsulate common ideas of significance and trigger predictable thoughts, feelings" (p. 86). What she depicts here is actually the task of history that Benjamin embraces in his examination of the difference between traditional historicism and materialist historicism. With this distinction, he attempts to politicize the past by suggesting that it is directed not only by the concept of history but also by particular memories of individuals.

Historicism generally assumes that there is a casual connection among various moments, which culminate in a universal history. It aims to collect some thoughts marked in those moments with the goal of filling the homogeneous and empty time (Benjamin, 2003, p. 396). Historical materialism, on the contrary, has a constructive principle crystallized in the manner of taking into consideration "not only the movement of thoughts but their arrest as well" (p. 396). Because the materialist

approach is defined as sort of awareness about paying attention to any unique and singular experience from the past, its work would never be completed.

Materialist historicism challenges the three most important positions of traditional historicism. The first attack aims at the idea of universal history (Benjamin, 2003, p. 406). For because the notion of a universal history is always associated with the notion of progress which conceals the decline of experience, and the notion of culture is equated with barbarism, it should not be tolerated in the materialist approach. Secondly, the idea that history is something, which can be narrated as the product of the facts is under attacked. If the work of historian can be seen as just collecting some thoughts available from the past, it might be possible to justify this idea. However, if the historian has to consider not only hidden thoughts which have been arrested by dominant thoughts, but also unique experiences which are not accessible at all, the claim that history is capable to reveal the facts in the form of narration cannot be true. And finally, the strongest position of historicism, "empathy with the victor" is strongly criticized in the materialist perspective. In historicism, the historian tends to encrypt the past from a singular point of view and to look at the past with the eyes of the rulers, whereas "the historical materialist keeps his distance from all of this" (p. 407).

Following this path, it can be said that the most important task of materialist historian is to search for a revolutionary moment outside from the progression of temporal moments, the factuality of narration, and the perspective of the rulers. This moment can come only in a flash of an explosion on the basis of the dialectical tension between remembering and forgetting that crystallizes in the concept of *Eingedenken*. What is aimed at this moment is to wake up the world from its nightmare. It is a remarkable point that the historian is not alone in this task for Benjamin. What is expected from the work of art or from the work of criticism, or from the work of translation is all very similar. It is actually true that the history of rationalization is stimulated by the suppression of diverse potentialities. The task of the materialist, in this sense, is to be freed from any restrictions, applied for the subordination of the possibilities but without ignoring the historical context.

At first glance, one might think that Benjamin was not frustrated with the way things were going in his opinion about the possibility of a revolutionary moment immanent to the dialectical process. However, as it is known that he died in a suicide at the French-Spanish border in Portbou, in 1940 when he was convinced that he would not manage to escape from invading Nazi forces. In his letter to Gershom Scholem, Benjamin (2002) quoted from Franz Kafka as saying: "[T]here is an infinite amount of hope -only not for us" (p. 327). Born in the twentieth century, which is called by Eric Hobsbawm (1995) as "[a]n age of catastrophe from the outbreak of the First World War to the aftermath of the Second World War" (p. 6), he oscillates between "an infinite amount of hope" and melancholy. And what made him able to speak about "the genocidal-denegating machine," which is "the first philosophical machine of the twentieth century" might be consistent with this melancholic point of view (Nichanian, 2009, p. 27).

2.2. From the Ottoman Empire to the Republic of Turkey

2.2.1. The experience of the Catastrophe

The word "catastrophe" appeared as a proper name for the first time in 1931. As Nichanian (2003) notes, Hagop Oshagan began to use it systematically where he gives some information about his novel *Mnac'ordac'* [*The Remnants*], and in his monograph of 1944 on Aram Andonian (p. 128). Before the deportation of Armenian intellectuals with the detention order of the Ottoman Minister Talat Paşa on 24 April 1915, Oshagan was the critic and short story writer. He managed to escape from Constantinople to Bulgaria in 1918, and thus became "the greatest and most prolific novelist and critic in Western Armenian letters" (Oshagan, 2004, p. 174).

Around 1919, "the proper name of the event was *Yeghern*," (Nichanian, 2009, p. 7) which means "pogrom" in Armenian. It was also used not only for the massacres in Eastern Anatolia in 1895, but also for those of 1909 in Adana. The other proper name of the event was *Ak' sor*, which means "exile or deportation." Around 1931, the word *Aghed*, which is translated into English as "catastrophe" served as a proper name of the event with its capitalization. In this study, I will use the Catastrophe [*Aghed*] to designate the Armenian genocide not just because it was used as the proper name of

the event, while the word "genocide" had not yet been generated,[25] but also as Nichanian (2003) suggests and I agree with that insisting on the word "genocide" rather than the Catastrophe contributes to "the original denial of the Catastrophe" in a way of erasing the singularity of the event (p. 127).

Hagop Oshagan's *Mnac'ordac'* was a three-volume novel published in 1932-1934. It traces the life of a Western Armenian family on the eve of the Catastrophe with the complex relationship between Turks and Armenians. As Nichanian notes, its two volumes were devoted to depict the world before the Catastrophe. In a third volume Oshagan aimed to approach the Catastrophe but it will never be written (Nichanian, 2009, p. 111). Why he stopped on the threshold of the Catastrophe? He nevertheless wrote the ten volumes of his *Hamapatker Arewmtahay Garakanut'ean* [*Panorama of Western Armenian Literature*] in 1945, but he never managed to write the final part of *Mnac'ordac'*. Could that have something to do with the impossibility of representation of the event? If this is true, it should be related to the loss of the mimetic faculty. That means it is about the crisis of experience which one can find its seeds in Benjamin's formulation of *Erfahrung*.

To explain the change of experience concerning the catastrophic event, one needs to consider that how its limit has been changed. Agamben reminds us, in this context, Montaigne's humanistic experience which is defined as something that exists in everyone, and thus it can be shared with the others. The ultimate goal of this experience was "a nearing to death, that is, man's advance to maturity through an anticipation of death as the extreme limit of experience" (Agamben, 1993, p. 19). There is no possibility to experience the death, but it remains for Montaigne as something that can be approached. Following the developments in psychoanalysis which demonstrates that the most important experiences are those that belong not to conscious states of mind but to unconsciousness, Agamben (1993) suggests that "the limit of experience has been turned around: it is no longer deathwards, but

---

[25] The word "genocide" was generated by Raphael Lemkin in 1944 in reference to Nazi extermination of Jews. It literally means "killing a tribe," derived from Greek word *genos* "race, kind" and Latin word *cide* "a killing" (Genocide).

backwards towards infancy" (p. 41). What the infancy implies here is the unspoken experience. However, just as an infant needs to speak at some point, an unspoken experience is destined to language for the truth. And language, in this picture, becomes the limit of experience in a way of constituting the truth as the destiny of experience (p. 51).

Here, an important question arises: who is responsible for the truth in the realm of language? The answer is obviously the historians. In the scene of validation governed by the archive, they are responsible not only for the facts, but also for their reality (Nichanian, 2009, p. 26). When the extermination of the Armenians of the Ottoman Empire is at stake, the archives are there in order to erase the traces of the crime. For that very reason, the Catastrophe has become "a case study for undecidability on the part of historians, a model for the 'brute fact'" (p. 31). As a "brute fact," it is obvious that the Catastrophe is not the product of imagination. On the other hand, Nichanian asks whether it is possible to consider a "brute fact" as a fact. One can collect testimonies from survivors about the nature of the event; however, those testimonies will remain uncertain and controversial until some historians come up with the proofs. Following this example, it can be said that traditional historicism remains useless in account to the Catastrophe because of its obsession of the archive, of the documents, of the proofs. This is why Nichanian (2009) criticizes many Armenian writers who wrote their testimonies in order to be archived for the future generations of the "civilized" humanity (p. 28).

For Nichanian (2009), "there is no fact, no 'reality' of the fact," (p. 29) when the Catastrophe is at stake for because the truth of testimony has never coincided with the historical truth, the truth of the facts. As being the negation of the history, it nevertheless is located in the dialectical tension of remembering and forgetting [*Eingedenken*] where there is no recognition or reconciliation or forgiveness. Asking forgiveness and looking for reconciliation function as nothing but denegation. This is why one cannot even argue that the catastrophe is an event of the past. With Maurice Blanchot (1995) words: It is "the immemorial past which returns, dispersing by its return the present, where, ghostly, it would be experienced as a return" (p. 6).

Following this path, and probably Benjamin's considerations on the infinite as remembrance [*Eingedenken*], Nichanian (2009) argues that because the Catastrophe is infinite, indefinable, and incomplete, it will come back to us from the future (p. 10).

If language can no longer constitute truth as the destiny of experience in the Catastrophe, that is to say, the history will have never been able to articulate the most profound experience as the reality of the facts. This is why it should be considered as the crisis of language. When all possibilities to construe the event in language have been lost, what remains to do? "[F]or what is lost is known only by what remains of it, by how these remains are produced, read, and sustained" it might be possible to mourn what remains of lost (Eng & Kazanjian, 2003, p. 2). The question arising here: Is it really possible to mourn for the remains of the Catastrophe? If the immemorial past will return over and over, if the Catastrophe will be the future name of the event, if we are in the age of the catastrophe, how the task of mourning becomes possible.

According to Nichanian, there is no possibility to mourn to the Catastrophe because it appears as the interdiction of mourning. The only possible way to approach the Catastrophe is to confront with its interdiction. For him, Zabel Essayan's testimony *Aweraknerun mēǰ* [*Among the Ruins*] is the only real confrontation with the interdiction of mourning in Armenian literature. She uses the word *aghed* without capitalizing it where she does not even attempt to reconstitute the facts about what happened to Cilicia (Nichanian, 2003, pp. 101-26). She just attempts to bear witness to massacres in order to liberate herself from the terror. She struggles with language to be able to express her own agony. She tries to express what is impossible to imagine. She tries to define what remains of the massacres as "beyond all representation for an identification" (Essayan, as cited in Nichanian, 2009). By testifying to a mad experience, her book becomes "an experience of madness, that is the experience of the Catastrophe" (Nichanian, 2003, p. 101). If this book is art, as Nichanian writes, then art is mourning.

Zabel Essayan attempts to give a sense to what happened by emphasizing a sense of sacrifice in the preface of her book. For approaching Essayan's stress of sacrifice to make sense the massacres, Nichanian writes:

> This is the first paradox we observe when faced with the fact of the Catastrophe: everywhere, it seems, mourning is sufficient to make sense; faced with the Catastrophe, on the contrary, a sense is necessary so that mourning can occur. Therefore, an idea is necessary. This is the modern form of sacrifice. These bloodied existences were sacrificed to "the fatherland," she says, which here means precisely to an Ottoman "fatherland" in which the status of "minorities" would have changed radically. She says very explicitly: "We clung to this idea: 'We too had had our victims; this time our blood flowed for our Turkish compatriots. This will be the last time.' She still believes, perhaps pretends to believe, that coexistence remains possible (Nichanian, 2003, p. 105).

She writes these words in a period of that the illusion of a democratic state within the borders of the empire was promoted by the "liberal" revolution of the Young Turks (Nichanian, 2003, p. 106). What she wants to believe, or pretended to believe, the pogroms of Cilicia were the last convulsion of the ancient regime where the equality among citizens did not exist. In her account, the idea of sacrifice is at stake not in the name of the freedom of a nation but "in the name of the democracy of the free state" (Nichanian, 2009, p. 201). However, her dream of equal citizenship remained as an "impossible ideal" for the reason that "the Young Turks had already begun to use the term Ottomanization in the sense of Turkification" (Nichanian, 2003, p. 106).

As I have already mentioned in the first chapter of this study, a series of the reforms was implemented to facilitate the goal of a break with the Ottoman past following the establishment of the Republic. One of the expectations of those reforms was to create a state of citizens with equal rights around the ideal of Turkism, which aimed to integrate all citizens with the Turkish culture and language (Bali, 2006, p. 2). Accordingly, the non-Muslim and the non-Turkish population had their citizenship status prescribed by the law under the condition of which they define themselves first and foremost as Turks. For example, the "Citizen, speak Turkish!" campaign which was aimed "to put public pressure on minorities for convincing them to speak Turkish in public" (p. 4) can be considered in this regard. Through this campaign:

> Signs in theaters, restaurants, hotels, and ferries urged everyone to speak Turkish. Despite the financial and moral support of the Turkish authorities, at least in Istanbul the campaign was not translated into law. But scores of non-Muslims were harassed for speaking another language in public. Many of them were criminalized simply because not speaking Turkish was frequently considered "insulting Turkishness," a punishable act (Ekmekçioğlu, 2016, p. 116).

Besides forcing people to speak in Turkish in public areas, to use Turkified names and surnames, and to make donations to non-profit societies and community schools were considered as the main indicators of being Turkified (Bali, 2006, p. 5). However, as Rıfat N. Bali writes, there was an inherent contradiction in the ideal of Turkification. On the one hand, the new Republic denied its Ottoman past since it wanted to establish a new secular and national state; on the other hand, the official policies related to non-Muslims were quite contradictory to the Republican principles. According to him, the project of Turkifying economy was the main reason of the contradictory policies of the state.[26] He considers the implementation of the Capital Tax[27] as "the last and the unforgettable example of the *de facto* discrimination of the non-Muslims in the single-party period" (p. 11).

As one of the prominent figures among the first generation of Republican Armenian intellectuals, Biberyan was born in such a political atmosphere. This is why it is not surprising to see that not only in his newspaper articles but also in his literary texts he was continuously fighting against the anti-Armenian policies of the state that has permeated every level of society.

2.2.2. Zaven Biberyan's biography

Zaven Biberyan was born in Çengelköy, a district of Istanbul on January 13, 1921.[28] When he was about four years old, he moved to Kadıköy in the same city with his family. The district where he lived, Moda has a significant role in his novels. He first

---

[26] It was increased in the period of the World War II, as Bali argues, because the war recreated the trauma of the Armistice years and the War of Independence.

[27] The Capital Tax levy (Wealth Tax) was an extraordinary tax applied in 1942 during the Second World War in order to finance the mobilization of the Turkish army. It is widely considered as "the tangible manifestation of economic nationalism" (Aktar, 2009, p. 42).

[28] For all information in this study about Biberyan's biography without specifying any sources, see: https://www.arasyayincilik.com/tr/yazarlar/zaven-biberyan/83.

attended Dibar Grtaran (Sultanyan) Armenian school, and later Saint Joseph French High School in Kadıköy.[29] He graduated from the Academy of Commercial Sciences established in Saint-Joseph College in 1903. When he was nineteen he attempted to go to Europe, but he had to return to Turkey before crossing the Bulgarian border since it coincided with the day of the German army attacked Holland and Belgium, and ended the *drôle de Guerre*.[30] In 1941, he was conscripted into an extraordinary type of military service in the form of forced labor, which was called *Yirmi Kura Askerlik* labor battalions.[31]

While Tanpınar was working as a member of the Turkish Parliament from the CHP,[32] Biberyan was in various regions of Anatolia for his obligatory military service, which lasted three and a half years. In his short autobiography written in addressing his journalist friend Hrant Paluyan, he writes: "Forty-two months in the mountains of Anatolia, from İzmir to the Georgian border, from the Black sea to Adana and Hatay. Always in tents. Fighting against nature, hunger, and tropical malaria. I lament these three and a half years. The best three and a half years of my youth, (spent) in wild mountains and forests" (Biberyan, 2019).[33] However, this was also an opportunity for him to learn Armenian "by spelling out countless pages and checking the vocabulary of each word from the dictionary" (Biberyan, 2019). He started to write in Armenian when he was twenty, but he felt regret about this decision. He writes: "If I knew what it means to be an Armenian writer when I was twenty, I would never give up writing in French" (Biberyan, 2019).

---

[29] Dibar Gırtaran was founded by Manase Sultanyan in 1921, closed down in 1940. Saint Joseph was founded in 1860.

[30] The Phoney War began with the declaration of war by the UK and France against Nazi Germany on May 10, 1940. It lasted eight months until the beginning of the Second World War.

[31] It is an extraordinary type of military service reserved for non-Muslims in the form of forced labor, which had some similarities with Nazi concentration camps. It was implemented following the Wealth Tax. As Talin Suciyan (2016) indicated that "[s]ources differ on the exact age of the men who were drafted: Dilek Güven puts the age span at 25-45, whereas Ayşe Hür states the respective birth-year range as 1896-1913, and Rıfat N. Bali as 1894-1913" (p. 73).

[32] It was actually a period of which a large number of authors were engaged in political activity as members of civic organizations or simply as intellectuals who take political sides (Günay, 2005, p. 2).

[33] Written in 1962, this letter is one of my sources when I speak of Biberyan's biography. It takes place in the Armenian edition of *Mrchiwnneru Verchaloysĕ* published in 2007. I use its Turkish translation: https://t24.com.tr/k24/yazi/cope-attiysaniz-bir-sey-kaybetmezseniz,2228.

In the course of his military service, Biberyan met with Ara Koçunyan, who was the editor in chief of *Jamanak* newspaper. His first articles were published in this newspaper. When he returned to Istanbul, he had to deal with the negative reactions of the community members because his series of articles was caused a disturbance among the Armenian community. While he was working in the editorial board of *Nor Lur*, he wrote his most famous article, "Al Gĕ Pawē" ("Enough is Enough"), where he reflects on the position of columnists and editors of Armenian newspapers founded themselves as political actors who had to respond to international politics after the Second World War.[34] In this article, he asks: "Are we equal citizens of Turkish Republic or people with a whom they (journalists) have the right to talk about condescendingly, often with a domineering and threatening tone?" (Biberyan, as cited in Suciyan, 2016).

The reason of why the Armenian newspapers had to take this position was the state interventions for preventing the institutionalization of non-Muslim communities during the process of institutionalization of the Republican Turkey.[35] There is no doubt that newspapers had a critical function not only in defending the interests of non-Muslim communities and in struggling for equal citizenship rights in the Republican Turkey, but also in the construction of nation what Benedict Anderson (2006) called the "imagined community." For such a period of time which was shaped not only by wars, massacres, and genocides, but also by the changes in technology, new modes of communication and so forth, the position of columnists and editors of Turkish and Armenian newspapers deserves attention.

2.2.3. Focusing on the newspapers of the period

Considering the position of columnists and editors of Armenian newspapers, Talin Suciyan (2016) argues that they were "in a fragile and structurally unfair position

---

[34] The main reason was the USSR's request of a revision of the Montreux Convention and territorial demands on Kars and Ardahan in the conference of the United Nations in San Francisco in 1945.

[35] As a result of these interventions, as Suciyan notes, no active administrative bodies remained in the community foundations. "[T]he STS Trustees appointed from among people with no notion of administering a foundation and with no ties to the community. The income of the foundations became extremely irregular. The state not only tampered with the internal administrative bodies of the communities, but also visibly prepared the ground on which to cause rifts within the communities" (Suciyan, 2016, p. 100).

unlike that of the often governmentally employed editors-in-chief of Turkish newspapers" (p. 112). Even though the socio-political conditions created and reproduced by the Turkish newspapers cannot be considered as separately from the state policies of the time, as Tuncay Birkan (2019)[36] shows that there were some critical differences between the opinions defended by the state and by the columnists and editors, even though they were governmentally supported.[37]

It is a fact that the non-Muslim press has been under pressure more than others from the beginning of the Republican era; especially in the context of "insulting Turkishness" law. For example, "[t]he printing house of *Chronika* was plundered by a group of students encouraged by this practice of the government" and then it was closed in 1929 (Güven, 2005, pp. 91-2). However, in the middle of the 1940s, the state has started to consider the left-wing publications more dangerous than the publications belonged to the non-Muslim groups. The Turkish newspaper *Tan*, for instance, has been destroyed by anti-communist students, in a riot on December 4 of 1945, right after it was targeted by the authors of *Cumhuriyet*. Therefore, it would not be wrong to draw a parallelism between pressures on the non-Muslim press and on most of left-wing newspapers published at the same period.

In those years, Biberyan worked not only as a secretary in the province committee of the Socialist Party of Turkey, but also in the editorial board of *Nor Or* newspaper. *Nor Or* was a newspaper launched by the first generation of Armenian intellectuals after the genocide. It was published as a weekly newspaper, and turned into a daily in a

---

[36] In his book *Dünya ile Devlet Arasında Türk Muharriri* [The Turkish Author in between the World and the State], Birkan describes a very complex terrain of responses given by the Turkish authors to the socio-political conditions of the time by scanning a wide range of articles published in periodicals between 1930 and 1960.

[37] Birkan (2019) exemplifies this difference with the particular position of Nazım Hikmet in the history of Turkish literature. On the one hand, he was repeatedly arrested for his communist ideas while his works were banned, and on the other, his poetry was appreciated among all writers of the time. By making reference to a survey conducted by the *Akşam* newspaper in 1949, Birkan writes: Even Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar did not hesitate to criticize the state while emphasizing Nazım Hikmet's monumental language (p. 421).

year, but then it was closed down by the Martial Law decision,[38] because not only Biberyan, but most of the columnists and editors of *Nor Or* were involved in socialist-communist politics.

As Suciyan shows, there were various reports prepared by the state officers on the Armenian press, but Biberyan's articles were the most closely scrutinized ones. In the reports, *Nor Or* was regarded "as a communist propaganda tool predominantly for publishing news and articles against the government, (including) criticism of the state policies (articles on unequal treatment of non-Muslims, the *Yirmi Kura Askerlik*, the Wealth Tax), and discussions on communism and immigration to Soviet Armenia" (Suciyan, 2016, p. 136). The state had so much information not only on newspapers, but also about the personal lives of the publishers and editors. Suciyan (2016) observes that the publishers and authors of *Marmara*, *Nor Or*, *Nor Lur*, and *Aysor* were well known to the state; and "their personal lives, their financial situation and the history of their political positions seem to have been even more important to the government than the actual content of what they published" (p. 139).[39] Birkan observes that there were a great number of state reports prepared on the Turkish press either. As he writes, *Dokuzuncu Şube* [Ninth Branch] affiliated to the General Directorate of Security had been actually founded for keeping records of journalists and authors. However, the seriousness of the situation, as Birkan (2019) indicated, was not so clear for many Turkish intellectuals, until Sabahattin Ali was murdered while he was under the close monitoring of National Security in 1948 (pp. 402-5).

In addition to the governmental policies of the time, Turkish newspapers initiated a campaign against Armenians, including *Yeni Sabah*, *Gece Postası*, *Vatan*, *Cumhuriyet*, *Akşam*, and *Tasvir*. On the basis of her archive work on *Marmara* (many articles written against Armenians were published in this newspaper with their translations)

---

[38] Declared in December 1946, leftist newspapers and journalists became target of Martial Law under accusations of making communist propaganda. "*Nor Or* was the only non-Turkish language newspaper to be completely banned" (Suciyan, 2016, p. 128).

[39] *Jamanak*, which already had a history of 40 years, was also known to the state, but "the reports were almost always positive, and at their most brief, when it came to *Jamanak*" (Suciyan, 2016, p. 139).

Suciyan (2016) remarks: "The language used in these articles was always racist and hostile to Armenians, threatening them by implying that the hospitality and the patience of Turks might come to an end" (p. 150). Peyami Safa, for instance, calls the Armenians of Turkey to duty with the article "Türkiye Ermenileri neredesiniz?" ("Armenians of Turkey, where are you?") published in *Tasvir* in 1945. He writes: "We are sure you know very well that whatever catastrophe happened to the Armenian race in history was a result of these kinds of efforts. (. . .) Considering that time has not yet passed, our beloved Armenian citizens would not miss the golden historic opportunity to testify their solid bind to this land" (Safa, as cited in Suciyan, 2016). As a reflection to this article, not only Biberyan's "Al Gĕ Pawē" was published but also Suren Şamliyan [40] who was the founder and the editor-in-chief of *Marmara* newspaper wrote that "Armenians from Turkey had already written exactly what Safa wanted to hear, but that he was unaware of the voices already raised by Armenians" (Şamliyan, as cited in Suciyan, 2016).

According to Suciyan (2016), Biberyan confronts the whole state mechanism that produced denial and anti-Armenianism through his articles published in above-mentioned newspapers more than anyone (p. 153). In his article "Verchin Aztararut'iwn Krkrich'nerun" ("Last Notice to the Provocateurs") written as a response to an article published in *Tasvir*, which includes hateful statements about Armenians in Turkey, Biberyan writes:

> If it is necessary to open up the old accounts, we can do that too. If it is necessary to count each and every corpse of the past, we too can count them. For, like any other people of the world, and even more than they, we have our corpses to count. We have no less to say to *Tasvir* and the *Tasvircis*. They and their likes are responsible for the millions of dead lying around (Biberyan, as cited in Suciyan, 2016).

Another example that includes his confrontation with the denalist mechanisms of the state can be found in his article "Badmagan Nshmarner" ("Signs from History"), where he draws attention to the similar destiny of Armenians and Jews right after the World War II as writing: "Just like there is a Jewish Question, there has been an

---

[40] In the same period, Şamliyan publicly attacked and blamed Biberyan with harming the Armenian community due to the radical tone of his articles.

Armenian Question, since half of the Armenian population lives away from their homeland" (Biberyan, as cited in Suciyan, 2016). As a result of his courage to speak of the issues that never opened discussion in the public space, Biberyan was jailed, tortured and interrogated "–with a twist of fate, at the Sansaryan building which was a property expropriated from Armenian ownership" (Koptaş, 2019).

Biberyan has never dedicated his literature to the memory of the Catastrophe, even though he has enough courage to write about the parallelism between the Holocaust and the *Aghed*. However, it can be observed that the ordinary experience for his characters is full of fragmented pieces of the catastrophic event that resonates with one another in all his novels. In the following part of this chapter, I will attempt to examine how the Catastrophe as the limit of experience turns into the murmurs of the past that unceasingly cast its echoes on his novel *Mrchiwnneru Verchaloysĕ*.

2.3. Reading *Mrchiwnneru Verchaloysĕ* as the return of the Catastrophe

The story opens with the day that Baret returns from his compulsory military service at *Yirmi Kura Askerlik* labor battalions. Released after three and a half years, he feels alienated from everything. Neither the city where he grew up nor the house his family lived in has remained the same as before. Just like the streets of Istanbul and the rooms of their new house, the mood of the city-dwellers and the behavior of the inhabitants of the house have changed in a sad way. Because almost nothing is similar to what he remembers or what he dreamed about, Baret feels disappointed.

At the beginning of the story, he tends to share his experiences in the military service with his family and to talk about the difficulties he faced as a forced laborer, such as struggling with very hard works and disease, and feeling homesick in all four corners of Anatolia. No one, however, questions about those difficulties, they are even not aware of what he experienced while they are too busy with their own problems. They have been impoverished by the implementation of a Wealth Tax for Turkey's non-Muslim population during the years of the World War II. To avoid being sent to the work camp at Aşkale, Baret's father has had to pay the tax with all his previous gains.

As a result, not only they have lost everything they had, but also they have lost their social class and position within society.

Baret finds his mother and his sister taking a stand against his father and accusing him of being selfish. He feels like being in a conflict zone at home. The only place makes him feel safe is Büyükada, which remains similar to what he remembered. But the house on the island where his uncle lives in had also changed. He finds plenty of reasons to be gloomy, such as the pitiful condition of the house, the dog trotting around in the yard, the chatters of his uncle, and so on. As it is narrated, he had never imagined having such a disappointment for his "return" (Biberyan, 2013, p. 50). He nevertheless continues to escape from the city to the island until his father died and he finds out "the facts" behind this death.

Baret responds to the death of his father with silence in the first place. He does not speak a single word for a week. His sadness makes him a silent protagonist. If it is true that "in all mourning there is the deepest inclination to speechlessness" (Benjamin, 2002, p. 73), we might suppose that Baret's silence invites us to share his grief. When he started to speak, he goes to the neighborhood where he has grown up. He is surprised that he has never thought about visiting this neighborhood since he has returned back to Istanbul. At the first time, he wants to see the house he used to live with his family and to remember his past experiences:

> He left this house for his military service four years ago. Arus poured a bucket of water on the street by wishing that he would quickly return home. Arus and Hilda stood at the threshold of the garden door and looked behind him until he crossed at the corner of the street with his father. Arus said, "I'll come to the draft office with you." Baret did not accept. He had seen their faces for the last time. After three and a half years, he hadn't found these faces as similar as he left behind. (...)
> He turns around the garden in a hopeless pursuit. Something to cling, something to awaken something inside him... (Biberyan, 2013, pp. 230-31)

At the end of his journey, he realizes that it might be a dream what he remembers as happy and colorful experiences from his childhood. In other words, Baret suspects that the act of remembering might be integrated with the exercise of imagination. He has actually aroused suspicions about the reliability of memory even before his father

passed away. His childhood memories from the period before the World War II, for instance, used to seem to him as "an impossible ideal" (Biberyan, 2013, p. 68). However, he had not spent so much time delving into those issues to cope with everyday life until his father died. This incident reveals his suppressed memories combined with a suspicion for instability.

To get rid of any suspicions about the reliability of memory, Baret goes to the island to see his uncle who lives in his memories of childhood. In the house on the island, he feels a sense of trust instead of fear just for a moment. He feels to be healed there. He begins to shed tears. He mourns the loss of his father. When he leans against the wall of the house, "he feels like that he is leaning on his father's chest" (Biberyan, 2013, p. 244).

A few days later, in the course of his work on the documents that his father left behind, he learns that he had a heart disease, which made him avoid going to Aşkale. What is more, he realizes that his father had no money to buy his medicine in the days before he died. All the information he has, makes him feel guilty. He blames his mother and his sister for this death and gets angry at them by remembering the hostile winds blowing inside the house. What remains of Baret's confrontation with "the facts" are guilt and anger that make him a total stranger to his life and family. Then, he leaves his home without letting them know. But the story is not over yet.

If the part up to this point of Baret's story is considered, it can be said that the possibility to which someone is able to share his unique experience in its totality with others is a distant one in *Mrchiwnneru Verchaloysĕ*. This is why individual experience escapes from the very possibility of being communicable. Therefore, it is not possible to speak of memory as something that makes everyone involved in a sort of collective, or feel themselves at home in a way of remembering. In this novel, thus I suggest that Biberyan translates the crisis of memory into the crisis of literature as something oscillates between reality and imagination; remembering and forgetting.

Biberyan was aware of that the Catastrophe has never ended and it returns in a fragmented form in everyday experiences of Armenians who remain in Turkey. This is why there is no way to escape from what remains of it for most of his characters. It is an impossible ideal to be able to get rid of its ghosts. And this might explain why the Catastrophe comes back towards the end of *Mrchiwnneru Verchaloysě* as the limit of experience. As it is narrated that Baret thinks:

> Yesterday the Wealth Tax, today Cyprus, tomorrow something else. But always an *aghed* for which we have to take the blame. "Something will come out of it'. This was what disturbed him, (…) Undoubtedly, for all those years he (Baret) had forgotten what it meant to be an Armenian. He was trying to remember and as soon as he got over the first shock, he was beginning to understand what this meant now. Without meaning to, he was again assuming his Armenian identity. (…) He was realizing that it was easier "not to be Armenian." But it was impossible not to be Armenian.
> (…) Perhaps the problem was exactly this, they were so comfortable and they were not used to so much comfort, the nearness of a disaster was always gnawing away the hours. They were winning, eating, drinking, having fun but there was a rush in this way of living; as if they were on a sinking boat. They were expecting something to happen at any moment. A confusion. Compared to 10 years previously, they were more afraid. Because they were satisfied with their situations and they didn't want anything to change.
> "We got used to it, Ms. Arus…. *Aghed*…"
> They could not feel at ease without *aghed*. An aspect of their lives was missing. They were waiting for something. Because they could not imagine a monotone life without *aghed* to last forever. Ten years was too much (Biberyan, as cited in Koptaş, 2019).[41]

---

[41] The editions published in Turkish until 2019 does not include this passage. For more details, see: https://t24.com.tr/k24/yazi/make-room-for-biberyan-please,2227.

CHAPTER III

ON THE EXPERIENCE OF THE CITY

What stands in the center of Walter Benjamin's formulation of experience is the experience of modern city. By focusing on Baudelaire's poetry, Benjamin identifies the *flâneur* as a figure who walks around the city of Paris among the masses of anonymous people. As Benjamin (2003) writes, what Baudelaire really means by the masses is not "classes or any sort of collective; rather, they are nothing but the amorphous crowd of passers" (pp. 320-21). This is why, the crowd has almost the meaning of the public in the ancient sense for Baudelaire. What is more, the buildings in the city have some remnants from the past that make them a sort of landscape in the eyes of the *flâneur* with provoking the possibility of imagining them in various ways. On the other hand, in the 1929 text "The Return of the *Flâneur*," Benjamin remarks that "[j]ust as every tried-and-true experience also includes its opposite, so here the perfected art of the *flâneur* includes a knowledge of 'dwelling'" (p. 264). In that way, the city splits into its dialectical poles in the eyes of the *flâneur*.

As I have already mentioned, if one considers Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar's non-literary texts, it can be seen that the image of the city has a double act in his account. On the one hand, it contradicts with the nationalist historical narrative by considering the Ottoman past as part of the national identity, but on the other, it reconciles with this narrative by ignoring the cosmopolitan face of the city. In doing so, Tanpınar has been able to imagine the city as an infinite space, as something opening itself to the gaze of the viewer. But, at the same time, his imagination has been oblivious to the boundaries of the city that enclosed the viewer and ignorant to the multicultural and multinational fabric of it. This pattern can be traced in his novel *Huzur [A Mind at Peace]*, as well. However, there is also something new which arises from the protagonist's way of experiencing the city in a way of getting closer to the catastrophic nature of experience. This is why, it is possible to argue that Tanpınar's protagonist has some similarities with the figure of *flâneur*, even though it is not possible to say that there is an explicit correspondence between the two.

In Benjamin's texts, one can find another figure that appears as representing some basic symptoms of the modern city-dweller. This is "the man of the crowd" that can be traced in the texts of Poe. This figure becomes "the people's accomplice even as he dissociates himself from them" (Benjamin, 2003, p. 326). He has a manic behavior, such as fear, revulsion, and horror; that is to say, he finds something barbaric in the city. By revealing all the symptoms of the modern cities, as Benjamin suggests, "Poe's text helps us understand the true connection between wildness and discipline" (p. 329).

Since I am not able to read Zaven Biberyan's unpublished and untranslated non-literary texts in Armenian, I cannot make a judgment about his consideration (if there is) on the city. However, if one considers his novel *Mrchiwnneru Verchaloysĕ*, it can be seen that the image of the city cannot be thought separated from Baret's confrontation with the boundaries of the city that makes him feel uncomfortable with repulsion. This pattern can also be traced in his novel *Angudi Siraharner* [Merciless Lovers] in combination with the feeling of fear. This is why I suggest that Biberyan's protagonist can be considered as the man of the crowd by focusing on his way of experiencing the city. And what is new arises from this novel is to be approaching a very fragile hope towards the end of the story.

The decline of the mimetic perception can actually be considered as the symptom of "the experience of the modern city-dweller" (Benjamin, 2003, p. 325). As Baudelaire notes, quoted by Benjamin, the price of perception in modernity is "the disintegration of the *aura* in immediate shock experience [*Chockerlebnis*]" (p. 343). This is actually one of the reasons that brings about the split of experience in the sense of *Erlebnis* from experience in the sense of *Erfahrung*. What is more, for Benjamin, "the crisis of artistic reproduction (...) can be seen as an integral part of a crisis in perception itself" (p. 338). From this perspective, it can be suggested that there is always a parallelism between the way of perceiving the city and the way of producing an artwork in modern society. That is to say, the crisis of *Erlebnis* necessarily has its negative impacts on aesthetic experience as well.

Following these associations, I will provide a comparative analysis of Tanpınar's *Huzur* and Biberyan's *Angudi Siraharner* on the ground of the experience of the city in the following pages. I have two critical questions that are need to be asked for conducting a comparative analysis of *Huzur* and *Angudi Siraharner*. What are the similarities and the differences between the ways the protagonists experience the city Istanbul and remember the past while they are walking around it? And, are there any connections between two writers' approaches to the Catastrophe and the ways they constitute the experience of the city in these novels? To be able to answer these questions, I will start to examine their approaches to the event of 1915 in considering their non-literary texts.

3.1. "Continuity in mentality"

The root of the basic problems the country faces even today, as Taner Akçam (2004) indicates, is based on a "continuity in mentality" which survived the empire-to-republic transition (p. 12). Following Akçam's statement, Talin Suciyan (2016) argues that "all the policies undertaken against Armenians in 1915-23 continued to be implemented throughout the first decades of the Republic" (p. 15). She identifies the state policies implemented in this period as "the post-genocidal denialist policies." As above mentioned, even though the Republican Turkey denied its Ottoman past to establish a new secular and national state, the official policies related to the non-Muslims, such as the implementation of the Wealth Tax and of the *Yirmi Kura Askerlik* labor battalions at the beginning of the World War II, were quite similar to the last decades of the Ottoman Empire. Additionally, the government declared that people who were involved in socialist-communist politics are its enemies in this period of time. Thus, most of the intellectuals who did not engage with the governing party's politics were under attack.[42]

At the beginning of the transition period from the single-party regime to the multi-party system, Tanpınar left parliamentary politics in 1946, but he kept serving as an

---

[42] Towards the end of the World War II, the Turkish humanist movement lost its momentum. Hasan Ali Yücel was accused by using the reforms to create a Greco-Roman basis for Turkish culture. As a result, "[he] retired from his position and launched a lawsuit on the grounds of slander" (Konuk, 2008, p. 86).

inspector in the Ministry of Education. From this date until his death, he focused on his literary works. After his anthologies about Tevfik Fikret (1937) and Namık Kemal (1942), he had published his first storybook entitled *Abdullah Efendi'nin Rüyaları* [*The Dreams of Abdullah Efendi*] in 1943. His book on historically significant Ottoman cities, entitled *Beş Şehir* [Five Cities] was published in 1946. His novel *Huzur* was serialized in *Cumhuriyet* in 1948 and was published a year later in book form.

While Tanpınar was developing very strong ties with the ruling party (CHP), Biberyan harshly criticized it not only because of the attitudes against non-Muslim citizens, but also because of the condition of workers who work for little pay. In his article published in *Nor Or*, he writes:

> Today we see clearly that the system, the mentality and the way the CHP operates have been crushed altogether. (...) We witness the situation with our own eyes; Anatolia, the village, the peasants, and the worker, the economic situation of the country, the social mechanisms that are about to crumble. (...) Unfortunately [the CHP] has been viewing the people from the ivory tower (...) To this day, the CHP's authoritarian mentality has remained in place and bestows only bits of freedom (Biberyan, as cited in Suciyan, 2016).

In 1947, the people around *Nor Or*, including Biberyan established another newspaper called *Aysor*. After receiving a lot of pressure for his articles, Biberyan was forced to leave the country, and thus he went to Beirut where he served for the editorial boards of *Zartonk* and *Ararat* newspapers.

In 1949, Tanpınar returned to his academic career at Istanbul University with publishing his encyclopedic work *Ondokuzuncu Asır Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi* [History of Nineteenth-Century Literature], which is still regarded as an authoritative account of modern Turkish literature (Ertürk, 2008, p. 43). His novels *Sahnenin Dışındakiler* [Those outside the Scene] and *Saatleri Ayarlama Enstitüsü* [*The Time Regulation Institute*] were serialized in *Yeni Istanbul* in the years 1951 and 1954. *Yaz Yağmuru* [Summer Rain] was published as his second storybook in 1955. Finally, his poems with *Saatleri Ayarlama Enstitüsü* were published in book form right before he died in 1962.

Biberyan returned to Istanbul and worked in the newspaper *Tebi Luys* in 1953. His first novel *Lığırdadzě* [The Lonely Ones][43] was published in 1959. A few years later, in 1962, his second novel *Angudi Siraharner* was published. He has a story book, entitled *Dzově* [The Sea] which was published in 1961. Those years wear marked by the power of the Democratic Party (DP) after the first democratic elections in 1950. Dilek Güven (2005) evaluates the political situation in Turkey in this period in a continuation of the 1930s and 1940s by reading the Events of 6/7 September[44] as the nationalization and homogenization of the economic sphere (p. 5). Following her consideration, it might be possible to suggest that the non-Muslim population has never been respected and treated as equal to other citizens in Turkey.

On May 27 of 1960, the Turkish army seized power in a *coup d'etat*. This was a response to the fear of many officers about the decline of Republican principles. Tanpınar was also troubled with the DP power and declared his support to the army after the coup with his articles entitled "Yakın Tarihimiz Üzerine Dikkatler" ("Paying Attention on Our Recent History") and "Hatıra ve Düşünceler" ("Memories and Thoughts").

Biberyan was a candidate for the Workers Party of Turkey (TIP) at the 1963 general elections, but he became unsuccessful. Both writers were apparently engaged in direct political activity, but in opposite camps.[45] In 1965, Biberyan was elected as a municipal councilor for TIP. In the 1970s, he had to work in various jobs due to the financial difficulties. His masterpiece, *Mrchiwnneru Verchaloysě* was serialized in *Jamanak* in 1970, but he was not able to publish it in book form due to the tense political atmosphere in Turkey following the military memorandum in 1971.[46] In this

---

[43] As we learn from his letter, he had written his novel *Lığırdadzě* in Turkish at first. He had also planned to transform both *Lığırdadzě* and *Angudi Siraharner* into script, but he did not manage to do that due to government censorship (Biberyan, 2019).

[44] The event was initiated by a claim that Mustafa Kemal's house in Salonika was bombed by Greek attackers. Within a few hours of this news spread out, thousands of rioters attacked houses and businesses belonging to the non-Muslim population of Istanbul.

[45] Biberyan was not the only Armenian author who got actively involved in politics. As an active member of the Turkish Socialist Laborers and Peasants Party, and of the Democratic Front, Aram Pehlivanyan was also one of the important figures of the time (Suciyan, 2016, p. 115).

[46] Issued on March 12 as the second military intervention in the history of the Republic of Turkey.

period, he translated many books into Turkish probably not only for the sake of intellectual curiosity, but also he needed to make money to live. Towards the end of his life, he opened a small business in Mahmutpaşa to make his living. He died at the age 63. *Mrchiwnneru Verchaloysĕ* was published in book form in 1984 right after he was died.

There is no parallelism between two writers if one only considers their careers as writers and reads their non-literary texts. But it might be possible to have a comparative analysis of these writers' positions by searching for their approach to the catastrophic events of the period. As above mentioned, Biberyan draws attention to the parallelism between the *Aghed* and the Holocaust by writing that "[j]ust like there is a Jewish Question, there has been an Armenian Question, since half of the Armenian population lives away from their homeland" (Biberyan, as cited in Suciyan, 2016). What is more, in his response to the hateful statements in *Tasvir*, he writes: "If it is necessary to open up the old accounts, we can do that too. If it is necessary to count each and every corpse of the past, we too can count them" (Biberyan, as cited in Suciyan, 2016).

In his article "İçtimai Cürüm ve İnsan Adaleti" ("Social Crime and Human Justice") Tanpınar puts together the crimes committed by Sultan Abdulhamid II and by Hitler in the context of the impossibility to establish justice for the victims. He writes:

> Who can pay the cost of the crime which condemns not just the alive but future generations, and with what? (…) What is the meaning of these crimes for the people who run over millions of people, provoke the demons of their bigotry and ignorance, wreck the community life and maybe endanger its future?
> The futility of human destiny is here. It is even unlimited to harm. When it is judged, this immensity suddenly stops and the short life of one person, the absence of independence which can be fit into this short life, is gone.
> What could we receive from Abdülhamid in return to his thirty-three-year betrayal? What did the humanity gain from the trial of the friends of Hitler? Enlarge this calculation throughout history; the oppressed is always turned out to be claimant regardless of the fate of oppressor (Tanpınar, 2019, p. 302).

In this passage, Tanpınar attempts to equalize those two very different cases in the same melting pot; but his emphasis on the catastrophic nature of experience needs

to be paid attention. He is aware that there is no justice for all of whom that had been exposed to the cruelty. It is a crime against humanity as whole. On the other hand, he ignores the collective nature of guilt by considering the agents of the crime as the only responsible ones for the cruelty. Last but not least, he does not even mention to the extermination of the Armenians of the Ottoman Empire.

We can read Tanpınar's approach to the destiny of the Ottoman Armenians in his book *Beş Şehir.* In the text entitled "Erzurum," he writes:

> Who doesn't remember the answer of Mayor Mr. Zakir to American committee which came to Erzurum due to the Armenian issues in the years of truce? To the translator:
> "- Dilmaç, look, these gentlemen beat around the bush. I tell the General who has the plurality in Erzurum with a brief example." said and took them to the window of their house.
> "-Look, said, there is gizzard wrapped all the city. In the middle of it there is a place surrounded by walls as much as one in twenty. This big gizzard is Muslim graveyard and the small Armenian graveyard: those did not eat their own dead, did they!"
> It could be shown in thousands of ways that the Turks always lived in an overwhelming multitude in Erzurum but the repartee of Mr. Zakir found the shortest and undebatable one (Tanpınar, 2005, pp. 37-8).

One can easily conclude that this passage demonstrates how Tanpınar denies the factuality of the event. What is important in this passage is also his affirmation of denial of the catastrophic event by counting the corpses. Thus, it can be read as manifestation of the original denial of the Catastrophe. And if Nichanian's notes are considered, the denial has actually a double act. To explain how it works, he writes:

> In the years since Essayan's work, we have become too familiar with the Turkish state's continuing denial of the Catastrophe and thus its continuation of the denial of the loss of the law of mourning, its continuation of the denial of the unnameable. And yet among Armenians and others, the remembrance of "Genocide" has itself become catastrophic, because it repeats that denial by claiming to name the Event, to calculate and codify it in positive law and positivist history (Nichanian, 2003, p. 130).

There can be no truth about the Catastrophe, for Nichanian, not only because the law of mourning had been lost, but also the loss of the law of mourning has been ignored for the sake of naming the event. Due to its double act, the Catastrophe remains as a

crime without memory, without mourning and without forgiveness (Nichanian, 2012, p. 204).

What is more, Nichanian argues that it is not possible to speak about the event without using the language of the executioner. It demands counting the corpses, searching for the evidences, working on the archives, and testifying the truth of the facts. I suppose that Biberyan's discomfort to count the corpses might be associated with this impossibility. However, just like it is "impossible not to be Armenian," it is not possible to escape from the murmurs of the Catastrophe unceasingly speaking in his writings. This is what puts the event in a place where the possibility to escape from its "eternal return" is not at stake anymore.

The catastrophic nature of experience and so as the crisis of the language murmurs in both Tanpınar's and Biberyan's literature that I will try to show how it is in the following pages by focusing on their novels *Huzur* and *Angudi Siraharner.*

3.2. A comparative reading of *Huzur* and *Angudi Siraharner*

3.2.1. On Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar's *Huzur*

Huzur centers on the life of Mümtaz in the tense atmosphere of Istanbul at the outbreak of the World War II when the Nazis and their local collaborators have already destroyed anything that makes European civilization valuable. As an intellectual figure, Mümtaz feels responsible for the possible destructive impacts of the coming war. But besides the approaching war, there are several reasons why he feels anxious such as his cousin İhsan's illness and his girlfriend Nuran's breaking up with him. The story begins a year after this break up and takes place over twenty-four hours.

In the first section of the novel, one learns about Mümtaz's childhood through flashbacks, such as his father's death during the ethnic uprisings in Western Anatolia and the invasion of his hometown following the World War I. When Mümtaz hides with his mother as a refugee of the war, he shares a bed with a peasant girl among the other refugees. In this night, the pleasure of his first sexual experience "becomes intertwined with his grief at the death of his father and he associates guilt with sexual

gratification" (Günay, 2009, p. 91). After his mother's death during their flight, he goes to live with his cousin İhsan.

İhsan has a strong influence on Mümtaz as both a mentor and a father figure. He is the person who makes him familiar with Western European school of thought. However, "they differ in how they perceive the changing world around them" (Gürle, 2013, p. 100). Mümtaz suspects that Western knowledge might fail to explain his particular experience, while İhsan seeks to translate Turkey's particular experience into a new reality established in that knowledge. He believes that if the useless ties with the Ottoman past were ceased, it would be possible to get into European culture. He says:

> Wherever I look, my ideas don't encounter anything that can hold out against them. Like an animal trying to make a nest on pliant ground, I can focus my concentration wherever I want to. But this ease is detrimental. It might seem that we can go wherever we want, but we always end up in the same void, amid decayed roots or among a host of possibilities that amount to nothing but impossibility itself (Tanpınar, 2008, p. 284).

Here, he points out the necessity of contradictory positions as the force of maintaining the dialectical movement of history.[47] He believes that the work of memory, which opens a bunch of possibilities, seizes the opportunity to make progress in this process. In a way of suppressing the memory of the past, he thinks that it might be possible to reach a self-certainty in today's world. What is more, he says: "I don't have time to chase idiosyncrasies. I'm occupied with social concerns" (p. 343). Thus, there is nothing beyond individual's consciousness, for İhsan that is bounded up with the goal of obtaining knowledge of itself as being part of a collective entity. In other words, he desires to have a sort of progress, which is ended up with a "happy unity" between individual and society.

Mümtaz does not agree with İhsan about mitigating the value of the memory. In fact, Mümtaz is not able to reach a final decision about Turkey's oscillation between the Western culture and the Ottoman past, until he becomes involved with Nuran. He

---

[47] In his essay "Şehir" ("The City"), Tanpınar (1970) also complains about the lack of resistance in thought that can be seen as remaining vigilant in any moment (p. 176).

lives in a state of uncertainty, which might be thought as being associated with his childhood memories. He never remembers the moments after being confronted with the death of his parents. This makes him feel guilty. It is true that *Huzur* traces how Mümtaz is in search of reconciliation of his particular experience with the collective experience,[48] but İhsan's way which invites him to forget to the past, does not appear to be convenient for him because the forgetting is bounded up with the feeling of guilt.

In the second section of the novel, Mümtaz remembers the day when he encounters Nuran on the ferry for Büyükada. In this scene, Tanpınar attempts to make us imagine Mümtaz's world in a way of using the basic methods that provoke us to reproduce the deep structure of our perception, which Elaine Scarry (1999) refers in her book *Dreaming by the Book*. For instance, he depicts the image of Nuran like this:

> Mümtaz gazed at the ashen sea from the window and watched the sky where tullelike clouds of similar hue loomed large. Then he likened Nuran to the delicate rose saplings in his garden than tended to tremble out of their own frailty in such whether. Light emanated toward them from this tulle-shrouded mass like the portent of pleasures foreign to both. The luminance caressed Nuran's face and hands in an effective state of delight (p. 126).

The narrator first gives us some instructions to imagine the liquid gray of the sea with the shifting gray of the sky. He calls rare and bright form of matter because of the ease of imagining them. Then, he compares Nuran's appearance with "the delicate rose sapling in his garden." The image of the rose makes us imagine Nuran sitting on the deck of a ferry moved very slowly through the ashen sea under the tullelike clouds.[49] Finally, he uses the practice of "radiant ignition" which can be identified as "an extreme form of rarity" that enables us to imagine Nuran in motion (Scarry, 1999). As it can be seen, a bunch of image clusters around Nuran in this short passage. To

---

[48] As Berna Moran (2008) mentions that the form of *Huzur* overlaps with the contradictions between aesthetic values and socio-political considerations that one can trace it through Mümtaz's story which is based on the contradiction of his personal happiness and social responsibilities (p. 279).

[49] He uses flowers because of the ease of imagining them. To explain how flowers make it easier to imagine, Scarry (1999) writes: "That ease is in turn attributable to their size and the size of our heads, their shape and the shape of our eyes, their intense localization and the radius of our compositional powers, their rarity that lets them rise and enter our brains and our willingness to receive them as the template for the production of other, more resistant compositions."

analyze the critical role of the character of Nuran in Tanpınar's exercise of imagination, one needs to get closer to her relationship with Mümtaz.

In the course of their relationship, Nuran transforms the goddess-muse into Mümtaz's vision. She combines everything around him in a new whole. Her existence puts all scattered pieces in his thought together and becomes the main source of connecting everything in a harmonious composition. They have a common artistic taste which can be seen in the way they perceive the city. The mystical music of the Sufis appears as the rhythm of Istanbul. In that way, Nuran becomes an important source of a kind of artistic gratification for Mümtaz. He defines all these associations in that way:

> One of my greatest pleasures is the refraction of light, and its variations. When I was at Galatasaray, I'd peer through my curled hand like a telescope and watch the light refracting from the ceiling fixture. It happens on its own, of course, all over the place, all the time. But making it happen pleased me to no end. Rare are the jewelers who could make ornaments of this kind. Certainly many hierograms and religious symbols have their origins in light and its refraction. To me, it was a poetics of illumination, like gemstones or even certain glances. You know the way a light source changes from brilliance to the glimmer of polished steel, to violent, pink, and pale purple flashes, and to sparks that needle and mesmerize us through the faculty of sight? An essential secret of art rests here: it's a dream conjured in the simplest way, almost mechanically. Now, for me, all Creation refracts prismatically through your body, which I madly crave (pp. 208-09).

Benjamin (2002) identifies the memory in the form of remembrance [*Eingedenken*] as "the muse-derived element of the novel, which is added to recollection [*Gedächtnis*], the muse-derived element of the story" (p. 154). However, he also writes that "the unity of their origin in memory [*Erinnerung*]" has already disappeared with the decline of the epic. What Tanpınar attempts to awaken with the image of Nuran, I suppose, is the unity of remembrance and recollection in memory.

As mentioned in the first chapter of this study, Behçet Bey's story ends up with the impossibility of *terkip* by having its connotations neither in a synthesis nor in a composition, for because his memory functions as the condition of dialectics of remembering and forgetting. His story remains incomplete due to not only the

impossibility of remembering the memory of others, but also due to the impossibility of forgetting his own past. In other words, Behçet Bey opens a dialectical possibility which is not ended up with a sort of reconciliation. And this enables Tanpınar to return to *Mahur Beste* in his other *terkip*s over and over.

On the other hand, Mümtaz's story, which expands around the image of Nuran combining with the Ottoman music and the image of Istanbul, reveals a new aspect of *terkip* in the sense of composition, which is based on the intertwining of different branches of art. Nuran leads to a *terkip* just like "a cluster of light between that which rested in his thoughts and that which existed in his surroundings, illuminating everything such that the most disparate elements became part of a synthetic whole" (p. 193). For Mümtaz, "there was no possibility of extricating Istanbul, the Bosphorus, Ottoman music, or his beloved from one another" (p. 238). For him, everything on the Bosphorus is a reflection: "Light was reflection, sound was reflection; sporadically, here, one might become the echo of an array of things unbeknownst to oneself" (pp. 132-33).

When Mümtaz compares the way from Büyükada and the Bosphorus, the reader learns that he considers the former one as a place where conventional people live in. On the island, for him there is something that makes "us" standing apart from ourselves while yearning for something, which does not help "us" to approach any decisive point. In the Bosphorus, on the other hand, everything calls "us" to experience its depth because everything in there is belonging to "us." For Mümtaz:

> This was a realm of squat-minareted and small-mosqued villages whose lime-washed walls defined Istanbul neighborhoods; a realm of sprawling cemeteries that at times dominated a panorama from edge to edge; a realm of fountains with broken ornamental fascia whose long-dry spouts nevertheless provided a cooling tonic; a realm of large Bosphorus residences, of wooden dervish houses in whose courtyards goats now grazed, of quayside coffeehouses, the shouts of whose apprentice waiters mingled into the other world of Istanbul ramadans like a salutation from the mortal world, of public squares with the memories of bygone wrestling matches with drums and shrill pipes and contenders bedecked in outfits like national holiday costumes, of enormous chinar trees, of overcast evenings, of eerie and emotive echoes and of day breaks during which nymphs of dawn bore torches aloft, hovering in mother-of-pearl visions reflected in mirrors of the metaphysical (p. 132).

Following this passage, it might be conceived that when Mümtaz is with Nuran, the landscape of Istanbul becomes not only a dream which has its own rhythm merging with the Ottoman music, but also it becomes a place where makes him able to embrace a one-dimensional face of the city. To put it in other words, it becomes a place where he is able to construct the self by erasing the existence of the other.

Mümtaz and Nuran make plans for marriage, but Suad casts his shadow over their love with a passionate letter about his love for Nuran while suffering from tuberculosis in a sanatorium. He emerges as Mümtaz's rival not just because he declares his romantic feelings for his fiancée, but he challenges everything Mümtaz believes. First of all, his nihilist perspective represents the opposite direction of İhsan's thoughts on culture and politics, and secondly, his provocative remarks are directly aimed at Mümtaz's way of perceiving the world.[50] And finally, Suad's death by suicide leads to Nuran's breakup with Mümtaz. What means *terkip* for Mümtaz is now a scattered structure. In this *terkip*, Behçet Bey's story resonates in the mode of *Mahur* by designating the impossibility of happy ending.

Following Suad's sudden death, he becomes obsessed with him. While reading his suicide letter again and again, he tries to attach some meaning to what he has experienced. The city is no longer open to him as an infinite space where he used to be able to translate what remains to be seen into his inner world as a source for his artistic gratification. In fact, this section does not take place in the serialized version of *Huzur*. Tanpınar puts it in its book form while removing some parts that include Nuran's words. I think Tanpınar condemns Nuran to silence for embracing his concept of *terkip* in a sense of "composition" that he manages to constitute it in expanding around the image of Istanbul ring by ring. At the same time Suad emerges as the impossibility of this sort of *terkip*, and it becomes fragmented and scattered.

---

[50] Nurdan Gürbilek (2012a) suggests that Suad's evilness includes a sort of denial that not only stands against consciousness and willpower which is represented by İhsan, but also love and aesthetic taste which is represented by Mümtaz (p. 66).

According to Fethi Naci (2008) Suad's suicide is a "translated suicide" from Dostoevsky's character Stavrogin in his novel *The Devils* (p. 181). However, while the suicide means by a kind of individual protest and rebellion against the society for Dostoevsky, it becomes an individual evil for Suad. On the other hand, Berna Moran (2008) suggests that Suad's suicide is inspired from Spandrel's in Aldous Huxley's novel *Point Counter Point* because it is a fact that Huxley is the one of Mümtaz's favourite writers and both characters attempt to suicide when they are listening Beethoven (p. 269). Considering these claims, it might be possible to argue that Tanpınar's decision to include Suad's story in *Huzur* actually refers to his mimetic effort that one can find its early example in his unfinished novel *Mahur Beste*.[51]

In the opening part of the story, one learns that Mümtaz feels anxious not only because of Nuran's break up and İhsan's illness, but also because of the approaching war. For him, thinking about those factors respectively is comfortable because of considering three different issues means thinking of none. However, it is terrifying that "the abrupt union of all three, the potential formation of an absurd and distressing synthesis, a dim, and malformed *terkip*" (p. 51). Following this definition of *terkip*, it might be suggested that Tanpınar develops the catastrophic nature of experience through Suad's story. He thinks that "[t]he notion of Suad, like the notion of Nuran, like all the rest, wouldn't let him be, and insomuch as Mümtaz would bear these notions for the duration of his days, he'd be rent asunder by countless maelstroms" (p. 382). That means he would never have peace in his mind in which everything is scattered around, but is still included in a *terkip*.

What he sees is nothing but a fragmented form of *terkip*, which is prone to madness.[52] This is why he declares that "the road traveled is no indication of what lies ahead" with referring to the World War I towards the end of the story when he has a conversation with his friends about the approaching war and the destructive

---

[51] As Nurdan Gürbilek (2012b) speculated that Tanpınar's attempt to write a whole new book including Suat's letter to Mümtaz can be seen as the evidence that *Huzur* is also an unfinished novel (p. 108).
[52] For Fethi Naci (2008), Mümtaz's madness does not fit the sense of the reality which is supposed to be given by the novel, just like Suad's suicide (p. 182).

effects of the previous one (p. 400). It is no longer possible to return the meanings of neither synthesis nor composition for the word *terkip*; what remains of it is now an impossible ideal.

3.2.2. On Zaven Biberyan's *Angudi Siraharner*

Sur, the main character of *Angudi Siraharner*, is a nineteen-year-old boy lives in Istanbul during the Democratic Party period. He becomes involved with a girl, Norma, three years older than him. The story opens with Sur's nervousness as he suspects that there is someone who secretly watches them on the top of the tree. In the course of the novel, it gets harder to escape from people who peep at them in the streets of the city. Sur identifies those people as spiders wait in ambush to spin a web.

To avoid the eyes that do not respect their privacy, both agree to meet the next day for going to Büyükada. It is because his relationship with Norma not being tolerated by his parents, Sur's demand for pocket money to cover a day trip is refused. Thereupon, he steals his father's old coat and goes to Eminönü to sell it for making some money. The attitudes of the shop owners in Kapalıçarşı also have some similarities with the spinning work of spiders. Their shops for Sur like a spider web. He feels humiliated because they continuously make discounts on the purchase price. Since he does not want to be late for his meeting with Norma he sells the coat much cheaper than he expected. As he walks towards Eminönü dock, he feels that he is followed by "a hundred pairs of eyes" (Biberyan, 2017, p. 53).

In the course of the walk they take on Büyükada by searching for a place away from the crowds, two drunken men start throwing stones on the street where Sur and Norma walk, with curse words. For Sur, they have set their traps almost anywhere on the island just like spiders (p. 65). Not only this event makes him scared, but he is also terrified that Norma will ridicule and mock him if she understands his fear. For Norma, they should not go to the police station for asking for help, because she thinks that they will eventually be found guilty for their Armenian identity. Norma's remarks about the possible attitude of the police make Sur suspicious of her past love experiences.

During the evening of the same day, Norma tells Sur several stories from her past, including her migration with her family from Greece to Turkey during the Second World War, her childhood experiences in Fenerbahçe that resembles a fairy tale world and the death of her childhood friend. When she talks about her father, Sur dreams about having such a father figure with a big mustache and thick eyebrows, but smiling; someone who is totally different from his father. When Sur learns that Norma was with another man before their relationship began, the magic of the night is broken. His doubts, which are tied with his worries about being identified as a child due to his lack of experience, make him hostile towards Norma.

It is more than obvious that Biberyan's main characters are always hostile towards women. As Rober Koptaş (2019) argues that "their repressed sexual desires" blow up with "the need to define more clearly the boundaries between themselves and the opposite sex and to strengthen the established hierarchy in their minds." If they are with a woman who equals them in terms of social class and education, they feel uncomfortable. That makes them feel childishly immature in their masculinity. When they attempt to achieve a hegemonic masculine identity, they find themselves in conflict. It is a remarkable fact that Tanpınar's male characters also have a similar conflict based on their oscillation between different models of manhood (Günay, 2009, p. 87). Considering all differences in their authorial positions and their exercises of imagination, this similarity might be a subject of a further study in the future.

Sur and Norma do not meet for a week. During this week, Sur is in conflict with not only his family members (with especially his father), but also police officers of the city. It is a remarkable fact that there is always a parallelism between the atmosphere in the house and the atmosphere in the city. In the house, Sur's mother is always busy with the house works such as cooking and washing dishes in the kitchen. His sister reads some Turkish comic books. His brother either draws some pictures on the table or about to go out to the cinema. And his father, Kevork, reads or pretends to read some Armenian newspapers while criticizing his children because they avoid reading the Armenian publications. Kevork can be seen as a perfect example of Biberyan's male characters in a crisis of masculinity. What is more, it is also possible to consider

him as a prototype of father figures in Biberyan's novels. They have no authority over their children. Unlike the father figures in Tanpınar's novels, they are not respected.

What Kevork feels at home is a kind of weakness, which is similar to what he felt at his work place when he was working in a soup seller in his early years in Istanbul (p. 100). We learn that he used to have the feeling of weakness when he was around his boss, around the customers; in fact, around all Istanbulites. Kevork attempts to recall the memory of the Events of 6/7 September by hoping that "of being non-Muslim victim in Turkey" might reduce the tension between him and his children (p. 127). When he talks about how the rioters attacked their business, Sur remembers the days when he asked his father for pocket money but got rejected, and says: "They did very well. If I were, I would have totally destroyed it." (p. 128)

Kevork gets very angry because these words are more horrifying than shouting "damn homeland" for him and equal to irreverence toward something considered sacred (p. 128). As a result of the conflict between father and son, the hope as to which all family members could be gathered around a dinner table cannot be realized. Considering this scene, it might be possible to suggest that there is no memory for Sur which makes him feel as being part of the collective. Just like Baret, he feels like a stranger at home with his family. This strangeness creates plenty of bad feelings about his parents. However, whenever he stands at the threshold of loneliness, imagining the streets of Istanbul makes him comfortable.

In fact, another distinction can be drawn between *Huzur* and *Angudi Siraharner* on the basis of social class differences. While the most important criterion for a better life is related to have enough money to meet basic needs in Sur's experience, it is not even matter in Mümtaz's way of life. What they experience through walking in the city is also marked by this contrast. For Mümtaz, the walking is either the core of an artistic gratification or a goal-oriented activity. On the other hand, for Sur, it becomes either a leisure activity or a necessity to be with Norma in the lack of home that makes them able to see each other. This is why he dreams about having his own house where he will never feel like a stranger or a guest while walking the streets of the city.

When Sur remembers Norma's story about her fairy tale world, he goes to Fenerbahçe. But on the way out from Kadıköy to Fenerbahçe, he realizes that there is nothing similar to what Norma dreams about. He lies on the grass and falls asleep. When he opens his eyes in the sunset, he contemplates the change in its shades of color on the sky:

> The sun was about to set when he opens his eyes. What he first saw was again the sky. A symphony by itself. All shades of green, yellow, blue, orange were lined up and led one by one. There was the mouth of hell, one finger above the horizon. It was in flame among the high trees in dark green.
> Within minutes, the colors changed and the sky shifted from shape to shape. It was a moment of contemplation. Drama of the colors. He did not remember from where he read that Fenerbahçe had the most terrific sunset of Istanbul (p. 146).

By calling rare and bright forms of matter, the narrator invites the reader to imagine the beauty of the sky. It is like a flash moment. Then, Sur remembers Norma's words: "There could be no happy person in life, but there are happy moments" (p. 147).

For dreaming about the future and remembering the stories Norma told him, Sur once again is on his way to Fenerbahçe the following day. At Kadıköy's ferry dock, he feels very uncomfortable due to the crowd of people and jumps to the ferry rather than using its entrance. A policeman who notices that he violates the rules does not allow him to take a seat in the ferry. Instead, Sur has to stay in the dock and is interrogated by officers. After this event, Sur feels uneasy as he walks on the streets and worries about being blamed for his attitudes or being insulted as "a bad citizen" (p. 167) just not because he has an Armenian identity, but because he has to live in a world circumscribed by narrow boundaries drawn hard by the law, the law of masters command it (p. 168).

By following all these negative thoughts, Sur dreams about an island where there is no power or exploitation. Then he finds himself in a fight for his rights against the policeman that everyone supports in his dream:

> (...) All (citizens) agreed with him. They had the strength. No one was afraid. Everyone was defending their rights. (...) They were singing a victory song. They were collectively walking arm in arm on the bridge.

What if the citizens do not want to stand with him arm in arm? What if they do not want to walk with him on the sidewalk? (pp. 170-71)

It is obvious that Sur oscillates between having closer ties with all citizens in a sort of brotherhood and being excluded from the society. This makes him feel anxious even right after he imagines a collective movement that includes all citizens of the state. The following passage is important to show how the opposite poles work in Sur's way of perceiving the city:

A black barbecue flew. The pieces of embers and ashes flying through the air scattered into the sea. A sound heard like *fışş,* while a white smoke arose from the sea. Both pan and barbecue disappeared among the ripples. The slices of fish and the fishes swinging away were buried in the water. The fishermen stood in wonder at their capitals swallowed by the sea. The crowd gathering at the pier watched the massacre. Some of them laughed. Most of them were quiet. A few people said "what a pity." The policeman at the sandal looked around like thinking that what else can I send to the world of the fishes. He didn't touch upon the salt bowl and the bread. He demanded from them to bring the sandal closer to the pier. He landed and went to the place where his friends were waiting for him. The two officers looked at around in a calm way and spread terror to the peddlers. They walked away with a mocking smile on their faces without responding some weak objections (p. 185).

But his story ends with the victory of brotherhood for a moment that Nichanian identifies as the intersection of writing and utopia. To be with Norma, remembering her, or dreaming on the way she opens for him makes Sur feel at home in various corners of the city, unlike Biberyan's other protagonists' way of experiencing the city. In that way, Sur becomes able to dream about walking with other citizens in arm in arm on the bridge. What is new in *Angudi Siraharner* is this positive point of view which challenges the catastrophic experience. However, this does not mean that the Catastrophe has been completely removed from the realm of Sur's story. The spiders which wait in ambush to spin a web at every corner of the city appear as the remnants of the past that murmurs in today. Just like spiders, the members of his family and the officers of the state bear the marks of the Catastrophe.

3.3. A fragmented form of experience
There is something in the city that makes Sur feel at home even though it is fragile and ready to be broken. All this comes together as a dialectic possibility about the

fragility of hope in a still insecure time. Even though it is not possible "not to be Armenian," a rudimentary moment can come up in a flash of an explosion on the basis of the dialectical tension of the opposite poles.

It is true that "Mümtaz resists dialectics and the knowledge derived from it" (Gürle, p. 101) because the traces of opposite poles do not have an intertwining relationship. They remain separate. Just like Mümtaz, there is no way to suggest that Sur is open to the knowledge derived from the dialectics. However, I suggest that both of them live in a sort of dialectics marked by the split of experience and knowledge of experience that is in a form of which is defined in Benjamin's theory of experience. Tanpınar attempts to weave his work to awake the unity of remembrance and recollection in memory. However, he has to confront that this experience is destined to be scattered in his novels because the unity has already disappeared with the decline of the epic. On the other hand, Biberyan weaves his memory in a moment that it is no longer possible to have a harmonious *terkip*, but still a fragile hope remains in what is impossible to have but approachable.

When the scattered form of *terkip* meets Mümtaz's image of Istanbul, he becomes able to see a church in the city where he connects with an old Armenian woman that he will never forget her; and he becomes able to think about the story of a carrier who will probably have to go for the military service under the condition that Turkey takes place in the approaching war. One cannot have a strong conclusion following these particular examples, but it is obvious that *terkip* in the form of neither composition nor synthesis includes these elements in itself. Instead, something new arises from Mümtaz's experience of the city that gets closer to the catastrophic nature of experience.

In a moment that *terkip* has a fragmented form, a form of which it approaches the catastrophic nature of experience by including the possibility of a flash moment, it becomes possible to have a concurrent reading of Mümtaz's story with Sur's. In this light, the experience of the city makes one able to see the parallelism between Tanpınar's way of structuring experience and Biberyan's, even though there are lots

of differences if one especially considers their way of approaching the catastrophic nature of experience, because they have very different approaches to the Catastrophe itself. But, as the limit of the experience, literature has necessarily opened up the questions about the catastrophe in any case.

CONCLUSION

The cosmopolitan social fabric of the city Istanbul is not embraced by Tanpınar's exercise of imagination in his novel *Huzur* even though he approaches the boundaries of the city that enclosed the viewer with the experience of Mümtaz. In fact, his most fruitful novel in terms of the representation of the heterogeneous environment of the city is *Sahnenin Dışındakiler* that takes place in the Armistice years at the middle of a national catastrophe. At the same time, one can find Tanpınar's way of erasing the Catastrophe in a way of focusing on a national catastrophe in its most distinctive way through the story of Madam Elekciyan. In this novel as it is narrated:

> In 1915, Madam Elekciyan had four important events in his life. They first bought this house. It is unfortunate that Kirkor Elekciyan died two months after this happiness. However, but the fortune as wanted to compensate for this loss, brought Salih Kaptan, who hadn't leave any trace for five years. This second event has been certain. For once, the fortune will be jealous of this bliss, which immediately followed the accident that played such a harmful role in the beauty of Madam Elekciyan's body. Despite all the careful attention of Salih Kaptan, his left leg has remained slightly shorter than the other (Tanpınar, 2012, p. 235).

The year of 1915 and its penetration to the experience of Madam Elekciyan are narrated in this passage in a way of appreciating the patronage of a Turkish character, Salih Kaptan. Orhan Koçak (2018) quotes this passage where he asks: "Why Ahmet Hamdi has always been read in a way of extremely loose, abundantly forgiven, and always tolerated in this neighborhood?" What I partially tried to do in this study actually demands to be considered as a response to Koçak's reproach.[53]

At first, I examined how the image of Istanbul, which has multiple functions in Tanpınar's imagination, is closely connected with his concept of *terkip*. On the one hand, it contradicts with the nationalist historical narrative by embracing the Ottoman past as a cultural politics, but on the other it reconciles with this narrative by ignoring the cosmopolitan face of the city. What is more, it functions to create a

---

[53] The reason of why I did not focus on *Sahnenin Dışındakiler* in this study that I try to have a balance in my comparative framework by considering Tanpınar's and Biberyan's works.

continuum in between Greek and Roman culture and the Ottoman in a form of cultural mimesis. In that way, the self is constructed as something that has the capability to represent the other from outside in itself, while it excludes the other inside. However, the concept of *terkip* gets closer to Benjamin's formulation of experience in the sense of *Erfahrung* as an aesthetic principle for because it oscillates between the catastrophic nature of experience and a form of experience that refers neither synthesis nor composition. But it is not possible to argue that there is a direct correspondence between two.

Secondly, I underlined the possible associations between Nichanian's conceptualization of the Catastrophe and Benjamin's formulation of memory in the form of *Eingedenken*. This made me able to read Biberyan's confrontation with the whole state mechanism that produced denial and anti-Armenianism in considering his way of weaving the fragmented pieces of the catastrophic event that resonates with one another in his literature. I suggested that because the memory does not work as something that makes everyone engaged with its collective form or feel themselves at home in a way of remembering in Biberyan, it is possible to read his novels as a space where the crisis of memory is translated into the crisis of literature that oscillates between reality and imagination, remembering and forgetting.

In Tanpınar's *Huzur*, experience mostly emerges as a collective term which is related to cultural and political context. As an individual experience, it coincides with the themes of love and death. In Biberyan's *Angudi Siraharner*, the protagonist has trouble with to be identified as an infant by everybody else due to the lack of experience. For Tanpınar's protagonist, experience as a collective term has the possibility to be transmitted from generation to generation, even though the traumatic nature of it is mostly deprived of the capability of communication. What Biberyan's protagonist experience, on the contrary, has nothing like the same scope as that of previous generations. For the chain of continuity of experience has been broken, characters remain poorer in communicable experience. What I finally paid attention was this aspect of experience, which is embraced by the image of the city, and the ways the protagonists of these novels experience it.

In this study, I focused on a period when the concern to join the Western culture through humanist movement and to create a distinct Turkish national identity was most intense. On the one hand, I tried to show how Tanpınar used the concept of *terkip* as a cultural politics to achieve integrating humanist experience with the Turkish national identity. On the other hand, I attempted to make explicit how Biberyan conducted a fight against the anti-Armenian policies of the state that has permeated every level of society. When it comes to analyze their novels, I observed that the structure of experience bears an inherent contradiction, which remains at an impasse in any case. The contradiction is immanent to any relation to the other; and the other does not only refer to the other outside of the self, but also the other in the self. Insofar as the contradiction hidden in the structure of experience was ignored, the crisis of experience at an individual as well as a social level has been deepened. What Walter Benjamin's theory of experience provided me in this study is to approach how the crisis of experience deepens in the scene of Turkey.

REFERENCES

Adorno, T. (2002). *Aesthetic Theory.* (G. Adorno, R. Tiedemann, Eds., & R. Hullot-Kentor, Trans.) London and New York: Continuum.

Agamben, G. (1993). *Infancy and History: The Destruction of Experience.* (L. Heron, Trans.) London and New York: Verso.

Akçam, T. (2004). *From Empire to Republic: Turkish Nationalism & The Armenian Genocide.* London and New York: Zed Books.

Aktar, A. (2009). "Turkification" Policies in the Early Republican Era. In C. Dufft (Ed.), *Turkish Literature and Cultural Memory: "Multiculturalism" as a Literary Theme after 1980* (pp. 29 - 62).

Akün, Ö. F. (2008). Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar. A. Uçman, & H. İnci (Dü) içinde, *"Bir Gül Bu Karanlıklarda" Tanpınar Üzerine Yazılar* (s. 1 - 16). İstanbul: 3F.

Anderson, B. (2006). *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism.* London and New York: Verso.

Assmann, A. (2006). Memory, Individual and Collective. *The Oxford Handbook of Contextual Political Analysis*. (R. E. Goodin, & C. Tilly, Eds.)

Bali, R. N. (2006). Politics of Turkification During the Single Party Period. In H. Lukas-Kieser (Ed.), *Turkey Beyond Nationalism.* London: I.B. Taurus.

Beasley-Murray, T. (2007). *Mikhail Bakhtin and Walter Benjamin: Experience and Form.* New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Benjamin, W. (1996). *Selected Writings* (Vols. 1: 1913-1926). (M. Bullock, & M. W. Jennings, Eds.) Cambridge, Mass. and London: Harvard University Press.

Benjamin, W. (1999). *Selecting Writings* (Vols. 2.2: 1931-1934). (M. W. Jennings, H. Eiland, & G. Smith, Eds.) Cambridge, Mass. and London: Harvard University Press.

Benjamin, W. (2002). *Selected Writings* (Vols. 3: 1935-1938). (H. Eiland, & M. W. Jennings, Eds.) Cambridge, Mass. and London: Harvard University Press.

Benjamin, W. (2003). *Selected Writings* (Vols. 4: 1938-1940). (H. Eiland, & M. W. Jennings, Eds.) Cambridge, Mass. and London: Harvard University Press.

Biberyan, Z. (1946). *Aysoruan Angunatardzı.* Retrieved 05 01, 2019, from Union Catalog of Armenian Continuing Resources: http://tert.nla.am/mamul/nor%20or/NLA.html

Biberyan, Z. (2013). *Babam Aşkale'ye Gitmedi.* (S. Malhasyan, Trans.) İstanbul: Aras.

Biberyan, Z. (2017). *Meteliksiz Aşıklar.* (N. Bağdat, Trans.) İstanbul: Aras.

Biberyan, Z. (2019). *"Çöpe attıysanız bir şey kaybetmezsiniz".* Retrieved 05 03, 2019, from K24: https://t24.com.tr/k24/yazi/cope-attiysaniz-bir-sey-kaybetmezseniz,2228

Birkan, T. (2019). *Dünya ile Devlet Arasına Türk Muharriri 1930-1960.* İstanbul: Metis.

Blanchot, M. (1995). *The Writing of the Disaster.* (A. Smock, Trans.) Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press.

Bloomberg, K. M. (2001). *Tracing Arachne's Web: Myth and Feminist Fiction.* Gainesville: University Press of Florida.

Bock, W. (2009). Walter Benjamin's Criticism of Language and Literature. In R. J. Goebel (Ed.), *A Companion to the Works of Walter Benjamin* (pp. 23 - 45). Rochester and New York: Camden House.

Caygill, H. (1998). *Walter Benjamin: The Colour of Experience.* London and New York: Routledge.

Demiralp, O. (2008). Mahur Beste'nin Bitmemişliği. In A. Uçman, & H. İnci (Eds.), *Bir Gül Bu Karanlıklarda* (pp. 257 - 261). İstanbul: 3F.

Devellioğlu, F. (2007). Osmanlıca-Türkçe Ansiklopedik Lugat. İstanbul: Aydın.

Ekmekçioğlu, L. (2016). *Recovering Armenia: The Limits of Belonging in Post-Genocide Turkey.* Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Eng, D. L., & Kazanjian, D. (2003). Introduction: Mourning Remains. In D. L. Eng, & D. Kazanjian (Eds.), *Loss: The Politics of Mourning* (pp. 1 - 28). Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press.

Ertürk, N. (2008). Modernity and Its Fallen Languages: Tanpınar's Hasret, Benjamin's Melancholy. *The Modern Language Association of America*, 41 - 56.

Experience. (n.d.). Retrieved from Online Etymology Dictionary: https://www.etymonline.com/search?q=experience

Genocide. (n.d.). Retrieved from Online Etymology Dictionary: https://www.etymonline.com/search?q=genocide

Günay, Ç. (2005). Taking up the gauntlet: fictionists in the Turkish parliament. *European Journal of Turkish Studies, 3*.

Günay, Ç. (2009). Sleepwalking in İstanbul: A Man in Anguish in A. H. Tanpınar's A Mind at Peace. Heldref Publications.

Gürbilek, N. (2003). Dandies and Originals: Authenticy, Belatedness, and the Turkish novel. *The South Atlantic Quarterly, 102*(2/3), pp. 559 - 628.

Gürbilek, N. (2012a). *Kötü Çocuk Türk.* İstanbul: Metis.

Gürbilek, N. (2012b). *Benden Önce Bir Başkası.* İstanbul: Metis.

Gürbilek, N. (2017). Dried spring, blind mirror, lost east: Ophelia, water, and dreams. (V. Holbrook, Trans.) *Middle Eastern Literatures*(20/2), pp. 133 - 161.

Gürle, M. (2013). "Wandering on the peripheries": The Turkish novelistic hero as "Beautiful Soul". *Journal of Modern Literature, 36*, 96 - 112.

Güven, D. (2005). *Cumhuriyet Dönemi Azınlık Politikaları Bağlamında 6-7 Eylül Olayları.* (B. Şahin, Trans.) İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı.

Halavut, H. (2012). Towards a Literature of Absence: Literary Encounters with Zabel Yesayan and Halide Edib. İstanbul.

Halbwachs, M. (1992). *On Collective Memory.* (L. A. Coser, Trans.) Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press.

Hegel, G. W. (2008). System of Science: First Part the Phenomenology of Spirit. (T. Pinkard, Trans.) Bamberg and Würzburg: Joseph Anton Goebhardt.

Hirschkop, K. (2010). Language in 1910 (and after): Saussure, Benjamin and Paris. *British Association of Modernist Studies.* Glasgow.

Hobsbawm, E. (1995). *Age of Extremes: The Short Twentieth Century 1914-1991.* London: Abacus.

İhsanoğlu, E. (2014). The Oxford Encyclopedia of Philosophy, Science, and Technology in Islam. *Darülfünun, Ottoman, 1*. (İ. Kalın, Ed.) New York: Oxford University Press.

Jay, M. (1998). *Cultural Semantics: Keywords of Our Time (Critical Perspectives on Modern Culture).* Boston: University of Massachussets Press.

Jay, M. (2005). *Songs of Experience.* London: University of California Press.

Kant, I. (1998). *Critique of Pure Reason.* (P. Guyer, & A. W. Wood, Trans.) Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Koçak, O. (1990). Melih Cevdet: İkinci Yeniden Sonra. *Defter*(14), 20 - 36.

Koçak, O. (2010). "Westernisation against the West": Cultural Politics in the Early Turkish Republic. In C. Kerslake, K. Öktem, & P. Robins (Eds.), *Turkey's Engagement with Modernity: Conflict and Change in the Twentieth Century* (pp. 305 - 322). New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Koçak, O. (2018). *"… Gerisi Teferruattır": İyi Geçinmeye Dair.* Retrieved from Birikim: https://www.birikimdergisi.com/haftalik/9019/gerisi-teferruattir-iyi-gecinmeye-dair#.XTpoN44zbIU

Konuk, K. (2008). Erich Auerbach and the Humanist Reform to the Turkish Education System. *Comparative Literature Studies, 45*(1), pp. 74 - 89.

Konuk, K. (2010). *East West Mimesis: Auerbach in Turkey.* Standford: Standford University Press.

Koptaş, R. (2019). *Make room for Biberyan please.* Retrieved 03 2019, 03, from K24: https://t24.com.tr/k24/yazi/make-room-for-biberyan-please,2227

Kurt, M. (2008). Tanpınar Şiirler'in İzinde. In H. İnci, & A. Uçman (Eds.), *"Bir Gül Bu Karanlıklarda"* (pp. 641 - 649). İstanbul: Dergah.

Lewis, G. (1999). *The Turkish Language Reform: A Catastrophic Success.* New York: Oxford University Press.

Marchesoni, S. (n.d.). *ZFL.* Retrieved 06 23, 2019, from Walter Benjamin's concept of Eingedenkens: http://www.zfl-berlin.org/publication/walter-benjamins-konzept-des-eingedenkens.html

McLear, C. (n.d.). *Kant: Philosophy of Mind.* Retrieved 06 08, 2019, from Internet Encyclopedia of Philosophy: https://www.iep.utm.edu/kandmind/

Moran, B. (2008). Bir Huzursuzluğun Romanı: Huzur. In A. Uçman, & H. İnci (Eds.), *Bir Gül Bu Karanlıklarda* (pp. 279 - 296). İstanbul: 3F.

Naci, F. (2008). Huzur. In A. Uçman, & H. İnci (Eds.), *Bir Gül Bu Karanlıklarda* (pp. 177 - 186). İstanbul: 3F.

Nichanian, M. (2002). *Writers of Disaster: Armenian Literature in the Twentieth Century.* New Jersey: Taderon Press.

Nichanian, M. (2003). Between Genocide and Catastrophe. In L. D. Eng, & D. Kazanjian (Eds.), *Loss: The Politics of Mourning* (pp. 125 - 147). Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press.

Nichanian, M. (2009). *The Histotiographic Perversion.* (G. Anidjar, Trans.) New York: Columbia University Press.

Nichanian, M. (2012). Mourning and Reconciliation. In E. Weber (Ed.), *Living together: Jacques Derrida's Communities of Violence and Peace* (A. Bjerke, Trans., pp. 191 - 210). New York: Fordham University Press.

Nişanyan, S. (1995). *Deneyim.* Retrieved 05 06, 2019, from Nişanyan Sözlük: https://www.nisanyansozluk.com/?k=deneyim

Nişanyan, S. (1995). *Yaşantı.* Retrieved 05 06, 2019, from Nişanyan Sözlük: https://www.nisanyansozluk.com/?k=yaşantı

Oğuzertem, S. (1994). The dead tree of compassion: Existence, imagination, love, and narcissism in Tanpınar's "Mahur Beste".

Okay, O. (2000). *Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar.* İstanbul: Şule Publications.

Oshagan, V. (2004). Modern Armenian Literature and Intellectual History from 1700 to 1915. In R. G. Hovannisian (Ed.), *Armenian People from Ancient to Modern Times. Vol II. Foreign Domination to Statehood: The Fifteenth Century to the Twentieth Century* (pp. 139 - 174). New York: Palgrave Macmillian.

Ovid. (2004). *Metamorphoses.* (C. Martin, Trans.) New York: W.W. Norton & Company.

Parla, J. (2008). Taksim Kabul Etmemiş Zamanın Aynası Roman: Mahur Beste. In A. Uçman, & H. İnci (Eds.), *Bir Gül Bu Karanlıklarda* (pp. 650 - 664). 3F.

Parla, T. (1985). *The Social and Political Thought of Ziya Gökalp 1876 - 1924.* Leiden: E.J. Brill.

Saussure, F. (1983). *Course in General Linguistics.* (C. Bally, A. Sechehaye, A. Riedlinger, Eds., & R. Harris, Trans.) London: Duckworth.

Scarry, E. (1999). *Dreaming by the Book.* New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux.

Sontag, S. (2004). *Regarding the Pain of Others.* New York: Picador.

Staudt, K. (2017). Original resemblance: the function of similarity in Tanpınar's "Yaz Gecesi". *Middle Eastern Literatures*(20/2), pp. 215 - 232.

Suciyan, T. (2016). *The Armenians in Modern Turkey: Post-Genocide Society, Politics and History.* London and New York: I.B. Tauris.

Tanpınar, A. H. (1970). *Yaşadığım Gibi.* İstanbul: Türkiye Köy Enstitüsü.

Tanpınar, A. H. (1977). *Edebiyat Üzerine Makaleler.* İstanbul: Dergah.

Tanpınar, A. H. (1995). *Yahya Kemal.* İstanbul: Dergah.

Tanpınar, A. H. (2005). *Beş Şehir.* İstanbul: Dergah.

Tanpınar, A. H. (2008). *A Mind at Peace.* (E. Göknar, Trans.) New York: Archipelago Books.

Tanpınar, A. H. (2012). *Mahur Beste.* İstanbul: Dergah.

Tanpınar, A. H. (2012). *Sahnenin Dışındakiler.* İstanbul: Dergah.

Tanpınar, A. H. (2018). *Suat'ın Mektubu.* (H. İnci, Ed.) İstanbul: Dergah.

Tanpınar, A. H. (2019). *Hep Aynı Boşluk: Denemeler, Mektuplar, Röportajlar.* (E. Gökşen, Ed.) İstanbul: Dergah.

Tanpınar, A. H. (n.d.). *Huzur.* İstanbul: Tercüman.

The Islamisation of Anatolia. (n.d.). Retrieved from The University of St Andrews: https://arts.st-andrews.ac.uk/anatolia/data/documents

Ulrich, G. (2001). Unforgiving Remembrance: The Concept and Practice of Eingedenken in Walter Benjamin's Late Work. Toronto.