The Self and the State:
Bureaucracy and the Ethics of Identity in the Twentieth Century Turkish Novel

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Abstract

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"The Self and the State" examines the twentieth century Turkish novel and its use of bureaucracy as a critique of the modernization and secularization programs initiated by the Republic of Turkey's first president, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk (1881-1938) with reference to other national literary cultures in countries that are defined as post-Ottoman. Through an investigation of the celebrated Turkish intellectual and author Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar (1901-1962) and his groundbreaking final novel *Saatleri Ayarlama Enstitüsü* (*The Time Regulation Institute*; serialized in 1954), this project presents a case study in authorial resistance and alternative ethics during the Cold War. Tanpınar, who held numerous cultural and educational appointments and was elected to Parliament (1943-1946), played a central role in the formulation of the nation's literary heritage yet remained a reluctant Kemalist. This project investigates Tanpınar's use of

bureaucracy as a means to frame identity as an ethical dilemma—either prescribed by the state and its newfound religion of modernization or recovered through a familial history that is represented as both spiritual and Ottoman. "The Self and the State" considers bureaucracy and the ethics of identity as a defining feature of the twentieth century novels of Turkey and the former Ottoman territories and explores the potential for a "post-Ottoman" literary culture.

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To David and Sally

Introduction: Bureaucracy

A.   Introduction

This study explores bureaucracy in Cold War novels of Turkey and in the context of changing literary practices. In contrast with current scholarship, which evaluates modern Turkish literature as a national literature or along genre-based European paradigms, the "Self and the State" focuses on bureaucracy as the continuation of an Ottoman institution that affects literary production as well as a literary theme used by authors to reference the Ottoman Empire and the contemporary state. By examining bureaucracy, I link Turkish literature to a broader regional post-Ottoman literature, even as many of the states that formed from the Ottoman Empire, including Turkey, erased their Ottoman past in their post-imperial programs of national identity formation and modernization.

I identify bureaucracy as a feature of this regional literary culture and chart the development of bureaucracy as a literary device in the Turkish context through Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar's conservative modernist ideology and writing and then consider it in the historical novels of Gamal al-Ghitani and Ismail Kadare. In these Cold War novels, I investigate bureaucracy as a tool to frame identity as an ethical dilemma—characters face a moral choice to actively participate in the bureaucracy, and their decision determines their identities and their relationships to the state, legacy, and family. Tracing the sociopolitical transformation of authorial subjectivity from bureaucrat to independent writer, I outline a new understanding of modern Turkish literary history and locate the Turkish modernist Tanpınar in a transnational "post-Ottoman" literary network.

Since the term was popularized by Honoré de Balzac in the nineteenth century, "bureaucracy" covers a range of meanings from a ruling system, a government's organizational

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structure, the civil servants within these institutions, and excessive officialism.[1] The

predominant critical discourse of bureaucracy is rooted in Max Weber's "ideal type" of

bureaucracy as opposed to patrimonial officialdom and in his theories of depersonalized and

characteristically modern large-scale institutions structured through centralization, hierarchy, and

rational order and associated with capitalist enterprise and administrative legal scholarship.[2]

Within literary studies, bureaucracy conjures the adjective "Kafkaesque," a term first

popularized in English in the 1940s that is commonly applied to works that address an alienated

individual in an institution and the relationship between power and authority; as suggested by the

complaints of numerous scholars and columnists, the purported overuse of the term renders it

meaningless in the contemporary context.[3] Indeed, the novels examined in this study have

routinely been characterized as "Kafkaesque."

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[1] See Bogdan Mieczkowski, *Dysfunctional Bureaucracy: A Comparative and Historical Perspective* (Lanham: University Press of America, 1991), 1; Honoré de Balzac, *The Bureaucrats*, trans. Marco Diani (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1993).

[2] Max Weber, *Economy and Society: An Outline of Interpretive Sociology*, ed. Guenther Ross and Claus Wittich, 2 vols., (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978); Robert D. Miewald, *The Bureaucratic State: An Annotated Bibliography* (New York: Garland Publications, 1984).

[3] "Trend Watch: Kafkaesque," Merriam-Webster, accessed July 17, 2017, www.merriam-webster.com/news-trend-watch/kafkaesque-2016-05-17. This entry cites the dramatic uptick in online searches for the term "Kafkaesque" after the 2016 Man Booker Prize was awarded to Han Kang for the novel *The Vegetarian*, which was described by British publishers and reviewers as "Kafkaesque." The entry cites the following excerpt from *The Globe and Mail* (Toronto, Ontario), 31 January 1992:

> In the nearly 70 years since his death, we've promoted Franz Kafka from a merely great writer to an all-purpose adjective, and that word—Kafkaesque—now gets tossed around with cavalier imprecision, applied to everything from an annoying encounter with a petty bureaucrat to the genocidal horrors of the Third Reich.

One of the claims of the "Self and the State" is that these authors represent bureaucracy in a conceptual form that is distinctive from the "Kafkaesque" novels that offer the conventional critique of the administrative structure of bureaucracy through a protagonist's often frustrating if not devastating interactions with the institution.[4] In comparison, the characters of these novels choose to actively participate in the bureaucracy, and their decision carries moral consequences. Through this participation that also involves fictive legacies for state power, these authors use bureaucracy to challenge their contemporary states.

Furthermore, I define my use of bureaucracy as a distinct Ottoman-Turkish bureaucracy. The Ottoman Empire cultivated a centuries old tradition of bureaucracy that constituted the state's administrative, political, and cultural apparatus and a state-patron system that supported literary production and established the interconnectedness of literature and politics. These factors were critical in the formation of an Ottoman authorial subjectivity tied to the state and incorporated into the bureaucracy as well as a literary culture that adhered to a system of hierarchy and centralization directed at the sultan. With the establishment of the modern Turkish Republic in 1923, I argue that the new government transposed this model onto the emerging bureaucracy of the new nation-state, and Mustafa Kemal Atatürk (1881-1938) and his ruling single-party, the *Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi* (Republican People's Party, RPP), replaced the sultan and his council as patron and focal point of the Republican authorial subject.

See also, Alison Flood, "Kafkaesque: a word so overused it has lost all meaning?," *The Guardian Books Blog*, May 18, 2016, https://www.theguardian.com/books/booksblog/2016/may/18/kafkaesque-a-word-so-overused-it-has-lost-all-meaning.html.

[4] See the works of Kafka and Mikhail Bulgakov and consider the Circumlocution Office in the writing of Charles Dickens.

Contrary to the conventional understanding that the Turkish Republic's program of reforms aimed at modernization and Westernization signifies the rupture with the Ottoman Empire, I contend that the single-party period represents the continuation of many imperial practices, most especially that of an authorial subjectivity formulated through bureaucratic participation and the state-patron system and a literary market incentivized and regulated by the synonymous state and party. Consequently, the introduction of multiparty democracy in its disruption and political polarization of the established practices of literary production and patronage precipitated the most radical transformation to the Turkish literary sphere since the Ottoman era *Tanzimat* reforms. I contrast this concept of continuity with the current focus on "belatedness" in Turkish literary scholarship and then examine what Nergis Ertürk terms the "absent presence" of Turkish literature in current comparative literature studies and world literature.[5]

Chapter one, "The Turkish Literary Context," charts the effects of sociopolitical events, such as Turkey's transition to multiparty democracy with the sweeping election victory of the Democratic Party in 1950 and the cultural Cold War, on literary practices and the production of authorial subjectivity. These circumstances permanently altered the Turkish literary market by precipitating the decline of the most common publication practice, serialization. This transition disrupted the nation-state patronage system, gave rise to the "village literature" and social realist trends, involved the cultural Cold war and international translation programs, and increased political polarization. This section contextualizes Tanpınar's inability to transition to an

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[5] Nergis Ertürk, *Grammatology and Literary Modernity in Turkey* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), xii.

autonomous author after the institutional networks that had supported him during the single-party era dissolved.

Chapter two, "Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar and the Case of *The Time Regulation Institute*," draws on Tanpınar's personal writings and literary criticism to examine the author as a literary and historical figure through the development of his conservative modernist thought and his concept of the historical continuum. Tanpınar, who was influenced by his mentor Yahya Kemal and the French symbolists, formulated a conservative modernist ideology that advocated change within historical continuity and the reclamation of a negated history; yet he also recognized the impossibility of the program of historical synthesis, and his novels are a literary exploration of this irresolution. Another example of this program is Tanpınar's solution to the *kriz* (crisis) of language through the creation of his characteristic linguistic register that incorporated Ottoman into modern Turkish at a time when the language itself was in a state of flux after the implementation of the language reforms of 1928. One more critical feature of Tanpınar's conservative modernism that national historiography frequently overwrites is that, through his turn towards European modernist spiritualism, he countered the prevailing movement focused on the rationalism and positivism of the European Enlightenment that was embraced by the modernist reformers of the Ottoman Empire and the Turkish Republic, and Tanpınar instead promoted the preservation of an Ottoman Islamic aesthetic.

Through his various public positions, which included the Chair of Modern Turkish Literature at Istanbul University, instructor in aesthetics at the Academy of Fine Arts, member of the Ministry of Education, and member of Parliament (1943-46), Tanpınar was himself a seasoned if reluctant bureaucrat. Yet, despite his political participation as an RPP member of Parliament, Tanpınar maintained a complicated relationship with Kemalism and the

modernization project, which he saw not as the radical program of the new nation but instead as an extension of the nineteenth century *Tanzimat* efforts at Westernization. As a conservative modernist and an admirer of Western Romanticism, spiritualism, and Henri Bergson's theories in a critique of the materialism of the Turkish modernization project, Tanpınar focused his literary criticism on the continued effects of the language reforms from the *Tanzimat* era and on developing theories of history.[6] One of the contentions of this study is that Tanpınar must be examined as a Republican and Cold War author; while his historical fiction focuses on the early Republican years, all but one of his novels were published after 1945, and the publication history and reception of his works were profoundly determined by the Cold War context and national political developments.

When analyzed as a literary and historical figure, Tanpınar presents a case study of an author unable to weather the sociopolitical transformations that determined authorial subjectivity, who then turned to bureaucracy as an aesthetic counternarrative to the state in his final novel, *Saatleri Ayarlama Enstitüsü* (*The Time Regulation Institute*, trans. 2001, 2013), first serialized in 1954 and published in book form in 1961. This novel stands apart from his other works with its distinctive comic-ironic voice and innovative style that mingles memoir, satire, absurdism, and allegory as it chronicles the adventures of its self-fashioned unassuming anti-hero, Hayri İrdal. I argue that Tanpınar uses bureaucracy to enact authorial resistance and alternative ethics during the Cold War. Tanpınar's bureaucracy concurrently accomplishes his program of historical continuum by referencing the Ottoman bureaucratic tradition of authorial subjectivity within the context of the positivist and materialist modernization reforms depicted in *The Time Regulation Institute*. This distinct Ottoman-Turkish bureaucracy highlights narrativity

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[6] Ibid., 113.

and forces identity through participation in state institutions as an ethical dilemma and choice between the national and the familial. My analysis of bureaucracy and narrativity challenges the monolithic approach to this modernist novel; I make the case for potential secondary censorship by tracing the novel's fraught publication history from serialization to book form and locate Tanpınar in a post-Ottoman literary network.

Chapter three, "The Tanpınar Renaissance," evaluates the resurgence of Tanpınar studies in Turkey and his recent incorporation into the global literary market with the English translation of *The Time Regulation Institute* by Maureen Freely and Alexander Dawe in 2013 as part of the Penguin Classics series. After outlining the sociopolitical context behind the Tanpınar renaissance first in Turkey and then internationally through translation, I demonstrate how the Turkish novel as national allegory enters world literature. Through the cases of the 2006 Nobel laureate Orhan Pamuk and Tanpınar, I trace the status of "Turkish author" as representative and critic of the nation, and Turkey as the site of the development of the disciplines of comparative literature studies and world literature as well as a global symbol of reconciliation. I assess this revival in the context of the current geopolitical climate and investigate how the reappearance of Cold War authors coincides with the resurgence of Cold War rhetoric and how these latest developments in the intersection of literature and politics affect the circulation and reception of literature.

Scholarship in comparative literature and area studies rarely considers how authors in the Balkans and the Arab world engage with the legacy of Ottoman Imperialism, and these regions have followed radically different historical trajectories since the end of the Ottoman Empire and during the Cold War. The final chapter, "Bureaucracy in Post-Ottoman Literature," investigates bureaucracy and the Ottoman theme not only as a Turkish phenomenon but also as a regional

issue to evaluate Tanpınar and *The Time Regulation Institute* within a broader post-Ottoman context. Through the Egyptian author Gamal al-Ghitani's (1945-2015) novel *Zayni Barakat* (1974) and the Albanian author Ismail Kadare's (1936-) novels *The Three-Arched Bridge* (1976-78) and *The Palace of Dreams* (1981), I argue that these authors employ Ottoman-Turkish bureaucracy to evade censorship and, as Rebecca Gould claims in her article on Kadare, to "collectively rewrite the state's narrative by producing fictive but nonetheless incriminating genealogies for state power."[7] In each of these novels the authors use bureaucracy as an implicit political critique of governmental institutions in Cold War Egypt and Albania while concurrently referencing an Ottoman literary tradition that includes historical chronicles, bureaucratic annals, Islamic texts, and myths and epics. This section aims to bridge area studies and comparative literature by reconsidering *The Time Regulation Institute* beyond the national framework and exploring the thematic, stylistic, and Ottoman cultural connections between the works of al-Ghitani and Kadare to examine the methodological possibilities and limitations of a field of post-Ottoman literature.

Based on a comparative and transnational model of literary history, this study examines bureaucracy in Cold War novels of Turkey and nations of the former Ottoman territories and analyzes the recent revival of Tanpınar and Cold War literature as "national allegory" deployed in the neoliberal context of the global literary market. Each of the novels examined problematizes all forms of narrative as fundamentally unreliable and in so doing implicates official state historiographies. The literature of bureaucracy requires a reappraisal of paradigms of comparative literary history to consider the regulation of historical narrative and temporality

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[7] Rebecca Gould, "Allegory and the Critique of Sovereignty: Ismail Kadare's Political Theologies," *Studies in the Novel* 44.2 (2012): 208-30.

and genealogies of state power. A new model of comparative literary history that transcends the established disciplinary divisions of national literatures and the dominant mode of analysis through European comparison and modernism can be formulated by addressing the production of authorial subjectivity, tracing the continuity of bureaucracy from the Ottoman to the Cold War era, and defining a "post-Ottoman" literary culture; approaching literature across the post-Ottoman literary region in the context of the Cold War disrupts the conventional categories of the "other" East/West binary of the Cold War blocs and chronicles a neglected literary history of post-Ottoman connections.

The irresolution and problematization of narrativity in these post-Ottoman novels also present opportunities in their cultural afterlives. The recent revival of post-Ottoman Cold War novels represents a new instrumentalization of these works by the reader. I conclude by considering the reclamation of Cold War literature as an emerging politics of protest in the neoliberal context of the global literary market.

B.   Ottoman Precedent

Throughout the centuries, the Ottoman Empire developed a bureaucracy akin to a composite of patrimonial bureaucracy and Weber's "ideal type" that served as the administrative, political, and cultural organization centered on the figure of the sultan and his council. This bureaucratic institution created a hierarchical literary culture directed at the sultan and an Ottoman authorial subjectivity connected to the state and integrated into the bureaucracy through the patronage system. As a physical organization, the Ottoman bureaucracy transformed over the course of the empire to accommodate its increasing scale into a distinct complex by the nineteenth century. Located in Istanbul, the *Bâbı Âli* (Sublime Porte) operated as the base of the civil bureaucracy and meeting place of the *divan* (council) and was next to the imperial palace.

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The spatial and psychological proximity of the bureaucracy to the center of power and the structural network of the compound serves as a theme that demarcates the bureaucratic sphere from that of the civilian in the literature of bureaucracy. The *Darülfünun* (University), which was established as part of the mid-nineteenth century reforms, was founded nearby, and its Republican era reinvention as Istanbul University represents another carryover of institutional bureaucracies tied to state control.

Through an intensively trained scribal service, the empire developed an intellectual and "composite literary culture" that followed the tradition of *adab* (Arabic for the "world belletristic tradition"), or *edeb* (propriety) and *edebiyat* (literature) in Turkish, and written in Ottoman Turkish in the Perso-Arabic script.[8] Carter Findley describes the bureaucratic nature of this scribal service:

> With the styles of script and composition, mechanical techniques of document production, and procedural conventions of the official routine as its lowest common denominator, this scribal *adab* in its most evolved form was encyclopedic in scope, as required for the performance of some of the most demanding scribal duties . . . this was a rich tradition, as the works of generations of scribal intellectuals attest, and one indispensable to the ongoing life of the state.[9]

A translation program that worked on a range of texts, which included poetry, operated in conjunction with this scribal *adab*. As Saliha Paker argues, the translation of poetry, which was considered the highest form of artistic expression, contributed to this composite literary culture since the activity of the translators extended beyond mere *terceme* (translation) to *nazire* (parallel poetry), or a rewriting of poetry that did not rely on the strict literal translation but instead

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[8] Carter Findley, *Bureaucratic Reform in the Ottoman Empire: The Sublime Porte, 1789-1922* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980), 9.

[9] Ibid., 11.

experimented with hybrid cultural forms.[10] The codification of Ottoman Turkish as a language, the act of inscription, and the writing of a composite literary culture were shaped by an Ottoman bureaucracy that controlled literary production and consolidated the creation of the imperial authorial subjectivity.

Ottoman efforts at bureaucratic reform predated the *Tanzimat* (1839-1876) and responded to an encroaching European imperial threat. These endeavors started with the *Nizam-ı Cedid* (New Order) of Selim III (1789-1807) and continued during the reign of Mahmud II (1808-39). Selim III introduced a government restructuring that centralized and systematized power and administration; his tenure also marked a cultural and political shift, as he was the last sultan to merit consideration as a poet and composer as well as a patron to the arts before Ottoman classical forms were suppressed in favor of westernized aesthetics. As Findley notes, literary production, most especially poetry, functioned politically as well as culturally:

> Historically, Ottoman intellectuals all identified as poets. Those who could not excel at poetry had to find some other way to make a living; employment in a government office was the usual solution. However talented the writer, the route to material reward was through patronage. Except for close relatives, the classic way to form a career-launching connection (*intisab*) to a great man was to display one's talent in verse, preferably in a praise poem.[11]

As the preeminent patron, the sultan and palace were critical to sustaining the bureaucratic model of literary production and the political hierarchy.

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[10] Saliha Paker, "Translation as *Terceme* and *Nazire*: Culture-bound Concepts and Their Implications for a Conceptual Framework for Research on Ottoman Translation History," in *Crosscultural Transgressions: Research Models in Translation II: Historical and Ideological Issues*, ed. Theo Hermans (Northampton: St. Jerome Publications, 2002), 120-43.

[11] Carter Findley, "The Tanzimat," in *Turkey in the Modern World*, ed. Reşat Kasaba, vol. 4 of *The Cambridge History of Turkey* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 31.

The *Tanzimat* (1839-1876) designates a period of reforms triggered by the death of Mahmud II and the resulting power vacuum that was quickly filled by the civil elites and shifted the center of authority from the palace to the *Bâbı Âli*, or the base of the civil bureaucracy. Current scholarship focuses on the "rupture" created with the implementation of these reforms and the cultural reorientation towards the West. While the *Tanzimat* continued earlier efforts at reforms, the transfer of authority from the sultan and palace to the bureaucracy marked a major historical shift. Given the twofold function of literature in the cultural and political spheres, the *Tanzimat* and the political divisions created by the dissolution of the sultan's power disrupted the traditional state-patronage system and precipitated a crisis in the production of authorial subjectivity. The integration of the Ottoman Empire into a capitalist world system and the development of print media and a bourgeois reading public exacerbated this crisis as authorship was decentralized and converted into a competitive capitalist enterprise.[12]

Together, the Ottoman bureaucracy and the *Tanzimat* set the precedent for the politics of literary production with the founding of the Republic of Turkey. During the single-party era, Atatürk and the ruling RPP quickly consolidated authority through the establishment of bureaucracies and hierarchies of power centered on the figure of Atatürk. Literary production and authorial subjectivity were included in this program of centralization with the RPP replicating the imperial state-patronage model and Atatürk replacing the figure of the Sultan. The state supported literature that promoted party interests and the new program of modernization and Westernization reforms led by Atatürk through state and party sponsored publications, conferences, and awards; bureaucratic institutions from the academic to the

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[12] See Benjamin Fortna, *Learning to Read in the Late Ottoman Empire and the Early Turkish Republic* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011).

political provided authors with steady employment and forged strong ties to the central authority. Like the *Tanzimat*, the introduction of multi-party politics upset the nation-state patronage model, and authorial subjectivity once again faced a turning point as authors lost their institutional and financial base and were forced to transition to autonomy in a politically polarized and market-driven field. The "rupture" that has been identified with respect to literary practices is not between the Ottoman Empire and modern nation-state as commonly articulated, but instead it is in the transition to the multiparty system and the concurrent discontinuation of the nation-state patron system.

C.   Contemporary Scholarship

> For this Turkish comparatist [Tanpınar], working at the crossroads of a literary history marked by Poe, Goethe, and Mallarmé, on the one hand, and by classical Ottoman and modern Turkish poets such as Şeyh Galip, Ahmet Haşim, and Yahya Kemal Beyatlı, on the other, a literature written in a language in crisis, in literary forms borrowed from the West, suffers from its "belatedness" in comparison with Europe. In Tanpınar's work, the "existential uneasiness," or *huzursuzluk*, of not being at one with oneself is fundamentally a problem of comparison, one that repeatedly tempts Tanpınar to solutions in the form of restored origins.[13]

As perhaps the most prominent literary critic of the new Turkish Republic, Tanpınar was one of the first to ask the question that has determined much of Turkish literary criticism since— "Why does a Turkish novel not exist?"[14] For Tanpınar, who was also an author, the problem was doubly problematic and fundamentally one of comparison with the Western model that he explored from a critical cultural perspective by considering the Turkish practices of aesthetics,

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[13] Nergis Ertürk, "Modernity and Its Fallen Languages: Tanpınar's *Hasret*, Benjamin's Melancholy," *PMLA* (123.1): 43.

[14] "*Bir Türk romanı niçin yoktur?*" Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar, "Bizde Roman," in *Edebiyat Üzerine Makaleler*, ed. Zeynep Kerman (İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1969), 33.

religion, and even socioeconomics as well as from an authorial point of view in which the writer, irrespective of intentions, vacillates between the overly local or the imitatively foreign with no happy medium.[15] Decades later Nurdan Gürbilek addresses this predicament head on:

> Let's start with an impasse in our reading practices. Criticism in Turkey—not only social and cultural criticism but also literary criticism—is mostly the criticism of lack, a critique devoted to demonstrating what Turkish society, culture, or literature lacks. Thus statements of lack ("We don't have a novel of our own" or similarly "We don't have a tragedy, a criticism, a philosophy, or an individual of our own") are typical of a critical stance that positions itself from the very start as a comparative one, presuming that it becomes convincing only when it talks about something the "other" has but "we" don't have, pointing out the persistent lack, the irremovable deficiency, the unyielding inadequacy of its object: Turkish culture.[16]

Writing in 1936, Tanpınar, who himself was not immune to critical accusations of foreign imitation, identified the "double-bind" that Gürbilek notes "that has defined the profile of the modern Turkish literary scene up to this day: the Turkish novelist is either a snob, a parvenu, a dandy, or an unrefined provincialist stuck in the narrow traditional world" and set the precedent for contemporary Turkish literary criticism.[17]

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[15] See Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar, "Bizde Roman 1, 2," *Edebiyat Üzerine Makaleler*, ed. Zeynep Kerman (İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1969), 33-45; Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar, "Türk Edebiyatı'nda Cereyanlar," in *Edebiyat Üzerine Makaleler*, ed. Zeynep Kerman (İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1969), 102-31.

[16] Nurdan Gürbilek, "Dandies and Originals: Authenticity, Belatedness, and the Turkish Novel," *South Atlantic Quarterly*, 102:2/3 (2003): 599.

[17] Tanpınar faced allegations that his character Suad from *A Mind at Peace* is "inauthentic" and enacts a "translated suicide." See Fethi Naci, *Yüzyılın Yüz Romanı* (İstanbul: Adam Yayınları, 2000), 249; Mehmet Kaplan, "Bir Şairin Romanı: *Huzur*," in *Yavaş Yavaş Aydınlanan Tanpınar*, ed. Zeynep Kerman (İstanbul: Dergâh Yayınları, 2015), 95; and Berna Moran, *Türk Romanına Eleştirel Bir Bakış I: Ahmet Mithat'tan Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar'a*, (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1995), 213-14 for analysis of Suad as a character borrowed from Dostoevsky or Aldous Huxley with a "translated suicide." Nurdan Gürbilek, *The New Cultural Climate in Turkey: Living in a Shop Window* (London: Zed Books, 2010), 137-60; Gürbilek, "Dandies and Originals," 603.

This preoccupation with "belatedness" and "imitation" is not distinct to Turkey but encompasses a host of traditions to which the novel, in particular, is considered an imported form, and the predominant genre and movement based approach to literary history as well as the rubrics of "modernization" and "Westernization" foreground this supposed "lack."[18] This traditional textual focus on form fails to incorporate historical, social, and authorial contextualization and presents a stilted view of Turkish literary history by categorizing genres according to a hierarchy and emphasizing select "flashpoints" rather than the longer trajectory of Ottoman and Turkish literary history. In addition, as a nation-state formed out of an empire and previously occupied by Allied forces but never subject to conventional colonial rule, Turkey does not formally satisfy categorization as postcolonial, even if it shares some of the characteristics. Therefore, the valuable studies produced through postcolonial critical theory that often touch upon topics, such as Orientalism, the Third World novel, and national allegory, that are germane to the Turkish context are of limited applicability because of the particularities of the colonial experience.[19] As Hülya Adak observes, Turkish literature also problematizes conventional models for the historical development of Third World literature that are critical to the application of literary theory:

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[18] See Jale Parla, "The Object of Comparison," *Comparative Literature Studies* 41.1 (2004): 116-25 for an examination of the novel genre in the Turkish context against Franco Moretti's article, "Conjectures on World Literature," Fredric Jameson's analysis of the third world novel, and Jonathan Arac's article, "Anglo-Globalism?" See also Gregory Jusdanis, *Belated Modernity and Aesthetic Culture: Inventing National Literature* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1991) for a discussion of belated modernity.

[19] There is a growing body of scholarship that applies postcolonial theory to Turkey. Whether Turkey meets the criteria for the postcolonial is a subject of much debate with scholars, notably Sibel Irzık who argues that Turkey fits Fredric Jameson's characterization of a Third World country having experience colonialism and imperialism because of the lingering effects of Turkey's contact with the capitalist West. See Sibel Irzık, "Allegorical Lives: The Public and the Private in the Modern Turkish Novel," *South Atlantic Quarterly* 102:2/3 (2003): 555.

Georg Gugelberger's triadic developmental paradigm, expanding on Frantz Fanon's paradigm for the literatures of "the wretched of the earth," defines the stages of Third World literature (particularly in nations with a colonial past) as (1) narrating the struggle against colonialism, (2) celebrating nationalism and independence, and (3) identifying nation-state formation as "flag-independence" and criticizing neocolonialism (the class conscious phase). Global literary studies tends to characterize Third World literatures as frozen in the second phase of this triad . . . Turkish literature may not fit the triadic developmental paradigm of most Third World literatures.[20]

Several critics addressed this question and the place of Turkish literature in Third World literature studies in response to Fredric Jameson's "Third World Literature in the Era of Multinational Capitalism," which reoriented Turkish literary criticism from only Western comparatives.[21] This theoretical debate marks a crucial shift in the contemporary discourse and opens the possibility for the examination of literary networks and traditions beyond national literature, which has historically homogenized the study to Turkey/Turkish/Islam at the expense of diverse languages, religions, and literary traditions.

These problematics of the categorization Turkish literature and literary criticism are exacerbated by circumstances distinct to the development of the discipline that created an artificial insularity. For example, Jale Parla takes issue with what she deems the "overspecificity of philological studies" that she argues has long characterized the field of Ottoman literature and that "paradoxically, globalization has encouraged criticism in Turkey by encouraging 'interpretation, and explication du texte, and comparison' and by freeing Turkish literary studies

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[20] Hülya Adak, "Introduction: Exiles at Home—Questions for Turkish and Global Literary Studies," *PMLA* 123.1 (2008): 21.

[21] See Hülya Adak, "Introduction: Exiles at Home," 25; Murat Belge, "Üçüncü Dunia Ülkeleri Edebiyatı Açısından Türk Romanına Bir Bakış," *Berna Moran'a Armağan: Türk Edebiyatı Eleştirel Bir Bakış*, ed. Nazan Aksoy and Bülent Aksoy (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1997), 51-63; Sibel Irzık, "Allegorical Lives," 551-566; Jale Parla, "The Object of Comparison," 116-25; Nurdan Gürbilek, *The New Cultural Climate in Turkey*, 78; and Nurdan Gürbilek, "Dandies and Originals," 599-628.

from their restriction to the carefully circumscribed biographical (man and work) and philological (Ottoman and Old Turkish) curricula."[22] This issue is not isolated to Turkey but also applies in a similar form to the study of Turkish literature in Euro-American academia, in which the field developed in association with intensive language training either as part of programs of Oriental studies (Europe and colonial) or area studies (America and the Cold War) and has only recently begun to bridge the disciplinary division to comparative literature studies and world literature.

Ertürk identifies the "absent presence" of Turkish literature in the development of comparative literature studies.[23] She argues that scholars including Edward Said and Emily Apter have recovered Turkey as the birthplace of comparative literature through the critical legacies of Erich Auerbach and Leo Spitzer, who were colleagues in exile from Nazi Germany at Istanbul University for a time before emigrating to the United States; however, Ertürk observes that neither Said nor Apter engages contemporaneous Turkish literary history or, in Apter's case, investigates the Orientalist undertones to Spitzer's essay, "En apprenant le turc."[24] According to Ertürk, this problem predates contemporary scholarship:

> Ottoman and Turkish language and literature, in other words, have been dealing literally with the problem of comparability with Europe at least since the middle of the nineteenth century, when the Ottoman Empire was peripherally integrated into the economic and political sphere of global capitalist modernity—and, unlike colonial modernities, integrated without direct European colonial rule.[25]

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[22] Jale Parla, "The Object of Comparison," 117-18.

[23] Nergis Ertürk, *Grammatology and Literary Modernity in Turkey*, xii; Nergis Ertürk, "Modernity and Its Fallen Languages," 42.

[24] Nergis Ertürk, *Grammatology and Literary Modernity in Turkey*," xii-xiii.

[25] Nergis Ertürk, "Modernity and Its Fallen Languages," 42.

In contrast, Ertürk argues for a reexamination of modern Turkish literature within the historical context of the transformation of writing practices through a larger periodization from the mid-nineteenth century to the mid-twentieth to take into account the intensification of print and translational activity in the late Ottoman Empire, the extensive history of Ottoman and Turkish language debates, and the rise of phonocentrism in Turkey.

Ertürk also cites the "absent presence" of Turkish literature in world literature studies, specifically Pascale Casanova's *La république mondiale des lettres* (*The World Republic of Letters*, trans. 2004).[26] This observation is critical because Turkey continues to operate as a geographical "site" that is instrumental to the transformation of literary studies, yet with little engagement with Turkish literature aside from a few select authors who become overly politicized and representative of the nation.

To counter this absent presence and focus on "belatedness," bureaucracy in post-Ottoman literature designates a distinct Ottoman-Turkish tradition and engages regional networks for comparison beyond the European to include the nations of the former Ottoman Empire from the Balkans to the Middle East, which are rarely considered despite the shared imperial heritage. Like Ertürk, I apply a longer periodization to trace the continuity of bureaucracy and the state patronage model from the late eighteenth century, the Selim III era, through the single party era until the 1950s.

To return to Tanpınar's overemphasis on the "self" and the return to the self in Turkish literary criticism, I reference Gürbilek:

> Yet Turkish literary criticism—just like the Turkish novel itself—was born in the midst of ambivalent feelings of admiration and contempt, fascination and anxiety, felt before European culture . . . Rather than a simple-hearted call for originality, rather than

[26] Nergis Ertürk, "Those Outside of the Scene: *Snow* in the World Republic of Letters," *New Literary History* 41 (2010): 634.

constantly reproducing the discourse of lack and victimization, criticism should work with concepts that can appreciate the accidents and traumas that make the space we call *self*, concepts that relate cultural belatedness to the belatedness of literature, of not only belatedly modernized literature but all modern literature, which is always belated to a genuine experience.[27]

In this sense the "Self and the State" reconsiders Tanpınar in the context of Turkish literary criticism but also investigates Tanpınar's recent "reverse" incorporation into the global literary market.

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[27] Nurdan Gürbilek, "Dandies and Originals," 624-25.

Chapter One: The Turkish Literary Context

A.   Aesthetic Periodicals in Turkey (1950-1965)

During the decades of the 1950s and 60s Turkey experienced not only fundamental political transformations, including the transition to a multi-party system and the 1960 military coup, but also a dynamic artistic scene. Together with the rapid expansion of the metropolitan and provincial press, literary and aesthetic journals also proliferated during this period and offered a forum for the publication of modern literature, artwork, and musical scores as well as for the discussion and promotion of political and aesthetic ideologies. In addition, prestigious publications including *Varlık* (Being, 1933-) as well as more marginal journals such as *Yeditepe* (Seven Hills, 1950-1984) began to produce annuals that provided yearly overviews of the prevailing aesthetic debates and artistic accomplishments and sought to locate Turkish aesthetics on a local and international level.

Daniel Lerner associates this growth in print media specifically with the Kemalist nation-building and modernization reforms and as evidence that Turkey was developing along a Western model. [28] But both in the literature and art that were featured and in the associated debates, these periodicals and annuals approached aesthetics within the Cold War context and often contested the modernization program, particularly in view of its materialist origins. The frequent imprisonment of artists and editors, the disruption of publication, and legislative efforts by the political elite to control content manifest the challenge to secularization and modernization presented by these publications.

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[28] Daniel Lerner, *The Passing of Traditional Society: Modernizing the Middle East* (New York: Free Press, 1958).

This section examines the convergence of modernization, modernity, and aesthetic modernism in the form of Turkish periodicals and annuals published from 1950 to 1965. As fundamentally market driven publications, to what extent did aesthetic periodicals provide an alternative socioeconomic ideology to Turkey's political and economic modernization? How did the editors, authors, and artists determine and represent national and global aesthetic achievements and contemporary debates? How was modernist literature and art promoted as an essential component of modernity for the Turkish nuclear family? Finally, how did periodicals and annuals as a popular medium for artistic expression and consumption and the primary forum for the publication of literature determine aesthetic modernism in twentieth century Turkey, and how do we contextualize Tanpınar and his works in this period?

1.   Print Culture in the Single-Party Era

Historically, Turkish print culture was contingent upon the state and politics, and the 1950 sweeping election victory of the *Demokrat Parti* (Democratic Party, DP) marks a pivotal point in the development of the Turkish print media. During the single-party era, which lasted from the founding of the nation in 1923 to the introduction of competitive politics in 1946, Atatürk recognized print media as a powerful tool to narrate his vision for the new nation but also for the opposition to promulgate dissent; consequently, the first decades of single-party rule under his RPP were characterized by a continuation of a general policy of the centralization of print media and strict regulation of content that was instituted in the nineteenth century under the Ottoman Empire.

These efforts culminated in draconian legislation, such as the 1925 *Takrir-i Sükûn Kanunu* (Law for the Maintenance of Order), which permitted the government to terminate any publication or organization deemed subversive and to try the accused in associated Independence

Tribunals. This legislation had a chilling effect on both the press and aesthetic periodicals; it was utilized to prosecute writers and to shutter key conservative, liberal, and Marxist publications until only two government papers—*Hakimiyet-i Milliye* (Sovereignty of the Nation) and *Cumhuriyet* (Republic)—remained of the former national newspapers, and any criticism of the government was limited to the implicit critiques of satirical papers, such as *Papağan* (Parrot) and *Akbaba* (Vulture).[29] These laws also established a dangerous precedent for the treatment of the Turkish press and publications.

When there were brief lapses in the legislation, such as the period from 1929 to 1931—the "short-lived golden age of the Turkish avant-garde" according to Saime Göksu and Edward Timms—aesthetic periodicals quickly proliferated to fill the void.[30] This three-year period in particular is striking because of a public debate over aesthetics between the "Communists," which included writers such as Nâzım Hikmet (1902-1963), Peyami Safa (1889-1961), and Zekeriya and Sabiha Sertel, and the "conservative traditionalists" Hamdi Suphi Tanrıöver (1885-1966), Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu (1889-1974), and Yusuf Ziya Ortaç (1895-1967) and because this debate was conducted through aesthetic periodicals and newspapers, which included *Resimli Ay* (Illustrated Monthly), *Hareket* (Action), and *Akşam* (Evening) for the Communists and *Ikdam* (Perserverance) and *Milliyet* (Nationality) for the conservatives. Thus, when the legislative atmosphere allowed, writers were quick to mobilize latent literary and political

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[29] Erik J. Zürcher, *Turkey: A Modern History* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2005), 172; Gavin D. Brockett, *How Happy to Call Oneself a Turk: Provincial Newspapers and the Negotiation of a Muslim National Identity* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2011), 64.

[30] Saime Göksu and Edward Timms, *Romantic Communist: The Life and Work of Nazım Hikmet* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1999), 85.

networks to produce new publications and to use print media to contest the Kemalist programs of nation-building and modernization through aesthetics.

2.   Multiparty Democracy and National Print Culture

After two decades of RPP control, the inauguration of competitive politics in 1946 followed by the DP's election victory in 1950 represent critical turning points for Turkey's development of a national print culture. The publication figures in sources such as *İstatistik Yıllığı* (Statistical Yearbook) and *Türkiye Bibliyografyası* (Bibliography of Turkey) vary significantly but clearly evidence unprecedented growth in the number of printing houses, periodicals in print, and newspapers, especially in the provinces; however, accompanying this rapid expansion was a hardline ideology that characterized the commencement of the Cold War.[31]

On the one hand, the introduction of competition to politics facilitated the unparalleled expansion of publications and renewed interest in the distribution of aesthetic works as a powerful political tool to promote party ideology. The RPP and DP used print media to communicate with their constituency and challenge the opposition; they also appropriated literature to serve their political cause. For example, the author Mahmut Makal, a graduate of the *Köy Enstitüleri* (Village Institutes), whose vignettes of village life were first published in 1948 in the literary journal *Varlık* had his work coopted by the DP campaign during the 1950

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[31] The accuracy of these statistics is questionable, particularly those in the notoriously unreliable Statistical Yearbook; however, they still indicate a trend. *İstatistik Yıllığı* 1949-1953; *Türkiye Bibliografyası* Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Başkanlığı, Basma Yazı ve Resimleri Derleme Direktorluğü (İstanbul: Devlet Basımevi, 1946-1950).

election as evidence of the RPP's failed policies.[32] One the other hand, the brutal murder of the prominent leftist author Sabahattin Ali as he fled Turkey in 1948, the controversy surrounding the Communist poet Hikmet's imprisonment in 1950, the expulsion of several prominent academics writing for leftist journals from Ankara University, and finally an attack perpetrated by nationalist students on the printing presses of the leftist periodical *Tan Gazetisi* (Dawn Gazette), established a dangerous standard for the treatment of leftists during this period and designated aesthetics as the frontline in the cultural Cold War. As Çimen Günay notes, 1950s Turkey was characterized by a "dualistic political structure" in which "literature became a more evident locus in the monopoly of power, in the domains of which both camps fought for domination and control."[33]

3.   The Cultural Cold War and Turkish Periodicals

Amid this atmosphere of political polarization that was accompanied by the increased popularity of all forms of print media, national and global powers competed in aesthetic periodicals for ideological influence over the Turkish public. This focus on periodicals was associated with the DP's domestic agenda as well as a shift in Turkey's international relations. Under the leadership of the DP, the government adopted a capitalist and fervently anticommunist strategy and promoted private enterprise, urbanization, and agricultural modernization. As a recipient of Marshall Plan funds from the United States in 1947 and as a new member of NATO

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[32] Lewis V. Thomas, Foreward to *A Village in Anatolia*, by Mahmut Makal (London: Vallentine, Mitchell & Co., Ltd., 1954) x, xi; Çimen Günay, "Taking up the gauntlet: fictionists in the Turkish Parliament," *European Journal of Turkish Studies* 3 (2005): 35. Note that citations are to paragraph numbers rather than page numbers.

[33] Çimen Günay, "Taking up the gauntlet," 34, 35.

in 1952, Turkey's geopolitical position in the Cold War structure was firmly established, and the DP pursued a policy of denouncing any critique of Turkish-American relations as Soviet conspiracy. These critiques usually originated in leftist circles, and the DP was committed to preventing the circulation of Communist ideology; consequently, the government used the threat of "disseminating Communist propaganda" to control the content of periodicals and close leftist publications.

The United States was also keen to enter the ideological fray and to promote American culture; to those ends, the U.S. Department of State launched an ambitious translation program aimed at making American literature available to the Turkish public. One crucial aspect of this project was the cooperation of prominent Turkish editors to publish the translations in aesthetic periodicals; however, this collaboration was not always forthcoming, and many publishers, including Doğan Kardeşler and Varlık expressed concerns over the potential charge of being a mouthpiece for American propaganda. Indeed, the response was mixed when the United States Embassy in Turkey wrote to the publishers Nebioğlu, Inkilap, Doğan Kardeşler, and Varlık asking "how USIE could best cooperate to achieve a wider sale, or more titles, [of] both literature (fiction), politics and wider distribution and sale [of a] wider selection of titles"; as Cangül Örnek reports,

> No definite conclusions were reached on the **last point**, but was thoroughly explored with each publisher. Some slight hesitation on this last **point** was expressed by two of the publishers (DOGAN KARDESLER and VARLIK) to give blanket statements of assistance in order to protect them from being an outlet for U.S. propaganda.[34]

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[34] Cangül Örnek, "American Literature in Turkey in the 1950s," *Turkey in the Cold War: Ideology and Culture* ed. Cangül Örnek and Çağdaş Üngör (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013) 138, emphasis in the original. Örnek cites the Ankara Embassy to Department of State, "Book Translation Program," 16 October 1950, Box 2492, National Archives and Records Administration.

As this communication evidences, the U.S. Embassy was attuned to Turkish literary culture and knew the influential periodical publications to target; at the same time, these publications were alert to the U.S. Embassy's agenda of cultural propaganda.

This translation program directed at literary periodicals was not isolated to Turkey but part of a much larger cultural Cold War campaign. In 1950, the United States Central Intelligence Agency established the Congress for Cultural Freedom (CCF) based in Paris to counter the "cultural propaganda" of the Soviet Cominform; at its peak, the CCF maintained offices in thirty-five countries and published dozens of literary journals.[35] Both institutions fought their cultural ideological front through the foundation and funding of publications, conferences, concerts, exhibitions, and awards. As Elizabeth Holt notes, "as the CCF nurtured an eventually worldwide network of literary journals, it was imperative [that] it create and sustain journals capable of attracting 'the direct producers of the work in its materiality'—i.e., editors, poets, artists, novelists, short story writers, and essayists—to its world literary order."[36] Some publications and authors were aware of the covert source of the funds supporting their aesthetic production, but many were ignorant, hence the global scandal when the *New York Times* broke the story on April 27, 1966 with the article, "Electronic Prying Grows: the CIA is Spying from 100 Miles Up; Satellites Probe Secrets of the Soviet Union" and a subsection titled,

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[35] For a history of the development and subsequent exposure of the CCF and the cultural cold war see Frances Saunders, *The Cultural Cold War: The CIA and the World of Arts and Letters* (New York: The New Press, 1999).

[36] Elizabeth Holt, "'Bread or Freedom': The Congress for Cultural Freedom, the CIA, and the Arabic Literary Journal *Ḥiwār* (1962-67)," *Journal of Arabic Literature* 44 (2013): 85.

"Magazine Got Funds," that examined the journal *Encounter* and CIA funding for American scholars working internationally.[37]

Despite initial hesitation, *Varlık*, along with other periodicals such as *Yeditepe* and *Bütün Dunya* (The Whole World), which published sections of *Reader's Digest* in Turkish, became key participants in the translation program; however, participation was not a straightforward process but often contested by the Turkish reader and contributor alike through the periodical itself. In the case of *Varlık*, for example, Örnek notes that the shift in literary orientation prompted the following complaint published in the February 1956 "Okuyucularımızla Başbaşa" (Head to Head with Our Readers) column:

> You translated so many titles from American writers such as Caldwell and Steinbeck that we have gotten weary of them. Their works—except for a few—are not that satisfactory anyway. In short, isn't it possible that we can find the prominent works of great authors such as . . . Gogol, Dostoyevski, Cervantes, T. Mann among your publications?[38]

Even though the translations of American literature did not always achieve the desired positive reception, American works rapidly surpassed French literature and dominated translated publications in the 1950s.

Also of note are the American authors and works selected for translation, such as the aforementioned Erskine Caldwell and John Steinbeck. In part guided by those working for the publications, such as *Varlık*'s editor Yaşar Nabi, who was an adherent to the *köycülük* (villager) movement, the American translation program demonstrated a remarkable knowledge of contemporary literary trends and tailored the choice of titles accordingly in an unusual

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[37] Tom Wicker, John W. Finney, Max Frankel, E.W. Kenworthy, et al., "Electronic Prying Grows: the CIA is Spying from 100 Miles Up; Satellites Probe Secrets of the Soviet Union," *New York Times*, 27 April 1966, accessed August 1, 2017, https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1966/04/27/79094148.html?pageNumber=1.

[38] Cangül Örnek, "American Literature in Turkey in the 1950s," 153.

confluence of American and Turkish political agendas, domestic literary movements, and American cultural policy. In conjunction with the agricultural assistance component of the Marshall Plan and with Turkey's focus on agricultural development as well as the prevalence of "village literature" and works that addressed social themes, the pieces tapped for translation portrayed life in rural America and perhaps even reinforced the rural populism of the DP party years.[39] This attention to Turkish literary taste makes Turkey an exception in the global cultural Cold War program.

Nabi, who was a committed anticommunist suspicious of the surrealist and existentialist movements that then dominated Europe and any connections to socialism, articulated the periodical's preference for American literature in August 1953 in the "Head to Head" column:

> It is a valid and appropriate observation that we do not cover French literature to the extent of its significance in the world. However, we should say that we do so deliberately . . . The main titles of old French literature ha[ve] been translated into our language. Today's French literature, on the other hand, presents a scene of total anarchy. It is not easy to notice and choose the works of real value in the confusion created by fights around ideologies and schools of thought . . . Regarding American literature . . . Among world literatures, American literature has the least particularistic character and thus is the least influential in imposing on us a certain worldview or artistic approach.[40]

While perhaps not featuring French and Soviet literature with the same frequency as in years past, *Varlık* continued to publish a range of aesthetic commentary, including articles by the

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[39] Örnek argues:

Nabi, an intellectual loyal to the Kemalist *köycülük* movement, admired a literature that reminded intellectuals of their responsibility in the modernization process. Thus, the discussions on rural issues and the rising populism in the broader context and Varlık's peculiar endeavor all enabled Caldwell's *Tobacco Road* to become a bestseller in Turkey and to gain its place on the bookshelves next to Mahmut Makal's *Bizim Köy* (*Our Village*), which hit the headlines shortly after its publication by Varlık.

Ibid., 141-42.

[40] Ibid., 143.

frequent contributor and prominent literary figure Orhan Hançerlioğlu praising the very aesthetic movements Nabi condemned, including writings influenced by French existentialists that signaled the literary trend subsequent to "village literature."[41] In this sense, Turkish and American ideological campaigns targeting aesthetic periodicals achieved varying degrees of success; faced with fierce market competition, publications proved beholden to readers and contributors who actively questioned and sometimes subverted foreign and editorial decisions through the periodical itself.

4.   Privatization at the Expense of State Patronage

Throughout the 1950s, another consequence of multiparty politics was a decline in the number of official publications and government printing houses; however, this reduction was met with the concurrent increase in private investment in the publishing industry that supported its overall expansion. In this highly competitive capitalist environment, periodicals vied for market share and sought innovative formats and content to attract and retain readership. Aesthetic journals experimented with new layouts, colorful newsprint, photography, and diversified material that highlighted local and international artists, included literary criticism and author interviews, as well as encouraged more reader engagement through comment columns such as *Varlık*'s "Head to Head."

Art was an integral element of the publications, and covers frequently featured original artwork by contemporary Turkish artists; serialized literature proved another popular component that served the economic interests of both reader and publisher, since serialization provided an affordable alternative to buying a whole book while also committing the reader to future

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[41] Ibid., 145.

purchases. In fact, literary journals competed with the mainstream newspapers for serialized

literature, and prominent authors typically published their works in a variety of print media from

the metropolitan press or in marginal periodicals.

Journals also competed for targeted audiences, as was evidenced by the emergence of

family-oriented, satirical, and religious journals in unusual numbers. These audience-specific

periodicals are worth noting because of the different ways that they incorporated contemporary

aesthetics into their content, often in the form of artwork or literature. For example, in the

women's journal *Aile* (Family) it was not uncommon to see samples of modern poetry alongside

articles on health and artistic depictions of motherhood next to columns on childrearing;

prominent authors such as Tanpınar published in *Aile* even though it was marketed to a narrow

audience—Turkish mothers.[42] *Aile* is illustrative of the prominence of aesthetics and

contemporary culture to the Turkish nuclear family. Aesthetics was formulated as an essential

component of modernity, and periodicals sought new markets for aesthetic modernism to

compete in the burgeoning capitalist publishing scene.

5.   The 1960 Coup and the Politicization of Literature

The 1950s proved a very difficult decade for leftists, and many remained in exile until the

DP's interference with the press and the universities combined with poor economic conditions

precipitated Turkey's first military takeover in May 1960. The coup was generally celebrated by

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[42] Tanpınar published a variety of works for this publication ranging from poetry and short stories to articles of literary criticism. These include: "Bir Tren Yolculuğu," *Aile* 3 (1947): 3-11; "Âdem'le Havva," *Aile* 5 (1948): 4-10; "Mavi Maviydi Gökyüzü," *Aile* (1949): 5; "Bir Gün İcadiyede," *Aile* (10): 7; "Acıbademdeki Köşk," *Aile* (11): 11-19; "Yahya Kemal, Şiirleri ve İstanbul," *Aile* (12): 8-12; "Zaman Kırıntıları," *Aile* (13): 6-10; and "Ömrün Sahili," *Aile* (14): 9.

the university communities and literary intelligentsia, including Tanpınar, who was abroad at the time; the reinstatement of parliamentary democracy in 1961 accompanied by the introduction of a more liberal constitution that permitted a broad range of political activity inaugurated an era of freedom, spurred debate over diverse political and social issues, and also galvanized the aesthetic scene in the early 1960s.[43] As Günay observes, "[w]riters were among the foremost political actors of these turbulent years; they appeared as prominent figures in the anti-American riots that were intensified in the 1960s and in the establishment of civil organizations and political parties."[44] The military coup signaled a transformation of Turkey's Cold War culture and allowed for the first open debates about American influence and potential leftist, nationalist, and Islamist alternatives.

Freed from the former censorship of the DP and inspired by ideological concerns, editors took to the press and produced a new wave of aesthetic periodicals, many of which maintained strong party or ideological affiliation and intervened in the reigning political and social debates. Even political journals that were not explicitly aesthetic, such as the periodical *Yön* (Direction), which promoted a broad Marxist platform, still provided a forum for publication and regularly incorporated literature, including Hikmet's poetry. In addition, journals such as *Varlık* and

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[43] Tanpınar was returning to Paris from Spain when he learned of the coup and celebrated with the following diary entry:

> May 28 [1960]-In the morning as soon as I arrived the hotel keeper mentioned the military action. We will be able to return with a clear face to the homeland. We are saved. *28 Mayıs [1960]-Sabahleyin iner inmez otelci Türkiye'deki askeri hareketten bahsetti. Vatana ak yüzle dönebileceğiz. Kurtulduk.*

İnci Enginün and Zeynep Kerman, eds. *Günlüklerin Işığında Tanpınar'la Baş Başa*, (İstanbul: Dergâh Yayınları, 2007), 184. For his continued support of the military coup, see also 213-14 and 305.

[44] Çimen Günay, "Taking up the gauntlet," 45.

Yeditepe began to produce annuals that provided an overview of the prevailing aesthetic debates, literary trends, and artistic accomplishments. The 1963 *Varlık* annual, for example, features a five hundred fourteen page survey of the year's aesthetics, with sections devoted to each category of the arts, artist biographies and aesthetic criticism, a sampling of world poetry from Japan, Korea, Portugal, Iran, India, and other countries, as well as images of local and international artwork.[45] In this period of exceptional social and political change, aesthetic periodicals and annuals published domestic ideological and cultural discussions and sought to engage a holistic international aesthetic scene beyond the Cold War divisions.

B.   The Politics of the Patronage System and the Transformation of Authorial Subjectivity

In *The Time Regulation Institute*, Tanpınar critiques both modernity and the official version of the national narrative. While his focus is broadly European, the book is generally read with reference to Atatürk's articulation of the struggle for independence and the founding of the republic, and it proved inopportune when examined within the context of the shifting political and literary landscape at the times of its serialization and publication in book form.

During the early decades of the Cold War, Turkey transformed politically with the transition to multi-party democracy and the 1960 military coup and concurrently experienced the consolidation of political ideologies and the development of an increasingly polarized sociopolitical environment. Since many Turkish writers maintained strong party or ideological identifications and approached authorship as a political act, this evolving political climate

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[45] While the title is the "Varlık Yearbook 1963," it provides a summary of the notable aesthetic trends and events of 1962. *Varlık Yıllığı 1963*, ed. Yaşar Nabi (İstanbul: Varlık Yayınevi, 1963).

profoundly influenced the literature and the literary market.[46] In addition, these two decades

represent a critical moment in Turkish literary history because of the vibrancy of the literary and

publishing scenes, a generational shift with the passing of the formative authors of the late

Ottoman/early Turkish Republican era, and the gradual replacement of serialization with book

form as the preferred method of publication. Many of the most prominent authors of the late

Ottoman/early Republican era died during the late 1950s and early 1960s. In addition to

Tanpınar, this list includes such influential figures as Halide Edip Adıvar (1884-1964), Nâzım

Hikmet (1902-63), Tanpınar's mentor Yahya Kemal (1884-1958), Orhan Veli Kanık (1914-50),

Abdülhak Şinasi Hisar (1888-1963), Peyami Safa (1899-1961), and Sait Faik (1906-1954). The

1950s-60s marked not only a stylistic turn in literature towards social realism but also a critical

generational shift when the field came to be dominated by authors who were born after the

founding of the Turkish Republic and, as a result of the 1928 language reforms, were

disconnected from the literature and legacy of the Ottoman era.

　　　Within Turkish literary scholarship, serialization remains rarely examined despite the

comparative longevity of the practice and its significance to the literary market, the profession of

author, and, most importantly, the textual product itself. Republican and Cold War literature is

typically presumed and analyzed in unitary book form; however, this assumption ignores the

text's original structure, overlooks critical alterations to the work that occur between serialization

and republication as a book and fails to consider the potential for censorship, in particular self-

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[46] My point here and in my contextualization of Tanpınar's authorial subjectivity and the textual history of *The Time Regulation Institute* is not to overly politicize Turkish literature nor to romanticize Third World literature as fighting the traditional triad of oppression as, according to Adak, Georg Gugelberger does. Instead, I aim to investigate how political contingencies permanently transformed literary production and the formation of authorial subjectivity and how authors responded to these changes. See Hülya Adak, "Introduction: Exiles at Home," 21.

censorship or secondary censorship, which is relevant for textual analysis when a work is published multiple times, often years apart, under highly variable political and editorial conditions.

While a few recent editions that take serialization into account, such as the 2012 publication of Tanpınar's novel *Sahnenin Dışındakiler* (Those Outside of the Scene) by Dergâh Yayınları, the topic has not been adequately studied. Serialization largely came to an end by the early 1960s even as periodicals proliferated, and this alteration of publication practices coincides and is linked to Turkey's transition to a multiparty political system. This claim necessitates the examination of changes to publication houses during an era of the proliferation of private enterprise and inevitably entails the reorganization of the political system as well as the restructuring of state patronage and censorship in a progressively polarized political environment.

1.   The State and Party Patronage System

During the single-party era, Atatürk's RPP dominated Turkish politics, rendering the state and the party virtually synonymous, and its Parliament regularly included leading literary figures and professors, among them Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu (1923-1934), Mehmet Fuat Köprülü (1935-1939), and Tanpınar (1942-1946). As Günay notes, this practice dates to the very beginnings of the Republic and marks a continuation of the Ottoman patronage system:

> Intellectuals in favor of the new regime experienced the privileges of their political support and became appointed to key positions as MPs and bureaucrats after the foundation of the Republic in 1923. Several recognized men of letters, vanguards of the cultural revolution, were invited to parliament upon the demand of [Atatürk] . . . This esteemed award, which in spirit resembles the Ottoman Sultans' tutelage over poets who celebrate their supremacy in poems, orbited several acclaimed writers closer to the centre

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of political power and established *a tenacious link between literary and political circles*.[47]

According to Mustafa Özcan, from the period of the first Meclis (1920-1923) through 1950, sixty-nine authors were members of Parliament; whereas after the transition to multiparty democracy there were only thirty-four in twice as many years.[48]

During the single-party era, political participation exposed this literary elite to pressure to toe the party line that ranged from the self-moderation of criticism in the early years increasingly to outright political censure in the 1940s under the administration of İsmet İnönü;[49] at the same time, politics provided a forum for immediate involvement in the debates concerning the formulation and interpretation of the new nation's literary heritage and its aesthetics, language, and history, and these authors' dual affiliations fostered a direct relationship between the government and universities.[50]

This state and party patronage extended beyond academic institutions to the principal newspapers of the time, whose histories were long intertwined with the foundation of both state and party and which together with aesthetic periodicals served as the main venues for the

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[47] Emphasis added. Çimen Günay, "Taking up the gauntlet," 10-11.

[48] See Özcan's list of members of Parliament who were also authors that covers the period of 1920 to 2004. Mustafa Özcan, "Edebiyat, Siyaset ve Edebiyatçı Milletvekilleri Üzerine," *Hece* 90/91/92 (2004): 581.

[49] Çimen Günay, "Taking up the gauntlet," 13.

[50] For example, the RPP established numerous cultural institutions and organizations, some of which were branches of the government, such as the *Türk Dil Kurumu* (Turkish Language Society) and the *Türk Tarih Kurumu* (Turkish History Society), and others like the *Köy Enstitüleri* (Village Institutes) that were established to implement reforms and disseminate cultural policy.

publication of literature and literary criticism.[51] In addition, the RPP established an annual prize

for the novel and national competitions in poetry and theatre.[52] Under its rule, the RPP

concurrently incentivized the literary field, promoted literature favorable to the party image, and

maintained influence over forums for publication.[53]

The state and party's authority over publication proved especially significant in relation

to the serialization of novels, which remained the predominant practice for the publication of this

genre until the 1960s. While novels were often released in book form, this typically occurred

years sometimes decades after serialization, and it was rare that a novel would be published

without first being serialized in a newspaper or journal. Similarly, poetry and short stories

appeared in periodicals before being collected in books. Serialization dominated the literary

market and operated under a very different payment structure and editorial process from book

publication; authors were paid per installment and regularly held accountable to editorial boards,

readership, and the unpredictable management of the RPP. Works could and were dropped

unfinished by publications, which generated a monetary incentive for authors to appease the

editors of the publications and to self-censor critiques of party policies.

In this manner, the profession of author, most especially novelist, implied an uncertain

livelihood that usually required supplemental income and inevitably entailed interaction with the

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[51] See Brockett, *How Happy to Call Oneself a Turk* for a history of the development of print culture in Turkey in relation to the state, politics, and the national narrative.

[52] As Günay observes, these prizes served an important literary function by providing access to a reading public for previously unrecognized authors. Many of the recipients became leading literary figures. Günay, "Taking up the gauntlet," 14.

[53] The promotion of literature favorable to the party and state was not limited to implicit incentivizations. It also assumed official forms, such as directives from the *İçişleri Bakalığı* (Ministry of Internal Affairs) advocating the folk stories "in the spirit of the regime." See Necmi Erdoğan, "Popüler Anlatılar ve Kemalist Pedagoji," *Birikim* 105 (1998): 118.

state and party, either voluntarily, as was the case with the literary parliamentarians, or through

the state-party sponsorship of the literary field in the universities, publications, and through

literary awards.[54] Rather than the conventional designation of the "rupture" between the

Ottoman Empire and the modern Turkish Republic, for the field of literature this break occurs in

the transition to the multiparty system and the concurrent severance of the nation-state patronage

system, which caused the end of some practices, including author politicians and novel

serialization and permanently altered Turkey's literary landscape.

2.   The End of the Patronage System and the Beginning of Political Polarization

Competitive politics began in January 1946 with the official registration of the opposition

DP, which then won an overwhelming election victory in 1950. One immediate consequence

was the shifting composition of Parliament and the loss of stature for the intellectual elite and

bureaucratic authors. As observed by Frederick Frey, the DP government prompted a

reconfiguration of the political elite from the nationally oriented bureaucratic, academic, and

military cadres of the RPP to local businessmen and notables.[55] While, among a few exceptions,

the prominent author Halide Edip Adıvar served on Parliament as a representative of the DP

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[54] Tanpınar was forever in a state of financial distress, which was the main motivation for him to revise his serialized novels for book form publication as was the case with *The Time Regulation Institute*. See İnci Enginün and Zeynep Kerman, eds. *Günlüklerin Işığında Tanpınar'la Baş Başa*, 213.

For a detailed account of the earnings of authors see Alpay Kabacalı, *Türkiye'de Yazarın Kazancı*. While the study focuses on a select, representative group of authors and does not include Tanpınar, it still provides a general survey of earnings.

[55] Frederick W. Frey, *The Turkish Political Elite* (Cambridge: The M.I.T. Press, 1965), 196.

from 1950 until her resignation in 1954, the number of professors of literature and authors active in government fell into irreversible decline.[56] The traditional link between the state and academia was weakened, and with the rapidly escalating authoritarianism of the DP, professors of literature, authors, and universities, who were perceived as representatives of the RPP's intellectual elite became more vulnerable to political targeting and interference. In addition, the standard connections between the government and the literary market, such as the established nation-state patronage of literature through the RPP-affiliated publications and literary prizes, were placed into jeopardy.

The introduction of an opposition party created political polarization and "introduced a massive tension to literary circles;" authors increasingly found themselves subject to a lingering literary patronage system, now divided along party lines, that administered privilege or punishment according to an author's loyalty.[57] One notorious example was Mahmut Makal, whose vignettes of life in the village where he was a teacher were first published in 1948 in the literary journal *Varlık*. After the publication of the collected essays under the title *Bizim Köy* (*Our Village*), Makal was arrested "on suspicion of subversion," only to be immediately released, at which point his novella was appropriated by the DP in the run-up to the 1950

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[56] As a DP representative, Adıvar was highly unusual. With a long history of opposition to the RPP and Kemalist authoritarianism that dated back to the aftermath of the Turkish war for Independence, "Adıvar was a deliberate choice for DP to symbolize a new era in Turkish politics." Günay, "Taking up the gauntlet," 38. However, Adıvar quickly began to voice her criticism of its turn towards authoritarianism, and she resigned in 1954 and published "Siyasi Vedaname" ("Farewell to Politics"). See Orhan Koloğlu, "Halide Edip, Devrimler ve Demokrasi," *Tarih ve Toplum* 177 (1998): 181-87.

[57] Günay, "Taking up the gauntlet," 35.

election as a campaign document that revealed the failure of the RPP's policies.[58] In this tense political environment, authors and literature became pawns in a political game, in which "opposition was interpreted more as a sign of crossing from one side to the other rather than a critical contribution."[59]

Gradually throughout the 1950s the DP under Prime Minister Adnan Menderes consolidated its authority over the literary market through restrictions on the press, publications, and the universities. As illustrated by the works of politically active and prolific authors such as the rightist Necip Fazıl Kısakürek and the leftist Hikmet, literature still reached publication, distribution, and popularity despite its being repeatedly targeted by government censors and the periodic imprisonment or exile of the authors. Hikmet's masterpiece *Memleketimden Insan Manzaraları* (*Human Landscapes*) provides a ready example of the challenges of the publication process.

Hikmet began work on the epic poem in 1936 from prison, and it was circulated among friends and family throughout the 1950s before finally being collated and published in 1960. As Göksu and Timms note, Hikmet declined earlier offers of publication for fear "that his poem would have to be politically emasculated before it could appear in a Turkish newspaper," and its final publication was hampered not only by censorship but also by the process of reassembling the text after sections had been sent to friends far and wide for safekeeping.[60] Hikmet's experience manifests the shift of the literary market from its traditional professional structure to

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[58] Lewis V. Thomas, Foreward to *A Village in Anatolia*, by Mahmut Makal (London: Vallentine, Mitchell & Co., Ltd., 1954) x, xi; Çimen Günay, "Taking up the gauntlet," 35.

[59] Günay, "Taking up the gauntlet," 41.

[60] Göksu and Timms, *Romantic Communist*, 225, 234.

rely more and more on personal networks of friends and family to ensure the publication and distribution of literature. The change from professional to personal networks arguably disadvantaged Tanpınar in his ability to successfully transition to the new authorial subjectivity because he relied on a small group of dedicated former students and colleagues and did not have the following and political channels of support that ideologically oriented authors like Hikmet did. The state censorship of the DP proved a productive force in the limited sense that it mobilized informal literary circles.

The authoritarian and anti-bureaucratic measures of the Menderes era precipitated Turkey's first military takeover in May 1960, which the armed forces justified as necessary "'to prevent fratricide' and to 'extricate the parties from the irreconcilable situation into which they had fallen.'"[61] The intervention was generally welcomed by university communities and the literary intelligentsia; the reinstatement of parliamentary democracy in 1961 accompanied by the introduction of a more liberal constitution that permitted a broad range of political activity inaugurated an era of freedom and spurred debate over diverse political and social issues. Günay observes that "legitimate political opposition remained a troublesome task," but that "literature in the 1960s entertained a relatively tolerant political atmosphere, . . . [and] the rise of interest in socialism ushered in a politically engaged literature, more conscious of class struggles and of its distinctive critical voice."[62]

In fact, developments including the implementation of political reforms, the easing of the press and censorship laws, and the establishment of additional political parties galvanized the

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[61] Zürcher, *Turkey: A Modern History*, 241.

[62] Günay, "Taking up the gauntlet," 43, 44.

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literary scene in the early 1960s.[63] Writers were prominent political activists and participated in

the organization of civil institutions and the emerging political parties as well as political

demonstrations. This was particularly true of the left, where authors such as Çetin Altan were

associated with the development of political movements and parties including *Türkiye İşçi

Partisi* (Workers Party of Turkey). Erik Zürcher argues that while the formation of a new left in

the 1960s composed primarily of students and intellectuals constituted a worldwide

phenomenon, it carried particular significance in Turkey where academia and the student body

"began to see themselves as the moving force of society" after playing a leading role in the fall

of Menderes and the institution of the constitution of the second republic; furthermore, this

pattern aligned with the established Kemalist notion "of a revolution from above carried out by

an enlightened elite."[64]

No longer subject to the censorship of the DP and newly incentivized by the urgency of

social and political concerns and the shared sense of responsibility as political actors, authors

mobilized and published a variety of literary journals, many of which were under the auspices of

a particular political party or ideology, and sought active involvement in the most pressing issues

of political and social discussion.[65] Turkish literary journals and newspapers had a history of

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[63] For a survey of post 1960s literary history, see Günay-Erkol and Alkan's "Introduction" to *Turkish Novelists Since 1960*, xix-xxiii.

[64] Zürcher, *Turkey: A Modern History*, 255.

[65] For surveys of literary journals, see Turgut Çeviker, et al., *101 Dergi: "Dünden Bugüne Türkiye'nin Dergileri,"* (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2001); Erdal Doğan, *Edebiyatımızda Dergiler*, (İstanbul: Bağlam Yayıncılık, 1997); Mehmet Can Doğan, *Türkiye'de Şiir Dergileri Şairler Mezarlığı (1909-2008)*, (Ankara: Hayal Tasarım, 2008); Vedat Günyol, *Sanat ve Edebiyat Dergileri*, (İstanbul: Alan Yayıncılık, 1986); Nurettin Güz, *Tek Parti İdeolojisinin Yayın Organları Halkevleri Dergileri*, (Ankara: Kariyer Matbaacılık Ltd. Şti., 1995); and *Türkiye'de Dergiler Ansiklopediler (1849-1984)* (İstanbul: Gelişim Yayınları, 1984).

political affiliation dating back to the single party era, but the periodicals of the 1960s represented a new development in the literary scene. While these earlier journals and newspapers remained subject to the censorship of the RPP and then DP, especially the pressure to temper criticism of the ruling party, they were not typically founded with the aim of endorsing a political philosophy or party, as was the case in the 1960s.[66]

In contrast, the periodicals and papers that emerged after the military intervention opened numerous avenues for publication to authors, but they tended to imply adherence to political ideology in exchange. This politicized affiliation was originally embraced by authors, many of whom regarded writing as a political imperative and were motivated to participate in the fresh spirit of political debate and ideological experimentation; however, as ideologies coalesced along narrower lines and the political environment became increasingly polarized, hostile, and sometimes violent, association with a particular publication or party came to signify a much stricter political identification and, consequently, carried greater stakes.

3.   Authorial Subjectivity in a Politically Polarized Milieu

In the context of the late 1960s, political involvement assumed an increasingly dangerous character as tensions between rightest and leftist groups exacerbated by the anti-leftist campaign of the ruling *Adalet Partisi* (Justice Party, JP) under Süleyman Demirel eventually erupted into violence. The repercussions for the literary market were twofold—the atmosphere of political freedom gave way to the familiar pervasiveness of state censorship and close scrutiny of publications, and authors, in reaction to the external threat of violence, came under internal pressure to close ranks and adhere to their ideological association. While state censorship

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[66] Brockett, *How Happy to Call Oneself a Turk*, 110-12.

carried explicit consequences, such as imprisonment or the suppression of publication, it also

mobilized unofficial political channels to ensure the publication and distribution of literature, as

in the earlier example of Hikmet; in contrast, intensifying political polarization produced

significant implicit repercussions for the literary scene, most especially modifications to the

literary product itself as authors performed self-censorship.

By the end of the 1960s the literary market had been permanently impacted by the

political changes of the previous decades, specifically the transition to a multi-party system and

the 1960 military coup. According to Günay,

> As diverse political ideologies found the chance to accumulate into political parties and
> an autonomisation from state took place in several sectors, writers adopted different
> agendas and settled more explicitly in a complicated network of positions against the
> political power. The elitist idea of moral superiority of writers, their duty to educate
> people and determine the future of society also gradually left its place to the sovereignty
> of writing as an individualistic manner of artistic creativity. Politics turned into a
> profession that leaves the intellectual elite in the fringes.[67]

Authorship had transformed into a fundamentally political act, and the reception of literature by

both the state and literary circles was governed by its political potential. Ironically this

overriding politicization occurred only after authors chose not to pursue political office as they

once had under the RPP and after nation-state patronage of the literary field through university

affiliations, publication venues, and party-sponsored literary awards had largely been

terminated.[68] By the end of the 1960s the roles of author and politician had become mutually

exclusive. Whether on account of the termination of the nation-state patronage of the single-

party era, the development of author and novelist as a distinct and varied profession, or the

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[67] Günay, "Taking up the gauntlet," 65.

[68] Günay-Erkol and Alkan attribute a trend towards an approach to authorship as an
independent creative exploit and as a direct result from writers' detachment from government.
Günay-Erkol and Alkan, "Introduction" to *Turkish Novelists Since 1960*, xx-xxi.

implementation of official censorship and self-censorship within the polarized political environment, the transition to a multiparty system also signaled the end to the prevailing publication practice of serialization and thus profoundly altered the literature and the literary market of modern Turkey.

Chapter Two: Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar and the Case of *The Time Regulation Institute*

A.   Ahmet Hamdi Tanpinar

A multifaceted and prolific commentator who inhabited the intellectual spheres of academia, literature, and briefly politics, Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar formulated the new Turkish Republic's linguistic and cultural heritage and laid the critical foundation for Turkish literary modernity. Yet, for all Tanpınar's lasting import as an educator, literary critic, and author, during his lifetime he struggled financially. Mocked for his unkempt appearance and difficult personality, which earned him the nicknames "Kırtipil Hamdi" (petty Hamdi), "Derbeder Şair" (the slovenly poet), and "Hamdi Paj" (Pajama Hamdi) amongst his peers, and criticized professionally for his unique linguistic blend of Ottoman and Turkish that put him at odds with the prevailing trend of using contemporary Turkish, Tanpınar never achieved the ultimate recognition as an acclaimed poet to which he aspired, and his works suffered from low sales until the dedicated efforts of his student Mehmet Kaplan led to a revival in the decades after his death.[69]

His critical and literary exploration of the modern Turkish condition, modes of temporality, and the relationship with the past that galvanized his posthumous renaissance, when critics and publishers from across the political spectrum celebrated select aspects of his works,

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[69] See Okay, *Bir Hülya Adamının Romanı*, 10, 6 for a description of Tanpınar's personal and professional alienation and Kaplan's determination to introduce Tanpınar's works to a new generation of readers. Okay, who was a student of both Tanpınar and Kaplan, recalls Tanpınar as a distant aesthete that receives scarce mention in the personal letters and diaries of his purportedly closest friends (9, 11).

elicited the opposite response during his career; in that era of heightened political polarization

with the transition from single-party rule to multiparty democracy, the elements of his thought

that failed to align with the right or the left eclipsed any affinities, which, according to Tanpınar,

precipitated a superficial political reading of his works and led to his further isolation. For

Tanpınar's frustration, see the following excerpt from his diaries:

> A leftist group, or those who exploit leftist ideas, who cannot acquire a true conviction, who think or represent themselves—at least some of those—as patriots, with pretensions to belong to a class or group, and across from them racists and religious fanatics, truly excessive nationalists and, finally, those who act under the command of economic opportunists. And in the middle of those us, those helpless ones who try to care for their work. I am merely in a position of a referee. Leftists, of course call me, *salaud*, rightists, as Necip Fazil claims, see me under the influence of my friends.
>
> Strangely, they read my work superficially and made their decision according to those readings. According to rightists, I am sliding to left against my engagements—*A Mind at Peace* and *Five Cities*—and support the left. According to leftists, because I mention the call for prayer, Turkish classical music, and our own history, I side, if not with racists, with rightists.
>
> However, I only want to realize my work, what I can accomplish personally. I am an inflicted witness . . .[70]

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[70] *Hakiki bir kanaat sahibi olmayan, kendilerini vatanperver zanneden veya öyle gösteren—hiç olmazsa bir kısmı ile böyle—sınıf veya zümre gayretiyle her şeyi göze almış bir sol tâifesi ve sol fikirlerin istismarcısı olanlar, onların karşısında ırkçılar ve dinciler, en hakiki aşırı nasyonalistler ve nihayet iktisadi istismarcıların emri altında hareket edenler. Ve ortalarında bizler, iş ve güçlerinde olanlar, olmak isteyenler, biçareler. Ben sadece hakem vaziyetindeyim. Tabiî sollar bana salaud diyorlar, sağcılar Necip Fazıl'ın iddia ettiği gibi dostluklarımın tesirinde görüyorlar.*

Gariptir ki eserimi sathî okuyorlar ve her iki taraf da ona göre hüküm veriyorlar. Sağcılara göre ben angajmanlarım—Huzur ve Beş Şehir—hilafında sola kayıyorum, solu tutuyorum. Solculara göre ise ezandan, Türk musikisinden, kendi tarihimizden bahsettiğim için ırkçıların değilse bile, sağcıların safındayım.

Halbuki ben sadece eserimi, şahsen yapabileceğim şeyi yapmak istiyorum. Ben maruz müşahidim. . . .

İnci Enginün and Zeynep Kerman, eds. *Günlüklerin Işığında Tanpınar'la Baş Başa*, 322.

Through *maruz müşahid*, which is translated as 'inflicted witness,' Tanpinar defines himself as a

referee and a witness who is inflicted by a volatile stage of politics when various ideological

ideas determined and politicized the literary field. He most probably meant that he was under

the influence of external affairs but did not act upon a political conviction. Tanpınar was at the

center of the literary sphere as one of the chief articulators of Turkish literary modernity and a

successful writer and academic, yet marginalized for his literary style and subject matter.

Tanpınar, both as a literary and as a historical figure, was of the generation of Ottoman-

Republican authors, including Nâzım Hikmet (1902-1963), Halide Edip Adıvar (1884-1964), and

Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu (1889-1974), born and educated as a subject of the Ottoman

Empire and whose subsequent lifetime was marked by geopolitical events, such as the Balkan

Wars (1912-1913), the occupation of Istanbul by Allied forces (1918-1923), the struggle for

independence, World Wars I and II, population exchanges, and the transition from empire to

nation-state with the founding of the Turkish Republic in 1923. This Ottoman-Republican

context deeply informs Tanpınar's writing; the themes of the crisis of time, language, and

cultural heritage recur throughout his works, and sociohistorical events frame his novels, which

chronicle the Istanbul urbanite experience through generations of historical and political

transformation. While all of his novels address sociopolitical transformation, his first three,

Mahur Beste (In the Mahur Mode), *Huzur* (*A Mind at Peace*), and *Sahnenin Dışındakiler* (Those

Outside of the Scene), are interconnected through the characters and trace their experiences

during consecutive phases of Istanbul's history. Tanpınar frequently uses geopolitical events to

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In an interview, Tanpınar described Mumtaz the protagonist of *A Mind at Peace* in the same terms, " . . . my protagonist whom I wanted to create as more of a witness, who was inflicted by events." See, http://www.neokuyorum.org/arsiv-odasi-ahmet-hamdi-tanpinarla-huzur-uzerine-soylesi/ (Accessed July 14, 2017).

reflect familial crises, as in *A Mind at Peace* where Istanbul's tense atmosphere on the brink of World War II mirrors the protagonist's descent into delirium from the loss of his beloved and the impending loss of his mentor, who battles illness on the verge of death.

Tanpınar portrayed the psychological effects of a rapidly changing urban landscape that retains residues of the past as well as a shifting literary scene, as the nation-state patronage system dissolved with the introduction of multiparty politics in the 1950s. This decoupling of state and author prompted the decline of serialization as the primary method of publication and fundamentally altered writing practices. Tanpınar's novels in both serialized and book form publication provide a textual archive of this shift, and Tanpınar, as a disillusioned bureaucrat already on the margins personally and professionally, presents a historical figure caught in arguably the most radical transformation of the profession of author since the *Tanzimat* reforms of the nineteenth century.

Tanpınar must be examined as both an early Republican and a Cold War author; while his historical fiction focuses on the early Republican years, the publication history and reception were affected by the Cold War context and national political developments.[71] Apart from *Mahur Beste* (In the Mahur Mode), all of his novels were serialized and published after 1945. While Tanpınar wished to concentrate solely on his writing, particularly his poetry, he failed to make the successful transition from the authorial subject of the early Republic to the autonomous author of a democratic Turkey and was forced out of financial exigency to pursue other lines of work and to revise his novels for book publication. His ideological convictions continued, and his increasing pessimism at the Kemalist set of reforms was shaped by his participation in

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[71] The early Republican period is generally defined as the era of the Kemalist one-party state 1925-45 with the transition to democracy commencing in 1945.

bureaucratic institutions, and the political divisions of the Cold War colored the immediate

reception of his texts. Inasmuch as the historical figure of Tanpınar is reflective of his time, his

literary persona is out of step with the prevailing trends of his era, in which his reluctant

politicism and conservative modernism rendered his works and his subject vulnerable to

reductionist political interpretation.

1.   Tanpınar's Early Life, Education, and Influences

Tanpınar was born in 1901 in Istanbul to a "middle class and typical Ottoman ulema-

bureaucratic family" but spent much of his childhood moving to the different appointments of his

father, who was a *kadi* (judge), at a time when the territories of the Ottoman Empire were in a

state of flux.[72] Thus, from his early life he encountered bureaucracy firsthand through his

father's employment and the hierarchical structure of command that directed his family's

relocation. From Sinop to Kirkuk, Mosul, and other cities, the natural environs, the clocks and

timekeepers, and the houses he inhabited proved formative as themes and settings that would

later recur throughout his works.[73] Another significant influence during these early years was

that of his father and grandmother, who both instilled in him an appreciation for the mythical and

mystical elements of aesthetics and, in connection to his father's employment, they frequently

visited *camiler* (mosques), which instilled in him a sensitivity to an Islamic heritage. The death

of his mother when he was fifteen and the concurrent mobilization for World War I, also shaped

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[72] M. Orhan Okay, *Bir Hülya Adamının Romanı: Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar* (İstanbul: Dergâh Yayınları, 2012), 71. See Okay 21-67 for a biography of Tanpınar.

[73] In particular, the sea and houses are frequent themes in his writing, and he outlines these childhood and literary influences in his seminal letter, "Antalyalı Genç Kıza Mektup," in *Tanpınar'ın Mektupları*, Zeynep Kerman, ed. (İstanbul: Dergâh Yayınları, 2013), 315-21.

his literature as the doubling of crises through the familial and the national is a characteristic trope of his fiction.[74]

While access to books was inconsistent over the course of the many moves, Tanpınar proved an avid reader of the literature to which he had access, and, after attending high school in Antalya, he enrolled in the *Darülfünun* (University) in Istanbul in 1919. After taking a course with the renowned poet Yahya Kemal (Beyatlı) (1884-1958), who became his mentor and principal literary and ideological model, he transferred to the Department of Literature after first pursuing philosophy and history and graduated in 1923.[75] Tanpınar's time in the *Darülfünun* coincided with the occupation of Istanbul by Allied forces and the developing independence movement, and the pervasive atmosphere of anxiety and anticipation became the background for his novel *Huzur* (*A Mind at Peace*). Similarly, his curated experience of the urban landscape, which was shaped in part by walking excursions led by Kemal, laid the foundation for his aestheticization of the Istanbul milieu and the relationship that he drew between history and the city's built environment.[76]

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[74] Tanpınar addresses his mother's death in his literature, such as in the poem, "Annem İçin," published in *Dergâh* in 1921. Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar, *Bütün Şiireleri*, ed. İnci Enginün (İstanbul: Dergâh Yayınları, 1998), 104.

[75] Tanpınar composed several studies on Yahya Kemal, including *Yahya Kemal* (İstanbul: Yahya Kemal'ı Sevenler Cemiyeti yayınları, 1962); "Yahya Kemal'e Hürmet," *Anayurt* 10 (1934); "Yahya Kemal Hakkında," *CHP Konferanslar Serisi* (Kitap 19) (1940), 51-61; "Yahya Kemal Hakkında Ne Diyorlar?" *Yedigün* 410 (1941): 5; "Yahya Kemal'e Dair Notlar I," *Ulus* (1944); "Yahya Kemal'e Dair," *Akademi Fikir Hareketleri* 1 (1946): 3-4; "Yahya Kemal'i Uğurlarken," *Cumhuriyet*, Şubat 4, 1948); "Yahya Kemal ve Şiirimiz," *Cumhuriyet*, Aralık 2, 1949; "Yahya Kemal, Şiirleri ve İstanbul," *Aile* 12 (1950): 8-12; "Yahya Kemal'e Dair Anket," *Türk Sanatı* 13 (1953): 6; "Yahya Kemal İçin," *Cumhuriyet*, Kasım 2, 1958; and "Yahya Kemal'in Ardından," *Cumhuriyet*, Kasım 7, 1958; and "Yahya Kemal ve Türk Musikisi," *Yaşadığım Gibi* (1970): 377-382.

[76] Orhan Pamuk, *Istanbul: Memories of a City*, trans. Maureen Freely (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2005), 105. While the cityscape is a dominant theme throughout Tanpınar's oeuvre, it plays a critical role in the novel *Huzur*, which Pamuk deems "the greatest novel ever

Kemal lived in Paris from 1903 to 1912 and was strongly influenced by the French symbolists, particularly Mallarmé, and played a critical role in Tanpınar's ideological development and education in European modernism.[77] As Ertürk argues, Kemal's "failed" modernism, in which he adopted only those symbolist literary devices appropriate to working within the traditional Ottoman forms, is representative of Turkish literature in the first half of the twentieth century, and characteristic of "conservative modernist" authors including Tanpınar, in whom "we observe a similar engagement with European modernist aesthetic and philosophical sensibilities, accompanied and undercut by traditionalism and political conservatism."[78] Tanpınar especially drew from Kemal's linguistic poetics and admired his adaptation of

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written about Istanbul." In the novel, the male protagonist frequently wanders the streets of Istanbul, and the city's geography functions as a map of memory and experience. Literary critics typically treat the protagonist and his mentor as representations of Tanpınar and Kemal.

[77] Yahya Kemal, *Çocukluğum, Gençliğim: Siyâsî ve Edebî Hatıralarım* (İstanbul: İstanbul Fetih Cemiyeti, 1986).

[78] Ertürk further elaborates:

Attending to the specificity of the relationship between modernism and conservatism (*muhafazakârlık*) in the late imperial (1900-1922) and Republican period (1923-1950), one sees that the most powerful intellectual engagement with European modernism achieved in Turkey largely refused the aesthetic-modernist tactical mimicry of European avant-garde graphic and literary techniques of experimentation, which tend to leave legible tracks in the aesthetic sphere targeted by the global modernist-historiographic gaze. Instead, this engagement developed from Turkish conservatism's dialogic, critical probing of the European modernist critique of rationalization (in Mallarmé, Baudelaire, Rimbaud, and, most notably, in the works of Bergson).

Nergis Ertürk, "Modernism Disfigured: Turkish Literature and the "Other West," in *The Oxford Handbook of Global Modernisms*, ed. Mark Wollaeger et. al (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 530. See also, İrem Nazım, "Undercurrents of European Modernity and the Foundations of Modern Turkish Conservatism: Bergsonism in Retrospect," *Middle Eastern Studies* 40.4 (2004): 79-112.

Mallarmé's pure poetics to Ottoman forms and meter to create a "reunification of Turkish poetry with its great and authentic trajectories, after a fifty-year rupture."[79]

As articulated in his major work of literary history, *Ondokuzuncu Asır Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi* (Nineteenth Century Turkish Literary History), Tanpınar approved of the *Tanzimat* reformers simplification of the language but not of the *ikilik* (duality) that they introduced. Tanpınar followed his mentor Kemal in his advocacy of historical continuity and the reclamation of a negated history but also recognized the impossibility of the program of historical synthesis; Tanpınar's novels are a literary exploration of this persistent yet unrecoupable past. Another manifestation of this aim is Tanpınar's solution to the *kriz* (crisis) of language through the development of his characteristic linguistic register that incorporated Ottoman elements into modern Turkish at a time when the language was in a state of flux with the implementation of the language reforms of 1928.[80] Under the tutelage of Kemal, who was in the vanguard of the conservative modernists, Tanpınar and the other members of the group within their disciplinary fields, through their turn towards European modernist spiritualism, countered the prevailing movement towards the rationalism and positivism of the European Enlightenment that was embraced by the modernist reformers of the Ottoman Empire and the Turkish Republic and instead promoted the preservation of an Ottoman Islamic aesthetic.

Kemal's influence over Tanpınar and his literary development was not limited to the ideological and educational but also extended to his assistance in encouraging Tanpınar's career through the publication of his pieces in the literary journal *Dergâh* (Lodge), a title which reflects

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[79] Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar, "Türk Edebiyatı'nda Cereyanlar," 112.

[80] Geoffrey Lewis, *The Turkish Language Reform: A Catastrophic Success* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 40-56.

the spiritual orientation of its contributors at a time when most journals were distinctly positivist

or political and aligned with the ongoing struggle for Independence. Kemal founded and edited

Dergâh, and Tanpınar was introduced to him in connection with the journal. Published from

1921 to 1923, *Dergâh* was a response to the government sponsored publication *Ümid* (Hope)

and, according to Tanpınar, "this journal was the most important record in [his] opinion of the

period of the National Struggle."[81] While partisan, Tanpınar's statement is significant in that

Dergâh was one of the main platforms for the promulgation of conservative modernist thought

and provided an ideological alternative to the dominant narrative of Kemalist nationalism. Such

competing formulations of nationalism during the struggle for independence have been largely

overwritten by the official historiography of the war as a binary contest between Ottoman

Istanbul and the Kemalist national resistance movement based in Ankara, a historical narrative

reinforced by Atatürk's famous thirty-six hour speech *Nutuk* (*Speech*), which traced events from

his arrival in Anatolia in May 1919 to the establishment of the RPP in 1924.[82]

Despite facing censorship by the occupation forces, *Dergâh* provided a forum for the

publication of Tanpınar's early poetry as well as the works of those who were to become the

leading conservative modernists, including the novelist Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu (1889-

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[81] "Bu mecmua Millî Mücadele devrinin bence en ehemmiyetli vesikasıdır." See M.
Orhan Okay, *Bir Hülya Adamının Romanı*, 123.

[82] Many critics have identified this speech as the foundation for Turkey's national
narrative as envisioned by its founder. Furthermore, *Nutuk* delineates many of the reforms
instituted by Atatürk in the name of modernization and progress. I read Tanpınar's *The Time
Regulation Institute* with its emphasis on the contingency of narrativity and genealogies of state
power as, in part, a rebuttal to Atatürk's *Nutuk*, which received widespread circulation and
reception in its published book form. For an analysis of *Nutuk* and national narrative, see Erdağ
Göknar, "Between 'Ottoman' and 'Turk': Literary Narrative and the Transition from Empire to
Republic," (PhD diss., University of Washington, 2004) 119; Hülya Adak, "National Myths and
Self-Na(rra)tions: Mustafa Kemal's *Nutuk* and Halide Edib's *Memoirs* and *The Turkish Ordeal*,"
South Atlantic Quarterly, 102:2/3 (2003): 509.

1974), the symbolist poet Ahmet Haşim (1884-1933), who together with Kemal appeared in Tanpınar's novel *Sahnenin Dışındakiler* (Those Outside of the Scene), the Bergsonian intellectual Mustafa Şekip Tunç (1886-1958), and İsmail Hakkı Baltacıoğlu (1886-1978). The journal became one of the main forums for the dissemination of Bergson's philosophy, which appealed to the conservative modernists as "a starting point in rethinking national genesis and nationhood as grounded in a creative 'leap' of intuition rather than a positive evolution" and, in particular, Bergson's concept of *dureé*, which "informed their conception of tradition as flowing continuously into the future of the new nation."[83] Instead of the university or the palace of the Ottoman era, the İkbal Kıraathanesi (the Prosperity Coffeehouse) served as the unofficial headquarters for the publication and demonstrates the prominence of informal settings as focal points for intellectual networks and the exchange of ideology in the transitional and early Republican period.

2. A Young Literary Critic and a New Nation

Tanpınar graduated from the Department of Literature and began his professional career as a high school instructor in Erzurum in 1923, the year in which the Republic of Turkey was founded. His years at university and experience of Istanbul had been overshadowed by geopolitics, including the period of occupation and the War for Independence; his curriculum had lacked the traditional structure since he had encountered frequent disruptions with the university's closure and the prosecution of professors and students in connection to the independence movement.

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[83] Ertürk, "Modernism Disfigured," 534. See also İrem, "Undercurrents of European Modernity," 79–112; Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar, *Mücevherlerin Sırrı: Derlenmemiş Yazılar, Anket ve Röportajlar*, ed. İlyas Dirin et al. (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2002), 134-35.

The Republic began with further interruptions and transitions, and Tanpınar moved from one teaching position to another over the course of a decade passing from Erzurum to Konya, Ankara, and finally Istanbul in 1932. While a teacher, Tanpınar composed poetry and regularly published his poems in influential journals, such as *Millî Mecmua* (National Journal) and *Hayat* (Life) until 1928. In the December 20, 1928 issue of *Hayat*, in which he published the article, "Bugünkü Edebiyatımız Üzerine Birkaç Düşünce," ("Some Thoughts About Our Present-day Literature"), Tanpınar shifted to the literary criticism that continued to dominate his writing, with only the occasional break for a poem, short story, or French translation until the string of novels in his later years.

Tanpınar's literary critical turn coincided with the replacement of the Perso-Arabic script of Ottoman Turkish with the Latin orthography (1928), one of the sweeping reforms aimed at modernization that included the abolition of the sultanate and caliphate (1922 and 1924), the closing down of the religious shrines and dervish orders (1925), and the adoption of the European calendar, the Swiss civil code, and the Italian penal code (1926). His abrupt shift from poet to literary critic also marks his aesthetic commitment to study, process, and record the new nation's cultural heritage as well as to introduce a general Turkish audience to the French symbolists he so admired through critical essays on Paul Valéry and post-symbolist Paul Morand, at a moment when the state, under the leadership of Atatürk, was institutionalizing the modernization and Westernization reforms through the establishment of new bureaucracies devoted to their articulation and implementation. Like his linguistic register, Tanpınar's literary criticism adheres to his synthetic program of change within continuity and covers subjects ranging from nineteenth century Turkish literature, European influences, the last great classical Ottoman poet Şeyh Galip (1757-1799), to contemporaries such as Ahmet Haşim (1884-1933).

Following a trajectory typical of authors of the early Republican period, particularly those with conservative modernist leanings, Tanpınar gradually became incorporated into state affiliated institutions through various public positions. During the era of single-party rule (1925-1945), the state was virtually synonymous with the ruling RPP, so state institutions effectively operated in conjunction with the party. In 1933 following Ahmet Haşim's death, Tanpınar took over Haşim's appointment as an instructor in aesthetics at the Academy of Fine Arts Istanbul, which he held until 1939. He then joined the Literature Faculty at Istanbul University, which was the Republican era's modern replacement of the Ottoman *Darülfünun* but was otherwise the same institution and maintained a similar connection to the state even if Ankara was not in the close proximity that the Sublime Porte had been; he took the position of a professor of nineteenth-century literature until he left academia to serve on Parliament in 1943.

In addition to his academic posts, Tanpınar participated in an RPP Conference Series in 1940 and published two articles, "Millî Bir Edebiyata Doğru" ("Towards a National Literature") and "Yahya Kemal Hakkında" ("About Yahya Kemal") as part of a series of publications produced by the party in association with the conference. In the same year, he also presented at several *Halkevleri* (People's Houses) conferences on *Tanzimat* literature and the origins of the national literature with the proceedings published in *Yeni Türk* (New Turk).[84] In 1942 his application to join the *Türk Dil Kurultayı* (Turkish Language Congress) was accepted. Thus, in addition to his professorship at the state university, Tanpınar was active in other government and

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[84] See Erik J. Zürcher, *Turkey: A Modern History*, 180, 223 about People's Houses. In 1932 the People's Houses replaced the *Türk Ocakları* (Turkish Hearths) that had been established to promote nationalist, secularist, and positivist thought through free courses and lectures. The People's Houses fulfilled the same purpose but were supervised by local branches of the RPP. The relationship between the RPP and the houses was so strong that they were shut down in 1951 after the Democratic Party came to power, and the assets were handed over to the treasury.

party sponsored organizations, generally in an educational capacity on the topics of language and
Turkish literature.

3. The Evolution of Tanpınar's Conservative Modernist Thought

> As for the pleasure of classical Ottoman poems, I experienced this through Yahya
> Kemal's lectures—he was my professor at the university. I learned about Gâlib, Nedim,
> Bâkî, Nâilî from him and loved them. However, Yahya Kemal's real influence on me has
> been the idea of perfection and the beauty of language in his poetry. He opened the door
> of language for us. This great man has an influence on our ideas about the nation and
> history that can be called absolute. My work titled *Five Cities,* follows the path of ideas
> that he laid out, and it is dedicated to him. In both instances, this book was published in
> my absence, and I failed to add this dedication.[85]

As stated in the above dedication to Kemal from Tanpınar's collection of urban essays

Beş Şehir (*Five Cities*), he recognized Kemal as his primary influence in the shaping of his

educational and literary career. As evidenced in his literary criticism and other writings,

Tanpınar's ideology evolved in response to his changing sociopolitical environment. Many of

Tanpınar's overarching principles, in particular his commitment to change concurrent with

historical continuity, remain consistent throughout his ideological development, but his dualistic

perception of east and west and his growing disillusionment with Kemalist reforms and RPP

policy that coincided with his political and personal marginalization created inherent

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[85] *Yahya Kemal'in derslerinden—Fakültede hocamdı—ayrıca eski şiirlerin lezzetini
tattım. Gâlib'i, Nedim'i, Bâkî'yi, Nâilî'yi ondan öğrendim ve sevdim. Yahya Kemal'in
üzerimdeki asıl tesiri şiirlerindeki mükemmeliyet fikri ile dil güzelliğidir. Dilin kapısını
bize o açtı. Millet ve tarih hakkındaki fikirlerimizde bu büyük adamın mutlak denecek
tesiri vardır. Beş Şehir adlı kitabım onun açtığı düşünce yolundadır, hatta ona ithaf
edilmişti. İki defasında da bu kitap bulunduğum yerde basılmadı ve ben bu ithafı
yapamadım.*

Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar, Dedication to *Beş Şehir*, (İstanbul: Dergâh Yayınları, 1979), 6.

contradictions within some aspects of his thought as the idealistic conservative modernist of his

youth gave way to the increasingly disillusioned former bureaucrat of his later years.[86]

While Tanpınar viewed himself foremost as a poet and objected to the time taken away

from his poetry for his more profitable fiction, the texts primarily associated with his

fundamental thoughts on literary and linguistic heritage and aesthetic principles are works of

literary history, such as *Ondokuzuncu Asır Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi* (Nineteenth Century Turkish

Literary History) and the article "Türk Edebiyatı'nda Cereyanlar" ("Trends in Turkish

Literature") or more experimental texts, including the collection of urban essays that constitutes

Five Cities or his literary philosophy as a reply letter in "Antalyalı Genç Kıza Mektup" ("Letter

to a Young Antalya Girl"), rather than any monographs on poetry. Furthermore, it is arguably in

his fiction, especially his novels, that his convictions find the greatest expression in the

characters that model and debate his ideology, the execution of his composite linguistic register,

and the narrative style that celebrates elements of Ottoman aesthetic modes of literature and

classical music even as it uses the novel genre to comment on contemporary events.

Through his various public positions and as an author writing in an environment in which

authorial subjectivity was largely shaped by and linked to the state and party, Tanpınar was a

reluctant bureaucrat and identified as a "*garpçı*" (occidentalist).[87] Yet, despite his political

participation as an RPP member of Parliament, Tanpınar maintained a complicated relationship

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[86] The Kemalist reforms refer to the modernization and Westernization program introduced by Mustafa Kemal (Atatürk) as briefly described above and are unrelated to Tanpınar's mentor, Yahya Kemal, who happens to share the same name.

[87] Tanpınar states in the original Turkish edition, "As a foreign novelist, whom I always admire had expressed under more or less similar conditions, I am an 'old Westernist.'" ("*Daima hayranı olduğum yabancı bir romancının hemen hemen aynı şartlar içinde söylediği gibi 'eski bir garpçıyım.'*") Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar, introduction to *Beş Şehir* (İstanbul: Dergâh Yayınları, 1979), 9.

with Kemalism and the modernization project, which he saw not as the radical program of the new nation but instead as an extension of the nineteenth century *Tanzimat* efforts at Westernization. As a conservative modernist and an admirer of what Ertürk defines as the "'other West' of Romanticism, spiritualism, and Bergsonism in a critique of the materialism of the Turkish modernization project," Tanpınar focused his analysis on the continued effects of the language reforms from the *Tanzimat* era and theoretical ideations of history.[88]

Tanpınar's program of change in conjunction with a historical continuum that is grounded in coexisting modes of temporality and a persistence of the past relies on a delicate equilibrium between evolution and duration. According to Tanpınar, "modern Turkish literature begins with a civilizational crisis," and this crisis has its roots in the sphere of language.[89] The *kriz* (crisis) to which he repeatedly refers is alternatively a crisis of *medeniyet* (civilization), *dil* (language), and of *bir benlik buhranı* (an identity crisis) precipitated by the duality introduced into the lives of Turkish people and Turkish society since the *Tanzımat*. While Tanpınar supports the objectives of the reforms, he contends that they were too aggressive and upset the necessary equilibrium thereby jeopardizing the historical continuum:

> Of course, there will be unnecessary and excessive acts within such a wide and rooted movement. Nevertheless, the experiences of a very young generation, and some experiences of some other generations, have brought the progress and nationalization in language to a degree that may be considered a threat for the continuity that defines national life itself, in a sense they went beyond the language of the people. These are reactions which naturally will calm down in time.[90]

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[88] Nergis Ertürk, *Grammatology and Literary Modernity in Turkey*, 113.

[89] "Modern Turkish literature starts in a civilizational crisis … There is no doubt that the field in which the civilizational change takes place is language." ("*Modern Türk Edebiyatı bir medeniyet kriziyle başlar . . . Medeniyet değişiminin hakikî bir kriz hâlini aldığı saha şüphesiz dil'dir*.") Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar, "Türk Edebiyatı'nda Cereyanlar," 102, 103.

[90] *Bittabi, bu kadar geniş ve köklü harekette lüzûmsuz ve müfrit hareketler de olacaktır. Nitekim çok genç neslin bazı neslin bazı tecrübeleri, dildeki yeniliği ve millîleşmeyi millî*

Following Kemal, Tanpınar locates the historical continuum specifically in national life:

> We can summarize the main ideas of Yahya Kemal as follows: "national life is a synthesis that should not be touched, or the natural development of which should not be interfered with." According to him, the case of Turkism is a problem of Turkey. In 1071, along with the victory in Malazgirt, a new nation was born in a new motherland. The language and culture of this nation were a product of this new land. It carries some characteristics that are determined by its climate and history. Ziya Gökalp refused the importance given to Ottomanism, which his dialectics relied on as an antithesis. He considered Turkism and writing in simple language as a natural result of the development of Turkish history.[91]

Countering official historiography through the idea of the natural development of nations, Tanpınar considers the Kemalist reforms sequentially from the *Tanzimat* both in the shared goals of modernization and Westernization and in the prolonged crisis of non-equilibrium introduced in the *Tanzimat* era and sustained in the Republican era that threatened the synthesis of past and present that constituted the essence of the nation.

Tanpınar's understanding of historical synthesis and continuum counters official historiography in the periodization of episodes of reform as well as in the broader cultural history of the nation. While the early Republican reformers selectively applied the rationalism and positivism of the European enlightenment, Tanpınar, like other conservative modernists, adapted

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hayatın kendisi olan süreklilik için bir tehlike addedilecek şekle kadar getirmişler, yani halkın dilinin çok ötesine geçmişlerdir. Bunlar tabiatıyle zamanla durulacak aksülâmellerdir.

Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar, "Türk Edebiyatı'nda Cereyanlar," 105.

[91] *Yahya Kemal'ın esas fikrini "millî hayat, dokunulmaması yahut kendi tabiî gelişmesine müdahale edilmemesi lâzım gelen bir sentezdir." şeklinde hülâsa edebiliriz. Ona göre Türkçülük davası, Türkiye mes'elesidir. 1071 deki Malazgirt zaferiyle yeni bir vatanda, yeni bir millet doğmuştur. Bu milletin dili ve kültürü bu yeni vatanın malıdır. İkliminden ve tarihinden gelen birtakım hususiyetlere sâhipdir. Ziya Gökalp, diyalektiğinin dayandığı antitez olan Osmanlıcılığa verilen ehemmiyeti reddediyor, Türkçülüğü ve sade dille yazmağı Türk tarihinin gelişmesinin tabiî bir neticesi addediyordu.*

Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar, "Türk Edebiyatı'nda Cereyanlar," 111.

the modernist spiritualism and aestheticism of European thought and reconstituted the *Tanzimat*

era, which was deliberately de-emphasized by the reformers, into Turkish historiography, most

especially in his monograph on nineteenth century Turkish literature. Tanpınar conceptualized

the development of national identity in the historical continuum through European equivalencies;

the Ottoman era corresponds to "*Rönesansımız*" (our Renaissance) and discovering the Seljuks is

akin to exploring the aesthetics of Europe's Gothic or Roman period.[92] By privileging the

Ottoman period at the expense of the Seljuk, Tanpınar again subverts the national historical

narrative of the reformers. Through his literature and literary history, Tanpınar seeks to preserve

the historical continuum and offer a counternarrative to the official historiography while still

working within the frame of Westernization.

4. Tanpınar the Bureaucrat

As was common among the intellectual elite from the first parliamentary convention in

1920 and throughout the Republican period, Tanpınar sought political office as a member of

Parliament for the RPP in the Turkish Grand National Assembly (*Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi*

or TBMM) in 1943, a mere two years before the introduction of multiparty politics.[93] Tanpınar's

potential political motivations aside, these years in the wake of World War II were characterized

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[92] Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar, introduction to *Beş Şehir* (İstanbul: Dergâh Yayınları, 1979), 9.

[93] See Mustafa Özcan, "Edebiyat, Siyaset ve Edebiyatçı Milletvekilleri Üzerine," *Hece* 90/91/92 (2004): 578-585 for a list of authors who served on the TBMM from the first parliamentary convention in 1920 to 2004.

M. Orhan Okay, "Kronoloji," *Bir Hülya Adamının Romanı*, (İstanbul: Dergâh Yayınları, 2012): 373. Okay states that Tanpınar was appointed MP in 1943 and not 1942, as is commonly cited following Faruk Akün and then Turan Alptekin.

by deep resentment towards the ruling RPP by the majority of the Turkish population, and this dissatisfaction was directed at both the party and the state because of their close association. İsmet İnönü, who assumed the presidency after the death of Atatürk in 1938, continued the RPP's practice of cultivating literary bureaucrats to serve the interests of the party and state throughout his tenure until 1950 when the DP was elected into office; however, İnönü was deeply unpopular in the transitional years, and literary bureaucrats were under significant pressure to promote the party both through their bureaucratic activity and their cultural capital. Tanpınar was a nonparticipative Parliamentarian and was gradually marginalized by his fellow MPs. He failed to win reelection in 1946 and subsequently returned to academia in 1949 when he was reappointed as a professor of new Turkish literature at Istanbul University.

Tanpınar's years in Parliament and his unsuccessful bid at a critical point of sociopolitical transformation in Turkey in part determined his inability to make the transition from the authorial subject of the early Republic to the autonomous author of a democratic Turkey. While Tanpınar was critical of the reductionist political readings of his writings that prevail in some of the scholarship on him, one of the aims of this study is to consider Tanpınar not through his politics per se but instead as representative of a radical shift in the production of authorial subjectivity and how this sociopolitical transformation affected Tanpınar's publication history and reception.

To the extent that Tanpınar maintained explicit political convictions, he promoted them through his intellectual commitment to sociopolitical transformation through the historical continuum that supported the synthesis of national life and an aesthetic and spiritual modernism, all of which are concepts rooted in his conservative modernism. Memduh Şevket Esendal (1883-1952), who was a renowned short story writer and novelist as well as a veteran diplomat and MP,

leveraged his influence over the management of party lists for the RPP and as Secretary General in the TBMM to support Tanpınar's bid for deputy of Kahramanmaraş.[94] According to Samet Ağaoğlu, Esendal recruited fellow aesthetes and mystics to join him in the ranks of the TBMM, but Tanpınar, while he maintained spiritual inclinations, was not a *kurnaz* (cunning) strategist or realist like Esendal and was consequently unsuccessful in the political arena.[95]

In a letter dated January 19, 1943 to his friend Cevat Dursunoğlu, Tanpınar describes his motivations for seeking office as a combination of naïve idealism and personal necessity:

> First of all, I am sick and tired of living in a routine for twenty years. Today, I feel as if I were mummified. Do not ever think that I have complaints about teaching . . . However, the routine and the technical side of the job bothers me. It does not permit any time or space for my personal work. And now I am in my most productive state and will do whatever I can do. If I become a representative, I will have more time. I will be more comfortable because my work will be separate from my literary endeavors. On the other hand, I will also have better contact with life and society. I enjoy politics very much. I intend not to spend my abilities in vain, nor to economize stingily, but rather to invest them for better profit. I want a change in my life.[96]

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[94] Esendal served on the TBMM in 1930-1932 and 1938-1950 and rose through the ranks to be appointed the Secretary General in 1941. Esendal was an ardent supporter of İnönü, but bureaucracy serves as a common theme in his literature, which focuses on bureaucratic corruption and the relationship between the people and their official representatives.

[95] Samet Ağaoğlu, *İlk Köşe (Edebiyat Hatıraları)* (İstanbul: Ağaoğlu Yayınevi, 1978): 50.

[96] *Evvelâ, bir rutinin içinde yirmi senedir yaşamaktan bıktım, yoruldum. Bugün âdeta mumyalanmış gibiyim. Zannetmeyin ki hocalıktan şikâyet ediyorum . . . Fakat rutin ve teknik tarafı beni sıkıyor. Şahsî mesaim için imkân ve vakit bırakmıyor. Halbuki tam velût durumdayım, ne yapabilirsem şimdi yapabilirim. Mebus olursam daha geniş vakit bulacağım. Daha rahat olacağım. Çünkü vazife mesaim, edebî mesaimden ayrı olacaktır. Diğer taraftan hayatla ve cemiyetle temasım daha geniş olacak. Politika çok hoşuma gidiyor. Ne kendimi boş yere harcamak, ne hasisçe tasarruf etmek, kıymetlerimi daha fazla bir rayiçle işletmek niyetindeyim. Hayatımda değişiklik olsun istiyorum.*

Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar, "Cevat Dursunoğlu'na Mektuplar," *Tanpınar'ın Mektupları*, ed. Zeynep Kerman (İstanbul: Dergâh Yayınları, 2013), 70.

Tanpınar pursued politics for a break from his academic routine and to allow time to focus on his writing; while his political idealism quickly faded, he attained financial stability and was prolific during this period, serializing his first novel *Mahur Beste* (In the Mahur Mode) in *Ülkü* in 1944, publishing articles regularly in *Ülkü*, *İstanbul*, and *Cumhuriyet*, translating several books, and returning to his poetry.

On the other hand, Tanpınar quickly became disenchanted with the bureaucratic and hierarchical operation of the TBMM. According to Ağaoğlu, in conversation Tanpınar likened the Parliament to a dervish lodge in which he as a novice was forced to the periphery and reduced to speechlessness:

> He told me, "Samet, listen. I realized, I have not entered the Parliament but a dervish lodge! There is a sheikh sitting at the top, and around him there are sheikhs in various ranks, and around them followers in various ranks. The Sheikh and his party walk around in the corridors with uptight postures and their eyes look around in constant motion. And the followers are, again according to their ranks, by the walls in lines . . . New ones like me walk right by the walls, their heads down, and try to communicate silently. Why did I enter this dervish lodge? Why did I enter?"[97]

Two things are notable about Tanpınar's description of his experience in the TBMM. First, he uses the comparison with a spiritual organization that was banned by the reformers to illustrate the hierarchical structure of a secular state institution. Second, he depicts himself along with the other novices as marginalized and voiceless, driven to the periphery of the physical space and permitted to communicate only through gestures. This extreme representation of marginalization

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[97] *"Bak Samet, dedi, Ben Büyük Millet Meclisi'ne değil, bir tekkeye girmişim meğer! Postnişin bir şeyh, çevresinde derece derece rütbeli şeyhler, sonar yine derece derece rütbeli müritler. Şeyh ve yanındakiler koridorların ortasında, başları dimdik, gözleri dört yana fırıl fırıl dönerek dolaşıyorlar. Müritler de yine derecelerine göre duvar diplerine yakın sıralar halinde. Benim gibi yeniler ise duvarlara hemen hemen sürünerek, başları eğik yürüyorlar, daha çok kaş göz işaretleri ile konuşmağa çalışıyorlar. Niye girdim bu tekkeye? Niye girdem?"*

Samet Ağaoğlu, *İlk Köşe*, 50-51.

that was imparted through private conversation manifests what Pierre Bourdieu terms a "'secondary' or structural censorship," in which censorship is "not only in terms of repressed and free discourses but also in terms of the receivable and the unreceivable—what cannot be heard or spoken without risk of being delegitimated."[98]

Already sensitized to marginalization, Tanpınar reacted to the TBMM's structural censorship through withdrawal rather than by negotiating the ranks. He took the route of passive politician, and his name is noticeably absent from the records.[99] His lack of participation and failure to serve the party's cultural capitalist interests occurred at when the RPP was most vulnerable since its establishment. He developed a deep distrust in bureaucratic institutions, which he expressed through bureaucracy in his novels, and his inability to conform to the system signaled his incapacity to successfully transition to the authorial subject of the multiparty era as the RPP intellectual elite lost stature.

B.   *The Time Regulation Institute* and Bureaucracy

Tanpınar's final novel, *Saatleri Ayarlama Enstitüsü* (*The Time Regulation Institute*, trans. 2001, 2013), first serialized in 1954 and published in book form in 1961, a year before he passed away, stands apart from his oeuvre with its distinctive comic-ironic voice and innovative style that mingles memoir, satire, absurdism, and allegory as it chronicles the adventures of its self-

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[98] Richard Burt, "Introduction," *The Administration of Aesthetics: Censorship, Political Criticism, and the Public Sphere* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994), xvi-xvii.

[99] M. Orhan Okay, "Politika Batağında Derbeder Bir Şair Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar," *Hece* 90/91/92 (2004): 500.

fashioned anti-hero, Hayri İrdal.[100] While *The Time Regulation Institute* echoes Tanpınar's other

works in its primarily chronological depiction of sociopolitical change associated with the end of

the Ottoman Empire and the first decades of the Turkish Republic, its urban Istanbul setting, and

its troubled male protagonist, it is the only one of Tanpınar's novels whose protagonist is

purportedly uneducated and not a member of the intellectual elite. This characterization

immediately subverts Hayri's chosen memoir form and renders him an unreliable narrator. In his

own introductory words:

> I have never cared much for reading or writing; anyone who knows me can tell you that.
> Unless you count Jules Verne or the Nick Carter stories I read as a child, everything I
> know can be traced to *A Thousand and One Nights*, *A Parrot's Tale*, the armful of history
> books I've had occasion to pass my eyes over (always skipping the Arabic and Persian
> words), and the works of the philosopher Avicenna. Before we established our institute,
> when I was unemployed and spent my days at home, I would often find myself leafing
> through my children's schoolbooks; at other times, when I was left with nothing to do but
> recite the Koran, I would whittle away my hours in the coffeehouses of Edirnekapı and
> Şehzadebaşı, reading articles in the newspaper or the odd episode of a serial.[101]

In contrast to Tanpınar's other protagonists, Hayri appears almost willfully disengaged, although

he operates in a suspended temporality and deferred juvenility that characterize Tanpınar's main

male figures.[102] According to the pseudo-autobiographical account, Hayri refuses agency and

authorship and is content to drift through time buffeted by the sociopolitical climate in Istanbul.

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[100] The novel *Aydaki Kadın* (The Woman in the Moon) was incomplete at the time of
Tanpınar's death and published posthumously in 1987 and 2009.

[101] Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar, *The Time Regulation Institute*, trans. Maureen Freely and
Alexander Dawe, (New York: Penguin Books, 2013), 3.

[102] See my forthcoming article, "'I am not a nurse!': Femininity, Maternalism, and
Heritage in *A Mind at Peace*," in the *Journal of Middle Eastern Literatures* for analysis of
Tanpınar's gendered temporalities of the male deferred juvenility versus the female cyclical
time.

It is also worth noting the protagonist's commentary on his relationship to reading and
writing given his chosen form of expression. As he continues his introduction:

Why did Tanpınar resist the prevailing social realism and radically depart from his established literary style to experiment in bureaucratic satire? To what extent does bureaucracy posit identity—either prescribed by the nation and its newfound religion of modernization or recovered through a familial history that is represented as both spiritual and imperial—as a fundamentally ethical dilemma? Even the bureaucracy in *The Time Regulation Institute* draws on a history that includes not only the institutions that emerged across Turkey to facilitate the modernization reforms but also the Sublime Porte with its intense bureaucratic program of training in the Ottoman language. Does this novel represent a continuation of Tanpınar's project of synthesis through literary expression that was roundly criticized by his contemporaries as old-fashioned and proved untimely for the RPP at the time of publication, particularly in the case of *The Time Regulation Institute* where there is the potential for secondary censorship between the serialized (*tefrika*) and book form publications, or is this work a departure?

The novel's investigation of a secular and materialist Turkish identity gradually divorced from its imperial and spiritual heritage radically contrasts with Tanpınar's oeuvre as well as contemporaneous Turkish literature stylistically and thematically with its focus on bureaucracy. In his earlier works, Tanpınar typically follows a family through the generations and associates national and familial crises, but *The Time Regulation Institute* portrays an individual assimilated into a series of institutions and bureaucracies, under the tutelage of a succession of male benefactors; in this sense, the conflict is not between the protagonist, his beloved, family, and

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I often had occasion to profit from my many hours of reading, as they offered me, if nothing else, a way of masking my ignorance. . . . My father was against our reading anything but our schoolbooks . . . and it is perhaps because he censored, or rather forbade, our reading that I lost all interest in the written word.

Tanpınar, *The Time Regulation Institute*, trans. Maureen Freely and Alexander Dawe, (New York: Penguin Books, 2013), 3-4.

society but instead involves the individual, adviser, and institution.[103] Despite the anti-hero's

humble origins, Hayri shares autobiographical details with Tanpınar, including his personal and

professional marginalization, his regular presence at the local coffeeshops, and, most

significantly, his participation in an arm of government bureaucracy from which he is ultimately

estranged.

In *The Time Regulation Institute*, institutions and state bureaucracies from the judiciary to

the psychological institute sequentially intervene in Hayri's life throughout the novel

culminating in the Time Regulation Institute. Tanpınar uses bureaucracy, most evident in the

case of the Institute, with its implicit political commentary and associations with regulation as

not only an act of authorial resistance with the possibilities for secondary censorship but also the

ultimate realization of the ethical dilemma that runs throughout his works—whether to assume

the scripted identity of the state or to pursue the reconstitution of oneself through a heritage that

is imperial and spiritual.[104]

Tanpınar's use of bureaucracy concurrently enacts his program of historical continuity by

referencing the Ottoman bureaucratic tradition of authorial subjectivity within the context of the

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[103] These institutions range from a state psychiatric institute and the military to the post
and telegraph office, and the Time Regulation Institute to name a few from the sequence.

[104] Erdağ Göknar notes that:

Tanpınar's attention to the psychological effects of the Kemalist cultural revolution of the
1920s and 1930s, his recognition of the persistence of an Ottoman Islamic cultural
legacy, and his depiction of the individual alienated and divided by modernization make
his work indispensable for anyone interested in modern Turkish society. . . . Tanpınar's
characters cannot, or perhaps refuse to, decide. Indecision is their form of bourgeois
protest. Indeed, Tanpınar's worldview is Janus-faced, implying that these choices are
false, or even absurd.

Erdağ Göknar, "Ottoman Past and Turkish Future," 647-48.

positivist and materialist modernization reforms. One contention of this study is that Tanpınar's

use of bureaucracy is a specifically Ottoman-Turkish bureaucracy and does not function in a

"Kafkaesque" manner but instead engages aesthetics, cultural memory, heritage, simultaneous

modes of temporality, and language as an alternative to the state's genealogy of authority; this

distinct Ottoman-Turkish bureaucracy highlights narrativity and identity through Hayri's

ultimate choice to participate in the Institute and to create a fictive legacy for its creation as a

fundamentally ethical dilemma.

Tanpınar's now canonical novel has been the frequent subject of critical interest in

Turkish scholarship from dissertations to literary criticism, and the recent English language

translation has renewed critical attention with the global circulation of the text; however,

readings of *The Time Regulation Institute* are typically limited to Tanpınar's satirical approach to

Atatürk's reforms and ignore the novel's textual complexity and multiple levels of temporality,

narrativity, and ironic voice. My analysis of bureaucracy and narrativity challenges the

monolithic approach to this modernist novel and locates Tanpınar in a post-Ottoman literary

network. As Ertürk cautions, "*The Time Regulation Institute* . . . is not only Tanpınar's most

ambitious and comprehensive thematization of . . . the 'spectralizing' Turkish language reforms;

it also represents Tanpınar's fully coming to terms with the impossibility of overcoming an

'inalienable alienation' in language."[105] Following Ertürk and Özen Nergis Dolcerocca while

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[105] Ertürk, *Grammatology and Literary Modernity in Turkey*, 115. Özen Nergis
Dolcerocca makes a similar argument by analyzing Tanpınar's temporalities, duration, and
modernism and provides an excellent summary of Ertürk's point:

> By pointing out that Tanpınar of *The Time Regulation Institute* permits his novel to
> question the very possibility of cultural memory, she suggests, the novel demands a
> critical reading fully informed by the history and theory of the logic of modern
> representation, in the broadest sense of the term.

also considering the function of bureaucracy in literature as a form of the regulation of historical

narrative and time, I argue that *The Time Regulation Institute* employs bureaucracy to "stage[]

the failure of such classifications" and in this very irresolution and ambivalence formulates

authorial subjectivity as an indeterminate chronicle loop.

1.   *The Time Regulation Institute*

Bihakkı Hazreti Mecnûn izâle eyleye Hak / Serimde derdi hiredden biraz eser kaldı.

Please God, for the sake of His Excellency Mecnûn ("the Insane") make go away / The
traces of the pain of consciousness which remain yet in my head. –İzzet Molla (1785-
1829)[106]

Tanpınar's *The Time Regulation Institute* intervenes in contemporary debates by

addressing modernization and legacy as the central themes. Tanpınar foregrounds modernism

through the setting and content of the novel, with its implicit commentary on Atatürk's

modernization reforms as well as European modernity, and its unconventional literary style. His

topic of inquiry, the institutionalization of the synchronization of clocks, invokes such tropes of

modernization as automation and bureaucracy as well as those of the past, such as the

religiously-based systematization of Ottoman clocks, to challenge historical and temporal

linearity and the very concepts of "progress" and "regulation."[107] Dolcerocca argues that the

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Özen Nergis Dolcerocca, "Time Regulation Institutes: Time in Modern Literary and Cultural
Imagination (1889-1954)" (PhD diss., New York University, 2016), 150.

[106] Notably, this verse was omitted from the most recent 2013 English translation by
Maureen Freely and Alexander Dawe. The translation here is from the 2001 English translation
by Ender Gürol. Tanpınar, *The Time Regulation Institute*, v.

[107] For a history of time and the measurement of time in the late Ottoman Empire, see
Avner Wishnitzer, *Reading Clocks, alla Turca: Time and Society in the Late Ottoman Empire*
(Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2015).

novel fits Lisa Colletta's definition of "modernist social satire," in which "humor reveals in the non-rational, the unstable, and the fragmented, and it resists easy definition and political usefulness."[108]

Tanpınar dangerously problematizes the novel's legitimacy by exposing its two foci—the Time Regulation Institute and the novel itself in the form of a memoir—as mere fictions. Why does Tanpınar author a text that seemingly undermines the authority of authors and narrative? Why does he repeatedly associate the emotion of anxiety with the act of narration, specifically the narration of legacy—be it the Ottoman past, the Institute's history, or the novel written as semi-autobiography? The treachery in Tanpınar's challenge, and perhaps the source of anxiety, lies not only in his implication that all narratives—literary, national, and historical—are fictional constructions, but also that narrative, however tenuous its authenticity, has the capability to capture an audience.

The novel is divided into four sections plus a posthumously published appendix that takes the form of a letter. While the novel is presented as the memoir of Hayri and is composed primarily in first person narrative, its loosely chronological accounts interrupted by lengthy digressions on the terminated Time Regulation Institute and its recently deceased benefactor,

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[108] Dolcerocca observes that *The Time Regulation Institute*:

> does not offer any alternative ideas or worldviews and it does not assume any successful integration of Hayri into society. It proposes nothing in the form of social change and views all regulating, managing and calibrating systems—be they religious, the authentic culture of the past or the modern-secular order—as essentially the same. They are all oppressive to the subject's inner temporal flow, because of the inability of any system to adequately address the complex nature of temporality and duration. The time question, therefore, is essential to revealing this heterogeneous multiplicity, which has hitherto taken the form of temporal regulation.

Dolcerocca, "Time Regulation Institutes," 150-51.

Halit Ayarcı, break from conventional memoir form.[109] In fact, the novel focuses on Hayri's

observations of the people and events surrounding him rather than his personal story, and,

according to Moran, "[i]n this role as observer, İrdal becomes also a foreigner who comes from

the external world in criticism literature."[110] The extraordinary circumstances in which he

repeatedly finds himself as well as the peculiar characters who populate his tales lend Hayri's

accounts a fantastical and often absurdist quality. However, Hayri's constant references to the

absurdity surrounding him fosters sympathy and trust between the narrator and the implied

reader and grounds his narrative seemingly in a reality in which only the implied reader and

narrator recognize the farce.[111] Yet even despite this apparent authenticity, Hayri's self-

deprecation along with the occasional comment suggest that this narrator is remarkably

cognizant of his dialogic relationship to the reader. Hayri observes:

> Why write at all if you cannot say honestly what you mean? A sincerity of this order—
> disinterested and unconditional—by its nature requires close scrutiny and constant
> filtering . . . If you are to avoid leaving a sentence arrested in midthought, you must plan
> ahead, choosing only those points that will resonate with the reader's sentiments. For
> sincerity is not the work of one man alone.[112]

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[109] Halit Ayarcı's surname translates as "setter." From the beginning of the novel, all
elements of famous Time Regulation Institute have been erased with the expiration of both
institution and founder.

[110] Moran, "*The Time Regulation Institute*: A Critical Essay," 3.

[111] As Dolcerocca notes, "While Hayri appeals to the implied reader by sharing the
external perspective of the satirist (and an implicit moral consensus), he simultaneously subjects
her to his diegetic perspective: he turns her into the victim of his 'autobiographical confidence
trick.'" Dolcerocca, "Time Regulation Institutes," 149.

[112] Tanpınar, *The Time Regulation Institute*, 6.

Such statements problematize Hayri's innocence and suggest an ulterior motive and the potential for multiple ironic voices. Thus, from its very commencement, the novel challenges the convention of memoir in both form and character.

Tanpınar immediately destabilizes narrative and authorship in the production of the dual fictions of the Time Regulation Institute and the memoir. Appropriately, the construction of layers of fictionality begins with the novel's title, *The Time Regulation Institute*. As Walter Feldman notes, while this title suggests an institutional history, the novel instead is structured on Hayri's personal history; in fact, the institutional history constitutes approximately the latter third of the text.[113] The novel is presented as Hayri's semi-autobiography, and each of its four sections roughly corresponds to a period of his life. The memoir genre underscores the gap between past and present; as a narrated legacy and a time-lapse report, memoir resists the synchronization of time and forever banishes the narrative to the subjective, reported past.[114] Although Hayri makes clear from the beginning that the Institute constitutes a significant event in his personal chronology, it only enters the text as it does in his life, towards the end. Tanpınar

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[113] Walter Feldman, "Time, Memory and Autobiography in *The Clock-Setting Institute* of Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar," *Edebiyat* 8 (1998): 38.

[114] Consider also Ertürk's argument:

Where writing understood as "self-presencing" must suppress the divisibility marked by this interval, in positing (by power of sheer fiat) a continuous and self-succeeding self, ironic writing is that writing *foregrounding* temporality as interruption—staging a duel, as it were, between irreconcilable selves. In *The Time Regulation Institute*, these two selves are marked by Hayri who remarks and resists the absurdity of the perpetual present in which he lives, and the Hayri who is automatically incorporated into it—not the least "against his will," but with a will that pushes its logic to its limit.

Ertürk, *Grammatology and Literary Modernity in Turkey*, 126.

formulates the novel through a fiction—the novel is not the history of the Time Regulation Institute that the title promises, nor is it even a memoir, as the reader discovers at its conclusion.

In the first section of the novel, entitled "Büyük Ümitler" (Great Expectations), Hayri outlines his motivations for writing the memoir and dedicates it to the deceased benefactor, Halit the Regulator.[115] According to Hayri, "[t]oday, however, my life has meaning. I shall leave behind a work that I believe will more or less secure me a place in the annals of history."[116] Preoccupied with temporality, legacy, and subjectivity, Hayri repeatedly attributes his sense of purpose and character to his late adviser and to the project of his memoir, which represents his "greatest obligation to future generations."[117] Constantly compensating for self-deprecation in the moment of narration, Hayri lavishes praise for Halit the Regulator to whom, "[e]verything in my life that is good, beautiful, and precious belongs."[118]

Primarily, the narrative focuses on a description of Hayri's impoverished childhood, his family, and his discovery of watches and, hence, temporality. The narration of an unlikely confluence of absurd events and people breaks from conventional memoir form and underscores the fictionality and multiple registers of ironic voice. Brief references to the dissolved Time Regulation Institute and its "discovery" and fabrication of the character Sheyh Ahmet the Timely are given without explanation, aside from a lengthy exposition on the Institute's fining system and an angry defense against the Institute's critics. An apprenticeship to Nuri Efendi, a time-setter and watch repairman, rescues Hayri from an unpromising future. Nuri Efendi trains Hayri

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[115] The title is a reference to Charles Dickens's *bildungsroman*.

[116] Tanpınar, *The Time Regulation Institute*, 9.

[117] Ibid., 7.

[118] Ibid., 4.

not only in watch repair but also in an elaborate philosophy of watches, which includes a theory of objects assuming the qualities of owners. This section also recounts the absurd trials and tribulations of Hayri's father, who is burdened by his inheritance, his evil sister, and a ridiculous cast of friends.

The following section, "Küçük Hakikatler" (Little Truths), explores Hayri's early adulthood against the backdrop of Turkish history, which is a common theme in Tanpınar's novels. The segment begins with Hayri's return to Istanbul after fighting in World War I. He observes, "Following my discharge from the army, I returned to Istanbul, where I found the city and its people much changed. Signs of poverty were everywhere; chaos and desperation reigned."[119] Through this intersection of Hayri's life experiences and geopolitical events, Tanpınar links narrative to history, a connection that he makes explicit later in the novel. The city's atmosphere mirrors Hayri's own state as he struggles to find employment and purpose in life.

His marriage to Emine brings him pleasure and stability, although the young couple's living arrangements in the derelict mansion of the elderly patron Abdüsselam Bey, who appears to suffer from dementia and mistakenly names Hayri's daughter Zehra (the name of Abdüsselam's mother) instead of Zahide (the name of Hayri's mother), gradually destroys their lives when Abdüsselam's death sparks a bitter battle over the inheritance that he leaves to the baby Zehra (who he conflates with his own deceased mother) rather than his own family.[120]

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[119] Ibid., 79.

[120] Through Abdüsselam Bey and his expansive villa, Tanpınar enacts the post-Ottoman history through familial crisis:

> Following the Declaration of Independence, the villa began slowly to dissolve, a decline that in some aspects echoed that of the Ottoman Empire. First there was the fall of Bosnia-Herzegovina, Bulgaria, eastern Thrace, and northern Africa, whereupon

With respect to the fact that the novel does not provide a more rational description of the end of

the Ottoman Empire, Ertürk rightly notes the juxtaposition of an established chronology from

Empire to Republic that can be discerned from the experiences of the individuals:

> The episodes encapsulating this inversion of the apparently natural reproductive order run parallel to events marking the establishment of the Turkish Republic. Implicitly, at least, this juxtaposition satirizes the revolutionary claim to historical priority, recoding that priority as a foundation of the absurd.[121]

Following Abdüsselam's death, his family resurfaces and implicates Hayri and Emine in a

scheme to steal the family's fortune, and Hayri's *rakı*-induced tale of a hidden treasure, called

"the Sherbet Maker's Diamond," gets taken for the truth despite his insistence to the contrary.

Similar confusions of fiction for fact recur throughout the novel, often with dangerous

consequences.

In this instance, Hayri's fabrication assumes a life of its own once it is distorted and

retold by the overeager audience it attracts; Hayri's anxiety stems from the uncontrollable

proliferation of a narrative of legacy that is, at its core, false. He is forced to recognize the power

of narrativity and the fallacy of memory and observes that "they were all claiming to have heard

the diamond's story; drawing upon every scrap of ancient lore they could summon, they

proceeded to solder together the legend behind a diamond that had never existed. My wife and I

Abdüsselam's brothers and their wives departed; this was followed by the Balkan Wars, when the younger men and their wives also abandoned the estate . . . As he struggled to make ends meet, Abdüsselam was further confounded by all these distant relatives, whom he found as unreadable as texts whose principle sentences had been effaced or rendered indecipherable . . .

Ibid., 37-38.

[121] Ertürk, *Grammatology and Literary Modernity in Turkey*, 119.

were distraught."[122] In one of his earliest encounters with the bureaucracy of a state institution, Hayri is brought before the judiciary, and his words are turned against him on the witness stand where he stands trial in the case for the Abdüsselam fortune; thus begins his "institutionalization" as he is passed sequentially from one entity to the next. From the judiciary he is sentenced to the Forensic Institute of Medicine where he undergoes psychoanalytic treatment by Dr. Ramiz.

The confusion of narrative and fact continues when Dr. Ramiz diagnoses Hayri with a "father complex" after selectively analyzing his life's narrative. Hayri pleads with Ramiz, begging, "Sadly, I'm the victim of a lie that I myself devised . . . I just rambled on and on . . . Nothing more than that. Perhaps I'm no different from all the rest of humankind combined. *We are enslaved by our own stories* . . . I ended up paying dearly for it, and my children and my wife are paying for it too. Try to understand me."[123] When Hayri fails to manifest the symptoms and dreams "appropriate" to his diagnosis, Dr. Ramiz intervenes and dictates them to him in what Ertürk characterizes as a "translation-in-mistranslation of psychoanalytic practice as a temporizing contemporary form of European modernity."[124] Ironically, in order to maintain his sanity and secure his release, Hayri is forced to accept Dr. Ramiz's fiction as a fact. After this

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[122] Tanpınar, *The Time Regulation Institute*, 97.

[123] Emphasis added. Ibid., 114.

[124] Ertürk reads this scene as the staging of a "larger critical question regarding the direct 'translatability' of European psychoanalysis, in this particular historical form, into a Turkish context, without any historical mediation." Ertürk, *Grammatology and Literary Modernity in Turkey*, 129.

For a psychoanalytical analysis of the novel, see Süha Oğuzertem, "Unset *Saats*, Upset *Sıhhats*: A Fatherless Approach to *The Clock-Setting Institute*," *Turkish Studies Association Bulletin* 19.2 (1995): 3-18.

concession, Hayri is discharged, only to discover that the health of his wife, Emine, has deteriorated in his absence. She soon dies, and he is left in a state of despair until he meets and quickly marries Pakize, his second wife.

Yet, even in the character of Pakize, fiction and fact become irreparably confused, and her appearance of normality soon dissolves when she develops the habit of assuming the identity of film stars.[125] Hayri's home bears a striking resemblance to the psychiatric institution from which he was recently released, and he finds himself forced to play the part opposite Pakize's adopted characters. Hayri concludes the section by commenting on his recent education in the "absurd":

> Through my adventures with the Şehzadebaşı [Sherbet Maker's] Diamond, I came to understand the meaning of the word "absurd." Till then I had understood the word to allude to things beyond my ken. Now it was part and parcel of my life . . . In no way had I brought this on myself. It all seemed to unfurl by its own logic.[126]

In other words, Hayri's subjectivity is overtaken by a fictionality that subsumes reality at his expense; he experiences anxiety because he is forced to accept these new narratives in which he becomes entrapped. His fictions are misconstrued as the truth, and he is perceived by other characters, such as Dr. Ramiz and Pakize, only through their own false, fictionalizing frames.

Part three, entitled "Sabaha Doğru" (Toward Dawn), presents a marked transformation of Hayri's circumstances when Dr. Ramiz introduces him to Halit the Regulator. Hayri recounts his litany of misfortunes, and Halit seizes upon them instead as opportunities. Halit accuses Hayri of being preoccupied with the past, "You lack entrepreneurial spirit. You're an idealist. And

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[125] For an analysis of *otomat karakterler* (automaton characters), including Pakize and Halit Ayarcı, see Zeynep Bayramoğlu, *Huzursuz Huzur ve Tekinsiz Saatler: Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar Üzerine Tezler* (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2007), 169.

[126] Tanpınar, *The Time Regulation Institute*, 184-85.

you fail to comprehend the reality around you. In short, you're old-fashioned. A shame, what a terrible shame! If only you had a shred of realism in you, just only so much, a wee bit. Oh, then everything would change."[127] Halit, it turns out, is a bureaucratic and marketing savant. While Hayri is steeped in absurdity where subjectivity and narrative converge, Halit adheres to "realism," which entails the appreciation of audience that enables one to artfully craft a narrative appropriate to the contemporary climate. For Halit, bureaucracy, narrativity, and subjectivity are all one and, without Halit, the institution ceases to exist.

Within a matter of days, Halit establishes the Time Regulation Institute and hires Hayri to help manage it with the principal task of formulating a historical narrative to establish a legacy for the burgeoning bureaucracy. Despite initial misgivings and incessant anxiety, Hayri acquiesces to Halit's pressure and fabricates the person and history of a Sheyh Ahmet the Timely, the supposed founding philosopher of the Institute, even going so far as to forge a treatise on his life and discoveries:

> I had never known anyone by the name of Ahmet the Timely. In fact this was the first time I had ever heard the name. Oh, dear Lord! Why didn't you just give me a meager salary instead of turning me into someone else's lie? Indeed this was what I now was. I had become a confabulation and the term of my sentence was indefinite; my life was presented to me in daily installments like a serial in a magazine.[128]

This reference to the serialized format of the novel underscores the irony as it displays how for Hayri, narrativity, subjectivity, and anxiety prove contingent.

Halit attempts to allay Hayri's fears by reassuring him that the treatise of Ahmet the Timely is not a lie but the truth:

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[127] Ibid., 232.

[128] Ibid., 279. Tanpınar points to the fact that in the early Republic of Turkey, people fabricated myths around the origins of the Turkish nation and the Turkish language to claim a space for nationhood, which would be defended as the requirement of the times.

> My dear friend, you'll see that your book will be adored. You seem to be under the impression that it contains untruths. But that's not so. There is nothing you have done that is not true. Today's Ahmet the Timely is not a falsification: he is the very embodiment of truth. Do you know what would make him a falsification and a disaster? If he had actually lived at the end of the seventeenth century, if he'd entertained the ideas we've attributed to him, well, then that would be a lie. He would be in the wrong age . . . It is a question of working with the century at hand and making him a man of his time. Our age needs Ahmet the Timely Efendi . . . He is truth incarnate.[129]

Here, once again, Tanpınar connects history and temporality to narrative. Halit suggests that the truth or reality of a historical figure is determined by his conforming to contemporary national narrative. It is only when a figure falls outside of the normative narrative that he is considered a lie or a fiction. Halit carefully crafts and edits the bureaucracy of the Time Regulation Institute in accordance to audience expectations and the trends towards modernizing reforms and regulation in this period of Turkish history and European modernity. This farcical capitalist bureaucracy succeeds precisely because of Halit's insight and ability to manufacture a plausible genealogy for its rise to power.

Hayri remains utterly confounded as to the Institute's function let alone his own responsibility within it; however, he quickly notes that "[o]ur institute, which had no work in the beginning, began slowly to develop a lot of work around its own entity."[130] Attuned to the hierarchical structure of bureaucracy, Halit marches in a succession of increasingly important government figures to observe the impressive potential of the inaugurated Institute and to obtain promises of investment and support. Rapidly the institution develops into a full-fledged enterprise replete with Spring, Pin, and Minute Hand Departments and a Social Coordination and

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[129] Ibid., 313.

[130] Tanpınar, *The Time Regulation Institute*, trans. Ender Gürol, 207.

Labor Statistics Department.[131] The legacy of lies upon which the Institute is founded

proliferates as quickly as its bureaucracy, and Hayri fears the imminent revelation of its

fabrication and the collapse of his contingent familial bliss.

In the concluding section, "Her Mevsimin Bir Sonu Vardır" (Every Season Has an End),

the rapid dissolution of the Institute equals its meteoric rise. Having successfully survived the

occasional suspicions of the press and the bureaucrats, the Institute eventually collapses because

of a critical report submitted by an American delegation that questions its function. The

damaging report coincides with a plan by Halit to board all employees in specially designed

"clock houses," which Hayri designs in collaboration with his estranged son, Ahmet.[132] While

the public formerly would have rallied in the Institute's defense, the clock houses prove a step

too far and precipitate public outcry. Halit the Regulator, the visionary behind this Institute

founded on a fiction, disappears leaving Hayri, the author of its legacy, to answer to the

accusations of the press and the employees. Halit makes one brief reappearance, but Hayri notes

that their relationship has been irrevocably transformed, and "there was a strange tension

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[131] Tanpınar, *The Time Regulation Institute*, trans. Maureen Freely and Alexander Dawe, 249.

[132] Here is a potential self-reference from Tanpınar, as the estranged son Ahmet.

As Ertürk notes:

Hayri and Ahmet form a minority in relation to the thoughtless majority membership of the Clock-Setting Institute, who are in it for financial and other material gain, and who form the core of its "Permanent Liquidation Committee," in the end. It is clear that Tanpınar distrusted his contemporaries, whom he did not expect to engage the challenge of modernity in any depth, or even to face it openly.

Ertürk, *Grammatology and Literary Modernity in Turkey*, 134.

between us."[133] The novel abruptly ends with the revelation that Halit has been killed in a car accident, once again rendering Hayri as the sole narrator.

The Time Regulation Institute is complex structurally and stylistically. An appendix to the novel that was not published with the original edition adds yet another layer of complexity and fictionality; perhaps, as Berna Moran notes, it even renders the novel "a puzzle without a solution."[134] The appendix takes the form of a letter to Dr. Ramiz in which Halit the Regulator thanks Ramiz for sharing the manuscript of his mentally disturbed patient Hayri and promises to assist in the publication of this text, which is described as the paranoid delusions of poor Hayri. As Halit writes:

> Reading his lines now it seems to me as if I were contemplating once again the frenzy of this astonishing intelligence taking vengeance on reality's bitterness and incoherency, and even on the absurdity of life—I think the use of the verb "to contemplate" is particularly relevant here, since it expresses well a whole series of reciprocal relations. For, in Hayri's intelligent remarks and speech there had always been something spectacular. He never quit the stage. We always beheld him with greatest pleasure perform his act on it.[135]

This appendix undermines the authenticity of the memoir, Hayri's accounts, and his self-proclaimed ignorance and problematizes any reading of the text. One possible explanation for the appendix—"that Tanpınar wrote this letter thinking that he might get into trouble for criticizing [Atatürk's] revolution"—highlights the difficulty in reading this novel-memoir.[136]

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[133] Tanpınar, *The Time Regulation Institute*, 394.

[134] See Berna Moran, "*Saatleri Ayarlama Enstitüsü*," in *Türk Romanına Eleştirel Bir Bakış Ahmet Mithat'tan A. H. Tanpınar'a*, (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1983), 252-274; Berna Moran, "*The Time Regulation Institute: A Critical Essay*," trans. by Zekeriya Başkal in *The Time Regulation Institute* trans. by Ender Gürol (Madison: Turko-Tatar Press, 2001), 21.

[135] Tanpınar, "Appendix," 328.

[136] Moran, "*The Time Regulation Institute*: A Critical Essay," 21.

Where does the novel end? Could Tanpınar's absurdist satire have been politically provocative in its challenge to official historiography to warrant the appendix? And finally, why does Tanpınar, himself an author, seemingly undermine narrative and authorship within his own text?

To approach an answer to these questions, one must examine the functions and interconnections of narrative, history, anxiety, and audience in *The Time Regulation Institute*. Through layers of fictionality, which include the misleading title of the novel, the memoir itself, the Time Regulation Institute, and the inventions of the Sherbet Maker's Diamond and Sheyh Ahmet the Timely, Tanpınar repeatedly foregrounds narrativity. His subversion of these narratives, through the exposure of their fictionality and incriminating genealogies of power and the anxiety that accompanies the act of narration, underscores their inauthentic nature. Tanpınar's critique implicates narratives beyond the literary.

The quotation that prefaces this section and is included at the beginning of the book publication but not in the original serialized version of *The Time Regulation Institute* is useful when considered in conjunction with the postscript. It highlights the interiority of the authorial subject and frames the proceeding novel as the "traces of the pain of consciousness" that torment the narrator. Establishing the multiple levels of ironic voice, the individual is forced to plead to "the Insane" for relief. When analyzed together with the unpublished postscript with its dismissal of Hayri's memoir as the ravings of a madman, Tanpınar enacts a secondary censorship of the novel through the frame of mental instability and conflates narrative, mania, and consciousness.

Mehmet Kaplan and Moran both argue that this novel represents Turkish society during specific periods of modern Turkish history.[137] By means of the incorporation of historic events and the implicit commentary on Atatürk and his reforms, Tanpınar dangerously associates Hayri's narrative with the official historiography of the modern Turkish Republic, because the novel's emphasis on the fictive quality of narrative compromises all other forms, including the national, the historical, and the political; to use the words of Dr. Ramiz, "History is at the disposal of the present."[138] Tanpınar's accentuation of the fictionality and constructed nature of narrative also compromises reception. In the instances of the forged legacy behind Time Regulation Institute, the false novel-memoir that deviates from the genre and prevents closure, and even the drunken fabrication of Sherbet Maker's Diamond, all attract an audience despite their tenuous authenticity. By seemingly undermining narrative and authorship, Tanpınar, in fact, reveals its power—the power to capture an audience.

2.   Serialization and Publication

Of Tanpınar's five novels, *The Time Regulation Institute* presents an unusual historical archive of transformations to the literary market and the relationship between author and state in its serialization in 1954, publication in 1961, and subsequent textual history and reception. Scholars typically assume and analyze this text and other novels of the period of serialization

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[137] For readings of *The Time Regulation* as allegory, see Mehmet Kaplan, "Saatleri Ayarlama Enstitüsü," in *Edebiyatımızın İçinden* (İstanbul: Dergâh Yayınları, 1978): 140-43; Moran, "*The Time Regulation Institute*: A Critical Essay," 1-5; and Beşir Ayvazoğlu, "'Saatleri Ayarlama Enstitüsü' yahut Bir İnkiraz Felsefesi," *Töre* 169-170 (1985): 29-34.

[138] Tanpınar, *The Time Regulation Institute*, 296.

only in unitary book form and ignore the original serialized versions.[139] The textual artifacts of

The Time Regulation Institute problematize any reading of the novel as an integrated whole and

frequently hold uncanny parallels to the plot of the novel when the very incongruities and

irresolution of modernization that it satirizes intervene in the process of textual production.

Tanpınar, who was a living relic of the Ottoman educational system, composed his

manuscripts, including *The Time Regulation Institute*, in *rika*, the handwritten Ottoman

calligraphy, well after the language reforms of 1928 replaced the Perso-Arabic script with Latin

characters. Prior to publication an individual would be tasked to transliterate Tanpınar's

notoriously bad handwriting into the Latin alphabet. In the case of *The Time Regulation

Institute*, a proofreading competition to correct the typeset was launched by the newspaper that

was to serialize the work.[140] While the contest presents an unusual inversion of editorial

authority and interpretation to the reader, it produced no winner because Tanpınar's handwriting

too often proved indecipherable.[141] The novel from its serialization embodied many of the

irregularities and disconnects resulting from modernization that Tanpınar highlights in its

storyline.

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[139] To date, in the case of *The Time Regulation Institute*, scholars have limited their analysis of the serialized version to the unpublished postscript.

[140] According to Alptekin,

Yazarın eski harflerle verdiği müsveddeleri yeni yazıya aktarma sorunu, yayıncıyı zorlamış olmalıdır ki, gazete, en çok dizgi yanlışı bulana ödül vermeyi üstlenmiş, fakat içinden çıkılmaz dizgi yanlışları dolayısıyle, ödülü kimse almamıştır.

Turan Alptekin, *Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar: Bir Kültür, Bir İnsan*, (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2001) 70-1.

[141] Alptekin, *Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar*, 71. For an analysis of the Tanpınar's language and "the irreducible difference inherent in writing" in *The Time Regulation Institute*, see Ertürk, *Grammatology and Literary Modernity in Turkey*, 115-16.

The Time Regulation Institute was first published as a daily serial in the newspaper *Yeni İstanbul* (New Istanbul) from June 20 to September 30, 1954. Advertised as a *fantastik hikaye* (fantastic story), it was prominently placed on the third page later moving up to the second alongside international and local news and accompanying interviews with the author.[142] Tanpınar had previously serialized his novel *Sahnenin Dışındakiler* (Those Outside of the Scene) in the same paper in 1950 and later contributed short stories as well. Unlike the numerous literary journals in which Tanpınar regularly published his poetry, essays, and short stories, *Yeni İstanbul* was an eight-page daily source for news, economics, culture, fashion, and sports and attracted a more diverse readership.

At this juncture of politics and the literary market the textual history of *The Time Regulation Institute* again parallels its own plot in the narration of national transformation and reforms. Serialization, which dates to the nineteenth century as a common practice under the Ottomans, remained the predominant form for the publication of novels until the 1960s. As I argued previously, the end of serialization appears to coincide and to be linked to Turkey's transition to a multiparty political system and the changing relationship between state and author. These national events also happened to occur during the decades of this novel's original serialization and republication in book form—the 1950s and 60s.

3.   Untimely Critique

The implications of this concurrent shift in politics and the literary market are manifold for *The Time Regulation Institute*. Not only is the novel a textual artifact of the final days of a fading publication practice but also, when examined in the context of its authorship and

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[142] *Yeni İstanbul* June 5, 1954: 1.

publication, an untimely critique of modernity and bureaucracy. As a former parliamentarian for the RPP and a steadfast supporter of its leader İsmet İnönü, Tanpınar was not in favor of the ascendant opposition DP, which emerged in 1946 and ran on a populist platform critical of Kemalism and reformist overreach; however, during his time in Parliament from 1943 to 1946, Tanpınar was a passive politician disillusioned by the entrenched hierarchy of bureaucracy, but his parliamentary years were a prolific period, and he cultivated and maintained the public persona of an apolitical author.[143] In the course of his term and the following decade, he kept his political opinions largely to himself in his personal diaries or conversations with close associates.

Perhaps Tanpınar's firsthand experience and frustration with Parliamentary bureaucracy provided the inspiration for the fictitious Time Regulation Institute, but the novel's implicit critique of Atatürk's modernization reforms and more broadly European modernity was inopportune for the RPP. It went to press a month after the May 1954 elections in which the DP strengthened the lead over the RPP that it had first achieved in 1950 and increased its share of Parliamentary seats to 503 to the RPP's paltry 31.[144] In the pages of *Yeni İstanbul*, *The Time Regulation Institute* appeared alongside coverage of the DP's political ascendancy and comics that implicated the party in commodity profiteering on the black market.[145] The novel's representation of burgeoning bureaucracies built upon Republican reforms and emphasis on the fictitiousness of official national history were unfavorable to the RPP a month after the party's resounding political defeat.

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[143] From the period 1942-46 he published fifty-eight articles, three short stories, six poems, and his first novel, *Mahur Beste* (The Mahur Melody). M. Orhan Okay, *Bir Hülya Adamının Romanı: Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar*, 384-85.

[144] Zürcher, *Turkey: A Modern History*, 223.

[145] *Yeni İstanbul*, June 5-September 30 1954.

There were no repercussions for Tanpınar in the aftermath of *The Time Regulation Institute*'s politically inconvenient serialization, but it possibly influenced the editorial process seven years later as the text was revised for republication in 1961. Historical events likely played a role as well. Between the novel's original serialization and its republication there was an escalation in authoritarianism, anti-bureaucratic measures, and censorship instigated by the DP that ultimately culminated in the 1960 military coup, which was welcomed by Tanpınar and many members of the university community and literary intelligentsia. The institution of political reforms, the easing of the press and censorship laws, and the proliferation of political parties marked a new era and animated Turkey's literary scene.

4.   Book Form Publication

Amidst these political and cultural reforms, Tanpınar, once again driven by financial hardship, began revising *The Time Regulation Institute* for publication in book form.[146] Tanpınar maintained the basic textual structure of four primary sections further subdivided into multiple components. Many of the textual modifications are minor on the level of punctuation, spelling, and capitalization and evidence a language still in flux following the 1928 reforms; however, others consist of substantial reordering of paragraphs and the softening of politically pointed terminology—for example, the replacement of *propaganda* (propaganda) with *iyi şeyler* (good things).[147] While the substitution of political vocabulary with benign terms may suggest self-censorship, when taken together with the introductory quotation added in the book, the appendix

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[146] Enginün, *Günlüklerin Işığında Tanpınar'la Baş başa*, 213, 244, 256.

[147] *Yeni İstanbul* June 20 1954: 3, Tanpınar 11.

to the novel that surfaced posthumously, and the immediate political context in which Tanpınar reworked the text, the case for secondary censorship becomes a possibility.

Tanpınar started to revise the work in March 1961 according to his diary entries but died in January 1962 around the time of the release of the book form by the publisher Remzi Kitabevi.[148] İnci Enginün and Zeynep Kerman in their edited collection of Tanpınar's diaries state that he completed the postscript during the revision process, but, for reasons that remain uncertain, it was not included in the first and, consequently, any of the future editions. It was, however, published in the 1975 study of the author entitled *Bir Kültür, Bir İnsan* by Tanpınar's former student Turan Alptekin, who took the original dictation of the appendix in 1961, as well as in the English translation of the novel by Ender Gürol published in 2001 by Turko-Tatar Press.

For *The Time Regulation Institute* and Tanpınar scholars, the appendix is controversial not only on account of its provenance but also because of its content.[149] The epilogue undermines the authenticity of the memoir and its fictional author and problematizes reading *The Time Regulation Institute*. Moran reflects the prevailing sentiment that "[f]ortunately the letter written by Halit the Regulator to Dr. Ramiz about İrdal was not put in the novel."[150] While most Tanpınar scholars following Moran discount the postscript and do not include it as part of the

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[148] Enginün, *Günlüklerin Işığında Tanpınar'la Baş başa*, 256. The official publication date for the book is 1961, but it was not released until early 1962.

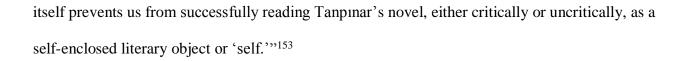[149] Of particular issue is the fact that it was dictated.

[150] Moran, "*The Time Regulation Institute*: A Critical Essay," 21.

novel, the historical context and Tanpınar's literary precedent present cause for its reconsideration.[151]

Despite the initial air of freedom and literary activity that followed the 1960 military intervention and its associated political reforms, the period was still politically sensitive. The possible explanations for the appendix, which include Moran's suggestion that it was self-censorship lest he have trouble with the authorities and Ertürk's that given the novel's "allusions to such prominent members of Tanpınar's circle as Peyami Safa and the poet and psychologist Sabri Esat Siyavuşgil, it neutralizes the force of parody"—seem plausible.[152] The book's publication coincided with the reestablishment of RPP dominance after more than a decade of DP rule. As a supporter of both the coup and the RPP's leader İnönü, Tanpınar likewise would have been reticent to appear overly critical. The appendix offers a convenient solution by effectively acting as a self-censoring disclaimer. A similar letter-postscript to the 1944 serialized novel *Mahur Beste* (The Mahur Melody) that was published by Tanpınar as the novel's final chapter a year after its original serialization establishes stylistic precedent for the postscript's inclusion in the case of *The Time Regulation Institute*. The epilogue, much like the serialized novel's original typeset, marks an indeterminacy in the text. As Ertürk observes, "[i]n preventing the distinction between reality and fiction, truth and lie, politics and aesthetics, irony

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[151] The previously mentioned Oğuzertem in "Unset *Saats*, Upset *Sıhhats*: A Fatherless Approach to The Clock-Setting Institute" and Konur Ertup in *Milliyet Sanat Dergisi* July 2, 1976 are the few scholars who argue that the postscript is critical to any reading of the novel and should be included in all future editions.

[152] Moran, "*The Time Regulation Institute*: A Critical Essay," 21; Ertürk, *Grammatology and Literary Modernity*, 120. Ertürk cites Alptekin noting that following the death of Safa's son in February 1961, Tanpınar tempered his criticism of Safa in the novel. See Ertürk, *Grammatology and Literary Modernity in Turkey*, 129-30, 136.

itself prevents us from successfully reading Tanpınar's novel, either critically or uncritically, as a self-enclosed literary object or 'self.'"[153]

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[153] Ertürk, *Grammatology and Literary Modernity*, 130.

Chapter Three: The Tanpınar Renaissance

The last couple of decades have witnessed a "Tanpınar Renaissance" with renewed critical and popular interest in Tanpınar's legacy and writings both within Turkey and globally following his recent inscription in the world literary market. The republication of his works in Turkey in response to what Ertürk deems "the post-Kemalist turn of the 2000s" together with his introduction to an Anglophone audience through a literary genealogy formulated by the 2006 Nobel laureate Orhan Pamuk challenge the traditional chronological and genre or movement based model of literary history and necessitate a reevaluation of Tanpınar and his works within the Turkish literature studies.[154]

How can we reconsider Tanpınar's legacy in the current framework of contemporary discourse? How does Tanpınar's association with Pamuk, through his endorsement of Tanpınar as a major literary influence, circumscribe the circulation and reception of his literature? How does transnational taste for "national allegory" determine canonization? Finally, how do we assess this renaissance in the context of the current geopolitical climate and investigate how the reclamation of Cold War authors coincides with traces of resurgent Cold War rhetoric?

After outlining the sociopolitical context behind the revival of Tanpınar first in Turkey and then internationally through translation, I demonstrate how the Turkish novel as national allegory enters the global literary market. Through the cases of Orhan Pamuk and Tanpınar, I trace the status of "Turkish author" as representative and critic of the nation, and Turkey as the

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[154] Nergis Ertürk, "Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar in Translation," review of *The Time Regulation Institute*, by Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar, trans. Maureen Freely and Alexander Dawe, *Jadaliyya*, July 9, 2014, http://cities.jadaliyya.com/pages/index/18456/ahmet-hamdi-tanpinar-in-translation.

site of the development of the disciplines of comparative literature studies and world literature as

well as a global symbol of reconciliation. I conclude by considering the reclamation of Cold

War literature as a new politics of protest in the neoliberal context of the transnational literary

market.

A.   Tanpınar's Revival in Turkey

[L]iterary history operates discontinuously, by . . . "impact" rather than what many have
called "tradition." Literary history's discontinuity leaps across, rather than remaining
confined within, the borders and barriers of nation or language or genre.[155]

Following Jonathan Arac's assertion that literary history functions discontinuously and

must account for the "cultural afterlives" of texts, the posthumous revival of Tanpınar's works

within Turkish critical scholarship and its recent incorporation into the global literary market

through Pamuk, who establishes a literary genealogy for himself through his authorial influences,

disrupts the traditional chronological periodization of literary history and invites us to reexamine

the broader cultural process and the circulation and critical reception of literature in its

afterlife.[156]

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[155] Jonathan Arac, *Impure Worlds: The Institution of Literature in the Age of the Novel*
(New York: Fordham University Press, 2011), 3.

[156] According to Arac, new literary history necessitates "paying attention to the reception
history of works after their time of initial production, by concern with their cultural afterlives. It
also involves two other areas crucial for recent work: the historical study of the production of
the subject and the process of intertextuality." Jonathan Arac, *Impure Worlds: The Institution of
Literature in the Age of the Novel* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2011), 3, 35.

For an examination of Tanpınar's legacy for Pamuk, see Erdağ Göknar, *Orhan Pamuk,
Secularism, and Blasphemy: the Politics of the Turkish Novel* (New York: Routledge, 2013) 34-
47, 87, 112-21, 204.

The "Tanpınar Renaissance" in Turkey originates in the early 2000s and correlates to the nation's post-Kemalist turn with the rise of the *Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi* (Justice and Development Party, JDP) and the implementation of a radical neoliberal program. The revival and recirculation of Tanpınar's literature continues today and is supplemented by the dialogic relationship to Tanpınar's inclusion in world literature, which generates a Turkish and international critical scholarship that examines Tanpınar's legacy in a transnational context and the circulation of his works through translation.

As previously noted, Tanpınar was marginalized personally and professionally; he criticized what he considered to be the selective reductionist political interpretations of his writings from both the right and the left. By the end of his lifetime, his conservative modernist ideology and its literary expression were out of step with the focus on contemporary social issues that constituted the prevailing thematic content of leftist literature and characterized a movement that dominated literature throughout the 1960s and 70s. Aside from the traditionalist right and a small group of former students and colleagues from Istanbul University that valued Tanpınar's engagement with Turkey's Ottoman and Islamic heritage and unique literary style that others dismissed as "archaic," his works largely fell out of popular circulation and were disregarded by critical scholarship for decades.

To use the example of *The Time Regulation Institute*, the novel was neglected for twenty-six years after the release of the first edition of the book until the publication of the second and subsequent editions by the publisher Dergâh Yayınları beginning in 1987.[157] Founded in 1976 and unconnected to Yahya Kemal's much earlier journal by the same name, Dergâh Yayınları

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[157] As of 2012 *The Time Regulation Institute* reached its seventeenth edition published by Dergâh.

maintains a "traditional academic focus" and an Islamic orientation with the following mission statement:

> Dergâh Publishing aims to pursue the unique strengths and values of Turkey and to reach the roots of Turkish intellectual life by giving priority to literature, contemporary Turkish thoughts, contemporary Islamic thoughts, *tasawwuf*, philosophy, history, arts and other social sciences. It is the general policy of Dergâh Publishing to raise the quality of the literary and intellectual scenes and make their connection with this land more genuine.[158]

Dergâh's republication of Tanpınar's work demonstrates how his conservative modernist ideology and acknowledgment of an Islamic heritage, even if his writings were not explicitly Islamist, appealed to traditionalist rightists, who formed his primary audience until the 2000s; in addition to Tanpınar's texts, Dergâh also publishes the works of many from his dedicated circle from Istanbul University who had collected and edited his works in the intervening years and who also are of the traditionalist rightist persuasion.[159] The republication of Tanpınar's literature in the 1980s prompted a limited critical response with important studies by Moran and Sara Moment Atış.[160]

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[158] Quoted by Nergis Ertürk, "Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar in Translation." The publishing house elaborates on its Islamic orientation through the explanation of the name:

> Dergâh is not only a place of remembrance and worship where the members of the Islamic monasteries and cults reside. It is a threshold and a door; in fact, it is a door to dignity. It is somewhere to take refuge, where loved ones meet, where the bands of kinship are formed. 'It is a unitary place, in which every one of the 70 nations is treated evenly.'

"About Us Dergâh Publishing," accessed July 31, 2017, http://www.dergah.com.tr/Page/hakkimizda/hakkimizda.

[159] For example, Dergâh also publishes the works of Mehmet Kaplan, İnci Enginün, Zeynep Kerman, and M. Orhan Okay.

[160] See Berna Moran, *Türk Romanına Eleştirel Bir Bakış*," 227-74; Sara Moment Atış, *Semantic Structuring in the Modern Turkish Short Story: An Analysis of "The Dreams of Abdullah Efendi and Other Short Stories by Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1983).

It was not until the early 2000s that Tanpınar's works started to gain traction with a broader audience from across the political spectrum. The sociopolitical factors underlying this renaissance will be examined in greater detail in the following sections and are linked to Turkey's post-Kemalist neoliberal turn and the general reexamination of the strict secularism that had foreclosed engagement with Turkey's Islamic heritage. Tanpınar's literature with its thematic exploration of Turkish nationalism and cultural identity, synthesis of Ottoman and Islamic past with the present, and incorporation of Ottoman Turkish aesthetics and linguistics, offered an alternative formulation of Turkish culture at a time of political transformation with the rise of the moderate Islamist neoliberalism.

Tanpınar's precipitous popularity is evident in the competition for the publication rights to his works between Dergâh Yayınları, which retains the rights based on a contract with Tanpınar's brother Kenan Tanpınar, and Yapı Kredi Yayınları, a publishing house owned by the private bank Yapı Kredi that sought the rights to several works that Dergâh had declined to republish. At the same time that Yapı Kredi approached Dergâh, it also requested the rights from Kenan Tanpınar's adopted daughter and heir Meliha Büyükçelebi, who signed the contract allowing Yapı Kredi to commence publication. The dispute culminated in a lawsuit filed by Dergâh against Yapı Kredi that was ultimately decided by the Turkish Supreme Court in Dergâh's favor in 2005.[161]

After a lifetime of marginalization, Tanpınar's legacy and the cultural afterlives of his works resonate anew and evidence the nonlinear impact and leap model of literary history.[162]

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[161] See Muhsin Öztürk, "Tanpınar Telif Davası AİHM'de," *Zaman Online*, 15 December 2006, http://www.zaman.com.tr/gundem_tanpinar-davasi-aihmde_471995.html.

[162] The nonlinear "impact" of Tanpınar will be examined in the following section, which traces Tanpınar's incorporation into the world literary market through the contemporary Turkish

The revival of critical and popular interest in Tanpınar has produced an immense body of

scholarship in the last two decades as well as the establishment of the annual İstanbul Tanpınar

Edebiyat Festivali (Istanbul Tanpınar Literature Festival) in 2009, which is the first and only

international literature festival in Turkey and to date has brought together 467 authors from 48

countries and 132 literary professionals from 32 countries.[163] This festival marks the renewed

appreciation of the author and his works.

B.   "National Allegory" and the Global Literary Market

> Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar is undoubtedly the most remarkable author in modern Turkish
> literature. With *The Time Regulation Institute*, this great writer has created an allegorical
> masterpiece, which makes Turkey's attempts to westernize and its delayed modernity
> understandable in all its human ramifications.[164]

The 2006 Nobel laureate and global Turkish author Orhan Pamuk introduced an

Anglophone readership to Tanpınar through the English translation of his memoir, *İstanbul*

Hatıralar ve Şehir (*Istanbul Memories and the City*, 2003, trans. 2005), in which he cited

Tanpınar, along with Yahya Kemal, the Bosphorus memoirist Abdülhak Şinasi Hisar, and the

historian Reşat Ekrem Koçu, as the "four melancholic writers" formative to his own literary

development.[165] While Pamuk had written about Tanpınar previously in Turkish, *Istanbul*

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author Orhan Pamuk's self-identified reverse literary lineage. As briefly mentioned above,
Pamuk's stated admiration for Tanpınar facilitated the writer's world canonization.

[163] "İstanbul Tanpınar Edebiyat Festivali Hakkımızda," accessed 31 July, 2017, http://
www.itef.com.tr/hakkimizda.

[164] Orhan Pamuk, back cover of book jacket to Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar, *The Time
Regulation Institute*, trans. Maureen Freely and Alexander Dawe, (New York: Penguin Books,
2013).

[165] Orhan Pamuk, *Istanbul Memories and the City*, trans. Maureen Freely, (New York:
Vintage Books, 2005), 111.

represents the first mention in a major English language publication.[166] Preceding references and translations of Tanpınar's literature into English were restricted to select academic pieces, primarily dissertations and theses as well as the 2001 translation by Ender Gürol of *The Time Regulation Institute* published in limited distribution by the Turko-Tatar Press at the University of Wisconsin-Madison. The timing of the release of the translation of Pamuk's memoir immediately prior to the announcement of his Nobel award is noteworthy as the text with his affirmation of Tanpınar subsequently achieved broader circulation. Tanpınar's entry into a transnational literary scene is mediated by Pamuk, and, as Ertürk notes, "[i]n an irony very much of a piece with the comic mode of [*The Time Regulation Institute*], the oft-cited endorsement of the apprentice provides the shibboleth for the global circuit of the master, transmitting to Tanpınar many of the same difficulties that arise in the circulation of Pamuk's own work in a 'global' English."[167]

Pamuk locates Tanpınar and his other Turkish influences in Istanbul's built environment and imagines their literal and figurative encounters as his trajectory intersects with the same urban landscape traversed by his predecessors, sedimenting layers of authorial experience.[168] Pamuk "feel[s] the closest bond" with Tanpınar and praises his novel *A Mind at Peace* as "the

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[166] See Orhan Pamuk, "Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar ve Türk Modernizmi," *Defter* 23 (Spring 1995): 31-45.

[167] Nergis Ertürk, "Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar in Translation."

[168] Whenever I think of these writers together, I am reminded that what gives a city its special character is not just its topography or its buildings but rather the sum total of every chance encounter, every memory, letter, color, and image jostling in its inhabitants' crowded memories after they have been living, like me, on the same streets for fifty years.

Orhan Pamuk, *Istanbul Memories and the City*, 110.

greatest novel ever written about Istanbul."[169] Tanpınar's impression on Pamuk is most evident

in his novels that characteristically follow an elite male protagonist and love interest through a

period specific aestheticized urban environment, such as his 2008 novel *Masumiyet Müzesi* (*The*

Museum of Innocence, trans. 2009), which can be read as an homage to Tanpınar's *A Mind at*

Peace.[170]

      While Pamuk considers the Western literary influences that shaped Tanpınar's writing,

most especially the French symbolists, he devotes an entire chapter to Tanpınar's perception of

the city while on his perambulations with Yahya Kemal during the occupation period, or later

alone during the second world war. According to Pamuk, Tanpınar imbues his writing with

hüzün, or melancholy, that situates his nationalism not in the celebrated cosmopolitan skyline but

instead in the neighborhood streets and "ruins," in which he observed the coincident "beauty of a

picturesque landscape" and "sadness that a century of defeat and poverty would bring to the

people of Istanbul."[171] As Sibel Erol argues, Pamuk consciously formulates a chronotope of

Istanbul by "explicitly tracing the association of *hüzün* with Istanbul through a historical

explanation and charting this connection through the authors he has chosen, in casual links that

culminate in his own work;" the troubling result is the pervasive unquestioning acceptance of

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[169] Ibid., 110, 105.

[170] Pamuk's fictional works are more diverse than Tanpınar's in terms of genre, period, and the sociopolitics of his protagonists. While Tanpınar's influence can be read throughout Pamuk's oeuvre, for example when comparing the memoirs *Five Cities* and *Istanbul Memories and the City*, I argue that it is most pronounced in his period novels set in Istanbul that revolve around a love interest. *Kara Kitap* (*The Black Book*, trans 2006) would also fall in this category, and, following Tanpınar, these novels establish a contrast between interior intimate spaces and labyrinthine urban landscape.

[171] Orhan Pamuk, *Istanbul Memories and the City*, 253.

Pamuk's characterization by scholars, readers, and reviewers alike.[172] For these reasons,

Tanpınar's incorporation into the global literary market must be considered not only through the

problematics of Pamuk's reception but also through his deliberate configuration of Tanpınar

while establishing his own literary genealogy.

As Erol observes, Pamuk intentionally conflates his own autobiography with the history

of the city, "binding his life to the meaning of Istanbul, in a twist on Flaubert, . . . 'Istanbul, *C'est*

moi.'"[173] As the geographical embodiment of continental encounter, Istanbul and generally

Turkey have long evoked symbolism in the popular imagination as the physical and cultural

bridge between East and West, Islam and Christianity as well as a political composite, as the

successful moderate Islamic democracy of the 2000s. Having already formulated himself as

Istanbul, along with the attendant harmonization of East and West that he facilitates through his

select literary lineage, Pamuk translates to an international audience as "this globalized fantasy

of reconciliation" and is "forced into the role of representative *and* critic of his nation."[174]

Indeed, the official press release from the Swedish Academy commends Pamuk, "who in the

quest for the melancholic soul of his native city has discovered new symbols for the clash and

interlacing of cultures."[175]

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[172] Sibel Erol, "The Chronotope of Istanbul in Orhan Pamuk's *Istanbul*," *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 43 (2011): 657, 655.

[173] Ibid., 658.

[174] Nergis Ertürk, *Grammatology and Literary Modernity in Turkey*, ix.

[175] "The Nobel Prize in Literature 2006 – Press Release," Nobelprize.org, Nobel Media AB 2014, July 20, 2017, http://www.nobelprize.org/nobel_prizes/literature/laureates/2006/press.html.

In his examination of the Salman Rushdie affair and "Third World literature," Timothy Brennan cautions of the "politico-exotic," in which the very emphasis on politics inhibits any readjustment of value for the reader because of popularization and commodification; he notes that the

> prominence of politics in Third-World fiction—or rather, our own tendentious projection of politics on to a mythical 'Third World'—is exactly what Western critics find attractive . . . The demand for Third-World themes in the literary marketplace . . . has made it easier for many peripheral writers to find a hearing. But only within a field of reception already defined by metropolitan tastes and agendas.[176]

In considering the critical effects of the politicization of "Third World" authors, Rushdie and Pamuk's recurring joint appearances on the literary lecture circuit, at events such as the New Yorker Festival, prove expected. The 2005 charges filed by six attorneys, including the right wing nationalist Kemal Kerinçsiz, against Pamuk under article 301 for "denigrating Turkishness" invite comparison to Rushdie and the controversy surrounding his 1988 novel, *The Satanic Verses*, and further cement Pamuk's international political appeal.[177]

The contrast between the international and national response to Pamuk's 2002 novel, *Kar* (*Snow*, trans. 2004), which he claims will be his one and only "political novel," mirrors that of the author; rejected by Turkish critics, the international literary market celebrated *Kar* as a "national-realist allegory," and it was praised by Margaret Atwood and John Updike.[178] Erol and

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[176] Timothy Brennan, "The Cuts of Language: The East/West of North/South," *Public Culture* 13.1 (2001): 59; Timothy Brennan, *Salman Rushdie and the Third World*, (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1989), 38.

[177] The charges were in response to Pamuk's statement, "Thirty thousand Kurds have been killed here, and a million Armenians," given in an interview with the Swiss paper *Tages-Anzeiger* and published in the supplement *Das Magazin* on February 6, 2005. See *Hece: Aylık Edebiyat Dergisi* 10.119 (November 2006), 3–10 and *Hece* 10.120 (December 2006), 11–12 for Turkish criticism.

[178] Nergis Ertürk, "Those Outside the Scene: *Snow* and the World Republic of Letters," *New Literary History*, 42 (2010): 635. Margaret Atwood, "Headscarves to Die For," *The New*

Ertürk both provide nuanced readings of the novel beyond that of national allegory, respectively as parody that interrogates the construction of meaning and identity and as a work that calls attention to literary-critical representation.[179] Ertürk notes Pamuk's "absent presence" in Pascale Casanova's *La république mondiale des lettres* (*The World Republic of Letters*, trans. 2004) and examines *Kar* against Casanova's concept of autonomy as an alternative set of political problematics for extra-European writers in the global literary market that is distinct from the Latin American magical realist canonical corpus identified by Casanova and argues:

> The world presence of Pamuk's work, contrastingly, demonstrates how allegorical realism caters as readily as modernist formalism to the tastes of transnational literary audiences, and how the liberal multiculturalist essentialization and the conservative-elitist denial of "difference" are merely two faces of the dynamic of antihistoricism in the Euro-Atlantic literary market, as it has developed since the 1980s.[180]

Through the literary lineage that Pamuk charts for himself and his consecration of Tanpınar, he transposes the transnational taste for national allegory and for the politico-exotic author as national representative and critic to Tanpınar as well and circumscribes Tanpınar's incorporation into the global literary market.

Following Pamuk's popularity in the international arena and his recognition of Tanpınar in *Istanbul*, efforts to translate Tanpınar's works for an Anglophone audience were initiated by

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York Times Book Review, August 15, 2004; John Updike, "Anatolian Arabesques," *The New Yorker*, August 30, 2004. See Cem Erciyes, "Kapak," *Radikal Kitap*, January 18, 2002, for Pamuk's comments.

[179] Sibel Erol, "Reading Orhan Pamuk's *Snow* as Parody: Difference as Sameness," *Comparative Critical Studies* 4.3 (2007): 403-32; Nergis Ertürk, "Those Outside the Scene," 633-51.

[180] Nergis Ertürk, "Those Outside the Scene," 635. See Franco Moretti, "Conjectures on World Literature," *New Left Review* 1 (2000): 54-68, for a related designation of the theory of the novel and the narration of the nation-state through local content assimilated to European form.

Pamuk's own translators, Erdağ Göknar (*My Name is Red* trans. 2001) and Maureen Freely (*Snow* trans. 2004, *Istanbul: Memories and the City* trans. 2005, *The Black Book* trans. 2006, *Other Colours* trans. 2008, and *The Museum of Innocence* trans. 2010). In 2008 Archipelago Books published Göknar's translation of *Huzur* (*A Mind at Peace*), the novel singled out by Pamuk for particular endorsement for its depiction of Istanbul, and in 2013 Penguin Classics released *Saatleri Ayarlama Enstitüsü* (*The Time Regulation Institute*) translated by Freely and Alexander Dawe; a translation of *Beş Şehir* (*Five Cities*) is forthcoming. While Göknar's translation achieved limited success, Freely and Dawe's was prominently featured in the January 3, 2014 *New York Times Sunday Book Review*, made Oprah's list of "winter reading," and even prompted the *Wall Street Journal* culture blog entry, "How 'The Time Regulation Institute' Became a Global Bestselling Book."[181] The disparity between the international reception of these two novels invites the reexamination of their global circulation and the consideration of their respective positions in contemporary discourse: in particular, why did *A Mind at Peace*, which is often regarded as Tanpınar's masterpiece fail to attract the same international attention as *The Time Regulation Institute*?

Pamuk ascribes to Tanpınar the "politico-exotic" treatment that he experiences by consciously formulating the author through the politicized frames of Istanbul and *hüzün*, in which he projects Tanpınar's nationalism; thus, he attributes to Tanpınar the congruent problematics of the syncretism of East/West, Islam/Christianity, and modernity/tradition. Since Tanpınar undertakes the reconciliation of material and cultural changes with a Turkish and Islamic heritage as the primary theme throughout his works, even if he ultimately posits this

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[181] Karen Leigh, "How 'The Time Regulation Institute' Became a Global Bestselling Book," *The Wall Street Journal Speakeasy Blog*, March 19, 2014, https://blogs.wsj.com/speakeasy/2014/03/19/how-the-time-regulation-institute-became-a-global-bestselling-book/

resolution as impossible, his writings can be appropriated as the "reconciliation of essentialized cultural difference."[182]

In terms of Tanpınar's two translated novels, it is critical to consider Pamuk's quotation from the beginning of this section in relation to transnational taste in the global literary market; the excerpt, which appears on the front cover of the English translation of *The Time Regulation Institute*, reads, "An allegorical masterpiece . . . Tanpınar is undoubtedly the most remarkable author in modern Turkish literature."[183] Both Archipelago Books, which is self-described as "a not-for-profit press devoted to publishing excellent translations of classic and contemporary world literature," and Penguin Classics, which aims to "provid[e] readers with a global bookshelf of the best works throughout history and across genres and disciplines," clearly promote themselves as the publishers of the classics of world literature.[184] Pamuk's endorsement of the "greatest novel ever written about Istanbul" is featured on the cover to *A Mind at Peace*, which is marketed to its intended readership as "a Turkish *Ulysses*" and relies heavily on the fantasy of reconciliation:

> Set on the eve of World War II in the "city of two continents," this literary feat is a narrative of duality: a historical novel and a love story (of the senses and the mind), language and music, tradition and modernity, East and West—and of the vital juncture where one young man must attempt to bridge all of these worlds at once.[185]

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[182] Nergis Ertürk, *Grammatology and Literary Modernity in Turkey*, ix.

[183] Orhan Pamuk, front cover of book jacket to Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar, *The Time Regulation Institute*, trans. Maureen Freely and Alexander Dawe, (New York: Penguin Books, 2013).

[184] "Archipelago Books," https://archipelagobooks.org/; "Penguin Classics," http://www.penguin.com/static/pages/classics/about.php.

[185] See the book jacket to Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar, *A Mind at Peace,* trans. Erdağ Göknar, (New York: Archipelago Books, 2008).

The Time Regulation Institute is also promoted as a tale of dualities but with a crucial distinction already underscored by Pamuk, that of *national allegory*; the novel is "a brilliant allegory of the collision of tradition and modernity, of East and West, infused with a poignant blend of hope for the promise of the future and nostalgia for a simpler time."[186] Freely characterizes the novel as a twentieth century piece of world literature and "not as a 'Turkish book,'" and Ertürk similarly cautions that "rather than reading *The Time Regulation Institute* as a 'Turkish novel' (and still less a novel of Turkishness), we might read it as advancing the internal critique of European modernity, very much in the company of the works of literary thinkers like Walter Benjamin and Marcel Proust."[187] However, much as the descriptor "Kafkaesque" attaches itself to novels about power and authority and obscures interpretation at the same time that it establishes expectation, "national allegory" makes a novel legible to an international audience and satisfies the transnational taste "for a world unified by just the *right* measure of difference."[188]

Rather than the *Ulysses* of *A Mind at Peace*, Turkish literature as national allegory, as demonstrated by the global phenomena of Pamuk's *Kar* and subsequently Tanpınar's *The Time Regulation Institute*, provides an alternative pathway to incorporation into a global literary market that taps the contemporary fantasy of Turkey as geopolitical reconciliation and Turkish authors as representative and critic.

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[186] See inner book jacket to Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar, *The Time Regulation Institute*, trans. Maureen Freely and Alexander Dawe, (New York: Penguin Books, 2013).

[187] Karen Leigh, "How 'The Time Regulation Institute' Became a Global Bestselling Book," *The Wall Street Journal Speakeasy Blog*, March 19, 2014, https://blogs.wsj.com/speakeasy/2014/03/19/how-the-time-regulation-institute-became-a-global-bestselling-book/; Nergis Ertürk, "Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar in Translation," review of *The Time Regulation Institute*, by Ahmet Hamdi Tapinar, trans. Maureen Freely and Alexander Dawe, *Jadaliyya*, July 9, 2014, http://cities.jadaliyya.com/pages/index/18456/ahmet-hamdi-tanpinar-in-translation.

[188] Nergis Ertürk, *Grammatology and Literary Modernity in Turkey*, ix.

C. The Reclamation of Cold War Authors in the Contemporary Political Climate

The wide range of linguistic practices that we label collectively as "English" constitute the vernacular of social movements whenever they challenge the practices of capitalism and the primacy of neoliberal ideas on a transnational level . . . So struggles within and against global capitalism now take place (also) on the terrain of linguistic, cultural, and social heterogeneity, even when this fact is not acknowledged in political practice— hence the relevance of translation, or rather a certain politics of translation, both as practice and as paradigm for cultural transactions between and across disparate linguistic and cultural spaces.[189]

The development and resurgence world literature and comparative literature studies coincides with critical moments of sociopolitical transformation from Johann Wolfgang von Goethe's 1827 inauguration of "the epoch of World literature [*Weltliteratur*]" to Erich Auerbach's and Leo Spitzer's foundational elaboration of comparative literature while in exile in Turkey from Germany during the Nazi period. Aamir Mufti attributes this shift to world literature to "the reintensification of the rule of global capital, and the worldwide dissemination of its neoliberal ideology, in the post-1989 era" that has created sectors of capitalism ruled by an emerging global bourgeoisie.[190] Within this paradigm and the most recent political rhetoric that echoes of the Cold War, how do we consider the current recuperation of Cold War authors, such as Tanpınar?

The coincidental intersection of local and transnational geopolitics as well as the institutional development and practice of world literature studies pertain to the Turkish case. Domestically, the rise of the JDP in the 2000s generated the very conditions outlined by Mufti with the implementation of a radically neoliberal policy characterized by the rapid development

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[189] Aamir R. Mufti, *Forget English! Orientalisms and World Literatures*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2016), 249-50.

[190] Aamir R. Mufti, *Forget English!*, 243.

of urban spaces that culminated in the 2013 Gezi Park protests, the July 2016 failed coup, and the increased autocracy of the government led by the current President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan.[191] In transnational terms, with the conflict in neighboring Syria and the threat of the Islamic State, Turkey's bid to join the European Union founders; the nation has been subject to a number of terrorist attacks and has witnessed a massive influx of refugees, many of whom aim to seek asylum in Europe rendering Turkey again a continental crossroads.

As for the nation's role in the formation of the academic discipline, as previously noted, Turkey has been "recovered . . . as a historical transition and limit site, [in which] comparative literature locates itself" and, after the 2011 inauguration in Beijing, served as the host location for the Institute of World Literature, an annual summer seminar organized by the leading world literature scholar David Damrosch and the Department of Comparative Literature at Harvard University.[192] The study of Turkish literature within American academia emerged specifically in connection to the Cold War and the establishment of area studies programs.[193] The

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[191] Current President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan has adopted authoritarian tactics to check popular opposition, such as violently suppressing demonstrators gathered in peaceful protest of the government-ordered demolition of Istanbul's Gezi Park, purging roughly a third of civil servants for alleged ties to the unsuccessful coup, and a continued assault on free speech through censorship, prosecution, the government takeover of the mainstream media, and scores of arrests.

[192] Ertürk associates this "recovery" with the redevelopment of world literature studies and observes the "'absent presence' of Turkish literature in [Edward] Said's and [Emily] Apter's comparative-critical histories, which by choice or by necessity converge on the activities of European exiles in Istanbul." Nergis Ertürk, *Grammatology and Literary Modernity in Turkey*, xi-xii.

In addition, I note that at the 2012 Institute for World Literature, Orhan Pamuk served as guest lecturer. Pamuk's collegial connection to Damrosch facilitates his incorporation into world literature, and they previously co-taught courses at Columbia University. Damrosch has co-edited with Sevinç Türkkan the forthcoming *Approaches to Teaching the Works of Orhan Pamuk* as part of the Modern Language Association's Approaches to Teaching World Literature series.

[193] See Vincent Rafael, "The Cultures of Area Studies in the United States," *Social Text* 41 (1994): 91-111; Vincent Rafael, "Regionalism, Area Studies, and the Accidents of Agency,"

contemporary global surge of nationalist populism and the reinstatement and proliferation of

borders at the same time that critical discourse counters this trend invites us to consider the

recirculation of literature in the context of Turkey as a site and neoliberal nation.

Turkish neoliberalism under the JDP manifests broadly in the institutionalization and

bureaucratization of professions, organizations, and social sectors and the marketing and

protection of "brand Turkey."[194] In addition to Gezi Park in the Taksim area of central Istanbul,

one of the few remaining green spaces within the city, the government also targeted sites of

symbolic cultural value, such as the *Atatürk Kültür Merkezi* (Atatürk Cultural Center), for

demolition and redevelopment. While resistance to the state's neoliberal policies assumes many

forms, which include the massive protests and peaceful occupation of Gezi Park in June 2013,

one of the critical avenues for dissent is cultural, particularly through the reading of literary

works with direct reference to a transnational literary sphere. From the "people's library" that

demonstrators spontaneously constructed in Gezi Park, which Mufti observes is a "distinct

feature of the new politics of occupation and assembly across the world . . . linked to the desire

to defamiliarize the everyday structures and practices of neoliberal capitalism," to a protest

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The American Historical Review 104.4 (1999): 1208-20; and Michael Kennedy, "Area Studies
and Academic Disciplines Across Universities: A Relational Analysis with Organizational and
Public Implications," *International and Language Education for a Global Future: Fifty Years of
U.S. Title VI and Fulbright-Hays Programs*, ed. David Wiley and Robert Glew (East Lansing:
Michigan State University Press, 2010), 195-226 for analysis of the development of area studies
programs.

[194] See Aslı Iğsız, "Brand Turkey and the Gezi Protests: Authoritarianism in Flux, Law
and Neoliberalism," *The Making of the Protest Movement in Turkey: #occupygezi*, ed. Umut
Özkırmılı, (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), 25-49; Aslı Iğsız, "Brand Turkey and the Gezi
Protests: Authoritarianism, Law, and Neoliberalism (Part One)," *Jadaliyya* 12 July 2013, http://
www.jadaliyya.com/pages/index/12907/brand-turkey-and-the-gezi-protests_authoritarianis; Aslı
Iğsız, "Brand Turkey and the Gezi Protests: Authoritarianism, Law, and Neoliberalism (Part
Two)," *Jadaliyya* 13 July 2013, http://www.jadaliyya.com/pages/index/12939/brand-turkey-and-
the-gezi-protests_authoritarianis.

movement in which people stand and read politically transgressive works of world literature in public, Turks under an increasingly autocratic government are using literature to register opposition.[195] With its free access to Turkish literature and global literary works in many languages and concurrent connection to a transnational network of corresponding libraries, the people's library together with the public consumption of "seditious" global texts allude to a borderless and multilingual literary space to enact dissent and incriminate the state for neoliberal overreach.[196] Given the government's market interest in "brand Turkey" and global capital, the deployment of global literature as resistance is striking.

One aspect of this mobilization and politicization of literature is the recuperation of earlier literary works, such as Cold War literature, and their subsequent incorporation into the transnational literary canon. While with some authors, including Tanpınar, their rediscovery predates the current political unrest and appears in conjunction with the post-Kemalist turn of the 2000s, it is explicitly tied to the rise of the JDP and neoliberalism and foreshadows a general trend. Ertürk argues:

> As the flood of foreign currency, goods, and cultural forms . . . awakened in middle-class Turks a fear of the devaluation of 'Turkish' linguistic and cultural purity, Tanpınar's past formulations of Turkish national identity as East-West synthesis seemed newly attractive, perhaps appeasing the anxieties of those desperate to feel 'at home' in global capitalism.[197]

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[195] Aamir R. Mufti, *Forget English!*, 6-7. Mufti notes similar libraries that were assembled in protest at Zuccotti Park in downtown Manhattan and Syntagma Square in Athens.

[196] Mufti notes that, "[t]he people's library embodies the desire not just for different books—than those enshrined in national curricula or literary cultures or in globalized commercial publishing, for instance—but for different ways of reading, circulating, valuing, and evaluating them." Aamir R. Mufti, *Forget English!*, 7.

[197] Nergis Ertürk, "Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar in Translation."

The newly repopularized *Kürk Mantolu Madonna* (*Madonna in a Fur Coat* 1943, trans. 2016) by the leftist author Sabahattin Ali (1907-1948), who was brutally murdered and whose body was discovered at the Bulgarian border after he attempted to flee the country, has topped Turkey's bestseller list for years and gained symbolic capital as a marker of JDP resistance. Widely translated and circulated in the soviet bloc during the Cold War, Ali's novels, most especially *Madonna*, which was dismissed by literary critics and the public alike at the time of its original publication, started to gain popularity after the 1980 coup in Turkey culminating in a revival in 2013, when *Madonna*'s love story set in Ankara and Weimar Berlin was reclaimed by a Turkish readership and then translated into English by Freely for publication by Penguin Books. While Tanpınar's and Ali's texts bear little in common stylistically and thematically and Tanpınar's conservative modernism is at odds with Ali's socialist leanings for which he was routinely targeted and imprisoned, their novels now circulate together in the Anglophone literary market and domestically even as each respectively represents either an anxiety for the "loss" of Turkish identity in the face of neoliberalism or the current threat of persecution by the state.

In addition, the poetry of the renowned Communist Nâzım Hikmet, who arguably constitutes Turkey's original author of world literature and whose works have long achieved global circulation in translation, as well as that of Turgut Uyar and Cemal Sureya and the other poets of the lyrical avant-garde *ikinci yeni* (second new) movement from the 1950s, are also experiencing a revival as their verse is recast into slogans in opposition to the state and introduced to new audiences. Like Tanpınar and Ali, the *ikinci yeni* group is ideologically distinct from Hikmet's social realism and advocates for the abstention from direct political expression and promotes individualism without state or patriarchal interference; the *ikinci yeni*'s apolitical and anti-authoritarian poetry resonates with a diverse opposition that represents the

interests of many different groups united primarily through anti-JDP activism, just as Hikmet's personal history of persecution by the state, like Ali's, and his thematic focus on the plight of the common man also has general appeal.

Despite the broad spectrum of political and aesthetic ideologies represented by these authors, their posthumous renaissance and incorporation into a global literary market is rooted in Turkey's neoliberalism and the formulation of an alternative political vision of Turkey's place in "the world." Much as writers use bureaucracy to pen incriminating genealogies of state power, Turks mobilize transnational networks and instrumentalize literature to highlight the radical neoliberal practices and policies that contribute to the JDP's consolidation of power and their global capital investment in "brand Turkey." The revival of cold war literature simultaneously references the period before the JDP's rise and the global dissemination of neoliberal ideology as well as taps into a transnational trend to reintroduce pre-1989 literature (i.e., Cold War literature) with new symbolism as resistance to power concentrated in the state and multinational corporatism.

Chapter Four: Bureaucracy in Post-Ottoman Literature

A.   Imperial Traces: The Grounds for a Post-Ottoman Literature

Scholarship in comparative literature and area studies rarely considers the literary

connections between the Balkans and the Arab world or the Ottoman Imperial legacy.[198] Both

regions are considered peripheral to Ottoman and Turkish literary studies and are otherwise

analyzed according the national literature paradigm or regional categories, such as Eastern

European and Middle Eastern. Arab-Balkan scholarship tends to focus on religious identity and

select geopolitical events, in particular the Balkan Wars and the dissolution of Yugoslavia, and

ignores decades of literary exchange—such as in the publishing industry where Cairo and Beirut

have long served as major centers for the publication of Balkan literature.[199] The term, "post-

Ottoman," has slowly gained traction in such fields as history, anthropology, ethnomusicology,

and architecture but has yet to be applied as a category for analysis in literary studies.[200] Attune

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[198] Rare exceptions include a collection of articles that cover a broad geography that encompasses the Balkans, Turkey, and Greece and examines the imperial heritage, cultural and religious diversity, and nationalism through the literature of the region. See Murat Belge and Jale Parla, eds., *Balkan Literatures in the Era of Nationalism* (İstanbul: İstanbul Bilgi University Press, 2009).

[199] See Eyal Gunio, "Between the Balkans (1912-13) and the 'Third Balkan War' of the 1990s: The memory of the Balkans in Arabic writings," in *Untold Histories of the Middle East: Recovering voices from the 19th and 20th centuries*, ed. Amy Singer et al. (London: Routledge, 2011), 190; C. Ceyhun Arslan, "Translating Ottoman into classical Arabic: *naḥḍa* and the Balkan Wars in Aḥmad Shawqī's "The New al-Andalus," *Journal of Middle Eastern Literatures* 19.3 (2016): 278-97.

[200] For examples, see Christine Phillou, *Biography of an Empire: Governing Ottomans in an Age of Revolution* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011); Rebecca Bryant, ed., *Post-Ottoman Coexistence: Sharing Spaces in the Shadow of Conflict* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2016); Frederick F. Anscombe, *State, Faith, and Nation in Ottoman and Post-Ottoman Lands* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014); and Risto Pekka Pennanen et al, eds., *Ottoman Intimacies, Balkan Musical Realities* (Helsinki: Foundation of the Finnish Institute in Athens, 2013).

to concerns for neo-imperialism, I consider post-Ottoman as a literary category in which to investigate bureaucracy as not just a Turkish issue but a broader regional one.

While the Balkans and the Arab regions have followed radically different historical trajectories since the end of the Ottoman Empire and during the Cold War, each has witnessed the emergence of the Ottoman theme and bureaucracy in modern literature that creates the potential for a post-Ottoman literary culture as zones of connected literatures that use the Ottoman legacy to signify current political struggles. Through the Egyptian author Gamal al-Ghitani's (1945-2105) novel *Zayni Barakat* (1974) and the Albanian author Ismail Kadare's (1936-) novels *The Three-Arched Bridge* (1976-78) and *The Palace of Dreams* (1981), I consider the Ottoman theme as a means to convey implicit political critique of government institutions in Cold War Egypt and Albania. Even though they represent a later generation than Tanpınar, both authors employ the Ottoman theme and bureaucracy to recount contemporary events while concurrently referencing an Ottoman literary tradition that includes historical chronicles, bureaucratic annals, and myths and legends. This section aims to bridge area studies and comparative literature by reconsidering *The Time Regulation Institute* beyond the national framework and exploring the thematic, stylistic, and cultural connections between the works of al-Ghitani and Kadare to examine the methodological possibilities and limitations of a regional field of post-Ottoman literature.

1.   *Zayni Barakat*

First serialized in 1970-71 in *Rose al-Yusif*, an Arabic weekly political periodical published in Egypt and named after its founder, and then published in book form in Damascus in 1974, al-Ghitani's novel *al-Zayni Barakat* (*Zayni Barakat*, trans.1988) is set during the Ottoman conquest of sixteenth century Cairo and follows the meteoric rise of Zayni Barakat ibn Musa, the

reigning *muhtasib*, or inspector of the markets, who survives the Ottoman victory only to re-emerge under their leadership as a powerful political figure and integral component of the Ottoman bureaucratic hierarchy. The multilayered text is framed by excerpts from the chronicles of a fictional Venetian traveler, while the core is organized under six *suradiqat* (canopies) of a montage of accounts by local Cairenes that are interrupted by government documents, fatwas, and public proclamations, all surrounding the elusive unnarrated central character of Zayni Barakat of the novel's title as characters, torn between allegiance to family and morals, gradually assimilate to the encroaching Ottoman imperial institutions.

al-Ghitani belonged to the generation Roger Allen terms "'the children of the Egyptian Revolution' and his writings reflect a variety of fictive reactions to the course of its history, recent though it may be, and especially to the status of the novelist within the societal framework that it has created."[201] al-Ghitani and his fellow writers created a forum for their literary experimentation and political critique in the influential journal, *Gallery 68*, which developed into a "literary manifesto of a generation who declared itself 'a fatherless generation.'"[202] The government employed heavy censorship and imprisonment as tactics to silence expressions of discontent as evidenced by al-Ghitani's six month incarceration for his criticism of Gamal Abdel Nasser.[203] For this generation of Egyptian authors, writing constituted a political act against an

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[201] Roger Allen, *The Arabic Novel: an Historical and Critical Introduction* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1995), 196.

[202] Ceza Kassem Draz, "In Quest of New Narrative Forms: Irony in the Works of Four Egyptian Writers: Jamal al-Ghitani, Yahya al-Tahir 'Abdallah, Majid Tubya, Sun'allah Ibrahim (1967-1979)," *Journal of Arabic Literature* 12 (1981): 137.

[203] Samia Mehrez, *Egyptian Writers Between History and Fiction: Essays on Naguib Mahfouz, Sonallah Ibrahim, and Gamal al-Ghitani* (Cairo: the American University in Cairo Press, 1994), 98.

oppressive government structure and its political and ideological failures. The literature of this

period, including *Zayni Barakat* with its reference to the Ottoman invasion, manifest innovative

narrative forms designed to circumvent censorship while still presenting a critique of the

government. al-Ghitani defines his literary political project in *Zayni Barakat* thus:

> In my own experience with *al-Zayni Barakat* (*Zayni Barakat*), I was recreating an entire
> period. The subject matter in itself is a familiar one throughout history, i.e. issues of
> oppression and the politics of surveillance. Here I wish to explain that the spy apparatus
> I depicted in al-Zayni Barakat did not exist during the sixteenth century, the time frame
> of the novel. It belongs to our time. And because I was reconstructing a whole period I
> had to recreate some of its minutest details: language, style, kinds of food, costumes,
> street-names in Cairo, and neighborhoods. All this in order to evoke an entire period.[204]

al-Ghitani manifests his political intentions in authoring *Zayni Barakat* not only in the thematic

correlations to the historical context of its authorship and al-Ghitani's personal experiences with

censorship and imprisonment but also in the sociopolitical context of the production of the

narrative.

As Muhsin al-Musawi notes, the chronotopic form is frequently used in Arabic literature.

This corpus of literature evidences the "consciousness of place with the pressing awareness of

time," and this sensibility to time is a characteristic in the Arabic literature of al-Ghitani's

generation.[205] He attributes this urgency to the political developments characterizing the

historical context in which this literature is produced. al-Musawi states:

> This awareness is strongly tied to politics in its many dimensions. Whether relating to
> state machinery, its deployment of intelligence services against opponents, social issues,

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[204] al-Ghitani, "Intertextual Dialectics," in *The View from Within: Writers and Critics on
Contemporary Arabic Literature*, ed. Ferial J. Ghazoul and Barbara Harlow (Cairo: the
American University in Cairo Press, 1994), 22.

[205] Muhsin Jassim al-Musawi, *The Postcolonial Arabic Novel: Debating Ambivalence*,
ed. Suzanne Pinckney Stetkevych (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 304, 315.

ethnic and gender issues, or class and race encounters, this awareness appears with strong literary images and linguistic accentuations.[206]

al-Ghitani stated his political intentions in writing *Zayni Barakat*; his sensitivity to the temporal element and his use of the chronotope of Cairo indeed reflect this project and the exigency of the political climate in which he produced the text.

al-Ghitani wrote the novel in the wake of the 1967 Egyptian defeat in the Arab-Israeli war, and through his incorporation of historic figures and events as well as intertextuality he uses the Ottoman theme, bureaucratic hierarchy, and literary legacy to implicate the modern state's genealogy of power. According to Edward Said:

> al-Ghitani's disenchanted reflections upon the past directly associate Zayni's rule with the murky atmosphere of intrigue, conspiracy and multiple schemes that characterized Abdel Nasser's rule during the 1960s, a time, according to Ghitani, spent on futile efforts to control and improve the moral standard of Egyptian life, even as Israel (the Ottomans) prepared for invasion and regional dominance. An even more damning indictment of Zayni and the nationalism he represents is that he is able to survive the Ottomans' victory and to re-emerge as ruler under their wing.[207]

al-Ghitani states that the 1967 Egyptian defeat is "the mirror image of the defeat in Marj Dabiq in 1516," when the Ottomans abruptly routed the Mamluks north of Aleppo leading to their ultimate conquest in 1517."[208] al-Ghitani's fusion of historical fact and fiction in the characters'

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[206] al-Musawi, *The Postcolonial Arabic Novel*, 315.

[207] Edward Said, foreward to *Zayni Barakat*, by Ghamal al-Ghitani, trans. by Farouk Abdel Wahab (Cairo: The American University in Cairo Press, 2004), viii.

[208] Gamal al-Ghitani, "Intertextual Dialectics," 24.

In 1517 AD the Ottoman conquest marked a similarly abrupt disruption of power in Egypt. Having ruled for almost three hundred years, the Mamluks quickly fell to the Ottomans and their superior weaponry on the plain of Marj Dabiq, north of Aleppo in 1516. The defeat was facilitated by the provincial governor Kha'ir Bey, who defected to the Ottomans with his flank of the Mamluk army. The Ottomans advanced to Raydaniyya, north of Cairo, and finally defeated the Mamluks in January 1517. The Ottomans entered Cairo and hanged the Mamluk sultan at Cairo's Zuwayla Gate in an unprecedented act that presented a shocking spectacle of defeat to the Cairenes. The ensuing Ottoman occupation brought three days of pillaging and the

quest for the truth behind the mysterious Zayni Barakat and their eventual assimilation into

Zayni's bureaucratic apparatus renders all accounts unreliable while concurrently highlighting

the underlying violence and fiction of the dominant narrative of the state.

By evoking both eras of defeat in *Zayni Barakat*, al-Ghitani underscores the political

instability and competing discourses present in Cairo in these two periods. Hafez notes:

> These techniques enable the novel to touch upon some of the taboos . . . the monopoly of
> political power, the growth of corruption in the highest quarters, the ubiquity of secret
> intelligence . . . Without alienating the fictional world from the present reality under
> which he was writing, it would have been extremely difficult for al-Ghitani to touch upon
> such issues . . . He only uses the mask of historicity to penetrate the present reality more
> effectively.[209]

In particular, he infuses the sixteenth century setting with modern mechanisms of surveillance

and imprisonment in order to reproduce the conditions of Cairenes under Nasser's police-state.

These mechanisms include Zakariyya's elaborate spy network and registers, censorship, and the

penal network of Ottoman Cairo. al-Ghitani portrays an elaborate prison bureaucracy operated

by Zakariyya and Zayni Barakat. al-Musawi argues that Zakariyya symbolizes the modern

"military and security apparatus . . . [that] has gained the upper hand in all Arab states," but its

placement in the Ottoman era in the sixteenth century is a "deliberate" attempt by the author to

"elude association."[210]

In addition to the setting of the Ottoman conquest, al-Ghitani invokes the Ottoman theme

and bureaucracy through historical figures—most notably Zayni Barakat, who was appointed

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massacre of the Mamluks and many citizens. For a description of the Ottoman conquest, see
Michael Winter, *Egyptian Society Under Ottoman Rule, 1517-1798* (New York: Routledge,
1992), 6-8.

[209] Sabry Hafez, "Touching on Taboos," *Third World Quarterly* 11.4 (1989): 307.

[210] al-Musawi, *The Postcolonial Arabic Novel*, 284.

muhtasib of Cairo in 1505 AD. Farouk Abdel Wahab notes that Zayni retained this position for

approximately two decades with few interruptions and survived the tenures of the last two

Mamluk sultans as well as the first Ottoman sultan, a remarkable political feat for the time. [211]

Under the Ottomans, he "became one of the most influential Egyptian leaders."[212] al-Ghitani

captures the durability, mystique, and sense of indefinite rule surrounding the historical Zayni in

his characterization of the fictional one. Much like the fictional figure whose tenure appears

indefinite, it is unknown how long Zayni Barakat continued in his post, and the final recorded

reference to him appears in the chronicles of Muhammad ibn Iyas, which is the entry for the last

day of 928 AH (November 19, AD 1522), announcing that Barakat ibn Musa he had once again

been confirmed under the Ottomans as *muhtasib* and "most people rejoiced."[213]

Apart from Zayni Barakat, three other marginal characters (Ali ibn al-Jud, Shaykh Abu

al-Su'ud of Kom al-Jarih, and Abu al-Khayr al-Murafi') as well as their interactions with the

muhtasib are also lifted directly from the historical chronicles.[214] From contemporary Cairo, al-

Ghitani's references are implicit, with Zayni Barakat as Nasser presenting the most striking

corollary. Zakariyya ibn Radi, the paranoid chief of surveillance in the novel appears to

correspond to Zakariyya Muhi al-Din, the founder of Egypt's intelligence system.[215] Through

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[211] Farouk Abdel Wahab, translator's note to *Zayni Barakat*, by Ghamal Al-Ghitani, trans. by Farouk Abdel Wahab (Cairo: The American University in Cairo Press, 2004), xvii.

[212] Winter, *Egyptian Society Under Ottoman Rule*, 14.

[213] Wahab, translator's note, xvii.

[214] Ibid., xviii.

[215] See Stefan Meyer and Wahab for Zakariyya's fictitiousness, Stefan G. Meyer, *The Experimental Arabic Novel: Postcolonial Literary Modernism in the Levant* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2001), 58; Wahab, translator's note, xix. I argue that he bears a striking likeness to Zakariyya Muhi al-Din who was one of the founding members of the Free Officers Movement, the group that seized power in Egypt in the 1952 Revolution and eventually

these characters, derived from both the historical and contemporary political environments, al-Ghitani creates the dialogic relationship between the two Cairos using the Ottoman context.

al-Ghitani also invokes the Ottoman theme and bureaucracy through experimentation with intertextuality. He draws upon Ottoman and Arabic literary traditions, particularly chronicles, to blur the lines between fact and fiction and undermine the veracity of all accounts in his critique of the contemporary Egyptian state. This technique starts with the novel's frame—the excerpts from the Venetian traveler Visconti Gianti. These passages adopt the form of chronicle, yet are in fact fictional, and rather than adhering to the genre's reporting style, Gianti embellishes his observations with literary flourish; he introduces a Cairo under siege by the Ottomans as, "a sick man on the point of tears, a terrified woman afraid of being raped at the end of the night."[216] In contrast, al-Ghitani intersperses the novel with direct quotations from the authentic chronicle *Bada'i' al-zuhur fi waqa'i' al-duhur* (The Choicest Blooms Concerning the Events of the Times) of the aforementioned ibn Iyas. These records of the Ottoman conquest and rule provide the narrative's historical basis, yet al-Ghitani only credits ibn Iyas once. Ibn

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assisted in the establishment of Nasser's rule. According to Andrew McGregor, Zakariyya Muhi al-Din took control of military intelligence for the Revolutionary Command Council (RCC) and later established the *Mukhabarat* (secret service). Andrew McGregor, *A Military History of Modern Egypt: from the Ottoman Conquest to the Ramadan War* (Westport: Praeger Security International, 2006), 250. Zakariyya Muhi al-Din collaborated with various foreign intelligence organizations including the CIA when establishing the Egyptian intelligence apparatus. Kirk J. Beattie, *Egypt During the Nasser Years: Ideology, Politics, and Civil Society* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1994), 99. al-Ghitani represents Zakariyya in a similar position of international cooperation when he organizes an international spy conference for the foreign intelligence networks to exchange the secrets of their trade. al-Ghitani, *Zayni Barakat*, 191. Both Zakariyyas are characterized by cruelty and oppression. According to Beattie, Zakariyya Muhi al-Din even earned the nickname "'Beria', after the infamous KGB director." Beattie, *Egypt During the Nasser Years*, 107, footnote 96. Furthermore, both Zakariyyas competed for power with another figure—in the real case, Nasser, and, in the fictional context, the Nasserite character Zayni Barakat. Ibid., 56,168-69, 177.

[216] al-Ghitani, *Zayni Barakat*, 1.

Iyas's influence extends beyond quotations to the text's archaic cadence, syntax, and vocabulary.

Regarding his writing process, al-Ghitani states:

> I used to read aloud whole pages of *Bada'i' al-zuhur* and recopy others in an attempt to achieve the inner rhythm of Ibn Iyas' language . . . It is a very private state interwoven with public circumstances (the 1967 defeat and the 1516 defeat at Marj Dabiq), an acute sense of time and many other emotions, all of which led to the creation of this language.[217]

al-Ghitani employs classical language and syntax to establish modern narrative in a traditional

literary context and to chronicle the present and his political critique through the Ottoman

Egyptian past.

Zayni Barakat evidences pastiche in its imitation of ibn Iyas's historical chronicle,

government proclamations, and fatwas.[218] The polyphony of the novel extends to the pastiches,

which are interspersed throughout the text. The structural juxtaposition of the parodic interior

monologues and the pastiches generates a rupture. As Boullata observes:

> The novel does not move in the usual way of narrative action unfolding a plot. It moves through the unconnected pastiches and the unconnected monologues of the protagonists to create the atmosphere of Egypt dominated by al Zayni Barakat, who is everywhere and yet nowhere, powerful and just but not subject to any power or justice, while the Egyptian people in their isolation feel increasingly alienated as their private and inner lives are pried into to the least detail.[219]

al-Ghitani structures *Zayni Barakat* through a patchwork of parody and pastiche; this narrative

structure replaces the authorial voice with polyphonic narratives and transtextual passages. al-

Ghitani also manipulates the spatial elements of the novel's narrative. He divides the text into six

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[217] In this manner, al-Ghitani also develops a unique linguistic register that incorporates archaic forms in a contemporary context not unlike Tanpınar. al-Ghitani, "Intertextual Dialectics," 24.

[218] Allen, *The Arabic Novel*, 197; Draz, "In Quest of New Narrative Forms, 142.

[219] Issa J. Boullata, "Contemporary Arab Writers and the Literary Heritage," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 15.1 (1983): 116.

sections, designated as *suradiqat*.[220] The exclusivity of the *suradiqat* also reinforces their

manifestations of authority. While the same characters appear under each *suradiq*, their lived

experience and the manner in which they use the *suradiq* differs. Mehrez observes:

> Within the context of al-Zayni, al-Ghitani attributes a new fictional function to this
> spatial concept by using the *suradiq* to create a large umbrella under which events and
> characters exist simultaneously within the same space . . . . The cluster of nonfictional
> documentary forms and character sections within each *suradiq* is organized around one
> central event . . . . In order to 'narrate' the events in al-Zayni, al-Ghitani organizes the
> documents within each of the *suradiqat* sections according to their historical
> characteristics and function. All . . . *suradiqat* have the same heterogeneous internal
> structure. Each deals with one central event in the novel: the arrest of the old *muhtasib*
> of Cairo, the rise of al-Zayni Barakat to power, and so on.[221]

The framing of the novel with the memoirs of the Venetian traveler Visconti Gianti, outside of

the *suradiqat*, serves to underscore the traveler's alienation from the lived experience and use of

the space of the *suradiqat*. al-Ghitani highlights the foreigner's position in the "unprotected"

space external to the *suradiqat* by titling Gianti's final passage, "Outside the Pavilions."[222] Allen

observes that the contrast between Gianti's narrative as a foreigner and that of the characters of

the pavilions produces a striking irony:

> Thus, between the outermost frame of the narrative, that of Gianti, which makes use of
> the personalizing "I" to convey the impressions of a visitor who knows the least about the
> details of the local situation, and the central focus of the novel, al-Zayni Barakat, who is
> given no narrative voice whatsoever, a powerfully ironic narrative situation is created in
> which the reactions of these three narrators, the Chief Spy and the two Azhar students,
> serve to fill in parts of the cognitive space between the foreigner, to whom everything is
> strange, and the insider, who gives the appearance of knowing everything and using such
> knowledge to his own advantage.[223]

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[220] al-Ghitani, *Zayni Barakat*, 12, 61, 110, 156, 190, 230.

[221] Samia Mehrez, *Egyptian Writers Between History and Fiction*, 109.

[222] Ibid., 238.

[223] Allen, *The Arabic Novel*, 205.

Similarly, Mehrez notes that while Gianti "reflect[s] a very public version of the situation in Egypt [when h]e records congregations at mosques, coffeeshops, and conversations that take place between the people . . . the internal organization of the *suradiqat* includes details of which the Venetian traveler is totally unaware, making the memoir sections seem at times naïve."[224] Gianti's narrative is further undermined by the reader's access to the "authentic" information in the *suradiq* sections. al-Ghitani subverts the safety implied by the *suradiqat* and instead generates exclusive and contested narrative spaces.

Furthermore, al-Ghitani inverts the protective quality of the *suradiq* by employing this structure within the historical context of the Ottoman conquest. Ibn Iyas's account of the symbolic significance of the *suradiq* in the context of the Egyptian defeat is telling:

> [T]he first annual celebration of the Prophet's birthday under the Ottomans passed almost unnoticed . . . The Ottomans sold the large tent used in the celebration, which had cost the Mamluk Sultan Qa'it Bay 30,000 dinars, to Maghribi merchants for 400 dinars. It had been one of the marvels of the world. Five hundred servants were needed to set it up. "The tent," says Ibn Iyas, "was one of the symbols of the kingdom and was sold for the lowest price. The Ottomans did not understand its value and later kings had to forgo its use. [The Ottomans] caused great damage and it was one of their bad deeds in Egypt."[225]

By utilizing the structure of the tent in the narratives of the Ottoman conquest, al-Ghitani undermines the safety typically associated with this structure and, instead, reproduces a symbol of Egyptian vulnerability and defeat. The structural *suradiqat*, in failing to protect the narratives, expose them to the imminent intrusion of and assimilation to the new authority of Ottoman bureaucracy.

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[224] Mehrez, *Egyptian Writers Between History and Fiction*, 107-08.

[225] Winter, *Egyptian Society Under Ottoman Rule*, 11.

2. The Quprili/Köprülü Dynasty and *The Palace of Dreams*

O tremble, bridge of stone, / As I tremble in this tomb! (Ballad of the Immured)[226]

Kadare's *Ura me tri harqe* (*The Three-Arched Bridge*, trans. 1997), which was written

two years after *Zayni Barakat* from 1976 to 1978, and *Nepunesi i pallatit te endrrave* (*The*

Palace of Dreams, trans. 1993) published in 1981 are the first and last works in a trilogy that

engages Albania's Ottoman heritage.[227] Set in 1377 AD along the banks of the fictional *Ujana e*

Keqe, or Wicked Waters river, *The Three-Arched Bridge* records the commercial and political

intrigues of the construction of a bridge over the river. The bridge forges a link between

Ottoman and Albanian territories and ultimately facilitates the conquest of Albania by the

Ottomans. The plot centers on the live interment of a local man in the first arch of the bridge, an

event foreshadowed by an Albanian; however, the live interment is revealed to be an act of

murder rather than the sacrifice of legend. *The Palace of Dreams* resumes the plot generations

later during the *Tanzimat* era with the Quprili dynasty, an elite family of high-ranking Ottoman

bureaucrats whose lineage traces back to the three-arched bridge and the crime associated with

its foundation.

Kadare wrote these novels at the height of Albania's isolationism during the Communist

leader Enver Hodja's authoritarian reign that lasted from 1945 to 1985, and he argues that *The*

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[226] Ismail Kadare, *The Three-Arched Bridge*, trans., John Hodgson (New York: Arcade Publishing, 1997), i.

[227] The second novel in the series is *Kamarja e turpit* (*The Traitor's Niche*, trans. 2017). This novel focuses on a courier for the Ottoman Empire tasked with transporting the severed heads of the Sultan's adversaries to the imperial capital where they are publicly displayed in a carved "niche."

Palace of Dreams is his "most ferocious attack on the dictatorship."[228] While his novels were

sometimes banned, as in the case of *The Palace of Dreams*, Kadare was never imprisoned like al-

Ghitani and is a controversial figure widely criticized by his contemporaries for what was

regarded as special treatment that he received under the regime.[229] As Gould and Robert Elsie

note, "the singular paradox of Kadare's legacy" is that for "'a profoundly dissident writer,'

Kadare led an 'extremely conformist, even collaborationist life.'"[230] Kadare's professed

commitment to erase all linguistic and cultural traces of Albania's Ottoman heritage further

problematizes any reading of these novels.

Kadare invokes the Ottoman legacy to reconstitute an incriminating genealogy for state

power and to expose the original "crime" concealed by state foundational narratives. While

Kadare relies less directly on historical sources than al-Ghitani, he too uses the setting of

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[228] Ismail Kadare, *Albanian Spring: The Anatomy of Tyranny*, trans., Emile Capouya. (London: Saqi Books, 1995), 8. Consider also Peter Morgan's statement citing Miranda Vickers and James Pettifer and then Kadare:

> The novel . . . foreshadowed the re-valorization of ethnic identity as a socio-political category that has taken place in Central and Eastern European societies since the end of Soviet-style communism. Yet it was published in "the strictest Marxist-Leninist regime on earth—with the possible exception of North Korea," when "the country was going through its most ugly and dangerous phase."

Peter Morgan, "Between Albanian Identity and Imperial Politics: Ismail Kadare's "The Palace of Dreams," *The Modern Language Review* 97.2 (2002): 365.

[229] *The Palace of Dreams* was banned immediately upon release.

For criticism of Kadare's treatment by the state see Arshi Pipa, *Albanian Stalinism: Ideo-Political Aspects* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1990); Arshi Pipa, "The Adventure of Albania's Young Turks," *Telos* 92 (1992): 99-106; Arshi Pipa, "Subversion vs. Conformism," *Telos* 73 (1987): 44-77; Petar Hadji-Ristic, "Shaking Albania's Torpor: Young People Feel Betrayed by Leading Writer's Departure," in *Index on Censorship* 20 (1991): 10-11.

[230] Gould, "Allegory and the Critique of Sovereignty," 19; Robert Elsie, "Ismail Kadare," in *Historical Dictionary of Albania* (Toronto: Scarecrow, 2010), 221.

Ottoman conquest and bureaucracy as well as historical figures, in this case the Albanian

Quprili/Köprülü family. The historical Köprülüs gained prominence under Sultan Mehmed I and

were instrumental in the expansion of the empire in the Balkans.[231] The patronymic, which

translates roughly as "bridged or having a bridge," as well as the fictional genealogical

association of the family with the construction and crime concealed in the three-arched bridge,

serve as an indictment of Ottoman assimilation and the strategic suppression of ethnic, religious,

and linguistic identity.

Like al-Ghitani, Kadare also uses the literary frame of the chronicle and an archaic style

to emulate the period's speech and syntax. *The Three-Arched Bridge* is introduced as the

chronicle of the Albanian monk Gjon, who acts as translator during the negotiations for the

construction of the bridge:

> I, *THE MONK GJON*, *the sonne of Gjorg Ukcama, knoynge that ther is no thynge wryttene in owre tonge about the Brigge of the Ujana e Keqe*, have decided to write its story, especially when legends, false tales, and rumors of every kind continue to be woven around it, now that its construction is finished and it has even twice been sprinkled with blood, at pier and parapet.[232]

According to Gjon, he is compelled to compose a true historical record to counter the prevailing

myths and legends surrounding the bridge's origins. In an act of linguistic resistance and

preservation against the invading "dreadful hammer blow" of the Turkish "'-luk' suffix," he

begins and ends his observations in medieval Albanian, since "'[t]he language of the east is

drawing nearer . . . and nobody understands the danger.'"[233]

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[231] Zürcher, *Turkey: A Modern History*, 22.

[232] Emphasis in original. Kadare, *The Three-Arched Bridge*, 1.

[233] Ibid., 71.

Gjon reappears in the later novel *The Palace of Dreams* in the Quprili family's chronicle,

The Quprilis from Generation to Generation: Chronique; here, Gjon is recorded as the first of

the family to adopt the patronymic along with its historic connections to the bridge. He

symbolizes an authentic Christian Albanian identity before the family converted to Islam and

Turkified Gjon's patronymic to Köprülü: "to avoid being identified with the bridge."[234] al-

Ghitani and Kadare are both concerned with the "truth" amidst the many fictions in their

narratives; while al-Ghitani uses the literary tradition of the chronicle to destabilize narrative and

undermine any claims to authority, Kadare employs the chronicle as historical intervention, a

literal and figurative rewriting of genealogy.

In these novels, Kadare also engages the Ottoman theme through a very complex

intertextuality, but I will limit myself to the example of the 1945 novel *The Bridge On the Drina*

written by the 1961 Nobel laureate, Ivo Andric, a native of Bosnia. Kadare's *The Three-Arched*

Bridge is widely read as a rewriting of Andric's work, which is set in Bosnia over four centuries

of Ottoman and then Astro-Hungarian rule. While Andric's novel spans a longer history, the

central plot involves the construction of a bridge, a live interment, and resulting violent

encounters between the local population and the Ottomans. An act of mistranslation precipitates

each instance of violence; Kadare resumes the linguistic fray with *The Three-Arched Bridge*

when the monk and translator Gjon justifies his chronicle on the grounds that "ther is no thynge

wryttene in oure tonge about the Brigge . . ."[235] Thus, Kadare references the Ottoman theme in

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[234] Ismail Kadare, *The Palace of Dreams*, trans. Barbara Bray, (New York: Arcade Publishing, 1998), 202.

[235] Ibid., 1.

the context of a greater Balkan literary tradition in his contemporary chronicles of Ottoman rule and Albanian identity.

The Palace of Dreams is set during the late nineteenth century *Tanzimat* period in Istanbul, the seat of power for the fictional empire of the UOS (United Ottoman States). The protagonist Mark-Alem is a member of the prestigious Muslim Albanian Quprili family, who have loyally served the Sultan and profited under the Empire for generations as viziers and high-ranking bureaucrats. Following a path appropriate to his heritage, Mark-Alem is granted employment at the highly secretive *Tabir Saraj* (Palace of Dreams), which operates as an archive for all the dreams that are dreamt in the Ottoman realm. The Palace's physical structure and internal operations are shrouded in endless layers of bureaucracy, but Mark-Alem gradually discovers that its function is the collection, interpretation, and isolation of dreams portending social and political unrest. Each week a "master dream" of particular political import is selected, and this "master dream" informs the Sultan's strategy for imperial governance.

Relations between the *Tabir Saraj* and the Quprili family prove complicated because both compete for political power. According to the family chronicle, "in the days of the Yildis Sarrail, which dealt only with interpreting the stars, things were relatively simple. It was when the Yildis Sarrail became the Tabir Sarrail that they began to go wrong . . ."[236] Unbeknownst to Mark-Alem, he has been placed in the Palace by his uncle the vizier to protect the family's interests. To the extent that Mark-Alem possesses the pedigree for his profession, he lacks the intuition and proves a poor political pawn; plagued by uncertainty, he continuously second-guesses the significance and symbolism of the dreams contained in the files that cross his desk.

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[236] Ibid., 13.

His indecision culminates in his failure to recognize a dream that could incriminate the Quprilis; this dream quickly assumes epic proportions and signals the family's downfall.

Throughout *The Palace of Dreams* epic intervenes in key scenes of tense Quprili familial gatherings to present not only an enduring aesthetic connection to their past but also a genealogical and historical alternative to the overriding imperial narrative. As in Tanpınar's novels, the sociopolitical crises of the Ottoman state are mirrored in the internal dynamics of the Quprili family, represented at one extreme by the loyal yet politically savvy Vizier and at the other by the passionate and rebellious uncle Kurt. Over dinners the kinsmen heatedly debate the contradictory nature of their identities as ethnic Albanians but also members of the Istanbul Quprili dynasty far removed from the imperial periphery of Albania. Mark-Alem, as with his dream interpretation, equivocates between perspectives, seeking but unsure of the truth but recognizing that the destiny of the family turns on its famous Quprili epic.

The epic, which is performed annually at a private Quprili gathering, epitomizes the family's prestige by celebrating their heroic accomplishments as an assimilated Ottoman dynasty privy to the Sultan's inner circle. Kadare utilizes the history of the real Albanian Köprülü family who gained prominence under Sultan Mehmed I and were instrumental in the expansion of the empire in the Balkans as well as the patronymic, "Quprili," and its associations with the three-arched bridge of Albania, which operates as both a symbol of ethnic identity and a reference to the Balkan literary tradition.[237] As Peter Morgan notes, Kadare's use of the Albanian "Quprili"

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[237] According to Morgan:

The family name Quprili . . . is a translation of the Albanian word *Ura* (meaning 'bridge') into the Slavic *Qyprija* or *Kuprija*. It refers to the family's original association with 'a bridge with three arches in central Albania, constructed in the days when the Albanians were still Christians . . . (The three-arched bridge possibly derives from

rather than the Turkish "Köprülü" together with the family's epic that rivals the poetry of the

Ottoman bureaucracy serve as threat to imperial authority, and "the Sultan is jealous of their

cultural eminence when he can command nothing more profound than the eulogies of court

poets." [238] When Mark-Alem suggests just giving the epic to the Sultan, his mother shushes him,

"[a]n epic isn't something you can give to someone else. It's like . . . the family jewels,

something you can't give away *even if you want to*."[239] The Quprili epic manifests a dual

challenge to the state as a latent marker of ethnic identity and an ancient aesthetic form that

predates the empire and its associated imperial narrative.

Mark-Alem, who reveres his uncle Kurt but knows he could never emulate him, feels the

first stirrings of ethnic identity while listening to the annual performance of the Quprili epic by

Albanian musicians invited by Kurt, and implicit "is the question of the balance in the family

between Albanian ethnic and Ottoman political identity."[240] Mark-Alem experiences "an almost

irresistible desire to discard . . . the Asian half of his first name, and appear with a new one . . .

used by the people of his native land."[241] The key here is that Bosnian, not Albanian, rhapsodists

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Christian trinitarian symbolism, thus linking the Quprili family to the different historical destinies of South-East Europe) . . . 'Gjon' [adopts the surname] *Ura* (bridge).

Morgan, "Between Albanian Identity and Imperial Politics," 367.

[238] For a discussion of the Köprülü name and its connection to the "Çuperli" and "Çypri" of Albanian epics, see Morgan. As he notes: "'Çuperli' is treated as a figure of contempt in Albanian epic. He is the dupe to whom a rebellious daughter is married off, when she rejects the pashas or viziers chosen by her father, and has eyes only for her Albanian hero." Morgan, "Between Albanian Identity and Imperial Politics," 367, 371.

[239] Emphasis added. Kadare, *The Palace of Dreams*, 66.

[240] Morgan, "Between Albanian Identity and Imperial Politics," 368.

[241] Kadare, *The Palace of Dreams*, 164.

traditionally perform the annual ritual, which is sung in Serbian, not the Albanian language; the

heroic deeds of the Quprilis are actually omitted from the Albanian version providing an implicit

critique of their assimilation into the Ottoman bureaucracy with Mark-Alem as the most recent

example.[242] However, in accordance with the epochal cycle and the predictions of the master

dream, the sultan must mete out punishment upon the Quprilis, and the rhapsodists and uncle

Kurt are murdered. The novel concludes with ethnicity recognized but identity unresolved. As

is fated in the epic's tale of their ancestor's live interment in the very bridge of their patronymic,

Mark-Alem, now awakened to his Albanian ethnicity yet unable to become his uncle Kurt,

continues in his bureaucratic duties at the Palace of Dreams like his forefathers "so that the

Quprilis might endure."[243]

In *The Palace of Dreams* it is striking that the fundamental question of identity remains

irresolute and narrativity and subjectivity are conflated in the Quprili epic and chronicle:

> One afternoon [Mark-Alem] got his family's *Chronicle* out of the library. The last time
> he'd looked was [when] he was about to present himself for the first time at the Palace of
> which he was now virtually the Director . . . he thought of the distant ancestor called

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[242] See Morgan for an analysis of the complex ethnic and religious implications of the different forms of the epic:

> There is thus a three-way conflict between Kurt, the Quprili family and the Sultan: Kurt
> represents an Albanian ethnic nationalism that is Islamic, but is also strongly aware of his
> pre-Islamic roots, his brothers and the Vizier represent the family's political compromise
> with the Ottoman Empire as Ottoman Muslims ('Balkan' rather than 'Albanian' converts
> to Ottoman culture and religion), and the Sultan represents the Empire . . . The Quprilis
> with their Bosnian Slav epic appear to have betrayed Albania on several fronts: they
> have risen to prominence as heroes of the Ottoman occupation of the Balkans, fighting
> where necessary against Albanian secessionists as well as against Serbs and others, and
> they have adopted an epic in Bosniak, as opposed to Albanian language at this time of
> national awakening.

Morgan extends this argument to the historical context of Balkan nationalism at the end of the nineteenth century. Morgan, "Between Albanian Identity and Imperial Politics," 373-74.

[243] Kadare, *The Palace of Dreams*, 202.

Gjon who on a winter's day several centuries before had built a bridge and at the same time edified his name. The patronymic bore within it . . . the destiny of the Quprilis for generation after generation. And so that the bridge might endure, a man was sacrificed in its building, walled up in its foundations.[244]

The Quprili epic forever follows its respective families, who, as Mark-Alem's mother noted, "can't give [them] away even if [they] want to."[245] In an era, when nations selectively sought folkloric roots and erased Ottoman heritage in the name of national narrative, the Quprili epic offers an uncompromising if tragic aesthetic alternatives, intervening at times of familial crisis and fating the progeny to an eternal performance of identity.

In conclusion, through bureaucracy, the historical setting and figures, the chronicle genre, and experimentation with intertextuality, al-Ghitani and Kadare use the Ottoman theme to convey implicit political critiques of state institutions in modern Egypt and Albania. As in *The Time Regulation Institute*, these novels draw on the legacy of Ottoman imperialism by referencing the Ottoman literary history and bureaucratic tradition tied to authorial subjectivity to evade censorship and indict the authority of the state by composing incriminating histories of state power. As Gould notes, "political states obfuscate the historical grounds of their existence even as the (re)produce the social order. The parallelism between myths and states is revealed most powerfully when the . . . writer turns to strategies used by states for concealing their crimes."[246] Together with Tanpınar's *The Time Regulation Institute*, these novels represent the continuities and contingencies of the emergence of the Ottoman theme and bureaucracy in Cold War literature and the potential for a regional post-Ottoman literature.

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[244] Ibid., 201.

[245] Ibid., 66.

[246] Gould, "Allegory and the Critique of Sovereignty," 210-11.

Conclusion

> My dear friend, you must certainly be aware of the unavoidable changes occurring in our world. A well-balanced adult suddenly begins to embark on occupations utterly different than the ones he had been so far engaged in. Art, which up until yesterday, had been a field of activity of persons favored with endowments of nature intrinsically laudable, has gradually turned into a sanctuary for children and insanes [sic]. . . Now that you have the possibility to do so, why don't you take part in this revelry, the distinctive character of our age? . . . Yes, my dear, art was performed yesterday in cells, studios, and studies. Today the venue has become the lunatic asylum and the nursery. It may well be the cradle in the future.[247]

In characteristic irony, the above excerpt from the unpublished postscript to *The Time Regulation Institute* captures the irreducible gap between past and present, legacy and progeny, authenticity and imitation, and continuity and change. Concurrently, the passage implicitly references Cold War Turkey's profound sociopolitical transformation to authorial subjectivity that followed the transition from the single-party era to the multiparty democracy and rendered the reluctant bureaucrat and modernist Tanpınar unable to assume the autonomy of independent author once the nation-state patronage system ceased to exist. Much as, in *The Time Regulation Institute*, Tanpınar uses the character of the Ottoman aristocrat Abdüsselam's failed bequest to invert the natural reproductive order and to satirize the state's claim to historical precedence as

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[247] Tanpınar, "Appendix," trans. Ender Gürol, 329. The original Turkish follows:

Aziz Dostum, sen de biliyorsun ki, dünya birdenbire çok değişti. Kâhil ve muvazeneli insan birdenbire kendini büsbütün başka işlere verdi. Dün ancak, büyük mânâlarında yaratılışın imtiyazlarına nâil olmuş insanlara mahsus bir çalışma olan sanat, yavaş yavaş çocukların ve delilerin mâlikânesi oldu. Bu işe nasılsa kendini vermiş, aklı başında kâhiller bile ancak onların maskesini takarak, onların mimiklerini ve anlarını taklid ederek bu işi yapıyorlar. Her tarafta deli ve çocuk ekspozisyonları, çocuk şiirleri ve daha hazini, deli mantığıyla konuşmağa çalışan insanların, akıllıların karnavalı var . . . Asrımızın farikası olan bu cümbüşe elinde hazır fırsat varken sen ne diye karışmayacaksın . . . Evet dostum, dünün sanatı, manastır veya medrese hücrelerinde, atelyelerde, çalışma odalarında idi. Bügünküler tımarhane ve nursey'lerde oluyor. Yarın belki beşiklerde olacak.

Alptekin, "Bir Kültür, Bir İnsan," 69.

an establishment of the absurd, here he configures the public's participation in a regression of aesthetic and authorial development that characterizes the literary product as juvenile and fundamentally inauthentic. Be it the state's assertion of historical priority or the author's claim to artistic originality, Tanpınar implicates all forms of narrative as fundamentally fictitious and their attendant audiences for unquestioning acceptance.

In contrast with the traditional understanding that the Turkish Republic's program of reforms aimed at modernization and Westernization signifies the rupture with the Ottoman Empire, I provide a new periodization for Turkish literature and argue that the single-party era represents the continuation of many imperial practices, most especially that of an authorial subjectivity formulated through bureaucratic participation and the state-patron system and a literary market incentivized and regulated by the synonymous state and party. Consequently, the introduction of multiparty democracy in its disruption and political polarization of the established practices of literary production and patronage precipitated the most radical transformation to the Turkish literary sphere since the Ottoman era *Tanzimat* reforms. Tracing the sociopolitical transformation of authorial subjectivity from bureaucrat to independent writer, I outline a new understanding of modern Turkish literary history and state-author relations from the late nineteenth century to the 1950s.

The "Self and the State" contributes to Tanpınar scholarship and comparative literature studies with the identification of bureaucracy and the Ottoman theme as a common feature of post-Ottoman literature. I establish the development of bureaucracy as a literary device in the Turkish context with Tanpınar's conservative modernist ideology and novel *The Time Regulation Institute*. Through the frame of the Ottoman legacy and bureaucracy, I locate Tanpınar in a transnational "post-Ottoman" literary network along with Gamal al-Ghitani and

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Ismail Kadare. In their satirical and historical novels, I examine their references to a distinct Ottoman-Turkish tradition to enact authorial resistance and alternative ethics during the Cold War and as a tool to posit identity as an ethical dilemma—either prescribed by the state and its newfound religion of modernization or recovered through a familial history that is represented as both spiritual and Ottoman. I offer an alternative method of analysis to the conventional critical discourse of national literature and comparative literature by designating a zone of connected literatures that reference the imperial past to signify contemporary conflict.

Each of the novels examined problematizes all forms of narrative as fundamentally unreliable and incriminates state genealogies of power; and yet, each explicitly forgoes closure and instead posits a cyclical or indefinite temporality to challenge the state's linear chronology of authority as founded on absurdity: *The Time Regulation* with its textual variations and introductory quotation and postscript underscores "gaps" and irresolution and conflates narrativity, mania, and consciousness in a chronicle loop that "prevents us from successfully reading Tanpınar's novel, either critically or uncritically, as a self-enclosed literary object or 'self;'" *Zayni Barakat* depicts the infinite rule of an invincible early Ottoman bureaucrat, who assimilates into the institutional apparatus; and in Kadare's novels, the author stages an eternal performance of identity through the legacy of an epic and a subjectivity constituted through both the Ottoman bureaucracy and familial chronicle.[248]

The lack of resolution and the problematization of narrativity in these post-Ottoman novels also presents opportunities in their cultural afterlives for incorporation into an emerging alternative conceptualization of global literature. Rather than through the categorization of "national allegory" that facilitates Third World literature's inclusion in the global literary market

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[248] Ertürk, *Grammatology and Literary Modernity in Turkey*, 130.

and satisfies transnational literary taste, the revival of post-Ottoman Cold War novels represents

a new instrumentalization of this literature by the reader with reference to the global literary

sphere. Whether in the solitary act of reading as public protest, the novel's renewed popularity

as symbolic political capital, or as part of a transnational network of "people's libraries," these

novels implement change within continuity through global circulation and by incriminating state

genealogies of power in the contemporary neoliberal context—"the distinctive character of our

age"—marking a development in Turkish literary history and opening new possibilities for

Tanpınar's legacy and the circulation and reception of *The Time Regulation Institute*.[249]

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[249] Tanpınar, "Appendix," trans. Ender Gürol, 329.

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