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MASTER’S THESIS

**A PORTRAIT OF THE ARTIST IN THE TURKISH
CONTEXT: A BOURDIEUSIAN ANALYSIS ON THE
INTRODUCTION OF JAMES JOYCE AS A
MODERNIST WRITER THROUGH
DE YAYINEVİ AND *YENİ DERGİ***

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İZMİR-2020

THESIS APPROVAL PAGE



DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this master's thesis titled as “**A Portrait of the Artist in the Turkish Context: A Bourdieusian Analysis on the Introduction of James Joyce as a Modernist Writer through De Yayınevi and *Yeni Dergi***” has been written by myself in accordance with the academic rules and ethical conduct. I also declare that all materials benefited in this thesis consist of the mentioned resources in the reference list. I verify all these with my honour.

10/08/2020

Fatma BALTA

ABSTRACT
Master's Thesis
A Portrait of the Artist in the Turkish Context:
A Bourdieusian Analysis on the Introduction of
James Joyce as a Modernist Writer
through De Yayınevi and *Yeni Dergi*
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James Joyce is widely known for his radically experimental sense of style. What makes his works so difficult and complicated is rooted in the fact that he is one of the most prominent figures of literary modernism. Marking his transition from realist to modernist literature, it was his first novel *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* (1916) where he started to challenge traditional norms of writing in both form and content. Moreover, among Joyce's works, it was the first unabridged translation and the first novel translation into Turkish. Therefore, the discussion around Joyce's introduction to the Turkish culture repertoire as a modernist writer was held around this particular work.

This interdisciplinary research pursued a sociocultural approach to translation within the historical context by combining Pierre Bourdieu's field theory and Itamar Even-Zohar's polysystem theory. Firstly, genesis of the *habitus*es of human agents were reviewed as the first Turkish translation of *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* was initiated by the owner of De Yayınevi and *Yeni Dergi*, Memet Fuat, and done by Murat Belge in 1966, exactly fifty years after its publication. Secondly, the position of the literary field within the field of power was scrutinized. Accordingly, in the 1960s, there was a relatively free atmosphere in Turkey due to the new constitution and the rights and

freedoms it provided. It was found out that the rise of the left during that period paved the way for the establishment of *De Yayınevi* and *Yeni Dergi* and then the radicalization of the left led to the closure of them. Thirdly, the structure of literary field itself was examined to demonstrate the general dynamics and tendencies and to contextualise *De Yayınevi* and *Yeni Dergi* in a wider frame. When the publishing activities and policies of them were scrutinized in the light of paratextual and extratextual materials, it was revealed that Memet Fuat put a specific emphasis on modernist works, whether indigenous or translated. Thus, they both addressed a special kind of audience with their mostly translated modernist content of which Joyce's work was a part and operated with an intellectual mission rather than commercial motives. In this respect, Memet Fuat engaged in deliberate culture planning activities with a specific agenda that aspired to keep up the Turkish reader with the modern contemporary world. Finally, despite criticism and ostracism he received, by actively promoting modernist literature in a time when social realist literature dominated the literary field and offering new options to the Turkish culture repertoire by mainly publishing translated works in the 1960s, Memet Fuat emerged as a controversial agent of change.

Keywords: James Joyce, Memet Fuat, Murat Belge, Modernism, Translation Sociology, Agent of Change, *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*

ÖZET

Yüksek Lisans Tezi

**Sanatçının Türkiye Bağlamında Bir Portresi:
James Joyce'un De Yayınevi ve *Yeni Dergi* Aracılığıyla
Modernist Bir Yazar Olarak Sunuluşu Üzerine
Bourdieu'cu Bir Analiz
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James Joyce radikal biçimde deneysel olan üslubuyla tanınmaktadır. Eserlerinin son derece zor ve karmaşık olmasından dolayı modernist edebiyatın en önemli figürlerinden biri olarak kabul edilir. Hem biçim hem içerik bakımından geleneksel yazım normlarına meydan okuduğu ilk romanı *Sanatçının Bir Genç Adam Olarak Portresi* (1916), gerçekçi edebiyattan modernist edebiyata geçişini temsil eder. Dahası, Joyce'un eserleri arasında Türkçeye yapılan ilk kısatılmamış çeviri ve ilk roman çevirisi olma özelliğini de taşır. Dolayısıyla Joyce'un modernist bir yazar olarak Türk kültür repertuvarına girişini irdeleyen tez, bu eser etrafında şekillenmiştir.

Bu disiplinlerarası araştırmada, Pierre Bourdieu'nün alan kuramı ile Itamar Even-Zohar'ın çoğuldizge kuramı birleştirilerek tarihsel bağlam içinde çeviriye yönelik sosyokültürel bir yaklaşım izlenmiştir. *Sanatçının Bir Genç Adam Olarak Portresi*'nin ilk Türkçe çevirisini De Yayınevi ve *Yeni Dergi*'nin kurucusu Memet Fuat'ın görevlendirmesiyle Murat Belge yaptığı için ilk olarak insan unsurlarının *habitus*larının oluşumu değerlendirilmiştir. Ardından, edebiyat alanının iktidar alanı içerisindeki konumu incelenmiştir. Buna göre 1960'lar Türkiye'sinde yeni anayasanın sağladığı hak ve özgürlükler sayesinde oluşan nispeten özgür ortam üzerinde durulmuştur. Solun bu dönemde

gerçekleşen yükselişinin De Yayınevi ve *Yeni Dergi*'nin kurulmasına, radikalleşmesininse kapanmasına yol açtığı tespit edilmiştir. Son olarak dönemin genel dinamiklerini ve eğilimlerini ortaya koymak ve De Yayınevi ve *Yeni Dergi*'yi daha geniş bir çerçevede bağlamsallaştırmak için edebiyat alanının kendi yapısı ele alınmıştır. Metin dışı ve metin üstü materyaller ışığında yayıncılık faaliyetleri ve politikaları incelendiğinde Memet Fuat'ın gerek yerli gerek çeviri modernist eserlere öncelik verdiği ortaya çıkmıştır. Böylece Joyce'un eserinin de aralarında olduğu ekseriyeti çeviriden oluşan modernist içeriklerle hem yayınevi hem de derginin özel bir kitleye hitap ettiği, ticari kaygılar yerine entelektüel bir misyonla hareket ettiği görülmüştür. Bu bağlamda Memet Fuat'ın, Türk okurun modern çağdaş dünyaya ayak uydurmasını amaçlayan bir gündemle kasıtlı bir kültür planlaması faaliyetinde bulunduğu belirlenmiştir. Son olarak, maruz kaldığı eleştirilere ve yaftalara rağmen toplumsal gerçekçi edebiyatın edebiyat alanına hakim olduğu bir dönemde modernist edebiyatı bilfiil teşvik eden ve 1960'larda ağırlıklı olarak çeviri eserler yayımlama yoluyla Türk kültür repertuvarına yeni seçenekler sunan Memet Fuat, tartışmalı bir değişim öznesi olarak nitelendirilmiştir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: James Joyce, Memet Fuat, Murat Belge, Modernizm, Çeviri Sosyolojisi, Değişim Öznesi, *Sanatçının Bir Genç Adam Olarak Portresi*

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INTRODUCTION

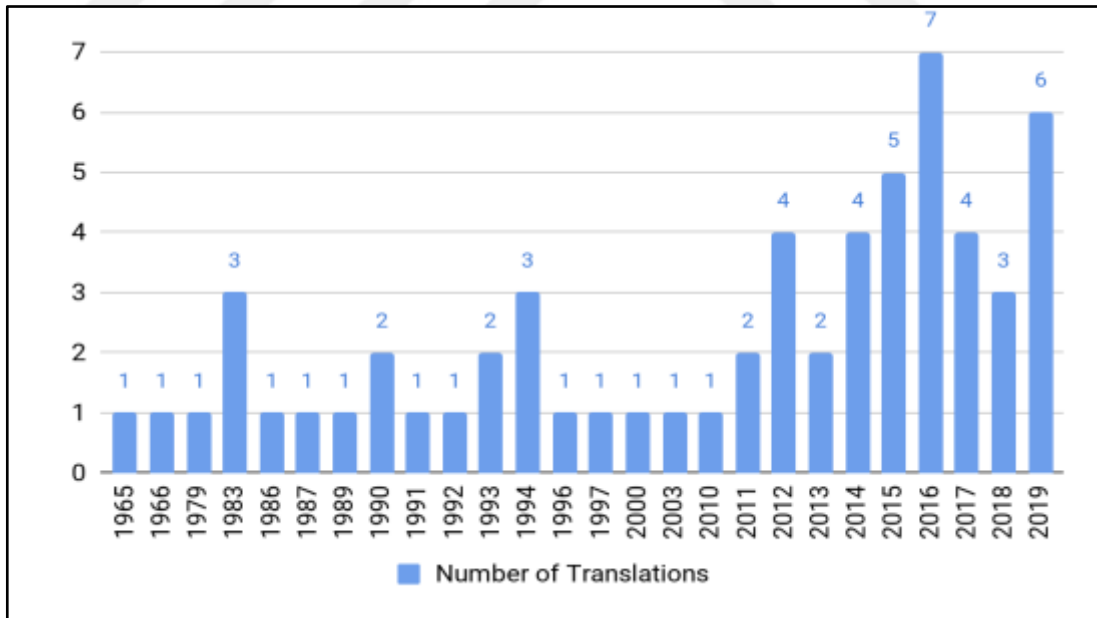
James Joyce is one of those authors whose reputation precedes him more than his works. Throughout the world, many people already maintain the fixed opinion that he is the Irishman who wrote such notoriously difficult books even without bothering to read a word from the said books. That being the case, Joyce's radically experimental sense of style does not cater to the common reader but rather addresses to a specific kind of audience. Being fully aware of that situation, Joyce once said, "The demand I make of my reader is that he should devote his whole life to reading my works" (Fadiman, 2009: 48). With that intention in mind, he put a lot of puzzles and enigmas into his works to "keep the professors busy for centuries arguing over what [he] meant" as he saw that as "the only way of insuring one's immortality" (Ellmann, 1982: 521). As a matter of fact, there are a vast number of biographies, critical studies, annotated editions, companion pieces, guides, and dictionaries on Joyce and his works in many languages to contribute to the cause that is dedicated to unraveling them. Indeed, "Joyce is now the second most densely explicated of English-language authors, after only Shakespeare" (Dettmar, 2004a: xiii). Therefore, reading Joyce requires a collective endeavour undertaken by researchers, students and readers alike.

The reason that makes Joyce's books so complicated and dense is rooted in the fact that they are the products of modernist literary movement. Joyce was inspired by scientists such as Charles Darwin, Sigmund Freud, and Albert Einstein, on the one hand, and philosophers such as Aristoteles, Karl Marx, and Friedrich Nietzsche, on the other hand. Writers such as Henrik Ibsen, Gustave Flaubert, and Oscar Wilde further shaped his modernist vision. Moreover, the capital of modernism in all art and literature, Paris, fed him immensely in his self-imposed exile. Still, his first prose book, *Dubliners* (1914), consisted of mostly realist short stories. It was his first novel, *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* (1916), where he actually started to challenge the traditional ways of writing in both form and content. Therefore, in this thesis, the discussion around Joyce's introduction to the

Turkish culture repertoire as a modernist writer will be held around his first modernist work *A Portrait*.

Moreover, my research shows that (see Appendix 1) among Joyce's works, although *Dubliners* was the first to be translated into Turkish in 1965, it was not an unabridged one. It only included six short stories out of fifteen and was named after one of the short stories in the book, *Kardeşler* [Sisters]. The first unabridged translation and also the first novel translation of Joyce into Turkish was, hence, his more revolutionary work, *A Portrait* in 1966. Interestingly, both books were published in the 1960s with one year apart as it can be seen below in the graphic. Then, there was not any other translation of any work by Joyce for thirteen years. In other words, there were not any Turkish translations of Joyce's books up until the 1960s, and after the 1960s for a long time.¹ The 1960s, therefore, seems like a special period that enabled Joyce's works to be translated and published for the first time in Turkey.

Figure 1: The Diachronic Distribution of the Turkish Translations of Joyce's Works

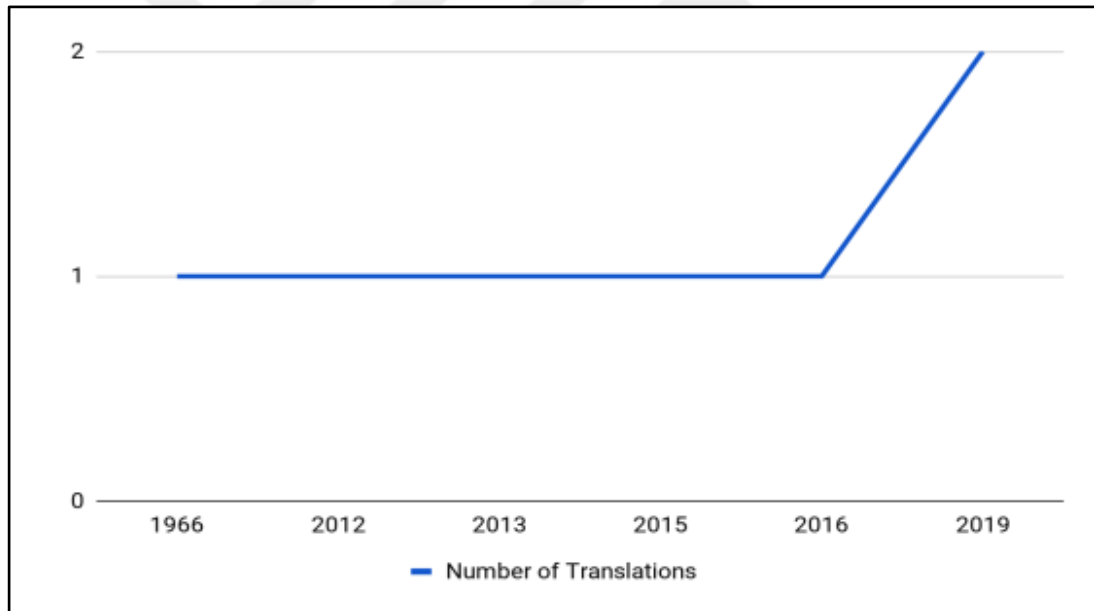


Source: Prepared by the writer of the thesis

¹ Individual short stories of Joyce that might have been translated and published in literary magazines are excluded in this bibliographic research and only the ones published in book form are taken into account.

Likewise, once *A Portrait* was translated by Murat Belge into Turkish in 1966 and published by De Yayınevi, it took as long as forty-six years for it to be translated again by another translator. In the meantime, the book got republished by Birikim Yayınları established by Murat Belge in 1983 after Memet Fuat sold De Yayınevi. Then, in 1989, it got republished this time by İletişim Yayınları, again founded by Murat Belge. Finally, the retranslation of the book by another translator took place as late as in 2012. That was the year after Joyce's works entered the public domain with the expiry of copyright protection as seventy years passed since his death. Owing to that, in the following years, the book has been translated a few more times as it can be seen below in the graphic.²

Figure 2: The Diachronic Distribution of the Turkish Translations of *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* by Unique Translators



Source: Prepared by the writer of the thesis

On the other hand, in some other countries, the translation of *A Portrait* dates way back before the 1960s. According to the data gathered from *The Reception of James Joyce in Europe* (2004), the novel was first translated into Swedish in 1921,

² Re-editions and reprints are excluded in the graphic but can be seen in Appendix 2.

French in 1924, German in 1926, Czech in 1930, Polish in 1931, Croatian in 1932, Italian in 1933, Danish in 1941, Finnish in 1946 and Norwegian 1948 (Lernout and Van Mierlo, 2004: xxiii-xxviii). Then, why was it translated into Turkish in 1966, exactly fifty years after its first publication in 1916? Why did it take fifty years? Why did the first translation take place in the 1960s? This delay and timing will be problematized and questioned with an interdisciplinary approach in this thesis.

Furthermore, the first Turkish translation of *A Portrait* was done in 1966 by a then newcomer translator Murat Belge and published by De Yayinevi which was founded in 1960 by the writer, translator and critic Memet Fuat, who was the stepson of the acclaimed Turkish poet Nazım Hikmet. According to the bibliographic study I have carried out, De Yayinevi published 111 books in total in the 1960s. 71 of them were translated from foreign languages while 40 of them were written in Turkish. Therefore, most of them (64%) were translations. Also, when its publishing activities and policies are considered, it becomes evident that De Yayinevi put a specific emphasis on modernist works, whether indigenous or translated.

Besides De Yayinevi, Memet Fuat owned a literary journal named *Yeni Dergi* which published a hundred and twenty-eight issues from 1964 to 1975. Both the publishing house and the journal operated with an intellectual mission rather than commercial motives. Thus, they both addressed a special kind of audience with their mostly translated modernist content of which Joyce's *A Portrait* was a part. In this respect, Memet Fuat undertook the role of a culture planner with a specific and deliberate agenda that aspired to keep up the Turkish reader with the modern contemporary world. Within the light of this preliminary data, I will claim that Memet Fuat acted as an agent of change by promoting modernist literature in a time when social realist literature dominated the literary field and offering new options to the Turkish culture repertoire by mainly publishing translated works in the 1960s.

In sum, the aim of this thesis is, in general, to question the publication of the first unabridged translation by Joyce in Turkish culture repertoire within the historical context primarily with the help of concepts that the Bourdieusian sociology provides. Specifically, it is to scrutinize the first Turkish publisher, who also initiated the translation by commissioning the book, as well as translation, and translator of

Joyce's first novel and first modernist work *A Portrait*. Additionally, I will try to answer the research questions below:

1. Out of hundreds of different publishing houses in Turkey why was it Memet Fuat's De Yayınevi and *Yeni Dergi* that pioneered the translation, publication and promotion of James Joyce's modernist novel *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*?
2. What are the roles of *habitus* and capital accumulated by human agents, Memet Fuat and Murat Belge, in their embrace and promotion of a modernist novel?
3. What are the motives of Memet Fuat as the publisher and Murat Belge as the translator behind choosing to commission, translate and publish *A Portrait* in Turkey? Are they primarily interested in gaining symbolic or economic capital?
4. What kind of factors in the political and literary fields of the 1960s shaped the first translation and publication of *A Portrait* in Turkey?
5. Why did some leftists opposed modernist literature and how did their criticisms affect the publishing activities of De Yayınevi and *Yeni Dergi*?

So as to answer these questions and prove my points, I will use "extratextual materials" (Toury, 1995) and "paratextual elements" (Genette, 1997). These methodological tools will help me collect any data regarding the publishing activities and policies of De Yayınevi and *Yeni Dergi* especially in the 1960s. Thus, I will try to create a context in which the first Turkish translation of *A Portrait* will be located.

As for the theoretical framework of this thesis, I will pursue an interdisciplinary approach by combining Itamar Even-Zohar's polysystem theory and Pierre Bourdieu's field theory. I will mainly benefit from Even-Zohar's concepts

culture planning, culture repertoire, resistance and Gideon Toury's concept agent of change along with Bourdieu's concepts field, *habitus*, capital and *illusio*. Even-Zohar's polysystem theory will allow me to set mostly translated books of De Yayınevi in their literary, cultural and historical context. Moreover, common features of other types of books, both indigenous and translated, produced in the home repertoire will be examined to reveal the general dynamics of Turkish literary field in the 1960s. Accordingly, social realist works and modernist works will be deemed as two different options of literary production in the field. It will be my contention that Memet Fuat acted as an agent of change since he endorsed modernist literature when social realist literature occupied a central position in Turkish literary polysystem. In this respect, the concept of resistance will be utilized to discuss labels and criticisms he received especially towards the end of the 1960s due to the culture planning activities he conducted by mainly publishing modernist works.

Besides Even-Zohar's concepts, which will be beneficial in contextualising *A Portrait* in relation to the other books of De Yayınevi and De Yayınevi's books in relation to the other books in Turkish culture repertoire, I will also use Bourdieu's three key concepts. With *habitus* and four types of capital, I will try to foreground the human agents, the publisher Memet Fuat and the translator Murat Belge, who were responsible for the rendering of *A Portrait* to the Turkish reader. Finally, the concept of field will allow me to elaborate on the political and sociocultural circumstances of Turkey in the 1960s.

Designed to investigate the introduction of James Joyce as a modernist novelist to the Turkish culture repertoire through translation, this thesis consists of four chapters. Respectively, these chapters are entitled "Modernism, James Joyce and *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*", "Literature Review and Theoretical Background and Methodology", "Habitus Analysis of the Agents: Memet Fuat and Murat Belge", and "Field Analysis: Politics and Poetics of the 1960s in Turkey".

Chapter One will initially dwell on a literary movement, namely modernism, that defied anything traditional in terms of both form and content. Then, one of the most prominent representatives of this movement, James Joyce, will be introduced. After detailed information regarding his life, works, and literary style is given, the

focus will shift to his first modernist work *A Portrait*. Firstly, there will be a summary of the novel to demonstrate the universal themes it is centered on. Finally, the groundbreaking modernist techniques used in the novel will be classified and scrutinized under five subtitles.

Chapter Two will elaborate on the plethora of literature on Joyce and his works. Selected institutions and journals as well as scholarly works around the world will be presented to illustrate how he is such a prestigious cultural figure internationally. In the next heading, the theoretical framework of the study that aims to bring cultural and social turn in Translation Studies together will be introduced. Lastly, methodological tools used for data collection and analysis will be provided.

Chapter Three will make up the first part of data analysis. Here, thanks to the (auto)biographical data collected from various sources, the *habitus*es of Memet Fuat and Murat Belge will be discussed. Their family backgrounds, educational credentials, and careers as a publisher and a translator will be reviewed respectively. Their accumulation of all four types of capital will also be examined to demonstrate that they are not random individuals who happened to herald the advent of Joyce's *A Portrait* for the Turkish readership. Instead, they are well-educated and well-read people with well-rounded *habitus*es who deliberately chose to invest in this book as they believed the *illusio* regarding the symbolic value Joyce possesses as a modernist foreign writer and a huge cultural figure.

Chapter Four, which is the final chapter, will make up the last part of data analysis. Firstly, political and social climate of the 1960s will be discussed with a specific focus on the rise of the left and then the radicalization of it. Because, the former led to the establishment of many new publishing houses and journals such as De Yayınevi and *Yeni Dergi* and then the latter caused the closure of some of those. Next, I will elaborate on the literary and publishing world of the 1960s in order to contextualise De Yayınevi and *Yeni Dergi* in relation to other publishing houses and journals of the period. In terms of genre, the emphasis will be on novel as *A Portrait* is also a novel. To demonstrate how it differed from the indigenous novel that was written according to the norms of social realism, I will dwell upon the main themes and techniques of village novel as it was the dominant form of literary production in

the 1960s when Joyce's modernist work *A Portrait* was first translated. When the publishing activities and policies of De Yayınevi and Yeni Dergi are considered, it will be revealed that *A Portrait* was not a singular case as many works of modernist literature, whether indigenous or translated, were presented as different options to the Turkish culture repertoire under the leadership of Memet Fuat.



CHAPTER ONE

MODERNISM, JAMES JOYCE AND *A PORTRAIT OF THE ARTIST AS A YOUNG MAN*

This opening chapter of the thesis consists of three parts. Firstly, a very influential artistic and cultural movement called modernism will be inquired in detail as it shaped James Joyce both as an individual and as an author. Then, life and works and literary style of Joyce will be elaborated on. Finally, Joyce's first novel, which is also his first modernist work, *A Portrait*, will be presented and analysed with the themes and techniques used in it. The ultimate motive here is to convey the idea that when a literary work is translated into a certain language, it is not the only entity that enters a target culture repertoire. Additionally, the writer of the work, the movement s/he is a representative of and all the distinct literary methods with whose help s/he forges his art also enter that culture repertoire.

1.1. A CULTURAL MOVEMENT: MODERNISM

Modernism is an umbrella term that refers to a wide range of creative arts such as literature, music, painting, and architecture that were produced between 1890s and 1940s. It covers many avant-garde movements such as Surrealism, Imagism and Dadaism, to name a few. In this thesis, the focus is only restricted to literature and more specifically novel. So in terms of literature, modernism entails "breaking away from established rules, traditions and conventions, fresh ways of looking at man's position and function in the universe and many (in some cases remarkable) experiments in form and style" (Cuddon, 1992: 515-516). Therefore, its primary concern is language and its usage. It is experimental, complex, and creative, thus enabling the artist to break free from the strict prerequisites of realism, materialism and traditional perceptions of genre and form. As far as social content is concerned, it is also characteristically avant-garde, in other words, bohemian. It deems the artist as a futurist, "not the conserver of culture but its onward creator" (Childs and

Fowler, 2006: 145). Modernist writers, in short, disregard bourgeois values and perplex the reader by taking up new and difficult literary techniques (Baldick, 2001: 159).

1.1.1. Key Figures of Modernist Vision

Several pivotal scientists and intellectuals, namely Charles Darwin (1809-1882), Karl Marx (1818-1883), Friedrich Nietzsche (1844-1900), Sigmund Freud (1856-1939), Ferdinand de Saussure (1857-1913) and Albert Einstein (1879-1955) helped greatly shape the modernist vision. With groundbreaking ideas, they had a tremendous impact on writers of modernist literature.

Darwin's theory of evolution weakened the view that separated humans from the nature. It suggested that humans and apes had common ancestors. Moreover, it indicated that evolutionary change and natural selection occurred by chance and were not bestowed upon by an almighty god. Thus, it was revealed that humans were neither special nor above other creatures (Wilson, 2009: 38-39).

Freud, the father of psychoanalysis, developed a scientific and non-theological perception of the self. He conceptualised the unconscious mind in which our instinctive needs and desires are stored or repressed. Thus, he especially influenced writers who used the stream of consciousness technique as his insights allowed for a better explanation of mental processes of human mind (Stinson, 2009: 48).

Nietzsche, the German philosopher, had a writing style which was both aphoristic and aestheticized, hence blurring the lines between philosophy and literature. He mainly asserted that traditional values and institutions dissolved with modernity. According to him, religion also lost its authority over social and ethical matters with the advent of secularism. That view led to the rise of relativism and nihilism, then alienation in modern sense (Stinson, 2009: 52).

Marx, the German philosopher and political economist, adhered to a materialist approach and asserted that historical forces shaped life. He was against the idea that claimed abstract universals governed human beings. According to his

philosophy, people belonged to certain classes in society. Those classes determined everything from what kind of labour they do to what kind of position they hold in life. Furthermore, capitalist system gave rise to relentless changes and weakening of values in modern society. It also reduced human relations to monetary exchanges. This situation in social life led to the emerge of two of Marx's most important concepts, alienation and commodity fetishism (Paddy, 2009: 131-132).

Saussure, the Swiss philologist, claimed that language is a social construct not a divine or natural phenomenon. This led to a shift in the study of linguistics. Focusing on the relationship between language and meaning, he revealed that the meaning is arbitrary as each word gains meaning in relation to other words in the system that is called language. Because of his such views, "Saussure has been accused of trying to replace God with structure, just as the Modernists were accused of trying to compensate via art for the chaos created by God's absence from the universe" (Childs, 2000: 61-64).

Einstein challenged Newtonian physics and put forward the theory of relativity. As opposed to classical physics, which foresaw an absolute and continuous time and space, quantum physics was characterized by uncertainty and probability. This dynamic worldview that left a room for simultaneous changes made way for numerous scientific discoveries and technological developments (Wilson, 2009: 39-40).

Works of these thinkers and writers were seen as very controversial or even scandalous when they were first published and shared with the public. Their influence, however, was proved to be irrepressible. Because, new insights and approaches they offered, created new means to further understand the enigma that is human nature.

1.1.2. Modernist Themes and Techniques

Modernist writers asked themselves a radical question: could art serve an actual social purpose? This question depended on a more general one: could the individual have any role in a bourgeois and industrial society? Seeking answers for these

questions, modernist writers came up with literary innovations which on the surface seem like technical experiments, but are deep down motivated by social questioning (Ayers, 2004: x).

Modernism brought certain changes in the way of living and these changes were reflected in modernist works. Particularly with urbanisation, industrialisation and secularisation, people abandoned their old habits and took up new ones. It was overall a dynamic movement that demanded fast adaptation to ever changing surroundings. So it is no surprise that how people perceived time and space also changed. Because, communication and travel was now relatively easier and more prevalent than it was before. When all these points are taken into consideration, it is possible to refer to modernism as a cultural revolution as well (Childs, 2000: 15).

Just as every movement, there is a historical and social background to the modernist movement. Because, manifold of events contributed to its rise. Among them are “the emergence of the New Woman, the peak and downturn of the British Empire, unprecedented technological change, the rise of the Labour party, the appearance of factory-line mass production, war in Africa, Europe and elsewhere” (Childs, 2000: 14). In other words, modernism is the literature “of the city, of industry and technology, war, machinery and speed, mass markets and communication, of internationalism” and it gives voice to “the New Woman, the aesthete, the nihilist and the flâneur” (ibid.: 4). Therefore, modernism is widely accepted as a literature of both times of change and crisis.

Most of the modernist novels took place in cities. They were considered as the center of creativity where intellectual and artistic activities took place. On the other hand, there were congestion and cacophony. Because, moving and changing constantly, cities were vibrant with action and were seen as living creatures in themselves (Paddy, 2009: 113). Accordingly, in Charles Baudelaire’s words, modern man was to be “a flâneur, milling amidst the crowds, an urban dweller and mover” (ibid.: 114).

Modernism is sometimes considered merely as a time of decadent formalism in which difficult books were produced. But since modernist art arose in a particular time in history, abovementioned political and social issues too helped it take shape.

So there were also works which touched upon these issues either explicitly or implicitly. For example, in *Heart of Darkness* (1899) by Joseph Conrad, topics such as colonialism and imperialism were questioned. Moreover, the first wave of feminism during which women's suffrage movement happened was very influential for modernist literature. For instance, *A Room of One's Own* (1929) by Virginia Woolf was written on gender roles and inequality (Paddy, 2009: 117-120). Generally though, in terms of content, modernist writing was preoccupied with deep introspection, misanthropic despair, philosophical inquiry, religious scepticism, loss of faith and cultural collapse while exploring the individual's place in the world and the society (Childs, 2000: 5).

According to the modernist perspective, ethics was not superior to art. On the contrary, art was regarded as the highest creation of human endeavour. So while the Victorian literature of the previous century, i.e. the nineteenth century, primarily focused on morality, modernist literature focused on aesthetics (Childs, 2000: 19). Likewise, the Victorian novel was a realist one and modernist novel emerged as a reaction to it. Victorian novelists such as Charles Dickens and Elizabeth Gaskell used an ordinary language and dwelled on contemporary social issues with relatable characters in a linear timeline (ibid.: 74). Modernist novelists like Joyce, on the other hand, challenged most of these conventions with unusual themes and techniques. Since they approached language with suspicion and wary, they did not see it as the most reliable medium for understanding and explaining the world. Hence, they attacked empiricist and rationalist approaches peculiar to the nineteenth century thought and engaged in linguistic experimentation along with stylistic innovation (ibid.: 19).

For modernist writers, how something said was usually more important than what was said. Modernism foregrounded formal concerns perhaps more than any other artistic movement. While both form and content must be present in every product of art, form often becomes a core component of content in modernist works (Paddy, 2009: 121). In his article "Dante... Bruno. Vico.. Joyce", Beckett makes a similar comment on *Finnegans Wake* by Joyce: "Here form is content, content is form. You complain that this stuff is not written in English. It is not written at all. It

is not to be read – or rather it is not only to be read. It is to be looked at and listened to. His writing is not *about* something; it is *that something itself*” (Beckett, 1961: 10, emphasises are original).

Ezra Pound’s famous phrase “make it new” is generally accepted as the mantra of literary modernism as it expresses the main feature of the movement – novelty. It meant that traditions and mores of the past must be replaced by new norms and values. Moreover, it referred to the need for striking innovative approaches to form (Paddy, 2009: 117). Thus, in order to enrich their works, modernist writers developed various techniques which brought formal features to the fore. Firstly, they experimented in point of view. For instance, they made use of multiple perspectives, free indirect discourse and unreliable narration. These methods enabled them to express the intricacy of psychology, depths of consciousness and perception of truth. Secondly, they were fascinated with the idea that Einstein proposed according to which time was relative. So they constructed such confusing narratives that they were no longer linear but cyclical. Thirdly, the language they used was not merely a medium for rendering a message anymore but an artistic instrument in itself. Because, it became musical. Joyce’s deployment of multilingualism can be given as an example to that (ibid.: 122).

Moreover, free indirect discourse predates modernism as a narrative technique but it was popularized by modernist writers. It is neither entirely direct nor indirect speech. Rather, it combines the qualities of a third person narration with the close perspective of a first person account, thus reflecting the character’s inner thoughts and feelings. The words and sentences of a character are told by a third party in the past tense. In some ways, therefore, free indirect discourse allows for a creation of some kind of intimacy between writers and their characters. In fact, there might even be a dual voice, resulting in an ironic perspective. Modernist writers such as Joyce and Woolf use this technique particularly along with stream of consciousness (Tew, 2009: 204-205).

Although the term stream of consciousness is mostly used interchangeably with interior monologue, I will only use the former one for consistency in this thesis as it is more common. According to general consensus among literary critics, the first

novel that used stream of consciousness constantly as a narrative technique was *Les Lauriers sont Coupés* (1887) by French author Édouard Dujardin.³ However, it is widely associated with writers like Joyce, Faulkner and Woolf as they popularized it by extensively using it. As one of the most canonical figures of literary modernism, Woolf employed the technique of stream of consciousness in her works such as *Mrs Dalloway* (1925), *To the Lighthouse* (1927) and *The Waves* (1931). Moreover, she revealed her thoughts on modernist novel and techniques on many occasions. Regarding stream of consciousness, Woolf openly declared in her essay “Modern Fiction”: “Let us record the atoms as they fall upon the mind, in the order in which they fall, let us trace the pattern, however disconnected and incoherent in appearance, which each sight or incident scores upon the consciousness” (1984: 161).

Thereby, while reacting against realism, modernist writers created new and complex forms of realism. For instance, suggestive and associational sentences written through the technique stream of consciousness differ from the clear and explicit sentences of realist novels belonging to the nineteenth century. So the novels of Joyce, Woolf and Faulkner could be seen by many people as giving a more realist albeit non-linear portrayal of human thought and perception of the world (Paddy, 2009: 122).

By being experimental, however, modernist writers alienated the common reader. Therefore many of them created their works “first for themselves and then, at most, for small coteries of kindred spirits” (Avery and Brantlinger, 2003: 249). In this respect, modernist novels were the polar opposite of bestseller novels. In fact, literary critics have argued that many modernist writers conducted verbal and stylistic experiments “in explicit response to those books which dominated the mass market” (Wilson, 2009: 36). Joyce disdained the common reader and wrote for an

³ Berna Moran claims that, before Dujardin, Recaizade Mahmut Ekrem used interior monologue in his novel *Araba Sevdası* (1886). Not constantly but frequently enough for it to be considered as a narrative technique. Since the Turkish novel was written a year earlier, the technique cannot have been copied from the French one. Nonetheless, Recaizade’s take on this new technique was not recognised among Turkish writers, let alone international recognition, and did not have any impact on the Turkish novel (Moran, 1998: 49).

elite minority as well.⁴ That stance is clear from his avoidance of the defining features of bestseller novels: smooth-flowing linear plotlines, characters whose natures and motives are easily understood and a worldview that is widely shared by the public.

1.2. A MODERNIST PRODIGY: JAMES JOYCE

As a major representative of modernist literature, Joyce dedicated himself to his art with immense concentration even though he was unable to publish for a long time and made little profit from it. His books are known for being deeply intertwined with his life as he primarily fed from reality. Therefore, to understand him better, it is crucial to take a look at his biography and works before discussing his literary style.

1.2.1. Biography

This section will focus on Joyce's life story, beginning with his birth. It will include his family background, educational experiences, wife and muse, self-imposed exile, long journey of becoming a writer and finally death. The specific focus will be on his cosmopolitan character as he lived in the different cities of Europe for most of his life. Among them, perhaps the most culturally rich one was Paris and it nurtured Joyce and his works immensely. Thus, thanks largely to Paris, which was widely accepted as the artistic center of avant-garde creation, Joyce came to be known as one of the leading figures of literary modernism in the world.

1.2.1.1. Family

Joyce Augustine Aloysius Joyce was born on 2 February 1882 in Rathgar, Dublin, Ireland. He was the eldest of ten children (four sons and six daughters) conceived

⁴ *Ulysses*'s unexpected fame, on the other hand, was mostly due to censorship trials it faced since people were intrigued by some of its content which was deemed scandalous (Avery and Brantlinger, 2003: 249).

from the marriage of John Stanislaus Joyce and Mary Jane (May) Murray. In his childhood, the parents showered their both handsome and clever son with love and attention. The father, John Joyce, provided for his family as a tax collector for a decade or so and they lived comfortably. After losing his job and descending into an extensive drinking spiral, however, they faced financial struggles and moved from one house to another (Bulson, 2006: 1-2). From early age, Joyce saw family as a net that one must escape but also knew that the household would provide material for his future works (O'Brien, 2006: 15).

1.2.1.2. Education

In 1888, when he was six years old, Joyce was enrolled in a Catholic boarding school which was ran by Jesuits and called Clongowes Wood College. It was one of the finest schools in Ireland and Joyce was at the head of his class in no time (Bulson, 2006: 2). Despite being homesick and bullied now and then, he was happy there most of the time. He sang and took piano lessons, as well as taking part in at least one theatre play. Moreover, he started memorizing everlasting passages of verse and prose written by Milton, Byron and others which was a habit that he kept throughout his life. Together with the studying of classical figures of rhetoric and excelling in numerous languages, he developed his flair regarding mimetic style. Additionally, again in Clongowes, he became a devout Christian and even after rejecting the Church later in future the dramatic form and costumes of ceremonies and rituals still continued to fascinate him (Anderson, 1998: 16).

Three years later in 1891, when his family was in no position to pay the tuition anymore, he had to leave Clongowes. After attending a Christian Brothers school for a few months, his father was able to enrol him and his brothers in a Jesuit day school, Belvedere College, without fees upon a chance meeting with Father Conmee, who used to be the rector of Clongowes and was now working as the prefect of studies in Belvedere (Bulson, 2006: 2). There, Joyce was a brilliant student despite the dysfunctional family life stemming from poverty (Anderson, 1998: 22). First and foremost, he improved his essay-writing skills and even won several prizes.

Although Joyce is not much famous for his poems, as a young boy, he began experimenting in poetry as it was a threshold he had to cross as a writer as well. His interest in foreign languages grew and he learnt Latin, French, and Italian. He, undoubtedly, was also a real bookworm since early age (Bulson, 2006: 2-3).

What is more, during his years at Belvedere, Joyce was once caught in a religious fever and even thought of becoming a priest for a while. But when this short-lived piety faded away, it was replaced by a mightier rejection of Catholic doctrine which was accompanied by his blooming sexual desires. Eventually, he would arrive at this conclusion: “Live a life of guilt and repentance or experience the many pleasures that life has to offer” (Bulson, 2006: 2).

During his senior year in Belvedere College, Joyce discovered Henrik Ibsen (1828-1906), the Norwegian playwright who is often acknowledged as the father of modern drama. His grand influence could be considered to be another touchstone in the process of Joyce’s growth as an artist as he “represented the fierce individualism and artistic integrity that Joyce admired” (Bulson, 2006: 3). According to him, Ibsen was above even Shakespeare as a dramatist (O’Brien, 2006: 17). As a matter of fact, in 1900, at the age of eighteen, he wrote an article entitled “Ibsen’s New Drama” for *The Fortnightly Review*, a highly prestigious magazine in England, and even Ibsen himself thanked him through his English translator William Archer (Anderson, 1998: 27). Praising Ibsen for his strict realism, Joyce “believed that art was a confrontation with, not an escape from, reality” (Bulson, 2006: 3).

Unlike his past as a disciplined student, Joyce was a brand new man in University College, Dublin with his irregular attendance and inattentiveness during lectures (Anderson, 1998: 25-26). Putting more emphasis on life experience and drifting away from the Catholicism, he began to associate his country with rigid moralism and narrow-mindedness (Bulson, 2006: 3-4). Contrary to the people surrounding him, he decided to widen his horizons and started seeing himself as a European instead of an Irishman. In terms of literature, too, he was not drawn to the movements that dominated his time and place. In fact, ignoring the writers of Irish Literary Revival such as William Butler Yeats, Lady Gregory, and John Millington Synge, he, again, directed his visions towards Europe and European literature. He

accused Irish intellectuals of looking backwards and isolating themselves from rest of the world. As an act of rebellion, he even gave up his Gaelic lessons at university (Anderson, 1998: 32-33). He was against nationalism which was especially packed with attacks on English language in that period (Beja, 1992: 47). Often igniting arguments among his peers about these topics, he opposed the popular belief of the period that “art should have any ethical or moral significance” (Bulson, 2006: 4) as well. He believed that one should be able to write without being restricted by political, religious, and social obligations (Gorman, 1941: 124-125).

By the time Joyce graduated from University College, Dublin with a Bachelor’s degree in modern languages, he was already familiar with the literary circles in Dublin. George Russell noticed that he was as “proud as Lucifer” and W. B. Yeats remarked that he had “such a colossal self-conceit” (Ellmann, 1982: 100-101). Even so, Yeats, Russell, and Lady Gregory supported him upon reading his poems and prose sketches, which mostly consisted of dreams, dialogues, and interior monologues. There was also the concept of “epiphany” that Joyce was keen on and defined it as “a sudden spiritual manifestation, whether in the vulgarity of speech or of gesture or in a memorable phase of the mind itself” (Joyce, 1963: 211). He later included most of these brief writings in his books.

Towards the end of 1902, Joyce went to Paris to study medicine with the helps of Yeats and Lady Gregory. However, he soon had to leave the university as he was not able to pay the fees. Despite feeling homesick, he did not go back to Dublin right away but rather stayed in Paris, getting by thanks to the small amounts of money he earned from writing book reviews, giving private English lessons and the occasional allowances he received from home. During the brief stay in Paris, he spent most of his time in libraries, reading heavily, writing poems and epiphanies. In addition, he participated in bohemian lifestyle which gave him the opportunity to get the taste of freedom (Bulson, 2006: 5-6). This first experience of living away from home would plant the first seeds of the idea that it is essential for an artist to leave everything behind to be able to grow.

1.2.1.3. A Blooming Writer

In 1903, with a telegram from home that said “Mother dying come home father”, he immediately returned to Dublin. May Joyce died from cancer at the age of forty-four. James and Stanislaus did not kneel down and pray at her bedside with other members of the family. (Bulson, 2006: 6). To appease his frustrations, Joyce turned to books as usual. During that time, he mostly read on socialism, anarchism and the nihilist philosophy of Nietzsche (Anderson, 1998: 46). Also, he started to drink regularly and befriended a few medical students who would later appear in his books as characters. Stanislaus was also by his side constantly, both as a companion and as a critic of his writings (ibid.: 45). Although Joyce did not have much more of a connection than a blood tie with his other siblings, he remained close with Stanislaus most of his life (ibid.: 10).

Finally considering writing as a serious career path during this period, Joyce wrote “A Portrait of the Artist”, an essay which was submitted to *Dana*, a literary magazine based in Dublin. After rejection, however, he would start turning it into *Stephen Hero* which would become *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* years later (Anderson, 1998: 48). Unlike the essay, he succeeded in publishing his first short story entitled “The Sisters” in the *Irish Homestead* with the help of George Russell, albeit under the pseudonym of Stephen Daedalus as he thought it would be embarrassing for his actual name to appear on a journal that was labelled as “the pigs’ paper” in Dublin. A few months later, two more stories, namely “Eveline” and “After the Race”, were published in the aforementioned journal. They all would later be included in Joyce’s short story collection *Dubliners* (ibid.: 52).

1.2.1.4. Life in Exile

Back in Dublin, in addition to growing as a writer, Joyce also met his lifelong muse. On 10 June 1904, in Nassau Street, he saw and instantly fell in love with Nora Barnacle, a simple yet outspoken Galway girl who recently came to Dublin and started working as a chambermaid in Finn’s Hotel. They went out for the first time

together on June 16 and that day later would become “Bloomsday”, the one on which *Ulysses* takes place. Although Joyce’s everlasting companion, Nora, did not share his intellectual passions, she fulfilled him with many other qualities such as wit, trust, faithfulness, courage, and dominance. She also provided Joyce with real experiences that would result in him creating “Gretta Conroy in ‘The Dead’, Bertha Rowan in *Exiles*, Molly Bloom in *Ulysses* and Anna Livia Plurabelle in *Finnegans Wake*” (Anderson, 1998: 48-49-50).

On 8 October 1904, Joyce left Ireland again, but this time he was not alone as Nora was by his side and his voluntary exile would continue for a lifetime except for just a couple of visits to Dublin. Before departing to Paris, the pair had borrowed some money from their acquaintances and Joyce found himself a job as a teacher in a Berlitz school in Zurich. However, the position that was promised to Joyce was not available and they were sent to another Berlitz school in Pola (Bulson, 2006: 7). There, Joyce improved his Italian and continued to write *Stephen Hero*, as well as sending the chapters to Stanislaus for critical feedback. He also read extensively as usual, varying from socialist pamphlets to novels and stories. Moreover, Nora became pregnant with their first child. After only a few months, much to their delight, they had to move to Trieste, where they would stay for ten years as they were expelled from Pola with the other foreigners (Anderson, 1998: 59-60).

Despite belonging to Austro-Hungarian Empire at that time, Trieste was mainly Italian. Unlike Pola, however, it was a very cosmopolitan city. In addition to Italians, Austrians, and Hungarians, it was also composed of Greeks, Slavs, Turks, Albanians, and Jews. After arriving in Trieste, above all, Joyce had to find a proper job. Since he was against the idea of marriage, Nora agreed to elope with him only on the condition that he took care of her financially. Also, with the birth of their first child Giorgio in 27 July 1905, he had to be even more responsible as a family man (Bulson, 2006: 7). Thus, in order to be able to get monetary support, Joyce finally convinced his brother Stanislaus to come live with them in Trieste. Stanislaus immediately took over his job at the Berlitz school and shouldered his many responsibilities which would result in him calling himself his “brother’s keeper” later on. In July 1906, when Joyce found a new job in a bank, the family moved to Rome

and left Stanislaus behind. However, Joyce could not write anything there because of the long business hours. Besides, Nora was pregnant again with their daughter Lucia, who would be born in 26 July 1907, and they decided to return to Trieste (Anderson, 1998: 63-66).

During those Trieste years, Joyce's duties as a husband and a father were in a constant battle with his dreams as a writer (Bulson, 2006: 8). He could get neither his poetry collection *Chamber Music* nor short story collection *Dubliners* published and hence he felt more and more disappointed and started to doubt himself. Nonetheless, he continued to write and finished one of his most acclaimed stories, "The Dead", which he began writing in Rome. What is more, he decided to turn *Stephen Hero* into a much shorter yet still highly autobiographical novel called *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*. It would consist of five chapters and be rewritten in a new style (Anderson, 1998: 66-67). As Joyce was mostly unpublished in Trieste, he was not recognised as a writer of fiction among the public. Instead, he was the English teacher, university lecturer, translator, and journalist. Occasionally, he wrote articles on Irish politics, culture and literature for Trieste's daily newspaper, *Il Piccolo della Sera*, delivered lectures on the same subjects, and translated the works of Irish writers into Italian. "Although he was antagonistic to Irish nationalist movements when he was in Ireland, in Trieste he was the self-appointed mouthpiece for the Irish, and he used these public performances to introduce and defend his native country" (Bulson, 2006: 9). He once even admitted in a letter to Stanislaus that he had been "unnecessarily harsh" to Ireland (Gorman, 1941: 170). Moreover, during one of his visits to Dublin, although it failed after a short while, he opened the Volta cinema which was the first movie theatre of his hometown (Anderson, 1967: 75). Hence, it is possible to observe that there was a noticeable change from negative to positive in his attitude towards Ireland and Irish issues in general.

1.2.1.5. A Published Writer

In December 1913, Joyce's fortunes finally began to turn as a writer. Upon Yeats's advice, the American poet Ezra Pound wrote Joyce to ask if he wanted to publish

anything he could send him. Pound was residing in London in that time and had influence over certain British and American magazines. He wanted to include Joyce's poem "I Hear an Army" in his collection called *Des Imagistes*. Reading the first chapter of *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*, he was deeply impressed and sent it to the editor of *The Egoist* promptly to get the novel serialized. Furthermore, he arranged a few stories from the *Dubliners* to be published in *The Smart Set* (Bulson, 2006: 10). Pound's encouragement can overall be deemed as a turning point in Joyce's career in terms of publishing, considering it enabled his works to finally come forth and open up to the world.

Just when things were looking up on the artistic side of his life, the First World War broke out with the crisis between Austria-Hungary and Serbia. As a result, the Joyce family had to leave Trieste and move to the neutral Zurich where they would mostly get by thanks to the grants arranged by Yeats and Pound and through the literary patronages of Edith McCormick Rockefeller and Harriet Shaw Weaver. Therefore, during the war Joyce would be able to devote most of his time to writing, specifically *Ulysses* (Bulson, 2006: 10). Again in Zurich, in 1916, he also made a deal with the American publishing house B. W Huebsch to bring out *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* as a book. Although *Dubliners*, which was finally published in 1914 after many years of rejection, did not sell well enough, *A Portrait* proved a bigger success accompanied by positive reviews (Anderson, 1998: 83). It was a prolific time for Joyce as he also completed *Exiles*, which he started writing back in 1913. His only play was published by Grant Richards in 1918 but the reviews were mixed and Yeats rejected its staging at the Abbey Theatre (Beja, 1992: 61).

1.2.1.6. Paris

After the war ended in 1919, the Joyce family returned to Trieste which was now taken over by the Italian kingdom. Stanislaus was not happy with this intrusion as he was newly released from the detention camp, where he was kept during the war because of his political views, and trying to get his life together. Also their sister

Eileen, who arrived in 1910 with Joyce following his trip to Dublin, was also in Trieste with her husband and two children. Hence, they were all cramped in a one-bedroom apartment for nine months. In the midst of this hopeless situation, Pound was once again Joyce's saviour. After seven years of correspondence, they finally met in Italy in 1920 (Bulson, 2006: 12). He convinced Joyce to move to Paris which was the literary hub of the time. Although Joyce's initial plan was to settle in London, which was closer to Dublin and his father, the family lived in Paris for the following twenty years. He never saw his father again and grew apart from his siblings, Stanislaus and Eileen (Anderson, 2006: 98).

In Paris, Joyce befriended Sylvia Beach, a young American woman who owned the bookshop Shakespeare and Company and would become the publisher of *Ulysses* and *Poems and Penyeach*. Thanks to Beach and Pound, Joyce was able to meet many of his contemporaries such as T. S. Eliot, Marcel Proust, Ernest Hemingway, Gertrude Stein, F. Scott Fitzgerald and so on (Anderson, 1998: 100).

Meanwhile, on the other side of the ocean, in New York, *Ulysses* was being serialized in an avant-garde magazine called *The Little Review* since March 1918 (Anderson, 1998: 91). The public attention was huge in Paris due to the advertisement skills of Beach and Pound. An obstacle regarding its publishing as a book was about to come up nonetheless. The New York Society for the Prevention of Vice had the copies of *The Little Review* seized and brought the editors, Jane Heap and Margaret Anderson, into court as the "Nausicaa" chapter of *Ulysses* caught their attention on account of obscenity (Bulson, 2006: 13). Because of this incident no publishing house would accept *Ulysses* without some alterations. Joyce, on the other hand, was against changing even a single word as always. He was determined to openly write about sexuality and break taboos (O'Brien, 2006: 65). Demonstrating his insistence by saying that "I have very little intention of prostituting whatever talent I may have to the public" (Joyce, 1966: 137 in Beja, 1992: 37), he refused to compromise. So this time Beach came to his rescue and suggested publishing the book via her bookstore, Shakespeare and Company. Upon accepting the offer and revising the text, Joyce was finally able to publish his magnum opus, *Ulysses*, in Paris on his fortieth birthday. Reviews were mixed: While Pound, Eliot, Hemingway,

and Stein were among those who highly praised it, Yeats, Shaw, Woolf and Joyce's father were among those who could not even finish it all (Anderson, 1998: 106-109).

Following *Ulysses*'s publication, Joyce did not write anything for a year and then embarked on a new project, telling Miss Weaver that he was going to write "a history of the world". His last book, *Finnegans Wake*, kept Joyce busy for sixteen years due to its enormous complexity. Additionally, there were health problems. Joyce's eye troubles deteriorated and he was undergoing operation after operation. He would soon become near blind (Anderson, 1998: 110). Moreover, the mental illness of his daughter Lucia, whose schizophrenia became apparent by the beginning of 1920s, was worsening (ibid.: 102). For some time, Joyce tried too hard to ignore it and encouraged her interests such as dancing and painting (Bulson, 2006: 15). But he eventually gave in and took her to several physicians, among whom was Carl Jung (Anderson, 1998: 120). Nevertheless, her outbursts continued to occur and she had to be confined to a private sanatorium in 1936 (Bulson, 2006: 15).

During the writing process of *Finnegans Wake*, discouraged by the remarks of Pound, Miss Weaver and others regarding the book's incomprehensibility, Joyce published his other poetry collection entitled *Pomes Penyeach* to partly prove that a side of him still advocated simplicity (Anderson, 1998: 113-114). On the personal affairs of his life, a few important things must be highlighted as they also affected the course of his writing. Joyce married Nora in 1931 officially to make certain that in case of his death his estate would be passed on to his wife and children. A few months later, his father died and while grieving he thought about abandoning *Finnegans Wake*. Thanks to the birth of his grandson Stephen James in 1932, however, he was inspired to write again (Bulson, 2006: 15). The book was finally published by Faber and Faber in England and The Viking Press in America on 4 May 1939 (Anderson, 1998: 124).

As seen, Joyce spent most of his writing career in Paris, the capital of all avant-garde arts. The liberal atmosphere of Paris gave the author the necessary creative room and energy to write his most revolutionary and bold novels of *Ulysses* and *Finnegans Wake*. Nonetheless, when he became worried that another war would break out, he moved to Zurich once again with his family. Upon arriving there, he

got really sick and eventually died in 13 January 1941 at the age of fifty-nine (Bulson, 2006: 16).

1.2.2. Literary Style

James Joyce is generally accepted as one of the most prominent representatives of modernist literature. He was very innovative in his way of writing, to say the least. Before *Ulysses* or *Finnegans Wake* there were no literary works that even slightly resembled them and it would not be an exaggeration to state that the course of literature were never quite the same afterwards. These books inspired many newcomers as well as writers who had already secured their position in literary circles. For instance, T. S. Eliot was reportedly influenced by *Ulysses* while writing perhaps the finest example of modernist poetry *The Waste Land* (1922) (Anderson, 1998: 108). Fascinated by Joyce's accomplishment, Eliot claimed that "the book [*Ulysses*] would be a landmark because it destroyed the whole of the nineteenth century [...] It showed up the futility of all English styles" (Bulson, 2006: 20). In addition to Eliot, in terms of literary modernism, Joyce was surrounded by so many acclaimed authors all around the world including but not limited to Virginia Woolf, William Faulkner, Franz Kafka, Ernest Hemingway, Marcel Proust, and Gertrude Stein (ibid.: 18).

Joyce once complained that "for too long were the stars studied and man's insides neglected. An eclipse of the sun could be predicted many centuries before anyone knew which way the blood circulated in our bodies" (Beja, 1992: 65). This point of view speaks volumes about his approach to writing as he wanted to give voice to people. Although he himself never used the term (ibid.: 66), Joyce is regarded as one of the masters of stream of consciousness. It is a literary technique that aims to record the uninterrupted flow of thoughts and feelings going through a character's mind (Childs and Fowler, 2006: 224). The term was coined by William James in *Principles of Psychology* (1890) and is often used interchangeably with another term called 'interior monologue' (Cuddon, 1992: 866). While there are numerous famous precursors of stream of consciousness such as Laurence Sterne,

Henry James, and Lev Tolstoy, Joyce is believed to have embraced it after reading *Les lauriers sont coupés* (1887) by Édouard Dujardin, who was an obscure French novelist at that time (Beja, 1992: 66). But others claimed that he actually took the method from psychoanalysts Sigmund Freud and Carl Jung (Ellmann, 1982: 634). Wheresoever the inspiration came from, many writers started to associate the stream of consciousness with Joyce and, learning from him, produced distinguished works among which are *Mrs Dalloway* (1925) and *To the Lighthouse* (1927) by Virginia Woolf and *The Sound and the Fury* (1929) and *As I Lay Dying* (1930) by William Faulkner (Cuddon, 1992: 867). In fact, fellow modernist and contemporary of Joyce, Woolf praised him in her essay “Modern Fiction” for his deployment of the technique stream of consciousness as follows:

In contrast with those we have called materialists, Mr Joyce is spiritual; he is concerned at all costs to reveal the flickerings of that innermost flame which flashes its messages through the brain, and in order to preserve it he disregards with complete courage whatever seems to him adventitious, whether it be probability, or coherence, or any other of these signposts which for generations have served to support the imagination of a reader when called upon to imagine what he can neither touch nor see (Woolf, 1984: 161).

Therefore it can be concluded that stream of consciousness was a crucial device for the leading figures of literary modernism.

In general, Joyce aimed to show “the significance of trivial things” in his writings (Ellmann, 1982: 163). He made great use of titbits of everyday shenanigans while converting his life into fiction. Moreover, he also included his many relatives and acquaintances as characters in his books either by pseudonyms or their own names. For instance, his mother’s brother William Murray shows up as Richie Goulding in *Ulysses* and William’s wife, Josephine, who remained his friend and confidante until she died, is presented under her own name in *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* (Anderson, 1998: 10).

Joyce also ardently utilized a special technique called mimetic style. He was already experimenting with this “stylistic imitation of life” in his earlier writings but further developed it in his more mature works (Anderson, 1998: 52). Although he is not the inventor of mimetic style, it can be claimed nonetheless that he is the greatest

practitioner of it. In his works, Joyce preferred to reflect the sound of the object rather than the subject. Thus, he gave voice to the character and his/her thoughts and feelings instead of the author. With the onomatopoeic use of words, he mimicked the sounds of nature and makes the reader hear even the ripples in rivers and clattering of stones (ibid.).

Joyce did not shy away from making his books too complex and difficult to read. After all, even at a very young age, he had “gone to the trouble of learning Norwegian in order to read Ibsen, so he was not one to overvalue making things so easy that no effort to read him might be needed” (Anderson, 1969: 248 in Beja, 1992: 87). He was well aware of the endless possibilities that language offered him as he said to a friend, “I have discovered that I can do anything with language I want” (Jolas, 1941: 13 in Beja, 1992: 89).

“Looking intently at the world through words and at words through his experience of the world, he needed to name everything in his experience” (Anderson, 1998: 14) and this may as well be the reason why and how Joycean came to existence. This highly inventive private language included original puns, onomatopoeias and portmanteau words and so on. On this matter, the Italian philosopher Giambattista Vico’s groundbreaking *Scienza Nuova* (1725) had a shaping influence on him due to its conception of language and perception of cyclical history (Anderson, 1998: 78). Although Joyce followed this unique path while making use of linguistic features of languages, as far as the subject matter was concerned, he declared: “Don’t exaggerate. Tell the truth” (Gogarty, 1948: 48 in Beja, 1992: 35). Similarly, he also described his method as follows: “I try to give the unspoken, unacted thoughts of people in the way they occur” (Budgen, 1960: 92 in Beja, 1992: 66). Because, even though his works were highly revolutionary, he still wrote about ordinary people and daily life.

All of Joyce’s works took place in the early twentieth century Dublin, Ireland even though he spent most of his life abroad in Trieste, Paris and Zurich respectively. To justify this choice of his, he once responded to his friend Arthur Power as follows: “For myself, I always write about Dublin, because if I can get to the heart of Dublin I can get to the heart of all the cities of the world. In the particular is

contained the universal” (Tymoczko, 1994: 260). Certainly, there is also a sentimental reason to that decision: Joyce never forgot his hometown. When his another friend Hanna Sheehy-Skeffington asked why he only wrote about Dublin and not any other place, this time he answered with a little anecdote: “There was an English queen who said that when she died the word ‘Calais’ would be written on her heart. ‘Dublin’ will be found in mine” (O’Connor, 1967: 35 in Beja, 1992: 44). On the other side of the coin, however, he was always wary of returning to Dublin. There were probably two reasons to that — one artistic, the other personal. Firstly, he believed that he had to be away from home for the better sake of his art. When French writer Philippe Soupault questioned why he would not go back to Dublin, he answered, “It would prevent me from writing about Dublin” (Ellmann, 1982: 643). Secondly, he did not trust his fellow Irish folks and feared betrayal. He told Italian writer Italo Svevo that “it is dangerous to leave one’s country, but still more dangerous to go back to it, for then your fellow-countrymen, if they can, will drive a knife into your heart” (Svevo, 1950: 4 in Beja, 1992: 44). Joyce’s suspicions were not without foundation. Because, in Ireland, his books were banned until the 1960s and his name was forbidden in many households (Bulson, 2006: 20). Furthermore, even the official magazines of his schools, Clongowes and Belvedere, did not write obituaries following his death and did not mention a word about him or his works until the 1950s (Beja, 1992: 44).

Even though his Jesuit roots back in his homeland dismissed him and his works, the influence of Jesuits never completely faded away from Joyce until the end of his life. In accordance with his conservative upbringing, on the one hand, he viewed his works as moral fables and was inspired by Dante, Blake, Shelley, and D’Annunzio. On the other hand, however, he championed the idea that the artist must be amoral and indifferent and was inspired by Aristotle, Aquinas, Flaubert, and Wilde (Anderson, 1998: 62). As a result, this duality in his personality is manifested overtly or covertly at times in his works. But unbothered by critics who drew attention to the so-called contradiction, Joyce made his alter-ego Stephen Dedalus quote the American poet Walt Whitman in *Ulysses*: “Do I contradict myself? Very well then, I contradict myself” (Joyce, 2008: 17). Thereby, it is possible to conclude

this section with Whitman's following words from the said poem "Song of Myself" by appropriating them to Joyce: He was large, he contained multitudes.

1.2.3. Joyce the Modernist

"About 1900 anyone who foresaw International Modernism might have expected its language to be French; what would have been absent from his calculations was the birth in a Dublin suburb, 1882, of James Joyce" (Kenner, 1983 in Quigley, 2011: 182). This remark alone might be sufficient enough to indicate the significance and influence of Joyce as a modernist writer.

Modernism is largely seen as a denationalized movement – the work of "exiles and émigrés," "an art without frontiers," "the product of an era of artistic migration and internationalism" (Eagleton 1970, Williams 1988, Bradbury and McFarlane 1991 in Mackay, 2011: 94). Joyce fits into this generalization as he voluntarily self-exiled to other cities of Europe, namely Trieste, Zurich and Paris, from Dublin. However, Joyce did not write about life as an exile. Although his stories were always set in Dublin, he never dwelled on political issues such as British colonial power in Ireland, Irish Civil War, establishment of the Irish Free State and so forth. Instead, he thematically focused on the individual and broke away from the conventional views on political, religious, sexual issues. On this matter, he once outright said: "Don't talk to me of politics, all I am interested in is style" (Quigley, 2011: 183). Therefore, he mostly devoted himself to linguistic experimentations, formal innovations and complex verbal manoeuvres while exploring the character as an individual in modern society.

In Ireland, on the other hand, there was a soaring movement called the Celtic Revival during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. In many ways, it contradicted with modernism which was principally a cosmopolitan movement. The Celtic Revival aimed to rediscover and promote Irish culture in reaction to the hegemony of English culture. Hence, it was a part of decolonization endeavours. Centering on Gaelic, this cultural movement explored Ireland's old myths and legends. It specifically targeted Irish audiences and talked to them about their own rich folkloric

inheritance. The movement lured many contemporary writers such as W.B. Yeats, Lady Gregory and J. M. Synge (Wilson, 2009: 32-33). But James Joyce was not one of them. Unlike Irish Literary Revivalists who fixated on their ancestors' rural past, Joyce chose the path of becoming a cosmopolitan modernist. For him, "to be modern [was] to leave Ireland and Irish things behind" (Quigley, 2011: 171). He ignored the nationalist rhetoric and local issues in his literary works and addressed a global audience. He manifested this desire of internationalism perhaps most apparently by writing a multilingual work, *Finnegans Wake*.

Other than Revivalists, there were also realist writers who were against modernism although they lived in a time when it was peaking. For example, English writer Wyndham Lewis produced works such as *Time and Western Man* (1927) and *The Apes of God* (1930) partly to get back at Joyce. Because, he saw Joyce as the most symptomatic figure of the movement (Ayers, 2004: 66). In a similar manner, D.H. Lawrence, who is often considered as the antithesis of Joyce, criticized modernist writers like Joyce and Proust because of their abstract writing style. He thought they alienated the readership from the natural world and real emotions. He opposed to the view that regarded modernist writers as progressives who led the way forward (Paddy, 2009: 117).

For Joyce, one of the main goals was to "destroy the reality of the realistic novel" (Fokkema, 1984: 32). Because, realist works reflected the world as it is like a mirror. Modernism, on the other hand, challenged its hegemony and provided alternative modes to depict reality. It basically offered a new template for fiction writing. Aiming to represent human subjectivity, modernist writers came up with new methods such as interior monologue, stream of consciousness, defamiliarization, tunnelling and so on. Therefore, human perception and consciousness as well as emotion and meaning were represented in different ways (Childs, 2000: 3).

Furthermore, Joyce, and many other modernists, inherited the view of "art for art's sake" from aesthetes and decadents of Victorian age such as Walter Pater and Oscar Wilde. The said view put beauty and aesthetics above anything else and was originally acquired from French writers such as Charles Baudelaire and Gustave Flaubert. Rebelling against middle-class materialism and criticizing their apathy

towards art and culture, these writers chose to lead a bohemian lifestyle (Avery and Brantlinger, 2003: 245). Hence, they indulged themselves in the realm of pleasures.

In the light of above information, it can be clearly seen why James Joyce is one of the leading modernists and his books are products of modernism. If we were to pinpoint a time, deciding to rewrite *Stephen Hero* as *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* was a turning point in Joyce's modernist literary odyssey. Because, it "officially marked his turn away from nineteenth-century naturalism and toward the formal and linguistic experimentation that we have come to identify more generally with literary modernism" (Bulson, 2006: 17).

1.3. A MODERNIST NOVEL: A PORTRAIT OF THE ARTIST AS A YOUNG MAN

A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man was James Joyce's first novel. It was initially serialized in a modernist magazine called *The Egoist* from 1914 to 1915. Then it was published as a complete book in 1916. *A Portrait* is widely regarded as the most important *künstlerroman* of the twentieth century. A *künstlerroman* is a type of *bildungsroman* that narrates the growth of an artist. In this novel, we follow the physical and psychological development of the protagonist, Stephen Dedalus, from childhood to adulthood. In the beginning, just an ordinary child in Dublin, Stephen grows up to be a young man who decides to leave for Europe in the hope of becoming a writer.

Showing some parallels with the writer's own life, therefore, *A Portrait* is also a semi-autobiographical work. Resembling Joyce in many aspects, Stephen acts as an alter-ego and reflects Joyce's ideas and beliefs to a great degree in some parts. Still, some critics argue that readers must refrain from equating fictional characters with their creators. So it is important to bear in mind that Joyce never intended to write an actual autobiography. He tells a story centering on a fictional character that anybody can relate to, after all. Now, let us take a look into the plot of the book in more detail.

1.3.1. The Summary of *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*

The main character of *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* is named Stephen Dedalus and the book tells his story from childhood to adulthood by taking Ireland at the fin de siècle of the 19th century as the background. Through political, religious, and social conflicts in his hometown, financial difficulties of his family, interactions with his peers of different natures, Stephen questions anything and everything around him, faces real life and tries to come to terms with the world. The main theme of the novel, then, is the individual's rebellion against the norms and the rules of the society he is a part of.

A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man consists of five chapters in total. In the beginning of the first chapter, Stephen is just a little boy and his father, Simon Dedalus, tells him a story that starts with the usual "once upon a time" and filled with baby words such as "moocow" and "nicens". There are a few more elements that indicate how young the protagonist is. He likes candies, wets his bed and dances to hornpipes. In addition to Stephen's father Simon, we are also immediately introduced to his docile mother Mary, conservative governess Dante, and great uncle Charles. They are all Catholics and when the time comes, Stephen is sent to a Jesuit boarding school for boys called Clongowes Wood College. At first, he struggles with the school because of bullies and strict teachers. Feeling lonely, he returns home for Christmas and one of the most memorable scenes of the book takes place. During Christmas dinner, family members furiously argue over the death of Irish political leader Charles Stewart Parnell, who fell from grace after having an affair with a married woman. Simon defends Parnell as a nationalist himself and criticizes Church's interference with politics but Dante, who was once a nun, values God and religion above anything else and condemns Parnell. While having dinner with the adults for the first time, Stephen, on the other hand, watches the argument in utter confusion.

Back at school, as some boys broke Stephen's glasses earlier, he cannot write in the Latin class. Father Dolan, the prefect of studies, notices it but does not believe Stephen and accuses him of lying, and then proceeds to beat his hands with a

pandybat. Hurt and humiliated over this unjust treatment, Stephen goes to talk to the rector upon the encouragement of his classmates. The rector listens to Stephen and ensures him that he will talk to Father Dolan about the incident. When he tells his friends what happened, they lift him up in the air like a hero and cheer on him.

The second chapter opens up with the summer holidays in which Stephen spends most of his time with his great uncle Charles. Also, his father's friend trains him to be a runner which Stephen does not see as the right path for him. More interested in reading and writing, he reads Alexandre Dumas' novel *The Count of Monte Cristo* over and over again. Daydreaming frequently about the book and its heroine Mercedes, he feels different from other children. Moreover, he likes a girl and tries to write her a poem. In the meantime, the Dedalus family moves to another house in Dublin. Because of Simon's recklessness with money and alcoholism, they begin to face financial difficulties. When the autumn comes, it is revealed that Stephen cannot return to Clongowes as the family cannot afford tuition fees any more. But upon a chance encounter with the former rector of Clongowes, Simon breaks the news that the kids will go to a Jesuit day school called Belvedere College. Some time passes and Stephen is a teenager now. He is successful at school both academically and socially but he drifts away from religion more and more. Overtaken by physical desires, at the same time, he has his first sexual experience with a young prostitute.

In the third chapter, Stephen continues to delve into earthly pleasures and question faith. Moreover, he feels alienated from his classmates as he disdains them for their lack of intellect. One day, it is announced that the school will have a religious retreat. At this point, although Stephen has drifted apart from God, he is still fascinated by the rituals of Catholic belief. So when the rector gives sermons about death, judgement, heaven and hell with such passion, Stephen feels very moved and touched. Mortified by his ultimate fate, he immediately regrets his sins and prays for forgiveness.

In the fourth chapter, we see that Stephen has completely dedicated himself to Catholic piety again. He follows the rules of his religion so wholeheartedly that he almost has become a monk. He even tries to control all his senses to not give in to

pleasure of any kind. Meanwhile, he is at his last year in Belvedere College. The director of his school suggests that he could consider becoming a Jesuit priest himself as he is a model student and true believer already. Stephen contemplates priesthood but picturing that kind of life, he thinks it would be so gloomy and monotonous. Wanting to experience every colour life has to offer, he decides it is not the right path for him. Instead, he feels very excited at the idea of going to the university. Going for a walk, then, Stephen has one of the most famous epiphanies in the book. He sees a girl a young girl wading in the sea and comes to realise with great joy that he is destined to worship beauty and create art.

In the fifth and final chapter, Stephen is a university student. He is discontent about his environment and family. He has a few friends but sees most of them intellectually inferior. In a lecture, he has a discussion with a priest, who is the dean of studies, about the aesthetic theory he is working on. Deciding to become a completely free individual and devote his life to making art, Stephen rejects both the belief systems of Irish nationalism and Catholic Church. At the end of the novel, the young man packs up to leave family home and Ireland to get to know the world better and pursue his dream of becoming a writer. Thus, *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* tells the emancipation of the protagonist from the boundaries of country, religion and home to embark on a life devoted to art, in a nutshell.

1.3.2. Modernist Features of *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*

Now that we have given some information regarding the content of the book, we can proceed to its stylistic features which bear particular importance for our research. *A Portrait* is a *künstlerroman*, which means artist's novel in English, and tells the coming-of-age story of Stephen Dedalus. Unlike most of the products of this genre, however, the character is not the only entity that matures because his language also grows as he gets older. In fact, the changes in his use of vocabulary are manifested in the text itself since words, phrases and expressions become more complex and less childish as the novel progresses and Stephen becomes an eloquent young man.

1.3.2.1. Narrator and Point of View

It is possible to state that *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* includes multiple points of view. Most of the novel is told in third person perspective. By referring to Stephen as “he”, Joyce distances Stephen from himself in a way and places him in a position that anybody can relate to. Still, he is an omniscient narrator when it comes to delving into the inner thoughts and feelings, dreams and daydreams of Stephen freely. Therefore, the narration alternates between the outer world and inner world of the character. This technique is called free indirect discourse.

In the last section of the final chapter, however, narrative changes drastically as it is comprised of Stephen’s journal entries. It shifts from third person perspective to first person perspective. Stephen seizes the control of his story, as if his life, to prove his own agency. He wants to make his own voice heard as he finally becomes the young man that the title indicates.

1.3.2.2. Stream of Consciousness

Although the term was coined by psychologist and philosopher William James, Joyce got the inspiration from the novelist Édouard Dujardin. Among English novels, it was Joyce’s *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* that pioneered the use of stream of consciousness technique. It provided a direct link to the character’s mind without the intervention of the narrator (Dettmar, 2004b: 419).

In *A Portrait*, there are countless examples of stream of consciousness technique starting from the first page. In the beginning of Chapter 1, Stephen Dedalus tries to make sense of the world by observing the people and objects around him and the writer conveys his thoughts and feelings directly. For this purpose, Joyce deliberately uses simple words and short sentences to further emphasise that the protagonist is just a little child.

Example 1:

Once upon a time and a very good time it was there was a moocow coming down along the road and this moocow that was down along the road met a nicens little boy named baby tuckoo...His father told him that story: his father looked at him through a glass: he had a hairy face. (Joyce, 1996: 7)

Here, the story that the father tells is retold through Stephen's mind in childish words (i.e. *moocow*, *nicens*, *baby tuckoo*) without any punctuation. We also see the father through Stephen's eyes. He gives a few details about his physical appearance. He focuses on probably what attracts his attention the most and his thought process is rendered with a very limited vocabulary. Bearing in mind that Stephen is far from eloquent due to his age, Joyce uses *glass* instead of *monocle* or *eyeglass* and *hairy face* instead of *beard* or *moustache*.

Example 2:

He sang that song. That was his song. O, the green wothe botheth. When you wet the bed first it is warm then it gets cold. His mother put on the oilsheet. That had the queer smell. His mother had a nicer smell than his father. (Joyce, 1996: 7, emphasises are original)

In a similar manner, this time the mother is described through Stephen's eyes. Here, the emphasis is more on the smell rather than sight as if Stephen is still discovering his different sense organs. Again, there are sequential short sentences and simple and easily pronounced words. Especially by including a line from the song sung by Stephen with his barely comprehensible pronunciation (*O, the green wothe botheth*), the writer once again reminds us that he is only child.

As the novel progresses and Stephen grows, his thoughts improve in terms of both content and form as well. For instance, while lying sick in bed in the infirmary of his school, he imagines his own death in great detail as follows:

Example 3:

There was cold sunlight outside the window. He wondered if he would die. You could die just the same on a sunny day. He might die before his mother came. Then he would have a dead mass in the chapel like the way the fellows had told him it was when Little had died. All the fellows would be at the mass, dressed in black, all with sad faces. Wells too would be there but no fellow would look at him. The rector would be there in a cope of black and gold and there would be tall yellow candles on the altar and round the catafalque. And they would carry the coffin out of the chapel slowly and he would be buried in the little graveyard of the community off the main avenue of limes. And Wells would be sorry then for what he had done. And the bell would toll slowly. (Joyce, 1996: 26)

As seen above, Stephen ponders upon a very adult topic in this instance. As a matter of fact, television is yet to be invented at that time. Moreover, he can barely read at this point as he has just started elementary school. Taking these points into consideration, he most probably has had some actual experiences regarding funeral ceremonies in churches by this time of his life since he has a very religious Catholic family. Hence, based on his real-life observations, he envisages his own death and funeral in detail. He describes everything, varying from the colour of the clothes (*black*) to the size of the graveyard (*little*). But his depiction is not restricted to physical world only. He even imagines that Wells, the kid who bullied him, would regret his action and feel guilty as he would cause the death of a person. Overall, we see that Stephen is very pensive since childhood and has a wild imagination. As he is a very anti-social being, he talks a little and listens a lot which makes him a keen observer.

Example 4:

Did anyone ever hear such drivel? Lord Almighty! Who ever heard of ivy whining on a wall? Yellow ivy; that was all right. Yellow ivory also. And what about ivory ivy? The word now shone in his brain, clearer and brighter than any ivory sawn from the mottled tusks of elephants. Ivory, ivoire, avorio, ebur. One of the first examples that he had learnt in Latin had run: India mittit ebur; and he recalled the shrewd northern face of the rector who had taught him to construe the Metamorphoses of Ovid in a courtly English, made whimsical by the mention of porkers and potsherd and chines of bacon. He had learnt what

little he knew of the laws of Latin verse from a ragged book written by a Portuguese priest. (Joyce, 1996: 203, emphasises are original)

In this section, having rejected religious zealotry, Stephen is now a university student as well as an artist in the making. Working on an aesthetic theory, he dwells on intellectual matters like language and beauty more and more. He ponders upon a poem he has just composed and gets stuck in a word as usual. It is no surprise because he has been fascinated by language since early childhood. Here, the word *ivory* is significant. Stephen has associated it with his first love Eileen in the past: “*Eileen had long white hands. One evening when playing tig she had put her hands over his eyes: long and white and thin and cold and soft. That was ivory: a cold white thing. That was the meaning of Tower of Ivory*” (Joyce, 1996: 40, emphasises are original). Therefore, the word *ivory* has connotations related to not only spirituality but also beauty in Stephen’s mind.

As seen, Joyce tells the story through Stephen’s flow of thoughts. Therefore, we witness the emotional, artistic, intellectual growth of the character gradually through his mind. Delving into his inner world, we get psychological insights about human nature while he searches for his true identity. As he matures, his thoughts become more coherent and logical and he expresses them more articulately.

1.3.2.3. Poetry and Musicality

Stephen is very artistically conscious and appreciates the beauty of verse. There are lines of poems, song lyrics, hymns and prayers scattered through the book. This aspect brings a certain kind of flow and colour to the narration.

Example 1:

*O Lord, open our lips
And our mouths shall announce Thy praise.
Incline unto our aid, O God!
O Lord, make haste to help us!* (Joyce, 1996: 19)

Following the prayer of the priest in the chapel of the Clongowes Wood College, the children say the above prayer as a response. Joyce allows the reader to experience in first-hand that religion is a very dominant factor in Stephen's life at this point by adopting the "show, do not tell" approach in writing. Because, Joyce does not merely write that fact and leave it at that but, instead, he includes such exchanges between teachers and students in detail to further highlight the fact that Stephen is in a Jesuit school.

Example 2:

*Dingdong! The castle bell!
Farewell, my mother!
Bury me in the old churchyard
Beside my eldest brother.
My coffin shall be black,
Six angels at my back,
Two to sing and two to pray
And two to carry my soul away. (Joyce, 1996: 27)*

This is the song that Stephen recalls and repeats while lying sick in bed in the infirmary of Clongowes Wood College. He imagines his own death and thinks that the funeral ceremony would be both beautiful and moving. By including such lyrics in the narrative, Joyce aims to evoke emotional responses that cannot be achieved otherwise. Stephen states that the housemaid Brigid has taught him that song but it is not entirely known whether the lyrics were written by Joyce himself or they are from a real song.⁵

Example 3:

*O, come all you Roman catholics
That never went to mass. (Joyce, 1996: 39).*

Stephen's father Simon Dedalus also mumbles songs to himself frequently. Here, he alludes to "comic songs in Ireland known as 'Come all ye's' which start

⁵ See: http://www.james-joyce-music.com/song07_lyrics.html

with the phrase, ‘Come all ye (you)’” (Bowen, 1974: 36). This mockery can also be considered to be a foreshadowing that hints Stephen will refuse to take communion at Easter in the future (ibid.).

Example 4:

*'Tis youth and folly
Makes young men marry,
So here, my love, I'll
No longer stay.
What can't be cured, sure,
Must be injured, sure,
So I'll go to
Amerikay.*

*My love she's handsome,
My love she's bony:
She's like good whisky
When it is new;
But when 'tis old
And growing cold
It fades and dies like
The mountain dew. (Joyce, 1996: 100).*

This song is again sung by Stephen's father Simon Dedalus. They go to their original hometown, Cork, together for a trip and Simon reminisces about his lost youth. When they visit the university he went for a while to study medicine, his nostalgic yearning for the past becomes even more apparent. Moreover, he sinks deeper into alcoholism and poverty day by day. On the contrary, although Stephen feels much more like an old soul, he is the one young in age and the future holds endless possibilities for him. In fact, he will pack up to escape to, not America as the song suggests, but Paris at the end of the book.

1.3.2.4. Epiphany

Joyce uses epiphany as a literary device in which “fundamental meaning is acquired from a fragment of experience, or a character suddenly revises their view of

themselves or their social condition, radically changing their world-view” (Tew, 2009: 202).

Example 1:

The Vances lived in number seven. They had a different father and mother. They were Eileen's father and mother. When they were grown up he was going to marry Eileen. He hid under the table.

His mother said:

—O, Stephen will apologise.

Dante said:

—O, if not, the eagles will come and pull out his eyes.

Pull out his eyes,

Apologise,

Apologise,

Pull out his eyes.

Apologise,

Pull out his eyes,

Pull out his eyes,

Apologise. (Joyce, 1996: 8)

This is Stephen's first epiphany in the novel. He is only a child but declares that he wants to marry the girl-next-door Eileen when they grow up. However, Eileen is from a Protestant family and Stephen is from a Catholic one. Stephen is unaware of sectarian conflicts in his country. So he is very baffled and frightened when his governess Dante, who is a strict Catholic, reacts strongly against his childish remark. As a consequence of his sensitiveness towards words and sounds, he turns what he hears into some kind of repetitive nursery rhyme. This epiphany, moreover, foreshadows Stephen's later rebellion against the moral obligations imposed by Catholic Irish society.

Example 2:

On the desk he read the word FOETUS cut several times in the dark stained wood. The sudden legend startled his blood: he seemed to feel the absent students of the college about him and to shrink from their company. A vision of their life, which his father's words had been powerless to evoke, sprang up

before him out of the word cut in the desk. A broad-shouldered student with a moustache was cutting in the letters with a jack-knife, seriously. Other students stood or sat near him laughing at his handiwork. One jogged his elbow. The big student turned on him, frowning. He was dressed in loose grey clothes and had tan boots. [...] But the word and the vision capered before his eyes as he walked back across the quadrangle and towards the college gate. It shocked him to find in the outer world a trace of what he had deemed till then a brutish and individual malady of his own mind. His monstrous reveries came thronging into his memory. They too had sprung up before him, suddenly and furiously, out of mere words. He had soon given in to them and allowed them to sweep across and abase his intellect, wondering always where they came from, from what den of monstrous images, and always weak and humble towards others, restless and sickened of himself when they had swept over him. (Joyce, 1996: 101-102)

Here, Stephen and his father visit the university that his father studied medicine for a while. In the anatomy theatre, he sees the word “foetus” carved on a desk. He is shocked and embarrassed to see it in front of him so openly. Because, his lustful desires, contrarily, are hidden in his unconscious. He represses them due to the constraints imposed by society and religion. Nonetheless, the “foetus” word that Stephen strangely deems as obscene triggers an epiphany as he realises he is not a child anymore but an adolescent with physical longings.

Example 3:

—Heavenly God! cried Stephen's soul, in an outburst of profane joy. He turned away from her suddenly and set off across the strand. His cheeks were aflame; his body was aglow; his limbs were trembling. On and on and on and on he strode, far out over the sands, singing wildly to the sea, crying to greet the advent of the life that had cried to him. Her image had passed into his soul for ever and no word had broken the holy silence of his ecstasy. Her eyes had called him and his soul had leaped at the call. To live, to err, to fall, to triumph, to recreate life out of life! A wild angel had appeared to him, the angel of mortal youth and beauty, an envoy from the fair courts of life, to throw open before him in an instant of ecstasy the gates of all the ways of error and glory. On and on and on and on! (Joyce, 1996: 195-196)

This epiphany, perhaps the most significant one, occurs at the end Chapter 4 throughout which Stephen devoted himself to Catholic faith completely. Torn between going for priesthood and enrolling in university, he goes to the beach and sees a young girl wading in the sea. He cannot take his eyes from her for some time

and describes her beautiful physical features in detail. Suddenly he becomes aware of worldly pleasures again. He realises there is no shame in appreciating beauty and celebrating life. Thus he gets back on track towards becoming the artist he has always been meant to be.

All these moments of enlightenment that happen all of a sudden drastically change Stephen's outlook on life. Just as his mind and soul evolves afterwards, his views towards family, religion and nation also take their latest form.

1.3.2.5. Neologism and Multilingualism

Joyce begins the novel with an epigraph in Latin: "Et ignotas animus dimittit in artes". It is a quotation by Daedalus from the Roman poet Ovid's *Metamorphoses* and, in English, translates to "So then to unimagined arts he set his mind" (Joyce and Johnson, 2000: 224). Daedalus, the legendary Greek architect, builds a labyrinth but he and his son Icarus get trapped in it. He makes artificial wings so they can escape. Overwhelmed by this newfound freedom, however, his son Icarus flies too close to the sun. When his wings made out of wax melt, he falls into the sea and dies. Daedalus, on the other hand, survives and continues to make art (ibid.).

There are a lot more phrases and sentences in Latin throughout the book. For example, there are Jesuit mottos repeated several times. One of them is "Ad Majorem Dei Gloriam" which means "To the greater glory of God" in English (Joyce and Johnson, 2000: 236). Another one is "Laus Deo Semper" which translated to "Praise to God Always" (ibid.: 239). In the book, not every sentence in Latin is related to religious matters though. Stephen forms sentences in Latin while he is talking about his aesthetic theory as well. For example, he says, "Pulcra sunt quae visa placent" and it means, "Those things are beautiful which please the eye" (ibid.: 268). He also says, "Bonum est in quod tendit appetitus" which means, "The good is comprehended in that which is desired" (ibid.: 269). Moreover, Stephen and his friends from university use Latin frequently while having ordinary conversations in Chapter 5. For example, one of them says, "Nos ad manum ballum jocabimur" which means "Let's go play handball" in English (ibid.: 273).

There are also few phrases in French and Italian. A priest, with whom Stephen talks during his religious phase, mocks the capuchin dress he saw in Belgium by referring to it as “les jupes” which means “the skirts” in English (Joyce and Johnson, 2000: 258). Then there is a mention of a French delegate who holds a card that said “Vive l’Irlande!” which is French for “Long live Ireland!” (ibid.: 268). In Italian, moreover, there is a reference to an Italian dish, namely “risotto alla bergamasca” which literally means “risotto from Bergamo” in English (ibid.: 288).

Joyce borrows some words from Gaelic, the original language of the Irish, in order to include in his prose as well. For example, there is “sugan” which means “a hay or straw rope” in English (Joyce and Johnson, 2000: 285). Then there is “camann” which refers to the stick used while playing hurley (ibid.: 267). Last but not least, “drisheens”, which literally means intestine, is a pudding made by stuffing the intestine of the sheep (Joyce and Johnson, 2000: 241).

In the first page of Chapter 1, there are several examples of neologism by Joyce. Firstly, there is *moocow* which is the babyish version of *cow*. Secondly, in the same manner, there is *nicens* instead of *nice* or *nicest*. Then, Simon Dedalus refers to his son Stephen as *baby tuckoo*, which is actually a nickname John Joyce gave to his son James as a baby. Lastly, there is *Dante*. It does not refer to the Italian poet but Stephen’s governess Mrs Riordan. It most probably derived from the mispronunciation of *auntie* by Stephen as a child (Joyce and Johnson, 2000: 224-225).

In general, Joyce’s relationship with language is reflected through the inner thoughts of Stephen Dedalus below. In Chapter 5, while speaking to the dean of studies who is an Englishman, Stephen thinks to himself:

The language in which we are speaking is his before it is mine. How different are the words home, Christ, ale, master, on his lips and on mine! I cannot speak or write these words without unrest of spirit. His language, so familiar and so foreign, will always be for me an acquired speech. I have not made or accepted its words. My voice holds them at bay. My soul frets in the shadow of his language. (Joyce, 1996: 215, emphasises are original)

The Irish were the colonised, the other. For a long time, they were oppressed and exploited by the English. Although Joyce did not participate in Irish politics, it is possible to regard his multilingualism as a decolonizing strategy. Because he twists and spoils English as if he does not respect the language of the colonizer and tries to challenge its hegemony.

Whatsoever the reason was, it is clearly seen even through several examples given above that Joyce was fascinated with language and conducted linguistic experimentation in many ways in *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*. Thanks to his highly innovative style, deployment of originative formal techniques and deep engagement with aesthetic concerns, he secured his position among the major figures of modernist literature.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND METHODOLOGY

In this chapter, firstly the organizations, journals and the like founded in the name of James Joyce will be rendered in order to demonstrate his cultural impact and prestigious legacy particularly in the Euro-American world. Then, individual studies such as books, articles and theses on Joyce and his works written both around the world and in Turkey will be discussed. Lastly, the theoretical and methodological frameworks of the study will be given.

2.1. LITERATURE REVIEW FOR JOYCE AND HIS OEUVRE

The influence of James Joyce and his works around the world is immeasurable. He is, without any doubt, a canonical literary figure internationally. It could be safely asserted that he is a well-established cultural figure as well. To prove that point, in addition to the great number of individual works, around the world, there are many organizations, foundations, summer schools, conferences, periodicals, museums, even a festival dedicated to one and only James Joyce.

2.1.1. Establishments Dedicated to Joyce and His Oeuvre around the World

In order to further understand and appreciate Joyce, first and foremost, there are many establishments such as institutions, foundations and research centers located in Europe and America.

Among the ones in the USA and the first one in general, James Joyce Society⁶ was founded in 1947 at the Gotham Book Mart in New York City. Its first member

⁶ For further information, see: <http://joycesociety.org/index.html>

was a fellow modernist like Joyce, the American poet T. S. Eliot. Another one in the USA, the International James Joyce Foundation⁷ was established in 1967 at the First International James Joyce Symposium held in Dublin and is affiliated with the University of Tulsa in Oklahoma.

Among the ones in Europe, there is one in Switzerland, where Joyce lived for many years and deceased. It is called Zurich James Joyce Foundation⁸ and was established in 1985 to keep the memory of Joyce alive. Another one, The James Joyce Italian Foundation⁹ is an independent, non-profit association based in Rome and founded in 2006. The renowned Italian writer and scholar Umberto Eco is among the honorary members of the foundation. Also located in Italy, The Trieste Joyce School¹⁰ is a part of the University of Trieste. Moreover, in Belgium, Antwerp James Joyce Center¹¹ was founded at the University of Antwerp in 1991.

Furthermore, there are several institutions in Joyce's hometown. Established in 1988, The Dublin James Joyce Summer School¹² is affiliated with the University College Dublin. Another one, The James Joyce Center¹³ was opened in 1996 to offer biographical and historical information to visitors on Joyce and his works. Yet another one called James Joyce Research Center¹⁴ is tightly linked with the University College Dublin. It was founded in 2006 to encourage academic research on Joyce's works both nationally and internationally. Finally, James Joyce Tower and Museum¹⁵ is a museum dedicated to Joyce at the Martello Tower, where Joyce lived for a while. Also, the opening section of *Ulysses* takes place in this very tower.

Last but not least, I would like to give some detailed information about Bloomsday as it further indicates how Joyce is such a huge cultural figure. Bloomsday Festival¹⁶ is celebrated internationally every year on 16 June to pay tribute to Joyce and his magnum opus *Ulysses*. 16 June 1904 is the day on which

⁷ For further information, see: <https://joycefoundation.utulsa.edu/>

⁸ For further information, see: <http://www.joycefoundation.ch/>

⁹ For further information, see: <https://thejamesjoyceitalianfoundation.wordpress.com/english/>

¹⁰ For further information, see: <http://www2.units.it/triestejoyce/>

¹¹ For further information, see: <http://www.antwerpjamesjoycecenter.com/>

¹² For further information, see: <http://www.joycesummerschool.ie/>

¹³ For further information, see: <https://jamesjoyce.ie/>

¹⁴ For further information, see: <https://www.ucd.ie/joyceresearchcentre/>

¹⁵ For further information, see: <https://www.joycetower.ie/>

¹⁶ For further information, see: <http://www.bloomsdayfestival.ie/>

Ulysses takes place as well as the day Joyce went out with his wife and muse Nora for the first time. The festival is named after the main character of the novel, Leopold Bloom. On Bloomsday, Joyce enthusiasts from all over the world read aloud from *Ulysses*, dress up as characters, act out scenes and role play and visit the places mentioned in the novel. The first Bloomsday was celebrated as early as 1924 as a letter Joyce wrote to his patron Harriet Shaw Weaver refers to “a group of people who observe what they call Bloom’s day — 16 June. They sent me hortensias, white and blue, dyed” (Joyce, 1957: 216 in Fargnoli and Gillespie, 2006: 252). In Ireland, on the other hand, the first Bloomsday was initiated by the writers Patrick Kavanagh and Flann O’Brien in 1954, fifty years later from the date chosen for *Ulysses*. Since then, it is celebrated annually around the world by Joyce enthusiasts.

2.1.2. Periodicals Dedicated to Joyce and His Oeuvre around the World

Now, I will elaborate on some significant journals dedicated to Joyce and his works that are still active. Firstly, perhaps the most prominent and influential one, *James Joyce Quarterly*¹⁷ was founded in 1963 at the University of Tulsa, in Oklahoma, USA. It is the oldest existing journal of Joyce studies and has been enormously influential. Another one from the USA, *James Joyce Literary Supplement*¹⁸ was founded in 1987 and is published twice a year by the University of Miami. Finally, *Joyce Studies Annual*¹⁹ is currently reviewed by Fordham University in New York.

There are also journals from various cities of Europe. For example, *James Joyce Broadsheet*²⁰ is published by the University of Leeds three times a year since 1980. Moreover, founded in 1994 and associated with the Prague James Joyce Centre²¹, *Hypermedia Joyce Studies*²² is a refereed electronic journal issued annually.

¹⁷ For further information, see: <https://jjq.utulsa.edu/>

¹⁸ For further information, see: <https://english.as.miami.edu/publications/jjls/index.html>

¹⁹ For further information, see: https://www.fordham.edu/info/22921/joyce_studies_annual

²⁰ For further information, see: <http://jamesjoycebroadsheet.co.uk/>

²¹ For further information, see: <http://hjs.ff.cuni.cz/archives/v3/prague.html>

There is also *Genetic Joyce Studies*²³ which has been published by Antwerp James Joyce Center in Belgium since 2001. Lastly, co-published by James Joyce Research Centre and the National Library of Ireland, *The Dublin James Joyce Journal*²⁴ was founded in 2009 in order to shed light on the historical and archival investigations of Joyce.

2.1.3. Studies on Joyce and His Oeuvre around the World

Besides the organizations, journals and such that are explained above, there are, of course, a vast number of individual works, i.e. books, theses and articles, on Joyce. In the online main catalogue of the British Library, a search for “James Joyce” returns 4,282 entries in total.²⁵ Out of these entries, 2,462 are articles, 1,385 are books, 205 are audio, 99 are scores, 93 are theses, 16 are journals, 6 are moving images, 1 is a report, and 1 is in the category of other. Out of the 1,385 books, James Joyce is listed as the author of 621 books and the remaining 764 books are from 15 different contributors among whom are Richard Ellmann, Morris Beja, and Stanislaus Joyce. Out of the remaining 764 books, the earliest one belongs to Herbert Sherman Gorman and the 1926 edition of his book named *James Joyce: His First Forty Years*. This is the biography Joyce asked Gorman to write when he was still alive. Moreover, the earliest thesis is entitled *The Evolution of James Joyce’s Style and Technique from 1918 to 1932* (1954). It is a PhD dissertation written by A. Walton Litz from Oxford University. Finally, the earliest article is entitled “Context-Free and Context-Sensitive Literature: Sherwood Anderson’s Winesburg, Ohio and James Joyce’s *Dubliners*” (1988). It was written by Andreas Fischer and published in the book *Reading Contexts* (1988) which was edited by Neil Forsyth. It must be noted that there are re-editions and reprints among all these results. Also, apart from

²² For further information, see: <http://hjs.ff.cuni.cz/>

²³ For further information, see: <https://www.geneticjoycestudies.org/>

²⁴ For further information, see: <https://www.ucd.ie/joyceresearchcentre/dublinjamesjoycejournals/>

²⁵ The last search date was 28 June 2020:

http://explore.bl.uk/primo_library/libweb/action/dlSearch.do?vid=BLVU1&institution=BL&search_scope=LSCOP-ALL&query=any,contains,%22james+joyce%22&tab=local_tab

English, there are works from many different languages such as German, Italian, and Hungarian.

Likewise, in the online catalogue of Library of Congress, a search for “James Joyce” returns 1,539 entries in total.²⁶ Out of these entries, 1,055 are in the category of book/printed material, 287 are in the category of newspaper, 63 are in the category of audio recording, 35 are in the category of notated music, 32 are in the category of film, video, 31 are in the category of web page, 12 are in the category of manuscript/mixed material, 10 are in the category of photo, print, drawing, 10 are in the category of periodical, 3 are in the category of personal narrative and finally 1 is in the category of 3D object. The oldest book by anyone other than Joyce once again belongs to Gorman but this time it is the 1924 edition of *James Joyce: His First Forty Years*. Moreover, the oldest periodical is named *A James Joyce Yearbook*, which was edited by Maria Jolas and published in 1949 via Transition Press in Paris.

In addition to institutions, periodicals and such, these high numbers in the catalogues of two of the biggest libraries in the world demonstrate that Joyce is a widely-studied author especially in Anglo-American countries. Furthermore, books on Joyce cover a broad range of topics, such as biographies²⁷, research guides²⁸, companion pieces²⁹ and critical studies on his works from the perspective of modernism³⁰, feminism³¹, post-colonialism³², nationalism³³, psychoanalysis³⁴, religion³⁵, sexuality³⁶ and so on. Therefore, besides the abundance in terms of quantity, researches on Joyce and his books also show an enormous diversity in content.

²⁶ The last search date was 28 June 2020:

<https://www.loc.gov/search/?all=true&q=%22james+joyce%22>

²⁷ For example, *James Joyce* (2006) by Andrew Gibson.

²⁸ For example, *James Joyce: A Guide Research* (1982) by Thomas Jackson Rice.

²⁹ For example, *The Cambridge Companion to James Joyce* (1990) by Derek Attridge.

³⁰ For example, *James Joyce and Classical Modernism* (2020) by Leah Culligan Flack.

³¹ For example, *Joyce and Feminism* (1984) by Bonnie Kime Scott.

³² For example, *Semicolonial Joyce* (2000) by Derek Attridge and Marjorie Howes.

³³ For example, *James Joyce and Nationalism* (1994) by Emer Nolan.

³⁴ For example, *James Joyce and the Problem of Psychoanalysis* (2004) by Luke Thurston.

³⁵ For example, *James Joyce and Catholicism: The Apostate's Wake* (2017) by Chrissie van Mierlo.

³⁶ For example, *James Joyce and Sexuality* (1985) by Richard Brown.

As all the works cannot possibly be listed here, finally, I would like to add that, for the benefit of Joyceans, there is an online bibliography³⁷, which contains more than 1,000 books and articles related to Joyce and his works, and an online checklist³⁸, which has a database of citations and links to publications on Joyce and his works in any language dating back as early as to the beginning of twentieth century.

2.1.4. Graduate Studies on Joyce and His Oeuvre from the Perspective of Translation in Turkey

Most of the works related to Joyce are restricted to graduate studies in Turkey. According to my research on the website of National Thesis Center³⁹, there are 37 theses, 32 MA theses and 5 PhD dissertations. They are largely conducted by the scholars of literature, hence, they are mostly from the departments of English Language and Literature, and Comparative Literature. In addition to theses, there are also 14 articles related to Joyce in total according to the online database of DergiPark⁴⁰. Except for the 3 articles from Translation Studies which will be detailed below, they are mostly written by the scholars of literature and linguistics.

Despite the fact that all of his books have been translated into Turkish multiple times, there is very limited research on Joyce in Turkey from the framework of translation theories. Although he is widely accepted as one of the most innovative and influential authors of all time and has a solid position in the world literary canon, he has not attracted much attention from the scholars of Translation Studies in Turkey so far. My research has shown that there are only 6 works, 3 theses and 3 articles, in total exploring the translations of his books.

Chronologically, the first one is the master's thesis of A. Okan Demirtaş from Doğuş University which is entitled *The Bildung of Bildungsroman: Joyce, Winterson*

³⁷ For further information, see: <http://www.james-joyce.de/>

³⁸ For further information, see: <https://norman.hrc.utexas.edu/jamesjoycechecklist/index.cfm>

³⁹ The last search date was 30 July 2020:

<https://tez.yok.gov.tr/UlusalTezMerkezi/tezSorguSonucYeni.jsp>

⁴⁰ The last search date was 30 July 2020:

<https://dergipark.org.tr/tr/search?q=%22james+joyce%22+§ion=articles>

and *Kincaid* and completed in 2015. Although it is written in the department of Translation Studies, there are not any references to the translations of the above mentioned works among which is *A Portrait*. Translation theories or methodologies are also not utilized. Rather, this thesis examines the development of the genre of bildungsroman through three different exemplary novels of it.

A master's thesis by İrem Ceren Doğan from İstanbul University actually dwells on several translations of *A Portrait*. It is entitled *A Comparative Study of James Joyce's novel, The [sic.] Portrait of An [sic.] Artist as A Young Man, Within the Context of Literary Translation Strategies* (2019). Doğan uses concepts offered by Lawrence Venuti and Antoine Berman as the theoretical framework of the study. She compares three different versions of the novel produced by Murat Belge, Veysel Çetin and Fuat Sevimay and discusses translation strategies they used to render epiphanies, allusions, stream of consciousness technique and Joyce's unique way of writing. Furthermore, she briefly refers to Bourdieu's concept of *habitus* while commenting on how Murat Belge had the agency to defy the common norms of translation thanks to his upbringing and education while translating *A Portrait* in the 1960s. Accordingly, it is stated that Belge opted for a source-oriented approach by using foreignization strategies in order to mirror Joyce's literary style as much as possible (Doğan, 2019: 99-100).

The first and only thesis on the translation of *Ulysses* in Turkey so far is a PhD dissertation by Javid Aliyev again from İstanbul University. The title of this work is *From the Untranslatable to the Retranslation: The Odyssey of James Joyce's Ulysses in Turkish* (2016). Aliyev discusses the concepts of translatability and untranslatability and then canonicity and modernism. Then he gives a detailed account of various perceptions of intellectuals on *Ulysses* since the 1980s in Turkey. As for the case study, he compares the three different Turkish translations of the "Penelope" chapter by Murat Belge, Nevzat Erkmen and Armağan Ekici. Moreover, he briefly touches upon how Bourdieusian sociology has contributed to the discipline of Translation Studies when product-oriented studies seemed insufficient by foregrounding human agents who take part in the process of cultural production (Aliyev, 2016: 44). Thereby, he uses the concepts literary capital and cultural capital

to support his arguments regarding factors that enhance the literary prestige of a writer and a translator (ibid.: 26-29). Furthermore, Aliyev also has an article again on *Ulysses*, produced from his PhD dissertation in 2016 and entitled “Translating Molly Bloom’s Meandering Inner Voice: A Case Study of Turkish Translations of the Penelope Episode from *Ulysses*” (2020). It is the newest contribution to the studies on the Turkish translations of Joyce’s works.

The first and only study on the translation of *Finnegans Wake* in Turkey so far is an article entitled “A New (Mis)Conception in the Face of the (Un)Translatable: ‘Terscüme’” published in 2018 by Muhammed Baydere from Karadeniz Technical University. Baydere examines the notion of “terscüme” which is coined by the translator of *Finnegans Wake*, Umur Çelikyay. It is derived from the Turkish word “tercüme”, which means translation, and can be translated into English as “counter-translation”. Although Joyce published the book in 1939, it was translated into Turkish 77 years later in 2016 due to the controversy concerning its readability and translatability. Because, in the book Joyce makes up new words combining many different languages as well as including a lot of wordplays and mythological references. So this paper examines the two Turkish translations of *Finnegans Wake* in terms of paratextual elements and also with some textual examples to find out the possible motives of Çelikyay in introducing the concept of “terscüme”.

The first and only study on the translation of *Dubliners* so far is an article entitled “Translating Allusions: The Case of *Dubliners* by James Joyce” (2020) by Selen Tekalp. She investigates allusions, which are intertextual elements, by comparing different translation strategies used by Murat Belge and Merve Tokmakçioğlu in their respective translations.

As it is clear from the literature review, this thesis differs from the above specified contributions to the literature on Joyce made in Turkey so far since it is written from a sociocultural perspective with an interdisciplinary approach. It is primarily concerned with what kind of factors shape the translation of a text rather than what is inside a translated text. Thus, taking a look at *A Portrait* from outside

and conducting an external reading of its introduction to the Turkish culture repertoire in 1966, it attempts to pursue a different route.

This thesis will also be the first academic study to focus on De Yayinevi. Although there are a few researches on the owner of De Yayinevi, Memet Fuat, as a critic⁴¹ and a translator⁴², there are no theses on him as a publisher, as an agent of change. Only, Şehnaz Tahir-Gürçağlar dwells on Memet Fuat and *Yeni Dergi* together with some other publishers and magazines to discuss their emphasis on foreign material in her article “Translation as Conveyor: Critical Thought in Turkey in the 1960s” (2002). However, this study will greatly differ from it especially in terms of aim and focus as Tahir-Gürçağlar only elaborates on the non-fiction content related to Western critical thought in *Yeni Dergi* and Memet Fuat as the conveyor of this thought by using translation as a tool. Here, the focus will be on Memet Fuat primarily as the patron of modernist literature, both indigenous and translated.

There are also several studies on Murat Belge, focusing on his translations⁴³ and political opinions⁴⁴. Therefore, I will not examine the linguistic and stylistic features of the translated text he produced compared to the original as İrem Ceren Doğan already does it in her master’s thesis in 2019, instead, I will focus on the genesis of his *habitus* and accumulation of all types of capital as well as his trajectories and positions in the literary field in detail as a cultural agent who was the first to translate Joyce’s novel *A Portrait* into Turkish.

As the above information suggests there is much more to explore when it comes to Joyce and his books from the perspective of Translation Studies in Turkey when they have a great deal of material to offer for researchers. In order to help partly fill the gap, this master’s thesis aims to contribute to the fields of literary translation and translation sociology in Turkey.

⁴¹ For example, *Eleştirmen Kimliğiyle Memet Fuat* (2015) by Hikmet Bünyamin Keneş.

⁴² For example, “Criticism in Motion: Shifting the Focus in Theatre (Translation) Criticism from Page to Stage in the light of Harold Pinter’s *The Birthday Party*” (2013) by Burç Dinçel.

⁴³ For example, “James Joyce’un ‘The Sisters’ Adlı Kısa Hikâyesinin Türkçe Çevirilerinde Kültürel Unsurlar ve Çeviri Stratejileri” (2017) by Selen Tekalp.

⁴⁴ For example, *A Pseudo Consensus on the Concept of Civil Society: The Debate in Turkey in the 1980s as Illustrated by Taha Akyol’s and Murat Belge’s Approaches* (1993) by Cengiz Kırılı.

2.2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK OF THE STUDY

This section of the study will present the theories and explain the concepts and methodological tools that will be used in detail. Since an interdisciplinary approach will be adopted, the culture researcher Itamar Even-Zohar's polysystem theory and the sociologist Pierre Bourdieu's field theory will be brought together to complement each other for a broader look into translation, agents and cultural production.

2.2.1. Cultural Turn in Translation Studies

Ever since antiquity, translation has been a field of inquiry for many scholars. Cicero and Horace were among those who wrote about the practice and process of translation, contributing to the great body of earlier works. However, it was not until the second half of twentieth century that Translation Studies emerged as an autonomous discipline, separate from Linguistics and Comparative Literature, with the now famous paper entitled "The Name and Nature of Translation Studies" (1972) by James Holmes. Initially, researchers had been dwelling on texts themselves as their main concern was directed towards the dichotomy between "direct" and "oblique" translation (Vinay and Darbelnet, 1958), "dynamic" and "formal" equivalence (Nida, 1964), or "literal" and "free" translation (Catford, 1965) (Munday, 2010: 419-421).

Then, the "cultural turn"⁴⁵ (Bassnett and Lefevere, 1990) towards the 1980s saw the rise of concepts such as manipulation, power, and ideology and the move away from linguistic analyses of source and target texts, which were rather prescriptive and normative in nature. As Bassnett and Lefevere underlie, "there is always a context in which the translation takes place, always a history from which a text emerges and into which a text is transposed" (1990: 11). Thus, contextualising translations in historical, cultural, social and political backgrounds help researcher see the bigger picture. Subsequently, different perspectives bring about different

⁴⁵ For further information, see *Translation, History and Culture* (1990) by Susan Bassnett and Andre Lefevere.

approaches: Skopos theory (Vermeer, 1978), Polysystem theory (Even-Zohar, 1978), *Descriptive Translation Studies and Beyond* (Toury, 1995), *The Translator's Invisibility* (Venuti, 1995) and so forth (Munday, 2010: 424-425).

2.2.1.1. Polysystem Theory

Inspired by the works of Russian Formalists and proposed by the Israeli culture researcher Itamar Even-Zohar, polysystem theory aims to provide a functional and dynamic approach for the study of literature. Even-Zohar deliberately chooses to use the term “polysystem” rather than just “system” as it might be conceived as a homogenous and closed structure that bears rigid hierarchies. Accordingly, he defines polysystem as “a multiple system, a system of various systems which intersect with each other and partly overlap, using concurrently different options, yet functioning as one structured whole, whose members are interdependent” (Even-Zohar, 1990: 11).

Polysystem theory rejects value judgements while choosing what can or cannot be regarded as the object of study. Abstaining from adopting an elitist stance, Even-Zohar includes marginalised literary products, such as translated literature and literature for children, in the polysystem as well. Thus, personal biases or tastes do not assume determining roles and consequently a more scientific theory is built (Even-Zohar, 1990: 13).

The sub-systems included in the polysystem are not equal to one another and there is an everlasting struggle among them as all items of culture want to move away from the periphery to occupy a position in the center. In terms of literature, both canonized and non-canonized literary products participate in this process of changing positions as there is always tension between them. Furthermore, non-canonized repertoires, wanting to move to the center, challenge and threaten the canonized ones which, in return, feel the need to change under the former's pressure. Otherwise, the system would stagnate and become monotonous after a while. Therefore, these constant changes and movements ensure the evolution of the system and that is the only way to preserve it (Even-Zohar, 1990: 14-16).

Considering that there are numerous polysystems for various fields, it is undoubtedly possible to visualize a polysystem that is solely for literature. In fact, Even-Zohar defines it as “the network of relations that is hypothesized to obtain between a number of activities called ‘literary’, and consequently these activities themselves observed via that network” (Even-Zohar, 1990: 28). In other words, it is “the complex of activities, or any section thereof, for which systemic relations can be hypothesized to support the option of considering them ‘literary’” (ibid.). Therefore, while analysing literary texts, the intricate relations that dominate the literary polysystem are expected to be taken into account. Only then it could serve as a framework that provides answers to the complicated matters like “how literature or translation is correlated with other sociocultural factors such as economics, politics and ideology” (Chang, 2010: 257).

In order to further demonstrate how the literary polysystem functions, Even-Zohar explains the dynamics and interdependencies among the factors constituting the polysystem in the excerpt below:

[A] CONSUMER may “consume” a PRODUCT produced by a PRODUCER, but in order for the “product” (such as “text”) to be generated, a common REPERTOIRE must exist, whose usability is determined by some INSTITUTION. A MARKET must exist where such a good can be transmitted. None of the factors enumerated can be described to function in isolation, and the kind of relations that may be detected run across all possible axes of the scheme. (Even-Zohar, 1990: 34; emphasises are original).

To refer to the “writer”, Even-Zohar prefers to use the much broader term “producer”. He does not restrict it to a single person but attributes a larger meaning as the producers could be “groups, or social communities, of people engaged in production” (Even-Zohar, 1990, 34-35). Such an assumption holds true for the case of this thesis especially because it is a translated literary product. *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* was written by James Joyce and published as a book by the publishing house B. W. Huebsch in New York in 1916 after it was serialized in *The Egoist* between the years 1914 and 1915 with the efforts of Ezra Pound. Distinct from the said actors, however, a number of people took part in its first publishing as a translated literary product in Turkey. Firstly, there is Memet Fuat, the head of De

Yayınevi, who commissioned the book to be translated to be a part of larger repertoires (which refer to the repertoire of books published by De Yayınevi in particular and to the Turkish literary repertoire in general). Then there is the translator Murat Belge who took on the task of translating. Apart from these actors that will be focused on this thesis, obviously, there are also foreign rights manager and/or assistant, editor, redactor, typesetter, cover illustrator, and people (both employers and employees) who participated in the printing stage of the book. Therefore, it is possible to suggest that all of these actors are organized in various ways and, while taking part in a number of activities, they communicate with one another as their tasks are all interrelated.

The next term that Even-Zohar uses is “institution” and it “consists of the aggregate of factors involved with the maintenance of literature as a sociocultural activity” (Even-Zohar, 1990: 37). Governing norms of production and consumption, it “determines who, and which products, will be remembered by a community for a longer period” (ibid.: 37). The institution is not a homogenous structure as it consists of government bodies, mass media, publishing houses, periodicals, writers, critics and so forth. Expectedly, there are not harmony and peace but struggles for domination among these groups (ibid.: 38). In terms of this thesis, we could claim that Memet Fuat reacted against the dominant norms of the time. Because, while during the most of 1950s and 1960s in Turkey a specific genre called “village novel”, which dealt with the poverty of rural areas and written from a social realist perspective, was on the rise, he encouraged the translation and publishing of modernist works that defied the traditional prerequisites of content and form and focused on the individual rather than society. In the case of this thesis, *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*, is also one of these works as it is a part of the endeavour that Memet Fuat, as an agent of change, lead through two institutions — a publishing house called De Yayınevi and a periodical called *Yeni Dergi*.

Furthermore, the “market” is defined as “the aggregate of factors involved with the selling and buying of literary products and with the promotion of types of consumption” (Even-Zohar, 1990: 38). In short, it deals with financial matters. But while it encompasses institutions, such as bookshops or libraries, that host

merchandise exchange, it also covers semiotic exchange as literary activities take place in the sociocultural reality. Thus, market provides the much needed space for the said activities (ibid.: 38-39).

Yet another important concept “repertoire” describes “the aggregate of rules and materials which govern both the making and use of any given product” (Even-Zohar, 1990: 39). Interestingly, Even-Zohar refers to the *habitus* theory of Pierre Bourdieu, which will be the main theoretical framework of this thesis, and claims that it could provide a link between the repertoire and individuals or groups.

Finally, the “product” is defined as “any performed (or performable) set of signs, i.e., including a given ‘behaviour’” (Even-Zohar, 1990: 43). Texts are the first to come to mind as far as literary products are concerned and will be the focus of this thesis.

Translation is known to have taken an active role during the formation of national cultures. Yet the function of translated literature and its position in the literary polysystem, Even-Zohar particularly notes, are often dismissed by researchers. Just like the works of original literature, however, it is possible to detect cultural and verbal relations among the works of translated literature. Because, source texts to be translated are not selected in an arbitrary manner by the authorities of target literature as they affect the whole literary polysystem. Moreover, they abide by certain norms and policies extending the linguistic level (Even-Zohar, 1990: 45-46).

When the translated literature takes a position in the center of the literary polysystem, it becomes a vital part of innovatory forces and actively shapes the center. Since new literary models begin to appear, it is most likely that they will be introduced to the polysystem via translation. With the introduction of foreign works and features, the home repertoire will be broadened. Conformity to the circumstances that govern the home polysystem is a determining factor in the selection of foreign works: “the texts are chosen according to their compatibility with the new approaches and the supposedly innovatory role they may assume within the target literature” (Even-Zohar, 1990: 47). In the light of these information, it is possible to claim that with the efforts of De Yayınevi, Memet Fuat and Murat Belge, a new

novelist (James Joyce), a new literary work (*A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*), a new literary movement (modernism), and new literary techniques (particularly stream of consciousness) were introduced to the Turkish polysystem in 1966.

There are three cases where translated literature occupies a central position in the literary polysystem: when a literature is “young” and not completely established; when a literature is peripheral or “weak”; when a literature faces with a turning point or a crisis (Even-Zohar, 1990: 47). The first and third cases hold true for the literature of early Republican era. Especially the adoption of Latin alphabet in 1928 entailed the building of a new and young literary repertoire. For this very reason, works that were written in Arabic alphabet back in the Ottoman era, for example, began to be rewritten in the new alphabet. Then with the establishment of Translation Bureau in 1940 by Hasan Ali Yücel, translation of Western classics contributed greatly to the expanding of the new repertoire. Supporting the activities of the Bureau, the Ministry of Education was also actively involved in publication and translation. Since the proclamation of republic and the language reforms that followed could be deemed as turning points for the country, in this brand new atmosphere it depended mostly on translation for its literature to grow by importing foreign texts. Thus, translation served “as the channel through which the foundations of a new Turkish literature would be established” (Tahir Gürçağlar, 2008: 68). So when it came to 1960s during which De Yayınevi was founded and published mostly translated works, it could be observed that the impacts of the translation movement were still evident. After all, the relatively young repertoire still had a long way to go to flourish. By not merely preferring the common models and moving beyond the accustomed ways of text-making, De Yayınevi presented new options to the home repertoire. It was certainly risky as the target readership would regard those new translated works as too foreign in terms of both form and content. Nonetheless, De Yayınevi took part in this venture and contributed to the enrichment of Turkish literary repertoire by being innovative.

It is widely acknowledged that Even-Zohar’s polysystem theory contributed greatly to the realm of Translation Studies. As one of the initiators of the cultural

turn, it most importantly enabled the uncovering of complex relations between translation and other cultural and social phenomena. Additionally, by serving as a valuable tool, it paved a way for the evaluation of texts in a sociocultural context rather than being limited to a linguistic perspective.

2.2.1.2. Culture Planning

Planning has been an important factor and immense force in shaping cultures. It is undeniable, too, for many planning processes, translation has been a defining tool. So forming an interdependent relationship, planning and translation activities often go hand in hand for many cases of cultural endeavors. Now let us have a look at the definitions and descriptions of some essential terms by scholars Itamar Even-Zohar and Gideon Toury for clearer understanding.

Even-Zohar deems repertoire as one of the main concepts of his culture theory and in his article “The Making of Culture Repertoire and the Role of Transfer” defines it again as “the aggregate of options utilized by a group of people, and by the individual members of the group, for the organization of life” (2002a: 166). Whether a large group of people like society or a small group of people like family, cultural entities must always have a generally accepted repertoire to be able to make contacts in the same social sphere. The culture repertoire is neither natural nor intrinsic. It can either be constructed intentionally or unintentionally. There are two major procedures in making a repertoire: invention and import. Import happens when a certain good is not available in home repertoire. Making contacts with another culture with a rich and prestigious repertoire, home repertoire might seem inadequate. Thus, certain goods might be brought in to perform certain functions that are not currently present in the home repertoire. According to Even-Zohar, both “material” (foods, fabrics etc.) and “semiotic” (habits, laws etc.) goods can be imported to a home repertoire (ibid.: 167-171). Moreover, just as the case in this thesis, texts might also be imported via translation to enrich the home repertoire.

Further developing his theory, Even-Zohar defines culture planning as “a deliberate act of intervention, either by power holders or by ‘free agents,’ into an extant or a crystallizing repertoire” (Even-Zohar, 2002b: 45). Therefore, choices must be made and new options must be introduced to enable a change in the repertoire. Individuals or institutions assume the task of culture planning either as self-proclaimed or appointed by authorities. Here, institutions refer to “the aggregate of factors involved with the control of culture” (Even-Zohar, 1997: 31). They can be governmental bodies, educational establishments, mass media, publishing houses and so on. It is the endeavours of these agents that bring new tendencies into the repertoire. Therefore, in addition to goods imported, “what plays a role in the culture is the persons, the agents themselves who are engaged in the business” (Even-Zohar, 2002a: 172).

In line with Even-Zohar’s theory and nomenclature, Toury coins the term “agent of change” to refer to entities who engage in culture planning activities more than as merely text producers:

In each group, there is a small minority who act as producers on the level of the repertoire itself. Whether entrusted by the group with the task of doing so or whether self-appointed, it is mainly those persons who introduce new options, and hence act as agents of change. (Toury, 2002: 151)

However, any kind of planning attempt might as well face opposition, a counter stance. As a result, the planned repertoire might be halted and turn out to be a partial success or might be rejected completely and fail to be implemented. For any “form of unwillingness towards the advocated, or inculcated, repertoire”, Even-Zohar uses the term “resistance” (Even-Zohar, 2002b: 48). There are two kinds of resistance: passive and active. People who involve in passive resistance do not openly oppose new options but solely ignore them. Those who engage in active resistance, on the other hand, fight against the planned repertoire more openly (ibid.).

Since this study will adopt a sociocultural approach, before going over Pierre Bourdieu’s individual concepts, the advent of “social turn” after “cultural turn” in Translation Studies will be touched upon briefly.

2.2.2. Social Turn in Translation Studies

Thanks to the developments detailed above during the “cultural turn” of Translation Studies which placed the act of translation and translated texts in a broader context, we can finally observe a trend towards the sociology of translation. Because, there has been a gradually increased attention directed towards to the role of the translator instead of the translation product (Munday, 2010: 425). This new stage of Translation Studies has been referred to as “social turn” by Michaela Wolf in the book *Übersetzen–Translating–Traduire: Towards a “Social Turn”?* (2006) and “sociological turn” by Denise Merkle in the article “Translation Constraints and the ‘Sociological Turn’ in Literary Translation Studies” (2008). Here, it will be used interchangeably as there is no consensus yet.

Sociological approaches to translation have emerged when translation started to be seen as a social practice, highly affected by social arrangements. Relatively a new research domain in the discipline of Translation Studies, sociology of translation has been active since the end of the 1990s. Among the works of sociologists such as Bernard Lahire and Niklas Luhmann, the grand influence of the works of French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu over the sociology of translation is undeniable (Wolf, 2010: 337-338). Jean-Marc Gouanvic was one of the first scholars to emphasise the significance of Bourdieu’s field theory for the examination of translation since it is a “sociology of the text as a production in the process of being carried out, of the product itself and of its consumption in the social fields, the whole seen in a relational manner” (Gouanvic, 2005: 148 in *ibid.*: 339).

Around the world, many scholars applied Bourdieu’s concepts to their studies on translation. “The Pivotal Status of the Translator’s Habitus” (1998) by Daniel Simeoni, “How to Be a (Recognized) Translator: Rethinking Habitus, Norms, and the Field of Translation” (2005) by Rakefet Sela-Sheffy and “The Sociology of Bourdieu and the Construction of the ‘Object’ in Translation and Interpreting Studies” (2005) by Moira Inghilleri are among those works.

There are several studies by translation scholars who made use of Bourdieusian sociology in Turkey as well. “A Cultural Agent Against the Forces of

Culture: Hasan-Âli Yücel” (2009) by Şehnaz Tahir-Gürçağlar, *Translation, Obscenity and Censorship in Turkey: Avni İnsel as a Translator and Patron of Popular Erotic Literature* (2016) by Devrim Ulaş Arslan, *The Effect of Translation on Gaining Symbolic Capital for Publishing Houses: A Case Study on Ayrıntı Yayınları’s Publishing Strategy in Ağır Kitaplar Series* (2018) by Pelin Korkmaz are among them.

Here, also in this thesis, an interdisciplinary approach will be adopted by combining the polysystem theory by Itamar Even-Zohar and the field theory by Pierre Bourdieu. Hence, the main concepts put forward by Bourdieu will be defined and explained in the following section.

2.2.2.1. Bourdieusian Sociology

Considered as one of the most prominent sociologists of the twentieth century forward, Pierre Bourdieu contributed to many fields such as sociology, philosophy, history, anthropology, and literature by offering insights on language, culture, art, and education. Thus, his works are made use of by a broad spectrum of academic disciplines, varying from politics to theology. This applicability of Bourdieu’s approach is surely one of the many ways that manifests its significance to social sciences in general. The approach in question bears two main characteristics: first one is the “particular understanding of the link between theory and practice” and the second one is the “unique individual set of conceptual terms to be employed in the course of analysis and discussion of findings” (Grenfell, 2010: 2). Bourdieu called these terms his “thinking tools” and they always emerged in the process of his empirical studies on a specific social phenomenon or practice. Therefore, any study that is conducted within the framework of Bourdieusian sociology is expected to begin with already collected actual, empirical data (ibid.).

Although his official training was in the academic discipline of philosophy, Bourdieu eventually came to be known as a sociologist thanks to his experimental works in the field (Grenfell, 2010: 1). Hence, he was not simply a theorist but advocated the “theory of practice” as theory and practice engage in active mutual

interaction (ibid.: 4). Not isolated from the real world, Bourdieu based most of his works on an actual context. His primary goal was to analyse the social, cultural and political circumstances around him (ibid.: 15). Because, he believed that “sociology would be not worth an hour’s trouble [...] if it did not restore to people the meaning of their action” (Bourdieu, 1962 in Grenfell, 2015: 69).

Field, *habitus*, and capital are among the most substantial terms that Bourdieu came up with. However, they are not independent entities, on the contrary, they are highly interrelated with one another as they constitute a dynamic structure that is better understood if they are studied together (Grenfell, 2010: 2). Therefore, while going over each term individually it is also important to check how they interact within the structure.

2.2.2.1.1. Habitus

Bourdieu was against the dual opposition between subjectivity and objectivity and preferred to go beyond that. Because, if a research in social sciences only focuses on one approach it mostly disregards the importance of the other approach. Based on this point of view, Bourdieu came up with two inseparable albeit different terms that represent the subjective and objective aspects of the social world. These are *habitus* and field respectively (Grenfell, 2010: 46-47).

Habitus in itself also transcends dichotomies prevalent in many other approaches. In addition to providing a link between one’s past, present, and future, it also connects the social and the individual. Because, even though an individual’s life is unique in its course of events, it still has some common grounds with others from the same social class, nationality, gender, occupation and so on. *Habitus* also brings the objective and subjective together as it is both affected by social world and personal experiences. Lastly, it links the structure and agency. For this dichotomy, Bourdieu uses his now famous game analogy. Each social field is a ground for a competitive game in which social agents struggle to improve their positions. Those agents do not enter the field fully armed with eternal knowledge. On the contrary, they learn the rules of the game as the time goes by. They gain experience and get

used to the rhythm of the game. Instead of conscious decisions or rational calculations for our actions, Bourdieu suggests the notion “feel for the game” which refers to the practical logic and/or knowledge of social agents (Grenfell, 2010: 53-54). He conceptualises it as *illusio* “to account for what allows agents to become invested, taken in and by the game” (Inghilleri, 2005: 136). Because agents must recognise the stakes and find them worthy to take part in the game. It is understood then “the habitus as the feel for the game is the social game embodied and turned into a second nature” (Bourdieu, 1990a: 63). In that sense, *habitus* also relates to one of its precursors which is the notion of “habit” by drawing its strength from thoughtlessness and familiarity of routine instead of consciously learnt principles (Jenkins, 2006: 46). Therefore, Bourdieu opposes the idea of sheer obedience to rules and foregrounds individual agency.

Although *habitus* is probably the most widely used one among the concepts of Bourdieu’s field theory, it is very complex and often misunderstood. First of all, it is a Latin word which literally means “a habitual or typical condition, state or appearance, particularly of the body” (Jenkins, 2006: 45). Second of all, Bourdieu was not the first to use this notion as philosophers and sociologists such as Friedrich Hegel, Max Weber, and Émile Durkheim had already included it in their works before. Distinct from others, however, Bourdieu assigned a more active role to the concept by aiming to challenge the former fixed connotations of it (Bourdieu, 1990a: 12-13). For example, in *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, which is one of his first books on methodology, he defined *habitus* as “an acquired system of generative schemes objectively adjusted to the particular conditions in which it is constituted” (Bourdieu, 2013: 95). But this is not the only definition he wrote on the concept. As his ideas became more developed, he continued to describe and explain *habitus* in his later works. In that sense, a much broader definition is included in *The Logic of Practice* and it goes as follows:

[Habitus is the] systems of durable, transposable dispositions, structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structures, that is, as principles which generate and organize practices and representations that can be objectively adapted to their outcomes without presupposing a conscious

aiming at ends or an express mastery of the operations necessary in order to attain them. (Bourdieu, 1990b: 53)

According to this definition, *habitus* is a “structure” because it is ordered instead of being arbitrary or unsystematic. Moreover, aiming to reconcile the relationship between social world and individual agency, Bourdieu sees *habitus* as both “structured” and “structuring”. “Structured” because it is shaped by the conditions that surround one’s past and present like the family background and schooling. “Structuring” because it has a role in shaping one’s both present and future actions. Then, compatible with its own structure, *habitus* consists of “dispositions”, or tendencies, that generate thoughts, feelings, practices and so forth. Needless to say, *habitus* belongs to social agents, whether it is an individual person, a group of people, or even an institution (Grenfell, 2010: 50-51).

In addition to giving it a new edge, Bourdieu also keeps some of the original connotations of the concept. According to him, dispositions, which are the core components of *habitus*, are embodied in human beings. As *habitus* only exists through the practices of social agents, their interactions with one another and with their environment, such as the ways of talking or walking, then it is not merely an abstract concept. It is manifest in one’s behaviour because it becomes an integral part of one’s body. Therefore, by not completely departing from Aristotle’s *hexis*, Bourdieu emphasises the central role of the body to his conceptualisation. Because, it is bodily *hexis* that acts as a link between one’s subjective world and the social world s/he shares with others (Jenkins, 2006: 45-46). As Bourdieu puts it, “bodily *hexis* is political mythology realised, *em-bodied*, turned into a permanent disposition, a durable manner of standing, speaking and thereby of *feeling* and *thinking*” (Bourdieu, 2013: 93-94, emphasises are original).

Simply put, *habitus* concentrates on the way we think, feel, or act. It is surely an ongoing process, never a static position. Even while we are carrying our history within ourselves, by bringing it into the present circumstances, we still continue to make history with the choices we make and the paths we take. Our choices on how to act and what to think or believe depend on our dispositions, which are the experiences embodied in our physical being. There might be a certain range of

options available but we choose what is visible to us at that moment. That is because past experiences shape our vision, our perceptions of ourselves and the world, and we may not see some options as possible. But we might encounter those invisible options later in life since our *habitus* is not a fixed structure and evolves constantly (Grenfell, 2010: 52-53).

In order to show the interlocking relations among his “thinking tools”, Bourdieu draws an equation (Bourdieu: 1986, 101):

$$[(\text{habitus})(\text{capital})] + \text{field} = \text{practice}$$

According to this formulation, practices do not simply result from one's *habitus*. Instead, they are the products of relations between one's *habitus* and one's capital within the current state of the field (Grenfell, 2010: 51). To put it in another way, practices occur thanks to the encounters between the *habitus* and its dispositions, on the one hand, and the restrictions, demands and opportunities that the field in which the social agent is moving presents, on the other (Jenkins, 2006: 48).

As outlined above, *habitus* and field are very much interrelated. Just like two sides of one coin, they mutually affect, shape and transform each other. Therefore, to understand one concept better, the other also must be examined.

2.2.2.1.2. Field

To be able to draw a complete picture of a specific event or a social phenomenon, or to fully comprehend the interactions between social agents, Bourdieu believed that it was not adequate to focus only on utterances or happenings. Additionally, it was essential to explore “the social space in which interactions, transactions and events occurred” (Bourdieu, 2005: 48 in Grenfell, 2010: 67). For this end, he chose to use the word *field*. But contrary to the English word “field”, which evokes a rather lively image in one's mind, similar to pastures and meadows, he preferred to use *le champ* in French with its benign connotations instead of *le pré*. *Le champ*, as opposed to *le pré*, means “an area of land, a battle field, and a field of knowledge” (ibid.: 68).

Bourdieu claimed that it was a limited approach to explain the complex situations and relations in society in terms of merely economics and social classes. Hence, championing a broader point of view, he elaborated on field in an interview with Loïc Wacquant as follows:

I define a field as a network, or a configuration, of objective relations between positions objectively defined, in their existence and in the determinations they impose upon their occupants, agents or institutions, by their present and potential situation (situs) in the structure of the distribution of species of power (or capital) whose possession commands access to the specific profits that are at stake in the field, as well as by their objective relation to other positions (domination, subordination, homology, etc.). (Wacquant, 1989: 39)

Bourdieu uses the analogy of a football field to discuss his concept of field and likens the social life to a game. A football field is where the game is played. What players can or cannot do during the game depend on their positions on the field. The physical condition of the field affects the performance of the players as well. The game has certain rules. In addition to gaining certain skills, the players must also learn those rules and play accordingly. So just like in a football field, social field is composed of positions and social agents occupy them. Similarly, actions of social agents are limited and shaped by the field. The game that takes place in the field is, needless to say, a competitive one. Social agents try different methods so as not to lose their positions or achieve better ones (Grenfell, 2010: 68-69). Thus, revealing the power relations among agents is very instrumental in further comprehending the internal dynamics of a field.

From a Bourdieusian perspective, a field is then “a social arena within which struggles or manoeuvres take place over specific resources or stakes and access to them” (Jenkins, 2006: 52). Those resources that define the field are lifestyle, education, employment, social class, prestige and so on. In accordance with its defining content, every field has a distinct logic and structure of its own. The said structure not only produces the *habitus* which is specific to the field but also is the product of it (ibid.).

Furthermore, social fields operate with an autonomy to a certain degree. The activities happening inside the field pursue patterns. There is an order, not an

anarchy. Yet, there is a hierarchy among the social agents, not everybody is equal. Some are more dominant figures and act as decision makers while others obey the rules established by them. Thus, a field is a human construct with its specific set of beliefs. Bourdieu conceptualises the sets of rules and beliefs that govern a field as *doxa*. Each field has its own shape and practices, in short *doxa*, and social agents get to learn them to be able to adapt to the *habitus* of the field they occupy (Grenfell, 2010: 70). When describing the economic field, for example, Bourdieu uses the expression of a “separate universe governed by its own laws” (Bourdieu, 2005: 7 in *ibid.*).

Furthermore, Bourdieu suggested that a social field is not made up of a single field. Large fields may have several subfields. While maintaining the general logic of the larger field, those subfields also have features or rules and regularities of their own. For instance, art could be considered as the larger field, whereas literature, music and painting could be its subfields (Grenfell, 2010: 72-73). In this respect, it is similar to the polysystem theory of Even-Zohar as a polysystem is also divided into subsystems, operating both according to the polysystem and their own dynamics. However, Bourdieu opposes to referring to the field as a system. “[...] to see fully everything that separates the concepts of field and system” he contends, “one must put them to work and compare them via the empirical objects they produce” (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992: 104). Thus, other than acknowledging some surface similarities, he believes, unlike his field theory, system theory has a functionalist and organicist approach (*ibid.*: 103).

2.2.2.1.3. Capital

Bourdieu uses a language made up of a number of concepts that are derived from the field of economics. However, he does not take them as they are, rather, aims to extend their meanings. The most clear example of this practice might be adoption of the notion of “capital” as Bourdieu does not simply limit it to monetary exchange (Grenfell, 2010: 101). Distancing his theory from Marxism and attributing a bigger

role to capital, he elaborates on the issue in his article “The Forms of Capital” as follows:

It is in fact impossible to account for the structure and functioning of the social world unless one reintroduces capital in all its forms and not solely in the one form recognized by economic theory. Economic theory has allowed to be foisted upon it a definition of the economy of practices which is the historical invention of capitalism; and by reducing the universe of exchanges to mercantile exchange, which is objectively and subjectively oriented toward the maximization of profit, i.e., (economically) self-interested, it has implicitly defined the other forms of exchange as noneconomic, and therefore disinterested. In particular, it defines as disinterested those forms of exchange which ensure the transubstantiation whereby the most material types of capital—those which are economic in the restricted sense—can present themselves in the immaterial form of cultural capital or social capital and vice versa. (Bourdieu, 1986: 242; emphasises are original)

Thus, it is Bourdieu’s contention to apply the term “capital” to different kinds of goods exchanged in different fields. Although economic capital is still the most fundamental one, there are certainly many other types of capital. Moreover, those other types can be considered to be “transubstantiated” forms of economic capital (Grenfell, 2010: 102). Because, in terms of structure they are no different from one another. Other forms of capital, which will be detailed below, reproduce the same system in the economic field that survives on unequal relations of power and class. So even though they have their own distinct logic and principles, they still contribute to social inequalities by helping maintain the structure. The difference, however, is that the exchange in economic capital is transparent and palpable such as private properties salaries and profits. The other forms of capital, on the other hand, claim to have intrinsic value. But in reality the said value is totally arbitrary and not superior to the principles of materialism that dominate the economic field. Hence, other fields establish hierarchies of value based on their “interest” (ibid.: 103-104). Unlike economists, for Bourdieu there is not a single interest that reigns over humanity universally. So other than material interest pertaining to economic capital, there are many other interests. What is more, “these interests are cultural or historical constructions, [...], and can only be determined by empirical investigation” (Jenkins, 2006: 54).

So just as there are different kinds of interest other than the material one, there are also different kinds of capital other than the economic one. Capital, in general, can be defined as resources that “come to function as a social relation of power by becoming objects of struggle as valued resources” (Swartz, 2013: 56). Bourdieu (1986: 243) divides capital mainly into four categories: economic capital (material goods), social capital (relations with others and networks), cultural capital (cultural goods, services and activities like educational qualifications) and symbolic capital (prestige and recognition). Individuals, groups or institutions go for these various types of capital i.e. economic, social, cultural, and symbolic resources to maintain or improve their positions in the social field (Swartz, 1997: 73). Thus, capital is not distributed equally among social agents, rather, it is accumulated over time (Bourdieu, 1986: 241). In addition to being accumulated, they can also be converted to one another under proper conditions. For example, one can invest money in language learning by enrolling in a course and hence convert his/her economic capital into cultural capital.

2.2.2.1.3.1. Cultural Capital

In order to refer to non-economic goods and services, Bourdieu extends the meaning of capital in the economic sense and conceptualises “cultural capital”. Cultural capital consists of a broad range of various resources such as language use, general cultural knowledge, aesthetic tastes, and educational qualifications (Swartz, 1997: 75). In fact, Bourdieu came up with the concept of cultural capital while conducting researches on education to explain unequal academic achievements of children that come from different social classes (Bourdieu, 1986: 243). However, he did not limit cultural capital to educational credentials only and elaborated on its different forms as follows:

Cultural capital can exist in three forms: in the embodied state, i.e., in the form of long-lasting dispositions of the mind and body; in the objectified state, in the form of cultural goods (pictures, books, dictionaries, instruments, machines, etc.), which are the trace or realization of theories or critiques of these theories,

problematics, etc.; and in the institutionalized state, a form of objectification which must be set apart because, as will be seen in the case of educational qualifications, it confers entirely original properties on the cultural capital which it is presumed to guarantee. (Bourdieu, 1986: 243; emphasises are original)

Thus, the accumulation of first form of cultural capital, the embodied one, starts from childhood through socialization and being exposed to cultural activities thanks to the efforts of parents, teachers and so on. The individuals acquire cultivated dispositions by internalizing them. Because, unlike material goods, one needs to embody cultural goods and that is only realised if they understand their true meanings and appreciate them afterwards. Then, there is the second form of cultural capital which is the objectified one. It refers to books, musical instruments, and paintings, in short, material objects that require specific skills to make use of. Lastly, there is the institutionalized form of cultural capital which alludes to academic credentials such as school reports, university diploma, certificates and so on (Swartz, 1997: 76).

Regardless of the form, it takes time to accumulate cultural capital and one must be invested in this process personally as the accumulation cannot be handed down and dies with the individual (Bourdieu, 1986: 244). Yet still, later generations might benefit from it. Mostly it cannot be purchased and is limited by the individual's biological capacity and memory as well as the society and the period s/he lives in (ibid.: 245). Therefore, just like *habitus*, cultural capital is not distributed equally among agents but instead acquired either consciously or unconsciously depending on certain conditions.

2.2.2.1.3.2. Social Capital

Social capital simply refers to the acquaintances, social relations, and networks of an individual. Bourdieu defines it in his article entitled "The Forms of Capital" (1986) as follows:

Social capital is the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition —or in other words, to membership in a group— which provides each of its members with the backing of the collectively owned capital, a 'credential' which entitles them to credit, in the various senses of the word. (Bourdieu, 1986: 248-249)

The amount of the social capital that a social agent has thus depends on the connections s/he makes and on the amount of the capital, whether economic, cultural or symbolic, possessed by each of the individuals s/he is connected to. That means social capital is an entity that is never completely independent because it requires mutual exchanges (Bourdieu, 1986: 249). In other words, social capital of an individual will enhance thanks to the group s/he is a part of and vice versa. Therefore, being affiliated to a group will help the individual accumulate more capital.

2.2.2.1.3.3. Economic Capital

Economic capital refers to financial resources so it is directly related to money. It can also be associated with property ownership (Bourdieu, 1986: 243). Just like the other forms of capital, economic capital, too, is distributed unequally among human agents, thus leading to the formation of different social classes (Bourdieu and Johnson, 1993: 7). Profit motive, i.e. the desire to accumulate economic capital, is the most characteristic feature of capitalism which reduces countless possibilities of exchanges only to monetary exchange (Bourdieu, 1986: 242).

On the contrary, Bourdieu offers many different types of capital by enlarging the concept in an attempt to explain social relations and holds no hierarchy among them as he does not attribute them any intrinsic value. Therefore, using some terminology from the field of economics does not mean that Bourdieu holds economic capital superior to others. It is just a matter of priority if a person prefers to accumulate economic capital predominantly. Accordingly, s/he would engage in practices oriented towards enhancing monetary earnings (Bourdieu and Johnson, 1993: 8).

Furthermore, according to Bourdieu, having a great amount of economic capital does not automatically mean that a person also possesses a great amount of cultural or symbolic capital. However, under proper conditions, they can be converted to one another. For example, one might convert his/her academic capital into economic capital by landing a profitable job in their field of interest (Bourdieu and Johnson, 1993: 7).

2.2.2.1.3.4. Symbolic Capital

Symbolic capital is the most inclusive one among different forms of capital. It encompasses all the other forms of capital — namely, economic, cultural and social ones as detailed above. It generally refers to honour, recognition and status, then, it is a matter of credibility. For this very reason, it is also the most abstract form of capital, less measurable and countable than economic capital (Bourdieu, 1990b: 121).

Moreover, symbolic capital emerges when economic interests are resisted or rejected. Bourdieu explains how that happens in *The Logic of Practice* (1990b) as follows:

In an economy which is defined by the refusal to recognize the 'objective' truth of 'economic' practices, that is, the law of 'naked self-interest' and egoistic calculation, even 'economic' capital cannot act unless it succeeds in being recognized through a conversion that can render unrecognizable the true principle of its efficacy. Symbolic capital is this denied capital, recognized as legitimate, that is, misrecognized as capital (recognition, acknowledgement, in the sense of gratitude aroused by benefits can be one of the foundations of this recognition) which, along with religious capital (see Bourdieu 1971), is perhaps the only possible form of accumulation when economic capital is not recognized. (Bourdieu, 1990b: 118)

Therefore, there is a special logic behind symbolic capital. Agents must appear disinterested in material goods in order to gain profit in symbolic forms. Because, symbolic capital is founded on the basis of cognition and recognition. It is not consciously determined but accumulated as a product of the feel for the game of honour (Bourdieu, 1990a: 22).

Bourdieu deems symbolic capital to be the most important form of capital along with cultural capital in the field of cultural production (Bourdieu and Johnson, 1993: 7). For instance, for an author, a translator or a publisher, to make a recognised name for himself/herself or creating a distinct brand is the most valuable output of accumulation (ibid.: 75). Therefore, whether they are individuals like authors or institutions like publishing house, agents strive to gain recognition through specific sets of activities and strategies. However, symbolic capital cannot be directly identified with commercial success or even fame which could be due to notoriety and discredit one (Bourdieu, 1990a: 141). There must be a sign of prestige — either as tangible representation of appreciation in the form of awards, trophies, medals and diplomas or as abstract representation of appreciation in the form of power, authority, publicity, titles and degrees.

2.3. METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK OF THE STUDY

In this section, firstly, the process of data collection will be explained and some examples from primary and secondary sources will be given. Then, methodological tools, through which data gathered from miscellaneous sources are analysed, will be defined and described.

2.3.1. Data Collection

Data collection was a long and time-consuming process, to say the least. It would not be an exaggeration to state that it continued almost throughout the thesis.

As primary sources, I have benefitted from autobiographies, interviews and any kind of written material (essays, articles, books etc.) by the three figures studied in this thesis, namely James Joyce, Memet Fuat and Murat Belge. Firstly, Joyce's *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* (1916), which serves as the starting point of this thesis, was used for discourse analysis in the first chapter. Secondly, there is a book called *Konuşmalar* (2002) compiled by Memet Fuat himself. It consists of interviews done with Memet Fuat throughout his career as a man of letters for fifty

years from 1953 to 2002. There is also a memoir of Memet Fuat called *Gölgede Kalan Yıllar* (1998) from which I have benefitted quite a lot. There is another memoir by Memet Fuat himself named *Yazarlığın Eteklerinde* (2002) in which he gives an autobiographical account of how he became a writer. Moreover, there are several essay collections of Memet Fuat, consisting of his writings on artistic and social matters that were published in various magazines before. Among them, I have mostly used *Çağını Görebilmek* (1982) which consists of his essays between the years 1962 and 1969 and also *Biçemden Biçeme* (1999), which focuses on his views on literature in relation to political and social concerns. Thirdly, there is a book named *Murat Belge: Bir Hayat...*(2007) by Tuba Çandar. It is made up of a series of interviews conducted in a span of almost three years. The book can be seen as one big conversation because there are questions and answers one after another without any interruptions. Hence, Belge gives a valuable account of his whole life by answering Çandar's questions.

As secondary sources, I have benefitted from biographies, bibliographies, dictionaries and academic studies like articles, theses and dissertations. To be more specific, I have read several significant biographies of Joyce written by Richard Ellmann, Morris Beja, Herbert Gorman, Edna O'Brien and Chester Anderson. Among them, the one by Gorman was actually requested by Joyce himself. Since the two men knew each other and were in contact throughout the writing process, some might consider it the most reliable one. Some, on the other hand, think it is full of Joyce's interferences. Still, Ellmann's biography is regarded as the most detailed and rich one in content. Overall, though, all of these works have been helpful by highlighting various perspectives on Joyce. Hence, I have found it important to read different biographies by different writers for cross-checking to get rid of biases as much as possible. Then, for Memet Fuat, in addition to the above mentioned sources, I have largely benefitted from the official website (memetfuat.com) established by his family as it offers a very detailed biography of him.

Furthermore, I have made use of periodicals such as newspapers and magazines. I have scanned the online archives of some newspapers, mainly *Milliyet* and *Cumhuriyet* as they are digitalized and date way back, by using keywords to find

relevant material like news, reviews and advertisements from the 1960s. To scan magazines, I have utilized online catalogues of several libraries, such as National Library of Turkey in Ankara, İstanbul University Library and Boğaziçi University Library. I have also visited İzmir National Library several times to find physical copies of *Yeni Dergi* as there are not digitalized versions of its issues online. So, I have gone over manually all a hundred and twenty-eight issues I have found there from the establishment of the magazine in 1964 to its closure in 1975. From the library, I have acquired the digitalized copies of the most relevant issues as well in case I need them time and again. Especially the ones published in the 1960s have proven to be useful for my research as the 1970s exceed the scope of this thesis. In order to obtain information on *Yeni Dergi* and the other magazines of the 1960s, I have also used bibliographic compilations such as *Şairler ve Yazarlar Sözlüğü* (1989), *Türkiye’de Dergiler ve Gazeteler Sözlüğü* (1994), *Sanat ve Edebiyat Dergileri* (1986) and *Edebiyatımızda Dergiler* (1997).

Next, I have prepared several lists. Firstly, I have made a list of all Joyce translations published in Turkey from 1965 to 2019 (see Appendix 1). This list includes information about Turkish title, original title, translator, publishing house, number of editions, name of the series the book is a part of, number of pages and year and place of publication. Then, limiting my research with only one of Joyce’s works, I have chosen his first novel *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*. So, I have also prepared a list of all *A Portrait* translations done into Turkish from 1966 to 2019 (see Appendix 2). As the first thing, in summer of 2019, I have carried out a comparative textual analysis among the first five translations available at that time. (Three more translations were published after that which are included in the lists.) Thanks to the close examination, I have found out that the two out of those five translations were works of plagiarism. Seeing that, I have decided to problematize the first translation by Murat Belge published by De Yayınevi in 1966. Only focusing on one translation, then, this thesis does not aim to conduct a comparative textual analysis with different translation. Rather than how *A Portrait* was translated, this research aims to question why, when, where, on whose commission and by whom it was first translated into Turkish.

Finally, I have prepared a list of all the books, both indigenous and translated, I could find that were published by De Yayınevi (see Appendix 3) from 1960 to 1989. This list includes information about Turkish title, original title, author, translator, number of pages and year and place of publication. To gather these information, I have mostly scanned the catalogues of Prof. Dr. Fuat Sezgin Central Library of Dokuz Eylül University as well as İzmir National Library and pages of a very useful website (nadirkitap.com) that sells second-hand books. Lastly, I have benefitted from a bibliography named *Türkçe Çeviriler Bibliyografyası: Dünya Edebiyatından Çeviriler* (2017) by Mehmet Tahir Öncü as well.

2.3.2. Data Analysis

For data analysis, “extratextual” (Toury, 1995: 65) materials and “paratexts” (Genette, 1997: 4) will be used as methodological tools in this thesis.

In his book *Descriptive Translation Studies and Beyond* (1995), in addition to textual materials which are out of the scope of this thesis, Gideon Toury defines extratextual materials as follows:

[S]emi-theoretical or critical formulations, such as prescriptive ‘theories’ of translation, statements made by translators, editors, publishers, and other persons involved in or connected with the activity, critical appraisals of individual translations, or the activity of a translator or ‘school’ of translators, and so forth. (Toury, 1995: 65)

In the light of these materials gathered by any publication of De Yayınevi and *Yeni Dergi*, the introduction of *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* as a modernist novel to the Turkish culture repertoire will be scrutinized.

The concept of “paratext” which was put forward by Gerard Genette in his book titled *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation* (1997) will be used. It can be defined as “what enables a text to become a book and, to be offered as such to its readers and more generally, to the public” (Genette, 1997: 1). Accompanying the text, paratexts play a significant role in the presentation and reception of translated texts in the target culture. Paratextual elements are categorized under two groups,

namely peritexts and epitexts. Peritexts are elements that are included within the physical form of the book, such as titles, covers, blurbs, prefaces, and footnotes. Epitextual elements, on the other hand, are letters, diaries, interviews, reviews, criticisms and so on, which are located outside the book (ibid.: 5). Mostly epitexts will be made use of in this thesis as it will focus on the context surrounding the text rather than text itself. Therefore, conditions of the political and sociocultural fields of Turkey in the 1960s as well as those of literary and publishing fields in which the text was produced will be examined. Because, texts are not isolated entities, they acquire meaning within a particular context.

Moreover, Bourdieu's understanding of intertextuality will guide me throughout the process of data analysis. Because unlike Mikhail Bakhtin and Julia Kristeva which use the notion only to relate texts to other texts, according to Bourdieu, intertextuality means that "texts must be analysed both in relation to other texts and in relation to the structure of the field and to the specific agents involved" (Bourdieu and Johnson, 1993: 17). Therefore, in addition to internal reading of a text, external reading is also essential in order to delve into the complex networks of relation.

In sum, the method that Bourdieu suggests consists of three levels which are constructed in social reality:

(1) the position of the literary or artistic field within what he calls the field of power (i.e. the set of dominant power relations in society or, in other words, the ruling classes); (2) the structure of the literary field (i.e. the structure of the objective positions occupied by agents competing for legitimacy in the field as well as the objective characteristics of the agents themselves); and (3) the genesis of the producers' habitus (i.e. the structured and structuring dispositions which generate practices). (Bourdieu and Johnson, 1993: 14)

As seen above, the research will be conducted in the light of Bourdieu's method by using the methodological tools suggested by Toury and Genette. To this end, observable data gathered from plethora of sources will be critically analysed within the boundaries of the theoretical and methodological framework in the upcoming chapters.

CHAPTER THREE

HABITUS ANALYSIS OF THE AGENTS:

MEMET FUAT AND MURAT BELGE

As Wacquant elucidates, “the notion of habitus proposes that human agents are historical animals who carry within their bodies acquired sensibilities and categories that are the sedimented products of their past social experiences” (2013: 20). In line with the same understanding, I will try to answer why and how Memet Fuat and Murat Belge became a publisher and a translator of a James Joyce novel respectively by scrutinizing their *habitus* within the historical context. For this end, different types of capital they possess will also be examined. Along with cultural, social and economic capitals accumulated, particular emphasis will be put on symbolic capital. Because, it draws attention to certain assets and abilities that discern these agents from others and make them special. Thus, symbolic value increases their social standing.

In this chapter, mainly biographical data will be given because, as Tahir-Gürçağlar emphasises, it “may complement textual material geared towards unearthing and explaining translation policies, strategies and selection criteria in a given culture and time” (2009: 164). However, the reader must approach biographical sources with a certain degree of caution and bear in mind that we are “not dealing with facts but with their representations” (ibid.: 165).

3.1. HABITUS OF THE PUBLISHER: MEMET FUAT

Since *habitus* provides a link between an agent’s past, present and future, in this section, an overall look into Memet Fuat’s biography will be given, particularly, in order to examine his intellectual journey that resulted in the establishment of De Yayınevi, which published a James Joyce novel along with other modernist works, and *Yeni Dergi*, which contributed to publication and promotion of the said modernist works.

In order to obtain biographical information, I have mainly used a memoir called *Gölgede Kalan Yıllar* [The Years Under The Shadow] written by Memet Fuat himself. In this book, he mostly focuses on people such as family members, relatives, friends, schoolmates, neighbours and acquaintances, shortly, anyone that entered his life in one way or another. In his other memoir called *Yazarlığın Eteklerinde* [On the Outskirts of Authorship], he tells the story of how he became a writer with the encouragements of his mother Piraye and stepfather Nazım Hikmet.

For the details regarding Memet Fuat's life, I have also used the official website⁴⁶ founded by his family members as his inheritors (his son Kenan Bengü and his daughter-in-law Yeşim Bilge Bengü) to remember him and his works. Although it consists of eleven pages, it is a very comprehensive biographical⁴⁷ source as it focuses on many different aspects of his whole life from beginning to end. I have translated, albeit not word-for-word, by myself the relevant information I have found there. Unfortunately, I could not directly reach anyone responsible for the website to be able to get in contact for any further information as my several messages were left unresponded.

3.1.1. Family Background

Memet Fuat Engin Bengü⁴⁸ was born on 16 February 1926 in İstanbul, Turkey. His father was the actor, director and novelist Vedat Örfi Bengü (1900-1953).⁴⁹ Vedat Örfi's father was Mehmet Ali Pasha, an Ottoman general, whose father-in-law was the Grand Vizier Halil Rifat Pasha who served during the reign of Abdülhamid II. He knew French and was inclined to the Western culture. Thanks to his duty in sultan's palace, he travelled across Europe while accompanying kings (Fuat, 1998: 40-47). So coming from a noble and well-off family, his youngest son Vedat Örfi also knew

⁴⁶ For further information, see: <http://www.memetfuat.com/>

⁴⁷ For further information, see: http://www.memetfuat.com/turkish/frm_index/yasam_oykusu.html

⁴⁸ Although he uses the name Fuat Bengü as well in some cases, I will only use the more common one, Memet Fuat, to refer to him throughout the thesis for the sake of consistency.

⁴⁹ There is a thesis on him, which focuses on his literary works, available on the website of National Thesis Center. It is entitled *Vedat Örfi Bengü'nün Romanları Üzerine Bir İnceleme* (2009) and written by Yasemin Yorulmaz.

French and played the piano. Moreover, he was a theatre actor and wrote plays (ibid.: 23).

Memet Fuat's mother, on the other hand, was Hatice Zekiye Piraye (Prayende) Altınoğlu (1906-1995), who also had a noble and wealthy background. Her father was Seyit Pasha's son Ahmet Muhtar Bey who owned the Ottoman newspaper *Tercüman-ı Hakikat* (Fuat, 1998: 50). Piraye went to American School for Girls in Bursa but dropped off after her second year when she got married at the age of sixteen (ibid.: 257).

Vedat and Piraye got married in 1922 and their first child Suzan was born in 1923. When Piraye was pregnant with their son, Vedat went to Paris as a pianist with the hopes of earning a fortune to support his family and did not return for years. As expected, the marriage did not last long. Growing tired of waiting for his adventurous husband to come back for four years, Piraye left the mansion of Vedat's father with her son Memet Fuat (her daughter Suzan stayed with her grandfather) and started living with her own mother (Fuat, 1998: 51-57). But she officially divorced Vedat as late as in 1932 since he would still refuse to return to Turkey (ibid.: 94). Then, in 1935, Piraye married the acclaimed poet Nazım Hikmet Ran (1902-1963). However the second marriage did not last long either as Nazım Hikmet, the beloved stepfather of Memet Fuat, got arrested and sentenced to twenty-eight years in prison in 1938 (ibid.: 279). He would only serve for twelve years and near his release would leave Piraye for his uncle's daughter Münevver Berk, who was also married (ibid.: 562).

As can be seen from the information above, Memet Fuat originally came from a family that was high on economic capital. However, his lavish father would later spend off all the money he inherited both from his mother and father in his many ventures (Fuat, 1998: 431-434). So it is possible to state that Memet Fuat led most of his life as an upper classer who occasionally encountered economic difficulties. In terms of cultural capital, both his biological and stepfather were individuals who especially valued accumulating cultural capital in all three forms. For the embodied state, their knowledge of foreign languages, such as French and Russian, could be given as an example. Based on the fact that both Vedat Örfi and Nazım Hikmet wrote and translated books, it is safe to assume that they also read and owned books.

Additionally, they probably had typewriters back then to be able to write. Moreover, since Vedat Örfi played the piano, it is most likely that he also owned a piano. These possessions could be counted as evidences that they both also accumulated objectified forms of cultural capital. Lastly, they both received good education from schools such as Saint Joseph and Galatasaray High School. That proves they also had diplomas which are the main indicators of the institutionalized form of cultural capital. Thus, growing up in such an environment, surrounded by such people, it would not be far-fetched to assume that Memet Fuat started accumulating cultural capital from infancy. When it comes to social capital, being related to these people certainly came with both advantages and disadvantages. His grandfather Mehmet Ali Pasha was the most present father figure in his life. Because, his biological father Vedat Örfi was absent most of his childhood, acting and making films in France and Egypt (ibid.: 427). The fact that his stepfather Nazım Hikmet, on the other hand, was serving in prison on and off again also contributed to the unstable home life that Memet Fuat lead throughout most of his adolescence until well into adulthood.

3.1.2. Education

Growing up in this turbulent atmosphere of complex relations and moving from one house to another, Memet Fuat went to several different schools during his primary education (Fuat, 1998: 174). He was an above average student who was especially good at maths, Turkish and English (ibid.: 375). He also really loved playing football (ibid.: 369). Since his mother Piraye highly valued foreign language education, he went to Robert College for a year before enrolling in Haydarpaşa High School from which he graduated in 1946 (ibid: 239). During these school years, he was mainly interested in sports, varying from cycling to swimming. But his main passion was still football. Upset about his son's field of interest, Piraye urged him to read and write and also to send letters to Nazım Hikmet who was still in prison. She wanted his son to grow up to be a person who knew foreign languages and was interested in arts. Thus began the correspondence of the two men. Thanks to his mother and stepfather, Memet Fuat started writing poems and short stories and reading the works

of authors such as Dostoyevsky, Gorky, Zola and Balzac (ibid.: 371-378). In his letters, Nazım Hikmet also recommended him the works of Maupassant and Chekhov as well as those of Turkish writers such as Reşat Nuri Güntekin and Sabahattin Ali (Fuat, 2002a: 15). As seen, accumulating embodied cultural capital in the form of foreign languages and entering the literary field initially as a reader were mainly due to his mother's efforts and encouragement and also Nazım Hikmet's guidance as a well-read author. Needless to say, reading requires borrowing, buying or inheriting cultural goods such as books, encyclopedias, dictionaries, magazines and so forth. Hence, the acquisition of objectified form of cultural capital also took place. As he reports in his memoir, he borrowed books from the rich library of Robert College and bought books released by publishing houses such as İnkılâp, Hilmi and Remzi (ibid.: 373-374).

Nonetheless, even then Memet Fuat's love of sports, particularly football, never subsided (Fuat, 1998: 379). In fact, it almost became life threatening when he caught tuberculosis after neglecting his health and continuing to engage in multiple sports with a reckless attitude. Yet, he was still able to finish high school thanks to his understanding teachers (ibid.: 409-410). As for his university degree, he actually wanted to go for architecture but his doctor did not let him and suggested he chose a department without a compulsory attendance from the faculty of letters. Consequently, he enrolled in the English Language and Literature department of İstanbul University which he would complete in five years in 1951 (ibid.: 473-474). Receiving formal training and ultimately obtaining a degree, then, means that Memet Fuat acquired institutionalized cultural capital in the field of literature.

In addition to accumulating all three kinds of cultural capital detailed above, in university, he also began accumulating symbolic capital. Because, there he actually started writing — publishing his poems in magazines under pseudonyms as he did not have much confidence in them but using the name Memet Fuat for his short stories and essays (Fuat, 2002a: 91-93). His first book *Aşk ve Sümüklüböcek* [Love and Snail], consisting of short stories and co-authored with Tuna Baltacıoğlu, was published in 1946 (ibid.: 81). Moreover, the two friends, together with Oktay Verel, dived into magazine publishing as well. The name of the monthly magazine

was *Memleketimizde ve Dünyada Kitaplar* [Books in our Homeland and the World] and it lasted for eleven months in 1950 (ibid.: 133-137). The following year, Memet Fuat published his second book *Yaşadığımız* [What We Lived] which consisted of ten interwoven short stories that could also be read as a novel as a whole. In addition to seeking new narrative strategies, it was also a work of realist fiction. It immediately caught the attention of Adalet Cimcoz as well as the young critics Atilla İlhan and Fethi Naci (Fuat, 2002a: 89-91, 151-152). Again during his university years, he wrote and translated for *Aylık Ansiklopedi* [Monthly Encyclopedia] (ibid.: 151). Upon the encouragement of the writer, journalist and publisher Hüsametdin Bozok with whom he met during those days, he started writing essays for the magazine *Yeditepe* [Seven Hills]. Even though he did not earn much money, thanks to those essays, he received the approval of the leading literary figures of the time, notably Nurullah Ataç, and made his name known (ibid.: 152).

As understood, Memet Fuat's early writings were not best selling works that were highly demanded by readers. Accordingly, they were not enough for a person to get by either as he did not make much monetary profit from their sales. But despite not being at the receiving end of a substantial economic capital, there was still a crucial aspect to publishing books and writing in magazines as a university student that Memet Fuat greatly benefitted from and that was recognition. Thanks to his early works, he mainly started accumulating what Bourdieu calls symbolic capital. Receiving praise for his writings by the prominent literary figures of the time enabled him to stand out among newcomers. Having been welcomed by literary circles undoubtedly brought along a certain degree of prestige on his behalf. Over time, his reputation grew as a promising newcomer in the field of literature. Consequently, that enhanced reputation provided Memet Fuat an advantage on the course of creating his image as a successful writer, translator, critic and publisher.

3.1.3. Becoming a Publisher

After university, Memet Fuat worked as a substitute teacher for a while. But shortly afterwards, both public and private schools started not accepting his applications due

to his affinity with Nazım Hikmet (Fuat, 1998: 459-461). He tried to work as a private English tutor for some time but the health problems, stemming from the tuberculosis he had overcome as a teenager, prevented him from wandering all around İstanbul from one house to another. His doctor advised him to work in a warm room and not overstrain himself. Upon the suggestion of Hüsamettin Bozok, he started translating books from English. He translated short stories of John Steinbeck, Erskine Caldwell and Jack London, and the poems of Walt Whitman for Yeditepe Yayınları, as well as short stories of Edgar Allan Poe and Katherine Mansfield for Varlık Yayınları.

While he was writing essays and translating books, he was also pondering upon how to earn money and what to do to hold a regular job. Thinking that the publishing houses would be interested, he decided to translate *The Fundamentals of Contract Bridge* by C. H. Goren into Turkish with the name *Briç: Yeni Sayı Metodu*. But no publisher paid attention to it. Then Metin Yasavul, who was the husband of his sister Suzan and the stepbrother of Nazım Hikmet, suggested publishing the book together. He was experienced in both publishing and distribution since he both worked for Çağlayan Yayınevi and after its closing for İstanbul Matbaası. The first edition of this translated book was sold out in a very short span of time. Regarding the further editions, Memet Fuat and Metin Yasavul made a verbal agreement that the profit would be shared between them half and half. *The Fundamentals of Contract Bridge* was to be the first book of the publishing house that was soon going to be established. In the meantime, another important thing that would trigger this process was about to happen. Yaşar Nabi Nayır, who was the owner of Varlık Yayınları, offered to pay less than usual for a selection of short plays prepared and translated by Memet Fuat and Ülkü Tamer. The two men refused to sign the contract and met Metin Yasavul in İstanbul Matbaası right after as they had to find a new publisher for the book. Metin Yasavul said that the money left over from the earnings of the translation of *The Fundamentals of Contract Bridge* was not enough to publish the new compiled book as a whole but they could release the short plays in it one by one. Thus, a publishing house, De Yayınevi, was founded in 1960 without any financial investment and it was going to grow on its own as the books were going to

be published one after another. This boutique publishing house, whose publishing policies, strategies and criteria will be detailed in the following chapter, lasted for twenty years and made immeasurable contributions to the Turkish literary field (Fuat, 1998: 590-592).

During the late 1950s and early 1960s, in addition to becoming a translator and a publisher, Memet Fuat was also beginning to stand out as a critic. In 1959, he became the first winner of the Ataç Critics Award [Ataç Eleştiri Armağanı], which was established in memory of Nurullah Ataç who had died in 1957, for his essays published in various magazines. Two years later in 1961, he also won the Essay-Critic Award of Turkish Language Society [Türk Dil Kurumu] for De Yayınevi's first essay collection *Düşünceye Saygı* [Respect for Thought] which was published in 1960. Although he had won several awards back then for his short stories, these two awards were crucial in helping him come forward as an essayist and a critic. These awards, also, contributed to his accumulation of symbolic capital and credibility of his image as a man of letters.

3.1.4. After De Yayınevi and *Yeni Dergi*

By the time it was 1980, the publishing activities in De Yayınevi had already nearly stopped. So when he was offered the executive editor position for the newly established magazine *Yazko Edebiyat* [Yazko Literature], he accepted it and directed the magazine from 1980 to 1983. During those years, he gradually drifted away from De Yayınevi and handed it over to the fellow writer and publisher Seyyit Nezir. In 1981, Memet Fuat became the executive editor of Turkish books for a brand new publishing house, Adam Yayınları. There, he played a leading role in publishing important works belonging to Turkish culture. Among those, there were complete works of writers such as Nazım Hikmet, Aziz Nesin and Orhan Veli. Although Memet Fuat retired in 1987, he never fully cut his ties with the publishing house. He became the executive editor of the magazine *Adam Sanat* [Adam Art] in 1985 and continued until 1999 in which his health issues became hard to ignore. Writer, translator, critic, publisher, football and volleyball coach, shortly a real intellectual

and a sports enthusiast, Memet Fuat died of lung failure in 19 December 2002 in İstanbul.

As it is clear from the information above, Memet Fuat was a well-rounded person with many interests and capabilities. Accordingly, it can be claimed that his *habitus* was a “well-formed” one, in Bourdieu’s terms. Because, it refers to compatibility with the logic of the immersed field and it is mainly associated with high cultural capital and symbolic capital (Grenfell, 2010: 103).

3.2. HABITUS OF THE TRANSLATOR: MURAT BELGE

In this section, a similar route will be followed as the one above. This time, the first translator of James Joyce’s *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*, namely Murat Belge, will be the center of discussion. His life, starting from his very early years, will be scrutinized in order to find out how he came to be a translator.

For biographical data, I will mostly rely on Tuba Çandar’s book called *Murat Belge: Bir Hayat...* (2007) written through the method of biographical interview.

3.2.1. Family Background

Murat Belge’s father was the politician and journalist Burhan Asaf Belge⁵⁰. Born in 1898 in Damascus, Syria, he was the son of an Ottoman governor named Mehmet Asaf Bey. He knew Arabic, Persian, French, German and English. After finishing Saint Joseph High School, he went to Germany for university education and started studying architecture but then gave it up and chose sociology. When World War I broke out, he had to return to Turkey with other Turkish students. Back in Germany he had joined the Spartacist League, a Marxist movement led by Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, and when he got back to Turkey, instead of returning to university, he began writing for *Aydınlık* [Enlightenment], the first socialist magazine of

⁵⁰ Available on the website of National Thesis Center, there is a doctoral dissertation on him focusing on his life and views as a politician and a journalist. It is entitled *Burhan Asaf Belge: Cumhuriyetin Erken Döneminde İktidar ve Aydın İlişkisi* (2009) and written by Aytaç Yıldız.

Ottoman Empire, founded by Şefik Hüsnü. After the Republic of Turkey was established in 1923, however, he drew near to the close circle of Atatürk and wrote for *Hakimiyeti Milliye* [The Domination of the Nation], which was the media outlet of People's Party. Then, he started working in the ministry of foreign affairs and went to Hungary for a while (Çandar, 2007: 15-17). His last affinity with the left was the Kadro movement he was a part of alongside with Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu, Şevket Süreyya Aydemir, Vedat Nedim Tör and İsmail Hüsrev Tökin. They issued a monthly magazine with the same name, *Kadro* [Staff], that lasted for three years from 1932 to 1935. Later on, he began to move to the right-wing of the political spectrum (ibid.: 20-21). Joining Democrat Party and writing for its newspaper *Zafer* [Victory], he took a stand with Adnan Menderes (ibid.: 28). Following Turkey's first ever coup d'état on 27 May 1960, he was put on trial on the island Yassıada with the leading politicians of Democrat Party. He did not get death penalty but was sentenced to fifteen years in prison in 1961 (ibid.: 56). Due to an amnesty that was granted three years later in 1964, he was pardoned and let out of prison (Yıldız, 2009: 281).

Murat Belge's mother, on the other hand, was Cavide Uzdil and she was Burhan Belge's fourth marriage out of five. She was from an upper class family that was based in İstanbul and Manisa. She was the youngest of three sisters. For primary education, she went to Notre Dame de Sion and learnt French. Then she went to Robert College for high school but after that did not want to get a university degree. She knew English, German and French and translated a few books. She married Burhan Belge when she was twenty two or three and their only child, Mehmet Murat Kadri Belge, was born a year later on 16 March 1943 in Ankara. One and a half year later they went to İzmir and lived there for a while (Çandar, 2007: 24-25). When his parents decided to divorce, Murat Belge moved to İstanbul with his mother. There, his mother started working in a bank to provide for his son because their life was not that luxurious with all the servants and nannies anymore. While his mother was at work, his grandmother, who lived with them, would take care of him. As he did not have any brothers or sisters and was not let to play outside, in his own words, Murat

Belge was “a lonely child” before he started going to school. Nonetheless, he states that he led a good childhood, spoiled by his elders (ibid.: 37-40).

As it is understood from the information above, Murat Belge’s both mother and father originally came from families that were high on economic capital. Hence, when they were married, Cavide Uzgil did not have to work. But when they got divorced she started working as his ex-husband avoided paying alimony (Çandar, 2007: 39). As a consequence, she and his son led a rather moderate life together unlike the more luxurious one before. When it comes to cultural capital, we see that both parents accumulated all three kinds of it. Firstly, in terms of the embodied form of cultural capital, they both, for example, knew several languages as detailed above. This accumulation was realised partly due to the abundance of economic capital in their respective families. Because, they were financially able to send their children to foreign schools with high tuition fees. Moreover, Murat Belge reports that her mother translated three books (ibid.: 25). His father, on the other hand, translated a book entitled *Ankara* by Norbert von Bischoff in addition to his other translations published in magazines such as *Aydınlık*. Moreover, he worked as an interpreter for State Railways in Eskişehir for a while in 1923 (Yıldız, 2009: 16-24). Then, both of them also got engaged in translation activity which requires specific skills that are built up over time to be able to be incorporated into one’s *habitus* eventually. These skills include but are not limited to being fluent in at least two languages, being eloquent in writing and speaking and so on. Now there is another point I would like to draw attention to. Just like transforming their economic capital to cultural capital by going to foreign schools to learn foreign languages, Burhan Belge and Cavide Uzdil also tried turning their cultural capital into economic capital by working and making money as a translator and interpreter in certain points of their lives. Although it is the first one to come to mind, their gain was not limited to the economic level as they boosted their reputation as well. So they accumulated what Bourdieu terms as symbolic capital by getting recognised as translators. Furthermore, other than his parents, Murat Belge’s grandmother with whom him lived also knew French (Çandar, 2007: 46). Therefore, we could conclude that foreign languages and the act of translation have never come off as alien to his *habitus* thanks to his immediate

environment. Secondly, with regards to the objectified form of cultural capital, there is again a lot of evidences that allude to the abundance of it in the family. For instance, Murat Belge clearly states that his mother was very fond of reading and had a really rich library which included English and French books besides the Turkish ones. As a bookworm herself, she helped his son acquire a reading habit from a very early age (ibid.: 23). With such a family, it is no surprise that Murat Belge learnt how to read and would read newspapers before he began going to school. Other than books to read, there was also some instruments that made it possible for them to listen to music. According to Murat Belge, there was a piano in their house as well as a radio, which was a rare thing to own in the 1950s (ibid.: 41-46). Lastly, when it comes to the institutionalized form of cultural capital, both parents graduated from foreign high schools so naturally they had diplomas as the main indicators of educational qualifications. I would like to remind that Burhan Belge also received a university education. In terms of social capital, even the brief information about Burhan Belge above is enough to indicate that he acquired fair amount of it. Because, throughout of his life he had been a member of several intellectual and ideological groups like Kadro and Democrat Party which helped shape his *habitus*. In general, the members of each group gathered together with the same purpose and similar interests. By interacting with the fellow members of the group they shared ideas and opinions that contributed to the development of their *habitus*. They enhanced specific skills that would be useful especially in the political field.

Another well-known relative of Murat Belge that I would like to elaborate on is the renowned writer Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu, who was Cavide Uzdil's uncle on her mother's side. He was also married to Burhan Belge's sister Leman. Therefore, he was Murat Belge's both great uncle and uncle-in-law (Çandar, 2007: 22). Murat Belge emphasises several times throughout his biography that they had a distant relationship and Yakup Kadri did not have much influence on him in relation to his interest in literature (ibid.: 23, 55). Nonetheless, he benefitted from his social capital in several occasions when he was young. For example, thanks to Yakup Kadri's acquaintance with the minister of internal affairs, he was able to get his passport to go to the United States as an exchange student for a year. Because, at that

time his father was being trialed for a lifetime in prison and the authorities refused to give him a passport (ibid.: 67). We could see that Yakup Kadri, as a diplomat, used his influence over the top executives of Turkey and his connections proved useful for his nephew as he was able to go to the United States for educational purposes eventually.

3.2.2. Education

Murat Belge went to Moda Primary School, formerly named as Sekizinci Primary School in Kadıköy, İstanbul (Çandar, 2007: 41). He loved Turkish and history lessons but was never interested in maths. During his primary school years, his father subscribed him to *Doğan Kardeş* [Brother Doğan], a popular children magazine. He loved reading books on history. He read books written by Abdullah Ziya Kozanoğlu, Nihal Atsız, Feridun Fazıl Tülbentçi and so on. At the same time, he read literary works too. He read the historical fiction series *Les Pardaillan* by the French author Michel Zévaco and the science-fiction novels of Jules Verne. Later, he moved on to writers such as Alphonse Daudet, Maupassant and O. Henry (ibid.: 45).

After primary school, Murat Belge went to English High School for Boys, now known as Nişantaşı Anatolian High School. In that time, High School and Robert College went hand in hand when it came to giving education in English. Although Murat Belge's mother wanted his son to go to Robert College as an alumna herself, his father preferred High School and they eventually settled on it as he would be the one to pay the tuition fees. They did not opt for French schools such as Saint Joseph because of their strict discipline methods and priests for teachers. Nevertheless, despite all that fuss and hassle, he missed the entrance exams. Luckily, his father knew the Turkish principal of the school so he took the exam at the principal's office merely as a matter of perfunctory formality (Çandar, 2007: 49). Thus, he was enrolled to the school thanks to his father's great circle of acquaintances which included the principal of High School. From a Bourdieusian perspective, then, we could suggest that the enrollment was motivated by Burhan Belge's social capital.

Murat Belge was a boarding student which was a situation he never liked at all. Indeed, it was one of the reasons why he had a hard time adapting to High School. During those years, perhaps in part to soothe the feeling of homesickness, in addition to his classes, he participated in some extracurricular activities as well. He did wrestling and played basketball. He also took part in a few plays (Çandar, 2007: 51-52).

When it came to improve his English and catch up with others at school, his mother encouraged him to read detective stories such as the ones written by Agatha Christie whose language was relatively easy. Then he was able to read *Father Goriot*, *Don Quixote*, *Crime and Punishment* and the like in English. Hence, it was his mother who introduced him to the Western literature. In terms of Turkish literature, on the other hand, Murat Belge states that Orhan Veli Kanık, Nazım Hikmet, and Şevket Süreyya were among the first writers he read. Considering that he grew up in an environment that was closely intertwined with culture, becoming a bookworm was a naturally occurring process for him. Despite being an avid reader of literature even then, Murat Belge confesses that he never wrote poetry in his entire life. On the other hand, he had a few attempts in writing prose. In fact, he wrote a few short stories but never got them published and they did not reach to the present day either (Çandar, 2007: 52-54). To sum up his reluctance towards fiction writing, he once famously said that, “In middle school I read Dostoevsky and decided not to write a novel” (ibid.: 75). Furthermore, growing up he did not personally know any people other than Yakup Kadri that were involved in literature for he was mostly acquainted with his father’s friends and they were generally politicians and journalists. Nonetheless, thanks to this network of people he got to learn a lot of historical and political events at firsthand from a very early age which was probably why he initially wanted to become a diplomat (ibid.: 53-55).

In his last year of high school, Murat Belge went to the United States as an exchange student with the AFS (American Field Service) program. There she had a girlfriend named Nan with whom he read and discussed the books of Albert Camus and J. D. Salinger. Appalled that he wanted to become a diplomat, she encouraged him to seriously engage in literature instead. When he was about to leave the United

States to return to Turkey, she gave him a poetry collection of Dylan Thomas probably as a reminiscent of their literary discussions and to further inspire him. Murat Belge thinks that she might actually have been influential on him as by the time he returned to High School for his last year he was no longer thinking about becoming a diplomat (Çandar, 2007: 55).

After high school, Murat Belge decided to enroll in the English Language and Literature department of İstanbul University. He justifies this choice with these words, “My main field of interest was always literature. I began life with literature” (Çandar, 2007: 74). He further elaborates that since he read many books from English literature from their original language when he was in high school, he already considered himself as a man of letters even then. However, he never intended to be a fiction writer. He saw writing poems, short stories or novels beyond his limits. Instead, he thought of becoming a literary historian and a literary critic (ibid.).

In the 1960s, Vahit Turhan was the head of the English Language and Literature department of İstanbul University. Mina Urgan, Berna Moran, Tatyana Moran, Özcan Başkan, Sencer Tonguç, Cevat Çapan and Akşit Göktürk were among the academic staff of the time. Before starting university, Murat Belge already knew two of the names above personally. Mina Urgan was a friend of his family and Vahit Turhan was a friend of Yakup Kadri (ibid.: 75). In addition to their academic duties, all of these people wrote and translated books. Simply put, they were all highly regarded figures who made enormous contributions to the fields of literature and linguistics in Turkey.

3.2.3. Becoming a Translator

In 1964, when he was still in university, Murat Belge started writing for Memet Fuat’s literary magazine *Yeni Dergi*. For the first issue, he translated an argumentative essay entitled “Bağlanmanın Anlamı” by Ignazio Silone. So despite the fact that he actively refrained from writing fiction, he found it satisfactory enough to translate a beloved writer’s work into Turkish (Çandar, 2007: 77). After translating such essays and articles that were relevant to the theme of the month’s

issue for *Yeni Dergi* for about a year, in 1965, he wrote his first critical review ever and published it in the said magazine. The review was about the first short story collection of Sevim Burak called *Yanık Saraylar* [Burnt Down Palaces] (1965). Finding the review that Asım Bezirci wrote on the book very superficial and thinking that he did not quite understand what it was all about despite praising it, Murat Belge decided to write a review that would draw attention to why it was an unusual addition to Turkish literature and what was innovative in Sevim Burak's way of writing. Memet Fuat, who also found the book to be very striking, included the review in the latest, i.e. the thirteenth, issue of *Yeni Dergi*. The author of *Yanık Saraylar*, Sevim Burak, was very pleased with the review (ibid.: 82-83). Thus began the journey of Murat Belge as a literary critic.

The first novel that Murat Belge translated was *As I Lay Dying* by William Faulkner. Deeply affected by it, he started translating it on his own right after reading it. But it was left half finished after a while. Then, when he asked Akşit Göktürk whether he would be interested, he directly took the half-finished translation to the owner of De Yayınevi⁵¹, Memet Fuat. Memet Fuat wanted him to finish the book immediately. After Murat Belge completed the translation, they went over it together word by word (ibid.: 79). Upon being questioned about whether there was too much interference of Memet Fuat during this editing process, Murat Belge answers as follows: "He [Memet Fuat] was so meticulous. Whatever he said, it was fine by me. I learnt a lot from him. He was like *Padre Padrone* [Father and Master] to me (ibid.: 80)."

3.2.4. Becoming a Marxist

Murat Belge graduated from İstanbul University in 1966 and started working there as a research assistant immediately after. After graduation, he directly began doing a doctorate since there were no Master's Degree programs back then. As the subject,

⁵¹ At that time, in Tuba Çandar's words, De Yayınevi was like "a lodge for the literati". Murat Belge states that he met most of the people from the literary world through De Yayınevi. Among them were acclaimed writers such as Yaşar Kemal, Edip Cansever and Nermi Uygur (ibid.: 78).

he worked on epic literature. Tatyana Moran was his advisor. He continued to translate books as well. The type of the books he translated gradually began to gravitate towards Marxist works rather than fictional novels though (Çandar, 2007: 104-105). Because, beginning from 1963, Murat Belge began to consider himself as a Marxist. In addition to extensive reading sessions on Marxist oeuvre, the fact that literary circles of that time mostly consisted of leftists also had an influence on him becoming a Marxist. Specifically, writers and translators who worked for De Yayınevi and *Yeni Dergi* would frequently discuss ideological matters (Çandar, 2007: 81-82). The publishing house would publish Marxist books and the magazine would include Marxist essays in its issues. So both of them contributed to the process of introducing Turkish readers to the Marxist oeuvre through translation. For example, Memet Fuat gave Murat Belge a book entitled *Socialism* [Sosyalizm] by Bertrand Russell to translate for De Yayınevi. Then he translated *On Literature and Art* [Sanat ve Edebiyat] by Marx and Engels for the same publishing house. Moreover, he translated *On Religion* [Din Üzerine] by Marx and Engels for Gerçek Yayınları founded by Fethi Naci and also *The Philosophy of Art of Karl Marx* [Marx'ın Sanat Felsefesi] by Mikhail Lifshitz for Ararat Yayınevi owned by Ramazan Yaşar, a relative of Yaşar Kemal (Çandar, 2007: 105).

During this period, in 1967 to be specific, when he was still an assistant and a doctoral student, he joined the Workers' Party of Turkey (Çandar, 2007: 107). Murat Belge addresses the reason behind this decision as the following:

In 1967, in one of his articles in the magazine Yön, Doğan Avcıoğlu criticized the Workers' Party of Turkey for the first time. He was saying that the revolution would only be made through coup d'état here. When he stood up for coup d'états on behalf of the Turkish left movement, I had no choice left but to join the Workers' Party of Turkey. (ibid.)

Murat Belge states that once there was even a possibility when his friends and he could have been in the general board of management. However, the Workers' Party of Turkey was already distant towards literary fellows as even during the very first congress of the party writers like Fethi Naci, Edip Cansever, Demir Özlü and Muzaffer Buyrukçu were kicked out to balance the percentage of workers and

intellectuals as fifty-fifty (Çandar, 2007: 107-113). Moreover, in the following years, the party and the left got divided into several factions because of disagreements on several issues like the Soviet invasion in Czechoslovakia. While Murat Belge sided with Mehmet Ali Aybar, there were also other groups led by Mihri Belli and Doğu Perinçek.

3.2.5. Complicated Relations with the Poets of İkinci Yeni

Murat Belge states that Cemal Süreya, Edip Cansever and Turgut Uyar from İkinci Yeni [Second New] movement were his close friends and he first met all of them in De Yayınevi. According to him, these leading poets of İkinci Yeni movement were all socialists just like him and the rest of the members of De Yayınevi. However, they rejected social realism in literature and did not want to give political messages in their poems. The topics and themes of their poems centered on the individual and his worries rather than the society and its problems. Hence, instead of blatant reality, they prioritized imagination and imagery. Accordingly, they chose to make use of metaphors and figures of speech frequently. The poets of İkinci Yeni, after all, principally sought for a new and different kind of language for their poems — a language that would tear down the common patterns of language. Not everyone agreed with them though as a thesis usually comes with an antithesis. In this case, their quest made them a target of another group, namely social realists who operated with a political agenda and infused their works with related ideological propaganda (Çandar, 2007: 112). For example, Edip Cansever was accused of being an “individualist poet”. Because, he was against literature being restricted by socialist dogmas and even disapproved *Birikim*, a socialist review that his good friend Murat Belge started issuing later in 1975. He asserted that, “If one has a flair for literature, s/he should not be concerned with anything other than that” (ibid.). Moreover, another poet of İkinci Yeni, Turgut Uyar, was labeled as a “bourgeois poet” by Atıf Behramoğlu, one of the leading social realists (ibid.: 116-117). In the light of all this information, it is possible to say that opposing perspectives brought forth an antagonism between the two different movements.

Although he was against socialist realism in literature and evaluating literary works based on their political messages, Murat Belge was friends with the representatives of this movement too. In fact, in 1970, he founded a magazine with Ataol Behramoğlu and İsmet Özel called *Halkın Dostları* [Friends of the People]. Murat Belge was actually reluctant to join them initially as they attacked on his poet friends from the İkinci Yeni movement. In fact, raison d'être of the magazine was to oppose İkinci Yeni and what it represents. Murat Belge, on the other hand, liked both the poets and the poems in question. He did not agree when social realists labeled the works of İkinci Yeni as “retrogressive poetry” on the contrary to being progressive. Because, he did not like the attitude that centered on attacking any piece of literature that was not revolutionary in nature. He even sensed a generational and ideological gap between the social realists mentioned above and himself. Nonetheless, he eventually agreed to work with them. But he was still able to continue his friendship with the poets of İkinci Yeni as they knew he stayed out of the arguments that ignited between the two groups. Instead, he adopted a more independent stance. Objecting to the viewpoint that calls for pieces of literature to be evaluated wary of ideological concerns, he believed that it is their quality which ought to be the determinant factor on whether they are good or not (Çandar, 2007: 117-119). Based on this perspective, Murat Belge wrote critical essays for *Halkın Dostları*. Although the leading figures of the magazine were revolutionary poets, he mostly focused on novels rather than poems. While conducting textual analysis on a novel based on the principles of Marxist criticism, he took historical perspective into consideration as well. As a critic, he was primarily influenced by Fethi Naci, Berna Moran and Memet Fuat (ibid.: 120-122).

In those years, i.e. the 1960s, socialism was very prevalent not only in politics but also in the world of art and thought in Turkey. Likewise, the magazine *Halkın Dostları* aimed to be a Marxist literary magazine in general but focused on poetry in particular (Çandar, 2007: 118-120). Murat Belge provides some justification for this outbreak of socialism in his own words as follows:

After all those years of prohibitions, socialism was a new notion for most of us. Especially Marxism provided intellectuals with what they lacked in Turkey since forever and that was systematic thinking. With this method, it was possible to interpret the world and, as Marx stated in his famous thesis, “to take meaningful actions in the world”. (ibid.: 118)

In almost every country, there comes a time when some people affiliated to a certain ideology begin to condemn others whose actions they do not find to be appropriate. In other words, they believe it is their duty to marginalise those who do not behave according to the norms of said ideology. Because, it becomes a sacred or a noble cause for them after a while. Beginning from the 1960s, the very same situation arose in Turkey in terms of Marxism particularly in literary circles in our case. Murat Belge calls people who stood ready to inspect others’ commitment to ideology “the Marxist police”.⁵² They aimed to detect Marxist writers’ flaws and sought an opportunity to discredit them at any given moment. In that vein, they did not refrain from reprimanding those whom they did not find to be proper for the ideology (Çandar, 2007: 118).

3.2.6. The Influence of Memet Fuat

In 1960, Cemal Süreya started issuing a magazine called *Papirüs* [Papyrus], because although he liked Memet Fuat’s *Yeni Dergi* he thought it relied on translation and literature too much. He wanted to create a more encompassing art magazine and succeeded in it too since *Papirüs* lasted for many years (Çandar, 2007: 115). In 1966, when he was only twenty-three, Murat Belge started writing critical reviews for *Papirüs*. At first, he wrote some essays on language and novel. Then transitioned into a critic properly. In 1967, he wrote his first poem review on “The Lovesong of J. Alfred Prufrock” by T. S. Eliot.⁵³ For influencing him in developing his method for

⁵² During the early 1960s, Ali Dilber, who wrote under the pseudonym Ali Uzunisa, and Ayperi Akalın undertook this mission. Then Zühtü Bayar started attacking people in his writings. After him came others as there was always someone to hand over the throne (Çandar, 2007: 118). Hence, like almost every other period in history, the 1960s too witnessed these kind of people who saw themselves superior and attempted to police what others wrote.

⁵³ Although critics like Hüseyin Cöntürk and Güven Turan who represented American New Criticism wanted him to join them, he adopted a historical perspective. He does not completely reject the

literary criticism, Murat Belge gives credit to Memet Fuat, who, despite being a Marxist, sympathized with the representatives of New Criticism movement like Allen Tate who had no connection whatsoever with Marxism (ibid.: 83-84). Because, although Memet Fuat ideally looked forward to giving voice to socialist worldview through an appealing style rather than coarse slogans, just like the poets of İkinci Yeni did, he primarily argued that a writer must be free in all respects. Murat Belge looked up to him especially in this regard since he did not want to keep away from good literature in the name of Marxism.⁵⁴

3.2.7. Encounters with Joyce

Murat Belge first read James Joyce during his last year of high school. His mother, who had a very rich library gave him the book *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* and he was immediately struck by it. Then, when he was in the first year of university, he read *Dubliners* for a class. It was around that time he met Memet Fuat. While they were going over his translation of *As I Lay Dying*, Memet Fuat proposed him to translate *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* and he agreed. Later, he also translated *Dubliners*. Murat Belge states that he read *Ulysses* during the second year

aforementioned movement though. He firmly asserts that there is not a prescription on how to analyse a text through Marxist lenses. Stating that there should not be strict restrictions on what to include in Marxist criticism, he believes that approaches such as psychoanalysis and formalism only help enrich the perspective.

⁵⁴ Favouring some writers and excluding others is not unique to Turkish Marxists, of course. For example, Georg Lukács, who is considered as the greatest Marxist critic by many, praises Thomas Mann but denigrates Franz Kafka in his book *The Meaning of Contemporary Realism*. Likewise, he sees traditional realists such as Tolstoy and Balzac above modernists such as Joyce and Faulkner who tried new literary techniques by focusing on the individual. Since Murat Belge holds the latter authors very dear to his heart, he could not make sense of Lukács' such views. At that point, Memet Fuat came to his rescue. Because, in spite of respecting Lukács very much, he did not hesitate to admire writers who Lukács disapproved and labeled as "retrogressives" and this was one of the many reasons Murat Belge saw him as a role model (Çandar, 2007: 123). Another critic who had an impact on Murat Belge while he developed his method of criticism was Berna Moran, one of his professors from the English Language and Literature department of İstanbul University. He helped Murat Belge widen his horizons both through his lectures and friendly conversations. Unlike the close bond he formed with Memet Fuat and Berna Moran, however, Murat Belge states that he never found a common ground in literature with another one of his professors, Cevat Çapan. While Murat Belge really liked the literary works and styles of authors such as Joyce and Faulkner, Cevat Çapan labeled them as decadents and told Murat Belge to quit paying attention to them. He preferred, for example, another modernist author D. H. Lawrence instead (ibid.: 84).

of university and thought of translating it but then instantly decided not to. Lastly, when it comes to Joyce's most enigmatic work *Finnegans Wake*, Murat Belge admits that he tried translating a little piece from it just to have an insight about how the whole process would go. He further admits that he has never even read the whole book (ibid.: 84).

As seen, Belge was already familiar with Joyce before he translated *A Portrait* in 1966. The newspaper column below written by Adnan Selekler, who was a deputy of Democratic Party just like Burhan Belge, further proves that point as the little tidbit he gives regarding Belge and Joyce must be from the years 1961-1964 when they were in Kayseri Prison. According to the column, one time when Belge visited his father in prison, he asked him what he thought of Joyce and wanted to have a conversation. Nonetheless, his father was not much informed about the author.

Figure 3: An Excerpt from a Column in *Milliyet* that Shows Murat Belge's Early Interest in Joyce



Source: *Milliyet*, 24.05.1980: 5

As a prominent intellectual figure, Belge has translated many works of world literature into Turkish including but not limited to books written by Charles Dickens,

John Berger and D. H. Lawrence. Among them, though, he is mostly known for his Joyce and Faulkner translations. Regarding these two modernist authors, Belge states that he has a more emotional relationship with Faulkner whereas with Joyce he has a more cerebral one, meaning that he has to constrain his mind harder in order to understand him better and revise his translation accordingly (Çandar, 2007: 85).

As seen above, although we have only focused on his life partly, until the end of the 1960s to be specific, it is very clear that Murat Belge has always been a versatile person. He is a translator, writer, literary critic, literary historian and an academician. He is also a political activist and an advocate of civil society. Thanks to these accumulations of beings and capitals in all forms, it could be safely deduced that, just like Memet Fuat, Murat Belge also has a well-formed *habitus* in Bourdieu's terms. In addition to high levels of cultural, social and economic capitals, he also possesses symbolic capital which bears particular importance for the field of cultural production.

Therefore, in this chapter, it is revealed that it is not a coincidental situation that Memet Fuat initiated and commissioned the first Turkish translation of Joyce's first novel, *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*. He had the vision that saw the value the novel possesses for modernist literature and world literary canon in general. He was interested by the game, hence, he deliberately invested in it and acted in that direction. He was enchanted with this *illusio*, in Bourdieu's terms, and felt that this game of introducing one of the most prominent modernist works to the Turkish literary field was worth playing. It is also not coincidental that he chose Murat Belge for the task of translation. He trusted this young translator's vision and trajectories towards literary field and saw that his *habitus* and different forms of accumulated capital were also compatible with the literary field. Accordingly, he once openly expressed his praise for Murat Belge as a translator by saying that "not everyone can translate the works of Faulkner and Joyce that Murat Belge did" (Fuat, 2002b: 125). Finally, Memet Fuat and Murat Belge saw the symbolic value James Joyce possesses as an important and prestigious albeit difficult (because of the modernist literary tradition he belonged to) writer in the field of literature and, hence, primarily pursued symbolic capital rather than economic capital.

In the next chapter, this argument will be further fortified and it will also be revealed that *A Portrait* was not a singular case but part of a bigger endeavour of translating, publishing and promoting modernist works taken by De Yayınevi and *Yeni Dergi* under the leadership of Memet Fuat.



CHAPTER FOUR

FIELD ANALYSIS:

POLITICS AND POETICS OF THE 1960S IN TURKEY

Bourdieu thinks that only carrying out an internal analysis of a text would be insufficient. A text must be evaluated within conditions that surround its production. Because, various historical situations in which a text is produced also contribute to the meaning of the said text. In return, each text becomes a representative of the field it is produced in as a whole (Bourdieu, 1988: xvii).

Thus, to refrain from a reductive approach that would only focus on the text, in this chapter, firstly, I will elaborate on the political and social background that nurtured Memet Fuat and Murat Belge and shaped their lives during the translation and publication process of *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*. Because now that we are informed about the agents through the concept of *habitus*, it is time to locate them in certain positions according to their dispositions through the concept of field. Therefore, most prominent events and phenomena of the 1960s will be provided for a broader understanding in this historical study.

Secondly, the literary and publishing background of the 1960s will be examined to reveal tendencies and practices of the field of cultural production in Turkey. Because this is the field in which Memet Fuat and Murat Belge worked, i.e. engaged in translation and publishing activities. Here, the focus will be on target culture as the aim is to place *A Portrait* in a wider Turkish context.

4.1. POLITICAL AND SOCIAL FIELDS OF TURKEY IN THE 1960S

Since the late Ottoman era, intellectuals, specifically men/women of letters, have frequently taken part in political activities as they were both producers and products of the modernization process in Turkey. Consequently, a close relationship between politics and literature was built. As the political and literary worlds coexisted

together, writers expressed their interwoven ideas and beliefs concerning both politics and literature (Başgüney, 2013: 140-141).

By taking into account this affinity that sometimes blurred the lines between the two fields and brought the autonomy of artistic production into question, I think it is necessary to touch upon historical conditions that surrounded literary works in the 1960s. To put it in another way, literary works are not produced in a vacuum but in accordance with the political and sociocultural tendencies that are prevalent at the time. Therefore, social, cultural, political, and economic conditions that both enabled and disabled the publishing activities of *De Yayınevi* and *Yeni Dergi* will be rendered for a broader understanding.

In this section, I will firstly present an overview of major political events in Turkey during the 1960s, i.e. the decade between two military coups. In particular, the focus will be on the rise of the left and then the radicalization of the left as the former paved the way for the establishment of *De Yayınevi* and *Yeni Dergi* and the latter for the closure of them. Hence, the purpose of this section is to demonstrate the impacts of political and ideological structures on the literary and publishing world, which will be examined later, as all these are interrelated entities.

4.1.1. Military Coup of 27 May 1960

Twentieth century saw great changes in Turkey. It would not be wrong to suggest that every decade had distinct characteristics. In that vein, the most defining event of the 1960s was probably the first ever coup d'état in the history of the Republic of Turkey that took place in the beginning of the new decade. The coup was conducted against the Democratic Party [Demokrat Parti], which was the first party to come to power other than the Republican People's Party [Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi] twenty-seven years after the country's establishment in 1923 (Tunçay, 1983: 1967). The Democratic Party was founded by Celal Bayar back in 1946, a year after Turkey's transition to the multi-party system in 1945, and included more or less the same promises in the party program with that of the Republican People's Party except for the encouragement of private enterprise (ibid.: 1976). Starting with the electoral win

in 1950, the Democratic Party under the leadership of Adnan Menderes ruled the country for ten years. Towards the 1960s, however, it was accused of becoming authoritarian especially due to its policies oriented towards the judiciary, the press and the universities (Zürcher, 2004: 230). Primarily, intellectuals and university students reacted against these policies. In fact, students held several demonstrations as opposed to them. The majority of the public, though, was still on the side of the Democratic Party. Yet the soldiers were in preparations to exert their authority with an undemocratic intervention to politics (Tunçay, 1983: 1981).

On 27 May 1960, the National Unity Committee, which included thirty-six young military officers of varying ranks in the command of General Cemal Gürsel, seized the power. The very next day, a supra-parties government was formed. Gürsel became president of the republic and prime minister and commander in chief all at once. The members of the National Unity Committee declared that with the military intervention they strove to restore the democracy (Tunçay, 1983: 1981). The coup d'état was generally welcomed by students and intellectuals but people from the countryside were silent in particular (Zürcher, 2004: 241). This silence might stem from the fact that the Democratic Party did not exclusively target urban dwellers. It also reached rural population and receiving the significant amount of votes those people contributed to its success in the elections. Since agriculture was still the dominant economic activity in the 1950s and 1960s, farmers and villagers made up a considerable part of the population. Unlike many parts of Europe, which had already transformed from a rural to urban society largely by the time it was twentieth century, Turkey still had a long way to go in terms of urbanization (Başgüneş, 2013: 84). Therefore, targeting and luring people from previously ignored social classes and strata as opposed to the already established base of voters of the Republican People's Party, had provided the Democratic Party with a great number of supporters (Tunçay, 1983: 1977).

Nevertheless, the National Unity Committee arrested leading politicians and deputies of the Democratic Party and put them on trial on the Yassıada Island. There were also high-ranking soldiers who were close to the Democratic Party and some civilians who were allegedly involved in corruption. The courts lasted for eleven

months and five hundred ninety two people were trialed. Consequently, Prime Minister Adnan Menderes, Minister of Foreign Affairs Fatin Rüştü Zorlu and Minister of Economy Hasan Polatkan were sentenced to death (Özdemir, 1992: 198-199). There were pleas from many foreign countries and from the “national chief” İsmet İnönü. But the National Unity Committee did not pay attention to them and in the end these politicians were hanged despite not having “acted with less legality or abused their power more than either their successors or their predecessors” (Zürcher, 2004: 248).

4.1.2. The New Constitution of 1961

After a year and a half of political inactivity, in 1961, the National Unity Committee reopened the parliament and let parties operate again. In addition to the Republican People’s Party and the Republican Peasants’ Nation Party [Cumhuriyetçi Köylü Millet Partisi], new parties such as the Workers’ Party of Turkey [Türkiye İşçi Partisi] and the Justice Party [Adalet Partisi] were founded. Again in 1961, general elections were held and the first coalition government of Turkey was formed under the leadership of the prime minister İsmet İnönü. Cemal Gürsel was still the president of the state although the government was turned over to the civilians. Discontent about this transition to civilian politics, Colonel Talat Aydemir attempted two coups with the aim of overthrowing the coalition government formed by İnönü but failed in both 1962 and 1963 (Tunçay, 1983: 1982-1983).

Before the 1961 elections, a referendum was held for the new constitution and it passed by a majority of votes. The constitution of 1961 brought some significant changes. For example, new institutions such as the Constitutional Court was established (Tunçay, 1983: 1982). Furthermore, an already established institution, namely universities were granted both administrative and academic autonomy until it was repealed by the constitution of 1982 (Katoğlu, 1992: 403). The constitution of 1961, which replaced the constitution of 1924 and remained in force until the constitution of 1982 was adopted, has been considered as the most liberal and democratic constitution in the history of modern Turkey. It allowed for a free

political environment to a degree that was never before witnessed. Within this environment, leftist ideas that promised economic growth and social justice were also beginning to influence general public (Tunçay, 1983: 1982).

4.1.3. Rise of the Left and the Working Class

A socialist opposition party, the Workers' Party of Turkey, was growing. Despite the low percentage of votes it got in general, it was still influential as it was the first ideologically driven party to participate in the elections of Turkey. Throughout the 1960s, the party was supported by many students and leftist intellectuals alike (Zürcher, 2004: 246-247). The main target of the party, however, was of course workers and data from 1968 shows that almost fifty percent of the members were workers from agriculture, industry and service sectors. When the lack of mass movements consisting of organized proletarians in the 1960s is considered, the Workers' Party of Turkey seems to have succeeded in its mission during such a period (Aydinoğlu, 2007: 102). Because, in the 1965 elections, it also managed to get into the parliament with fifteen deputies. Yet especially the Justice Party was discontent with the influence of leftist ideas and movements over the public (Tunçay, 1983: 1984).

Justice Party was the the main opposition and Süleyman Demirel became the general president of it in 1964. He was a successful orator who could easily address especially to the people of the countryside. In his speeches, he mainly glorified traditional and Islamic values on the one hand, and made anti-communist propaganda on the other. Due to these two tactics, he preserved his position at the top of the Justice Party throughout the 1960s. He also managed to keep his party together despite not having much ideological unity as it was consisted of “industrialists, small traders and artisans, peasants and large landowners, religious reactionaries and Western-oriented liberals” (Zürcher, 2004: 250-251). Nonetheless, the Justice Party won the 1965 elections and received enough votes to come to power alone without having to form a coalition government. As a result, Süleyman Demirel became the prime minister and openly declared that he would encourage private sector and

foreign investment and rely on external loans. Moreover, Cevdet Sunay became the fifth president of Turkey since Cemal Gürsel had to resign due to health conditions (Tunçay, 1983: 1984). Despite these changes in political actors, the Justice Party was more or less seen as the continuation of the Democratic Party (Zürcher, 2004: 246). Just like the latter one, it is possible to state that the first few years of the Justice Party government saw economic growth as well. On the other hand, though, the Justice Party did not dwell much on notions like social justice and freedom that especially the leftist intelligentsia vigorously advocated (Özdemir, 1992: 218).

In the meantime, conflicts between the left and right wings of the political spectrum started to arise. Bülent Ecevit, who advocated embracing a left-of-center stance, became the secretary general of the Republican People's Party in 1966. Moreover, Mehmet Ali Aybar, who believed that the primary agenda was to achieve full independence, became the general president of the Workers' Party of Turkey once again. On 12 February 1967, on the sixth anniversary of the Workers' Party of Turkey, the Confederation of Progressive Trade Unions of Turkey [Türkiye Devrimci İşçi Sendikaları Konfederasyonu] was founded to protect the working class. The Chief of the General Staff, Cemal Tural, on the other hand, commanded armed forces to fight against far-left entities. Although this stance was generally opposed by the public, it was approved by the government (Tunçay, 1983: 1984).⁵⁵

4.1.4. Conflicts between the Left and the Right and within the Left

On October 1967, the American Sixth Fleet arrived in İstanbul and became the target of protests. The United States was to mediate the dispute between Turkey and Greece about the Cyprus problem which became one of the major focal points in Turkish

⁵⁵ In fact, particularly the Justice Party deputies did not hesitate to verbally and physically harass socialists even in the parliament. Nonetheless, members of the Workers' Party of Turkey continued to raise awareness of the general public on topics that were deemed as taboo. Elimination of anything that was against national independence, an actual land reform and a statist economy were among them. These unusual topics of discussion aside, having fifteen socialists in the parliament was also a democratic progress for Turkey in itself. Unfortunately though, the Workers' Party of Turkey was closed down in 1971 after the military memorandum of 12th March (Özdemir, 1992: 222-223).

politics beginning in 1954. But left-wingers were strictly against the presence of the United States in Turkey in any shape or form (Tunçay, 1983: 1985). Still, the foreign policies of Turkey were oriented towards growing closer to the West for a while now. Marking a huge separation from the Kemalist foreign policy that favoured neutralism, it was a stance that the Republican People's Party started pursuing near the end of the Second World War (Tunçay, 1992: 180). Because, the Soviet Union was becoming a superpower and Turkey was in no position to handle such a challenging neighbour alone. Good relations that were once established under the leadership of Lenin and Atatürk were dissolving. The Soviet demands on straits and burgeoning threats on northeastern provinces of Turkey caused the government of İnönü to seek alliance in the form of the United States (Kalaycıoğlu, 2005: 67-68). Then in the 1950s, during the rule of the Democratic Party, Turkey joined NATO and continued getting along with the United States especially in the hope of receiving foreign loans to enable economic growth (Tunçay, 1983: 1978-1979). Thus, although the ruling and the main opposition parties challenged one another on various kinds of topics, they mostly agreed on foreign policies Turkey pursued and refrained from criticizing them.

However, the constitution of 1961 made the press relatively autonomous and both the radio and television frequently criticized actions of the government (Zürcher, 2004: 252). On January 1968, the first television channel of Turkey, TRT, started broadcasting. Before that radio was the only means of national mass-communication. Now the primary objective of every political movement was to be able to use TRT as they wished (Tunçay, 1983: 1985). The new constitution also enabled the publication of periodicals through which all kinds of ideas regarding political and social matters were expressed. The first one of them was *Yön* [Direction] whose first issue was published in 1961. Later there were journals such as *Devrim* [Revolution] and *Aydınlık* [Enlightenment]. Leftists were gradually divided into narrower factions in accordance with their views. Throughout the 1960s, there was an atmosphere that allowed for lively debates among intellectuals. Demirel's desire to curb these kind of civil liberties, on the other hand, made him unpopular especially among the intelligentsia. Many intellectuals and students

preferred leftist movements such as the Workers' Party of Turkey anyway (Zürcher, 2004: 254).

The spring of 1968 saw the increasing politicization of students. In a way, it was similar to the student riots in France. The social structures had been paving the way for them for a long time though. At first, the protests were directed against the domestic affairs of universities and the education problems of the country in general. But then they gradually became anti-imperialist, especially anti-American, in essence. Although the ruling and opposition parties blamed the Workers' Party of Turkey for the protests that the youth staged, the party was not able to control them all as they became violent. In the beginnings of 1969, for example, the American ambassador's car was burned down by some Middle East Technical University students. On the other hand, the rise of the leftist movements naturally created an antithesis in the form of right-wingers. Prominently in 1968, they held public demonstrations against left-wingers in İstanbul, Bursa and Ankara. Then, on February 1969, Taksim turned into a battlefield because of the clash of the two wings. On this day, which would later be called Bloody Sunday, right-wingers attacked left-wingers, who were protesting the presence of the American Sixth Fleet at the Bosphorus, and killed two of them. These kind of clashes would continue even more violently throughout the 1970s (Tunçay, 1983: 1985-1986).

Again in 1968, armed forces of the Warsaw Pact under the leadership of Union of Soviet Socialist Republics invaded Czechoslovakia. All Turkish political parties reacted strongly to the invasion. The general president of the Workers' Party of Turkey, Mehmet Ali Aybar, also condemned the invasion fiercely. That incident later led to the formation of new factions within the left. For example, some young intellectuals that left the Workers' Party of Turkey started issuing a magazine called *Aydınlık* (Tunçay, 1983: 1985). Another magazine called *Devrim* was founded in 1969 by the former lead author of the magazine *Yön*, Doğan Avcıoğlu. As a left-Kemalist, he aimed to provide an intellectual basis for a "progressive" military interference (ibid.: 1986). But the leftist coup planned to take place on 9 March 1971 did not happen and, on the contrary, it prompted a rightist one. Indeed, on 12 March 1971, the chief of the general staff and five generals seized power and overthrew the

government with a military memorandum (Özdemir, 1992: 226-227). That was the end of the relatively free climate of the 1960s in Turkey.

4.2. LITERARY AND PUBLISHING FIELDS OF TURKEY IN THE 1960S

Now that the political events and affairs of the 1960s are given, literary tendencies and activities of the same period can be discussed. As Bourdieu argues, it would be insufficient to evaluate texts by isolating them from sociocultural conditions that shaped their production (Bourdieu and Johnson, 1993: 11). So in this section, firstly, I will elaborate on the characteristics of Turkish novel in the 1960s. It will be revealed that the subgenre of village novel and the literary tradition of social realism were thriving as the most popular forms of literary production. Although modernist short stories and poems were written, modernist examples of novel written in Turkish were yet to come. Then, before indigenous versions were created in the home repertoire, modernist novels were firstly imported from world literature through translation. Joyce's *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* was one of those works. Thus, the aim here is to contextualise the translated version of it, namely *Sanatçının Bir Genç Adam Olarak Portresi*, in Turkish culture repertoire in relation to the indigenous novels of the period. It will be demonstrated that *A Portrait*, which was already scrutinized in Chapter 1, differed from indigenous novels of the period in many ways primarily because they belonged to different literary traditions, modernism and social realism respectively.

Then, I will examine the publishing activities of De Yayınevi and *Yeni Dergi*, which published and promoted *A Portrait*. They will also be contextualised in relation to other publishing houses and journals that were active in 1960s. Here, it is my contention that Memet Fuat acted as an agent of change by introducing works of modernist literature through his publishing house De Yayınevi and its affiliated journal *Yeni Dergi*. His practices and trajectories could be considered as an intervention to the field. Because, during the 1960s, social realist movement in literature was dominant rather than modernist literary movement which Memet Fuat

actively tried to foreground. Therefore, he offered new options to the Turkish culture repertoire by initiating the publication of both indigenous and translated modernist works.

4.2.1. Turkish Novel in the 1960s

In Turkey, during the 1960s, intellectuals thought it was their natural duty to educate people and raise their cultural level. Because they saw themselves at the peak point of society (Başgüneş, 2013: 149). As a natural consequence of this view, when a tradition of leftist intellectualism was created in the 1960s, social realism movement in literature also accompanied it to reflect the problems and needs of the society. But close relations between politics and literature was not newly formed as Murat Belge summarises how literature has been commonly used for political purposes since the Tanzimat Reform Era as follows:

Since political conflicts in the whole superstructure were based on the “East-West” dichotomy, creating literary works was a political activity in itself. Writing a play about a simple love story or any subject similar to that were considered equivalent to taking a political stance because it was writing a play nonetheless. Literature regarded as “serious”, on the other hand, has always been a major tool for political propaganda and agitation. At times there were lack of intellectual works, literature has acted as a carrier of ideas. (Belge, 2016: 82-83, my translation, emphasises are original).

Therefore, just like their predecessors, writers of 1960s in Turkey were dominantly inclined to use literature as a tool to change the world not just to interpret it, as Karl Marx puts it (Marx and Engels, 1984: 286). Literature, then, usually assumed the role of history, philosophy, politics and such fields as well to convey all kinds of ideas and beliefs in Turkey. Regarding that matter, the 1960s saw the most radicalized opinions. For example, the writers of the political magazine *Yön* believed that it was the artist’s primary duty to depict reality in the utmost blatant form. The artist had to assume the role of the teacher to educate people in developing countries such as Turkey. On the other hand, it was thought that writers such as Kafka neglected this duty. Moreover, books of writers such as Kafka were deemed as the

products of crisis literature. Some writers of the magazine even proclaimed that kind of literary works to be burned (Doğan, 1997 in Adatepe, 2010: 8). Again, Belge explains how art in general is sometimes manipulated to convey certain political and ideological beliefs and is deemed useless otherwise as follows:

Art is sometimes expected to perform non-artistic functions. It is asked to be a weapon of revolution, to agitate, to make propaganda, and sometimes to give theoretical information. Since it cannot do these things because of its structure, it is often belittled. However, art is a different kind of knowledge and although it cannot do these things, nothing else can do what art can do. (Belge, 2016: 114, my translation)

As opposed to these kind of views, however, the Western novel typically gives voice to the individuals of bourgeois society ever since its arrival. It depicts the limitless inner world of the individual. Because the novel character is considered as a world in itself and as important as the society as a whole. Thus, even the smallest detail in its daily life or the vaguest thought in its mind can be reflected as something valuable (Naci, 2019: ix).

The Turkish novel, on the other hand, was imported to Turkish culture repertoire via translation from the West. As a form of literature, it was initially a creation that writers obtained by imitating its Western counterpart. Plots were basic and characters were flat. The most widely used conflict was the Westernization issue, especially during the Tanzimat Reform Era. Since ours was an agricultural society and had not yet been industrialized, people neither became free individuals nor were considered as ones. There were other factors too, for sure. In addition to ignoring the individual agency of people with a determinist outlook on life, Muslim East did not pay much attention to human psychology or psychological matters in general. So the entry of novel into Turkish culture repertoire was not a natural process but an initiation undertaken by Turkish intellectuals (Tanpınar in Naci, 2019: xiii-xiv). When all of these information about the society are considered, it is easier to understand why it took a while for authentic, well-rounded works to be written.

Fast forward to the 1950s and 1960s, the Turkish novel was no longer plain and simple but complex and original. Going back to roots, writers enriched their

works with materials of oral tradition. Specifically, with the rise of the village novel, they aimed to debunk prevalent stereotypes surrounding villages and its people with a social realist approach. They showed that inner worlds of peasants, who are all conceived as the same when looked from afar, are as unique and complicated as any other kinds of people. For example, Yaşar Kemal, who is regarded as one of the best authors from those years, went as far as creating a Shakespearean character, a peasant Hamlet out of Memidik in *Ölmez Otu* (1968), as Fethi Naci puts it (2019: xxx).

In the following section, the characteristic features of village novel will be examined in more detail. It will be seen that as a product of the social realist movement, this subgenre differed greatly from the modernist novel elaborated in Chapter 1. Most importantly, while village novels were written in Turkish, modernist novels were translated from other languages. Nonetheless, they still existed together as different options in the Turkish literary polysystem which was by no means harmonious but rather driven by tension and conflict at all times because of the hierarchy between literary products located in center and periphery.

4.2.1.1. Social Realism and Village Novel

From its emergence as a literary genre in the Tanzimat Reform Era until the 1950s, novel in Turkey mainly focused on the problem of Westernization. Then the 1950s and the 1960s saw the rise of what Berna Moran calls the Anatolian novel. He refrains from using the village novel as an umbrella term because the events take place in both villages and towns of Anatolia. Nonetheless, in this thesis, I will use the more familiar term village novel to refer to these novels for the sake of consistency. Because novels written in the said period commonly dwelled upon the same problem and that is social injustices stemming from social structures primarily of villages. Writing mainly about this issue, Orhan Kemal, Yaşar Kemal and Fakir Baykurt are among the writers who left their marks in the literary scenes of the 1950s and 1960s (Moran, 2019: 7-8).

During the one-party rule, the Republican People's Party followed a policy that dismissed the very presence of social classes. Instead, there were people divided according to their occupations. This approach was originally proposed by Ziya Gökalp, who adapted the social solidarity theory of Émile Durkheim, and adopted by the Republican People's Party as a response to the political and social problems of the early periods of modern Turkey. After a while, however, this populist approach proved ineffective when the state wanted to create a capitalist class by supporting the bourgeoisie made up of merchants and notables. As a result, differences between classes became more apparent and, eventually, the rising bourgeoisie in the form of the Democratic Party grasped the opportunity to come to power (Moran, 2019: 10-12).

During the rule of the Democratic Party between the years 1950 and 1960, with the capitalist system they embraced and developed, class-divided society became more conscious and the rise of the left became inevitable (Moran, 2019: 13). Therefore, based on all this information, it is possible to conclude that the political, economic and social changes in Turkey prepared the conditions for a focus shift in the themes of literary works as well.

Before the 1950s, Turkish writers and poets focused primarily on the Westernization issue. Disregarding the relations of production of their time, most of them reproduced the dominant ideology with their literary works over and over again. On the other hand, the number of leftist writers who rejected to comply with the order was so few. There were, for example, Nazım Hikmet and Sabahattin Ali who dared to look at the dominant ideology from the perspective of an outsider and question it. But because of that both of them got arrested and had to serve several years in prison (Moran, 2019: 14).

Since the urbanization level was not yet high during the 1950s and the 1960s, the capitalist class and the working class were not formed fully in the cities of Turkey compared to the industrial societies. Thus, the disparity between the classes was more apparent in rural areas. Accordingly, novels focusing on the realities and problems of the countryside followed one another and became the symbol of the period. As a result, Westernization issue was replaced by the unjust order as the main

theme in novels when the writers started to emphasize class differences and exploitation more and more (Moran, 2019: 14).

According to Berna Moran, the national literature movement that first appeared during the Second Constitutional Era endured in novels until the 1950s. Because, despite the fact that a new political regime was adopted with the proclamation of the republic in 1923, the representatives of the national literature movement such as Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu, Halide Edip Adıvar, Hüseyin Rahmi Gürpınar and Peyami Safa still continued to write in that style. Due to the changed circumstances of the period, however, the initial populist nature of the novels left its place to Turkism to minimize the influences of Islamism and Ottomanism (Moran, 2019: 16).

There were two main characteristics of the national literature movement. The first one was to dwell on national issues and local life. The second one was revive folk literature that was based on oral tradition. Therefore, this movement urged writers to include people from every segment of society in their works. As a consequence, Anatolian people, who were not represented in Ottoman literature, were finally given a voice in novels. For example, *Çalılıkusu* (1922), *Yaban* (1932) and *Kuyucaklı Yusuf* (1937) were among the first works that featured Anatolia. Then, in the 1950s, writers who were trained in village institutes continued to write about Anatolia. Moreover, novelists like Yaşar Kemal and Orhan Kemal, who were born and raised in Anatolian villages, also became a part of this endeavour and helped make Anatolia a distinct feature of Turkish novel (Moran, 2019: 16).

The second characteristic of the national literary movement was to revitalize local materials such as folk tales, epics, myths and legends as stated above. Before, the 1950s, there were examples of this attempt in poems, plays and short stories. In novels, not so much. To name a few, Ömer Seyfettin, Nazım Hikmet, Aziz Nesin and Haldun Taner were among the writers who used products of oral tradition in one way or another. After the 1950s, novelists such as Yaşar Kemal, Kemal Tahir and Kemal Bilbaşar benefitted from local sources with the intention of adopting new forms and styles peculiar to the Turkish culture. Moreover, they did it with a social realist approach and revived the initial populist nature of the national literature movement

along the way (Moran, 2019: 16-17). Perhaps the best-known example of such a vision is *İnce Memed* by Yaşar Kemal. Inspired by Turkish epic heroes like Koroğlu and Çakıcı Efe, Yaşar Kemal creates a character who revolts against the unjust order. Therefore, İnce Memed is essentially what the British historian Eric Hobsbawm calls “noble bandit” or “social bandit” (ibid.: 103-104).

The most notable characteristic of the village novel is the fact that the plot is loaded with action. Because the novel is based on the conflict between the oppressor and the oppressed. The main issues of the oppressed people are poverty and hunger. So they usually take actions to get rid of these problems. The ruling class and the bourgeoisie, on the other hand, oppress poor peasants and while doing so they resort to violence. Since legal means are mostly blocked or ineffective, the oppressed people put up an armed resistance in return as well. Hence the dynamic nature of the plot. When village novels such as *İnce Memed* (1955), *Memo* (1969), *Gominis İmam* (1969), and *Tırpan* (1970) are compared with the novels of earlier periods such as *Aşk-ı Memnu* (1899), *Kiralık Konak* (1922) and *Huzur* (1948), the differences in rhythm are even more clear (Moran, 2019: 315-317).

Another characteristic of village novels is the common presence of narrative patterns that are based on folk legends. These are, for example, death and rebirth, transition from scarcity to abundance, the hero saving the girl and so on. These themes that have existed in any kind of narrative for centuries, remain in the collective unconscious of humanity, according to Carl Jung. Because, even though they do not have much truth value anymore, their psychological effects still persist. Considering that they reflect the deepest fears, hopes and desires of the humankind, they are indeed immortal (Moran, 2019: 318-319).

Inner worlds of characters are not reflected much in village novels. The conflict is not an internal but an external one. As stated above, the plot is action-dominated. Rejecting to be a victim like most of the other characters, the protagonist becomes a rebel and a tumultuous sequences of events ensue. There is not a moral or intellectual transformation in the end unlike the novels of earlier periods. Instead, the main character mostly revolts against the unjust order and becomes the savior of villagers after defeating the agha of the village (Moran, 2019: 320-321). Hence, we

could conclude that the heroes in village novels are not individualist but socially conscious as well as class conscious.

In terms of location, the village novel is again different from the novels of earlier periods that were based on the conflict between the East and the West. The latter novels take place in cities, especially İstanbul, albeit in two dissimilar districts to reflect the said conflict. For example, in Peyami Safa's *Fatih-Harbiye* (1931), the former district is where Ottoman Islamic traditions are preserved while in the latter one Western values are adopted. Now, there is another contrariety I would like to touch upon. According to general conception, villages represent innocence, purity and virtue as opposed to cities in which greed, deception and immorality prevail. This approach is commonly used in many works of world literature. Breaking away from this duality, however, the village novel depicts villages as they are without idealizing them. The novelists strive to render present conditions with blatant reality and refrain from sugar coating them. According to the village novel, villages are far from places where there are only happiness and sunshine. On the contrary, poverty, ignorance and primitiveness dominate villages. People are easily oppressed and exploited there. Towns, on the other hand, are where the ruling class is most powerful. So for villagers they represent police stations, prisons and torture (Moran, 2019: 321-322).

Today, village novels are not written that much anymore. The primary reasons are twofold. Firstly, there are structural changes that Turkey has gone through in the last decades. The country has become somewhat industrialized and with urbanization the population of rural areas has considerably diminished. Secondly, there is a change in Turkish writers' perception of novel. Concentrating heavily on social and economic problems of villagers, they ignored people and their agency for a while. As the novelist Fakir Baykurt puts it auto-critically, "While going for a social novel, a social realist novel and such, we ignored the individual a little. In fact, more than a little" (Baykurt, 1977 in Naci, 2019: xxxii; my translation). Objecting to this approach, Fethi Naci firmly asserts that one cannot write a novel by ignoring the individual (Naci, 2019: xxxii).

As seen, village novels possessed unique features pertaining to living conditions and class struggles in Turkey. However, village novels were not the only type of works published in the 1960s. Turkey saw a general increase in literary production in that period. The establishment of a great number of publishing houses and periodicals support this statement. Through them, literature reached the public and its influence contributed to the cultural enrichment of the country.

Memet Fuat's *De Yayınevi* and *Yeni Dergi* were also among the newly established publishing houses and periodicals during the 1960s. In the following section, their place within the literary and publishing world will be examined in relation to other publishing houses and periodicals of the period. Then, *De Yayınevi* and its publishing activities as well as *Yeni Dergi* and its publishing activities will be scrutinized in detail.

4.2.2. Turkish Publishing Houses in the 1960s

Firstly, I would like to give some statistical information regarding book publishing in the 1960s in Turkey. The number of books published in 1963 was 3440, in 1964; 5744, in 1965; 5442 and 1966; 6100 (*Resmi Gazete*, 21.08.1967: 55). These were the highest figures up to that time. Moreover, the number of translated books published in 1960 was 485, in 1961; 499, in 1962; 683 and in 1963; 877. Again, a steady growth was observed. The percentage of translated books in comparison to indigenous books was, however, 12 or 13 percent (Acaroğlu, 1966: 95). Therefore, indigenous works were located in the center while translated works were in the periphery of Turkish literary polysystem.

Statistics show that literary books were only second after books on social sciences in terms of the number of publications. Between the years 1928 and 1963, out of 94,731 titles 21,241 of them were about social sciences while 14,510 were works of literature (Acaroğlu, 1966: 96-97). Similarly, in terms of translation activities, too, there was a hegemony of social sciences over literature. Especially texts with political and ideological content were abundantly translated rather than literary texts that were works of fiction. Books written by leading leftist figures such

as Marx, Engels, Lenin and Mao received a great deal of attention from masses of people (Gürsel, 1983: 323 in Gencer, 2020: 922). Therefore, it can be justly claimed that the translation movement led by the state under the leadership of minister of education Hasan Ali Yücel in the 1940s was this time undertaken by the leftists in the 1960s.

Likewise, Murat Belge reports that the 1960s saw the rise of leftist thought thanks to the relatively free atmosphere that the new constitution provided. Especially towards the end of the decade, translation and publishing of Marxist texts became very popular, or even hegemonic. Because they were not much known or recognised as they had been banned for many years before. Nazım Hikmet's books were allowed to be published once again as well. Thus, the Marxist left established hegemony particularly over Turkish intelligentsia to a considerable extent (Belge, 2012: 633).

When it came to publishing houses that enabled the printing and circulation of books in the 1960s, there were both previously established ones and new ones. Among the publishing houses that were founded in previous years but were still active were İnkılâp (1927), Remzi (1929) and Varlık (1946). Among the publishing houses that were newly established were Yön, Cem, Sol [Left], Bilgi [Knowledge], Ant [Oath]. Yön was founded in 1962 by Doğan Avcıoğlu, İlhami Soysal and Hamdi Avcıoğlu and adopted the ideology of left-Kemalism. Cem was started in 1964 by socialist journalist Oğuz Akkan. Sol was founded in 1965 by Muzaffer Erdost to publish the works of communist leaders such as Marx and Lenin. Bilgi was established in 1965 by Ahmet Tevfik Küflü. Ant was started in 1967 by socialist journalists Doğan Özgüden and İnci Tuğsavul Özgüden. As seen once more, there was a hegemony of the leftists over the publishing world in the 1960s in Turkey.

De Yayınevi was also among the new ones as it was established in 1960 by Memet Fuat. Despite being led by a socialist, it did not predominantly publish leftist works but, instead, offered new alternatives to the readers by mostly publishing modernist fiction books. Initially, this boutique publishing house was embraced warmly by the readers. However, towards the end of the 1960s, during which the left got divided into different factions due to clashes of opinions, the readers began to

show both passive and active resistance towards De Yayinevi. Passive as in the readers refused to buy books published by De Yayinevi and preferred the works of leftist oeuvre and the products of social realism. Active as in they openly criticized De Yayinevi's publishing policies for being too tolerant and not being aggressive and militant. Also, writers and translators of De Yayinevi, including the owner and the chief editor Memet Fuat, were ostracized as "bourgeois intellectuals" and "counter revolutionary intellectuals". As a result, firstly, sales declined. Then, during the 1970s, very few books got published and they were mostly indigenous works instead of translated works. Finally, in the beginnings of the 1980s, Memet Fuat sold the publishing house to Seyyit Nezir. In the next section, the publishing journey of De Yayinevi will be examined in more detail.

4.2.1.1. A Lodge for the Literati: De Yayinevi

The series of events that prompted Memet Fuat to establish a publishing house was already elaborated on the previous chapter while exploring Memet Fuat's *habitus* and accumulation of capital. Now, the publishing activities and policies of De Yayinevi will be scrutinized.⁵⁶

After the decision regarding the establishment was made, as the first thing, Memet Fuat and Metin Yasavul had to find a name for the publishing house which was a tough decision to make to say the least. During those years, Sait Maden was the graphics designer of İstanbul Matbaası where Yasavul worked. He agreed to draw the logo of the publishing house on the condition that its name started with the letters "d" and "e". Going through dictionaries that night, Memet Fuat and Metin Yasavul could not come up with anything satisfactory. Then they finally decided to name the publishing house "De" which both meant the imperative form of the Turkish verb *demek* (to tell) and *Biz de yayın yapacağız* [We're going to be publishing too]. Hence, De Yayinevi was founded in 1960. Memet Fuat, who

⁵⁶ Since Memet Fuat gives hardly any information in his memoirs regarding his years in De Yayinevi, the main source I have used here is the biographical pages of the official website dedicated to Memet Fuat. I have translated the relevant content with a sense-for-sense approach not word-for-word.

believed that property ownership incited people to do bad things⁵⁷, only wanted to deal with the books to be published. So not interested in the business side of things, concerned with incomes, expenses, sales and so forth, he refrained from sharing the partnership. As a consequence, an ordinary partnership was established between Metin Yasavul and Memet Fuat's mother Piraye Altınoğlu. This stance of Memet Fuat, again, shows that he placed more importance on the symbolic capital rather than economic capital as is the case most of the time in the field of cultural production. In fact, Bourdieu deems the cultural field as the "economic world reversed" in that it is an autonomous pole whose stakes are symbolic and thus marked positively. In the opposite pole, however, stakes are economic and pursuing economic profit is marked negatively (Bourdieu and Johnson, 1993: 16). In the same vein, Memet Fuat preferred not to act as a businessman who deals with monetary issues but a cultural creator who is responsible for the selection and preparation of books for publication.⁵⁸

Initially, translated version of *The Fundamentals of Contract Bridge* called *Briç: Yeni Sayı Metodu* (1960) was the main source of income for De Yayınevi. In terms of its content, it diverged greatly from other books which were selected solely based on their quality and not on their salability. As Bourdieu elucidates in *Distinction* (2010: 215), contrary to games like belote and manille, bridge is more commonly played "at higher levels of the social hierarchy, most frequently among members of the professions (IFOP, 1948)". Likewise, chess is also "less linked than bridge to social traditions and to the pursuit of the accumulation of social capital" (ibid.). Therefore, as one moves higher in the social ladder, s/he is more likely to play bridge. Here, Memet Fuat seems to promote bourgeois taste by translating and publishing a book on bridge. Interestingly, among eleven books he translated for De Yayınevi, the two books on bridge are the only ones for which he uses the name Fuat

⁵⁷ Memet Fuat attributes his disdain for property ownership mostly to the arrogance he saw in his biological father Vedat Örfi Bengü owing to the wealth he inherited from his parents (Fuat, 1998: 438-439). Moreover, he despises the fact that his father saw art as a means of gaining fame and money and emphasises that they were in completely different tracks, headed for different directions (ibid.: 426-427).

⁵⁸ The relevant information in this section is taken and translated from the eighth page of biography available in the official website dedicated to Memet Fuat:

http://www.memetfuat.com/turkish/frm_index/yasam_oykusu.html

Bengü. Thus, he manifests his bourgeois class origins by using the surname of his grandfather Mehmet Ali Pasha and estranged father Vedat Örfi Bengü and benefits from their high-leveled social capital for the sales of the book.

Other than that, salability factor was not one of Memet Fuat's primary concerns since the publishing house did not have many expenses. There were neither rents nor employees. Metin Yasavul was managing the publishing house from a little storage room in İstanbul Matbaası. As a result, De Yayınevi was developing rapidly. The translations of short plays they published one after another were welcomed warmly by the readers and the sales were good. However, after a while, the number of visitors ranging from booksellers to students became hard to deal with and the owner of İstanbul Matbaası said that this publishing activity had to come to an end. Thus, they had to find a new place for distributions and sales as well as a place to work on upcoming books. Since the money earned from the sales of books, particularly the *Bridge* book, had become enough to cover the cost of the rent, they were ready to move out to another place. Hence, they found a room in Vilayet Han in Cağaloğlu, Fatih. This was the first step for Memet Fuat to become a full-time publisher. Because Metin Yasavul would leave all the responsibilities except for the printing work on his shoulders. These responsibilities included but was not limited to managing sales and distributions and calculating incomes and expenses.⁵⁹

⁵⁹ Same as the above.

Figure 4: Selected Cover Pages of Modernist Books Published by De Yayınevi



The publishing journey of De Yayınevi lasted for twenty years from 1960 to 1980. It released well-selected, meticulously prepared books for which the readers showed a growing interest. In addition to non-fiction books on various subjects and fiction books varying from novels to poems, anthologies also had a special place among the works published by De Yayınevi. *Memet Fuat'ın Seçtikleri-Türk Edebiyatı* [Selected by Memet Fuat-Turkish Literature], annuals consisting of the selected essays, short stories and poems from the previous year, were published for ten years, from 1963 until 1972. Moreover, a literary magazine called *Yeni Dergi*

[The New Magazine] was released every month from 1964 to 1975 under the wings of De Yayinevi. This “little” publishing house that was founded with no capital and thus created out of nothing, was able to release the first Turkish translations of some “big” books after a while as well. *Döşegimde Ölürlen* [As I Lay Dying] by William Faulkner, *Şato* [The Castle] by Franz Kafka, and *Sanatçının Bir Genç Adam Olarak Portresi* [A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man] by James Joyce were among those modern classics that first met its Turkish readers thanks to the endeavours of Memet Fuat and De Yayinevi. Moreover, the young and gifted translators of the said books, Murat Belge and Kamuran Şipal, would later be counted among the most prominent translators of Turkey. Furthermore, De Yayinevi was also pioneering in publishing the first ever editions of Nazım Hikmet’s poetry collections such as *Rubailer* [Rubaiyat] and *Memleketimden İnsan Manzaraları* [Human Landscapes from My Country] and plays such as *Sabahat* and *Ferhad ile Şirin* [Ferhad and Şirin].⁶⁰

After these kind of valuable publications, however, sales began to decline. Because Marxist books were beginning to capture the market as they were being widely published. In the chaotic political and sociocultural atmosphere of the 1970s, readers preferred to spend their money on books that complied with their leftist political views. Consequently, after absorbing those books, they gradually began to approach literature with a certain degree of suspicion. They rejected fictional works that did not aim to raise the public awareness on social issues with a militant attitude. As a result, *Yeni Dergi* was discredited since it advocated a new understanding of cultural products with a more inclusive approach, following the views of communist writers such as Ernst Fischer, Christopher Caudwell and Roger Garaudy. Nonetheless, De Yayinevi managed to exist for twenty-nine years from 1960 to 1989, making immeasurable contributions to the Turkish literary field both with the publication of many important Turkish books and valuable translations from world literature.⁶¹

⁶⁰ Same as the above.

⁶¹ Same as the above.

4.2.1.1.1. The Books Published by De Yayınevi

The books that De Yayınevi published under the leadership of Memet Fuat consisted of both indigenous and translated works (see Appendix 3 for the complete list of works). As it is demonstrated in Figure 5 below, during the first decade, the 1960s, the number of translated works were higher than those of indigenous works. This decade is particularly important for this research as *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* by James Joyce was also translated and published for the first time in Turkey during that period, specifically in 1966. However, when all the works in the self-compiled corpus of De Yayınevi was scrutinized, it was found out that *A Portrait* was not a singular case, in that, it was not the only modernist work published by De Yayınevi. Essays of T. S. Eliot⁶² and Jean-Paul Sartre⁶³, theatre plays of Eugène Ionesco⁶⁴, Max Frisch⁶⁵ and Samuel Beckett⁶⁶, poems of Guillaume Apollinaire⁶⁷, Paul Éluard⁶⁸ and Arthur Rimbaud⁶⁹, novels of William Faulkner⁷⁰, Franz Kafka⁷¹ and Carson McCullers⁷² and short stories of Henry Miller⁷³ and Erskine Caldwell⁷⁴ were among the modernist works by modernist writers that were translated into Turkish during the 1960s thanks to the endeavours of Memet Fuat. Because as the owner of De Yayınevi, it was him who was primarily responsible for the selection of books. Then, it can be concluded from the above examples that he followed a certain pattern by choosing modernist works that had never been

⁶² For example, Eliot, T. S. (1961). *Denemeler* (A. Göktürk, Trans.). İstanbul: De Yayınevi.

⁶³ For example, Sartre, J. P. (1967). *Edebiyat üzerine* (B. Onaran, Trans.). İstanbul: De Yayınevi.

⁶⁴ For example, Ionesco, E. (1961). *Kel şarkıcı* (Ü. Tamer and G. Erkal, Trans.). İstanbul: De Yayınevi.

⁶⁵ For example, Frisch, M. (1964). *Philipp Hotz'un büyük öfkesi* (H. Kuruyazıcı, Trans.). İstanbul: De Yayınevi.

⁶⁶ For example, Beckett, S. (1965). *Mutlu günler* (A. Göktürk, Trans.). İstanbul: De Yayınevi.

⁶⁷ For example, Apollinaire, G. (1965). *Bir aşk kırgınının şarkısı* (C. Süreya and R. Tomris, Trans.). İstanbul: De Yayınevi.

⁶⁸ For example, Éluard, P. (1964). *Ağızda bir sevi* (S. K. Aksal, Trans.). İstanbul: De Yayınevi.

⁶⁹ For example, Rimbaud, A. (1962). *Seçme şiirler* (İ. Berk, Trans.). İstanbul: De Yayınevi.

⁷⁰ For example, Faulkner, W. (1965). *Döşegimde ölüirken* (M. Belge, Trans.). İstanbul: De Yayınevi.

⁷¹ For example, Kafka, F. (1966). *Şato* (K. Şipal, Trans.). İstanbul: De Yayınevi.

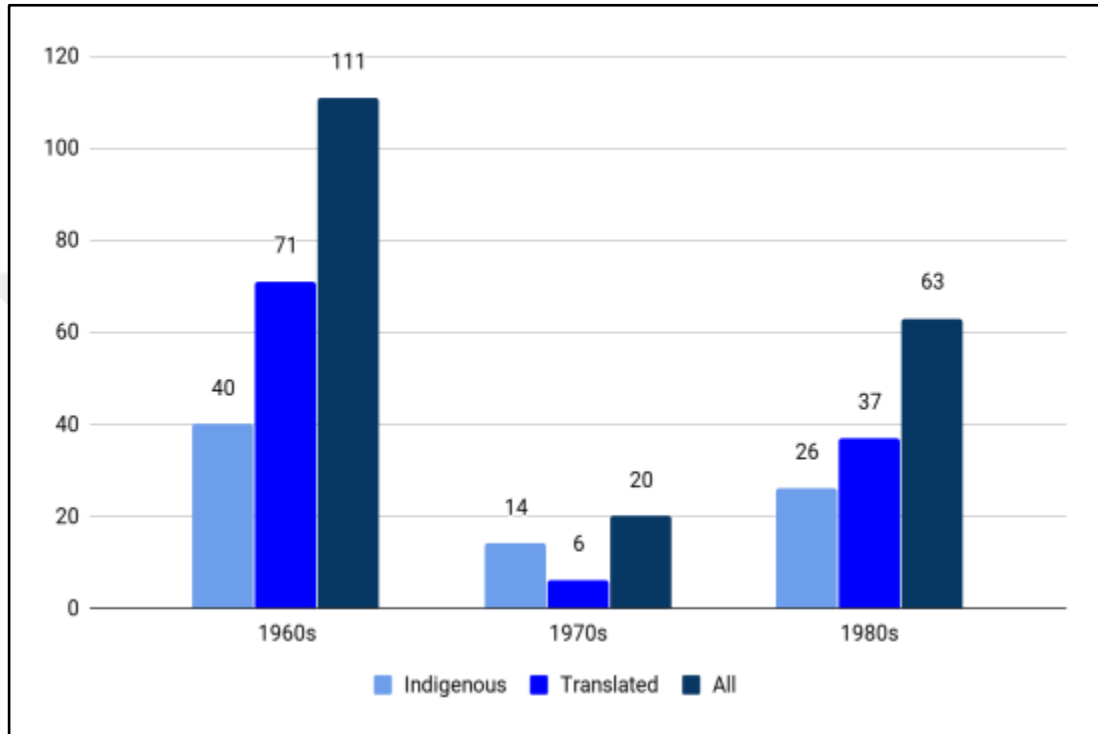
⁷² For example, McCullers, C. (1967). *Küskün kahvenin türküsü* (İ. Tümerdem, Trans.). İstanbul: De Yayınevi.

⁷³ For example, Miller, H. (1967). *Merdivenin dibindeki gülümseyiş* (R. Tomris, Trans.). İstanbul: De Yayınevi.

⁷⁴ For example, Caldwell, E. (1968). *Kuyudaki zenci* (M. Fuat, Trans.). İstanbul: De Yayınevi.

translated into Turkish before. Therefore, they were introduced to the Turkish culture repertoire through a translation enterprise initiated by De Yayinevi.

Figure 5: The Diachronic Distribution of De Yayinevi's Both Indigenous and Translated Publications



Source: Prepared by the writer of the thesis

In addition to fiction books detailed above, there were also non-fiction books translated and published by De Yayinevi in the 1960s. Those non-fiction books were mostly on philosophy, literature and theatre. Firstly, the philosophical works that De Yayinevi published were primarily about socialism and existentialism. These preferences give hints about the ideology of De Yayinevi. For example, *Dostoyevski'den Sartre'a Varoluşçuluk* (1964) by Walter Kaufmann, *Sosyalizm* (1965) by Bertrand Russell and *Marxism, Varoluşçuluk ve Birey* (1966) by Adam Schaff and Pyama P. Gaidenko were published one after another. Secondly, theoretical works on literature were also mainly written by existentialist philosophers. Those books included *Edebiyat Nedir* (1967) and *Edebiyat Üzerine*

(1967) by Jean-Paul Sartre and *Albert Camus ve Başkaldırma Edebiyatı* (1965) by John Cruickshank. Thirdly, when it came to non-fiction works on theatre, De Yayınevi published theoretical views of some of the most prominent playwrights. For instance, *Tiyatro Deneyi* (1961) by Eugène Ionesco and *Epik Tiyatro Üzerine* (1964) by Bertolt Brecht were among those works.

In terms of the publication of indigenous works, De Yayınevi, again, followed a certain pattern in the 1960s. During that decade, poetry collections by the poets of İkinci Yeni movement dominated the published Turkish literature. Out of 40 indigenous works, 10 of them were written by Edip Cansever⁷⁵, Ülkü Tamer⁷⁶, Cemal Süreya⁷⁷, Oktay Rifat⁷⁸, İlhan Berk⁷⁹ and Ece Ayhan⁸⁰. Since they explored individualistic issues in their poems, which were filled with symbolism and imagery, they were widely criticized by those who favoured social realist literature. They were accused of living in an ivory tower and staying away from the society and its problems. Against these kind of harsh criticisms, Memet Fuat defended the poets of İkinci Yeni as follows:

In my understanding of evaluating a work, the first criterion that must be met is that it is artistically "above a certain level". Above a certain level in both content and form... The so-called "İkinci Yeni" poets were in the forefront among people who held poetry above a certain level in Turkey for a long time. Yeni Dergi was open to them, as well as to those who advocated other understandings of poetry. I have never longed to steer Turkish poetry in a certain direction. We were publishing the poems of the distinguished poets of Turkey and that is all. Sometimes they touched upon social problems, sometimes they did not, it was up to them... (Fuat, 1999: 209, my translation)

As for short stories, there was only one indigenous work published by De Yayınevi. Written by Demir Özlü, the short story collection was called *Boğuntulu Sokaklar* (1966) and it was again a product of modernist literature, using modernist themes and techniques. Thus, the main criteria in the selection was, once more,

⁷⁵ See Appendix 3 for *Tragedyalar* (1964) and *Çağrılmayan Yakup* (1966).

⁷⁶ See Appendix 3 for *Virgölün Başından Geçenler* (1965) and *İçime Çektiğim Hava Değil Gökyüzüdür* (1966).

⁷⁷ See Appendix 3 for *Göçebe* (1965) and *Üvercinka* (1966).

⁷⁸ See Appendix 3 for *Elleri Var Özgürlüğün* (1966).

⁷⁹ See Appendix 3 for *Aşıkane* (1968).

⁸⁰ See Appendix 3 for *Bakişsız Bir Kedi Kara* (1965) and *Ortodoksluklar* (1968).

modernism, albeit this time literary works were originally produced in Turkish rather than various foreign languages as the ones above.

Now, I would like to dwell separately on one more important figure that was associated with De Yayınevi, namely Nazım Hikmet, who was considered to be one of the best Turkish poets. Out of 40 indigenous books published in the 1960s, 10 of them belonged to him, which meant to be a great body of work, to say the least. Interestingly, however, his poems could be considered to have been exceptional cases for the publishing house as they were the only products of the social realist movement that De Yayınevi chose to publish. Therefore, Nazım Hikmet's works stood out from the established publishing criteria of De Yayınevi, which foregrounded modernist literary works.⁸¹

Overall, it can be observed that although Memet Fuat gave priority to modernist works, he was not against social realist works. He adopted a more inclusive approach unlike those who valued social realism above any other movement with a militant attitude. Moreover, considering the fact that Memet Fuat was a socialist who also published socialist works, it is no surprise that he published the books of a fellow socialist, his stepfather Nazım Hikmet. Nonetheless, despite believing in the same ideology, revolutionary leftists criticized and marginalised Memet Fuat and De Yayınevi due to their inclusive and tolerant approach towards any kind of literary products. As seen in Figure 5, there was a drastic decline in the publishing activities of De Yayınevi in the 1970s. That decline was a result of the resistance, as Even-Zohar terms it, asserted by the readers both in active and passive form. Because in the 1960s, in addition to the conflicts between the left and right wings of the political spectrum, there were also conflicts within the left itself. Initially, the left consisted of two major different groups such as the *Yön* movement which favoured left-Kemalism and the Workers' Party of Turkey which favoured socialism. Towards the end of the 1960s, however, the party also split into several

⁸¹ Here, it is important to remember that Nazım Hikmet was Memet Fuat's stepfather and Memet Fuat loved and respected him and his works. Also, those works were banned for so long, specifically from 1938 to 1965, because of his ideological views. So when the ban that was imposed by the government to prevent his works from being published was removed two years after his death, Memet Fuat started publishing them through De Yayınevi one after another. Among them were his plays *Ferhad ile Şirin* (1965) and *Sabahat* (1966), his poetry collections *Saat 21-22 Şiirleri* (1965) and *Memleketimden İnsan Manzaraları* (1966-1967) and his letters *Oğlum, Canım Evladım, Memedim* (1968).

different factions such as those who favoured a socialist revolution and those who favoured a national democratic revolution. These clashes of opinions regarding political and ideological matters were also reflected in the literary and publishing world. The majority of the leftists wanted art, especially literature, to become aggressive and militant just like politics. According to them, literary works had to serve for the interests of the working class only, hence, they supported the movement of social realism that aimed to draw attention to the living conditions of common people. On the other hand, they ostracized anyone who produced any other type of literary work or supported any other literary movement.

Since Memet Fuat mostly published modernist literary works through De Yayınevi, he was among the writers and translators who were labeled as bourgeois intellectuals, decadents, reactionaries and counter-revolutionaries. For example, he was called “the socialist publisher of the fascist Ezra Pound” (Bezirci, 1987: 163) for publishing Pound’s *Cathay* (1915) through De Yayınevi and selections from *The Cantos* (1925) in *Yeni Dergi*. As a person who believed in socialism and democracy, he was thought to contradict himself by spreading and promoting the views he opposed (ibid.: 200). Moreover, he was highly criticized for not including the poems of social realist writers such as Hasan İzzettin Dinamo, Rıfat Ilgaz, Şükran Kurdakul and Nihat Behram in his annuals called *Memet Fuat’ın Seçtikleri-Türk Edebiyatı* (ibid.: 206). He was also criticized for principally including the poems of İkinci Yeni poets in those annuals (ibid.: 212-214). Because, the modernist works written by İkinci Yeni poets were commonly labeled as “bourgeois poetry” (ibid.: 34). Innovative writing techniques put forward by “bourgeois modernism”, furthermore, were neither progressive nor revolutionary as the content was purely individualist, according to social realists (ibid.: 184).

On the other hand, Memet Fuat defended himself and his selection criteria regarding publishing activities in several essays. For instance, in an essay he wrote for *Yön* in 1964, he responded to Ali Uzunisa’s accusations which deemed people like him as public enemies and producers of upper class art as follows: “The existence of writers like Joyce, Faulkner, Kafka, Ionesco and Baldwin does not interfere with the existence of writers who fight for people. Mastering an art, going

for aesthetic elegance does not entail distancing from people, standing against people” (Fuat, 1982: 200, my translation). Still, some men of letters who favoured social realism went as far as wanting to burn the works of writers who, according to them, turned their backs on society (ibid.: 199).

In sum, some men of letters and militant leftists harshly criticized Memet Fuat and his publishing activities. Firstly because he did not dwell much on the political dimension of literary works. Also, because, he published some works written by non-leftist authors. He was, moreover, judged for he did not join any political organizations and parties and thought that writers should not join parties and become the spokesperson of their policies (Fuat, 200b: 272).

As a consequence of the resistance detailed above, the sales of De Yayınevi declined towards the end of the 1960s and during the 1970s. In short, ignoring the books published by De Yayınevi meant that there was passive resistance and labeling and name calling meant that there were active resistance that aimed to damage the reputation of Memet Fuat and De Yayınevi.

Although publishing activities increased a little more in the 1980s, De Yayınevi still was not as active as in the 1960s. Because Memet Fuat started working for Adam Yayınları and he turned over the management of De Yayınevi to Seyyit Nezir.⁸² A new and different owner means a new and different vision led De Yayınevi from 1983 until its closure in 1989. So books published in that time is out of the scope of this thesis and will not be analyzed here. They are still included in the list of books in Appendix 3 though to give an overall look.

Here, the aim was to place *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* in a context together with the other books published by De Yayınevi in the 1960s. It was revealed that *A Portrait* was neither a singular nor a separate case for the publishing house but an integral part of it just as the other modernist works whether indigenous or translated. Moreover, it was found out that publishing of such works met with the resistance of the revolutionary leftists who thought literature was to be used solely for the purpose of making ideological propaganda.

⁸² For further information regarding the details of the taking over of the publishing house, see an interview by Seyyit Nezir: <https://www.kirpigiibi.com/seyyit-nezir-postmodernizm->

4.2.3. Turkish Journals in the 1960s

Leftist ideologies of any kind, whether socialism, Marxism or left-Kemalism, were very influential in the literary world of Turkey in the 1960s. On the other hand, there were also rightist ideologies that were fairly prevalent such as Islamism and nationalism albeit they did not have much influence over literature. Other than a few magazines such as the conservative *Türk Kültürü* [Turkish Culture] and the Islamist *Diriliş* [Resurrection], most magazines were socialist and progressive. Hence, literary publications that belong to the right end of the political spectrum are out of the scope of this thesis. Our concern is to look at literary productions of the left as Memet Fuat's *Yeni Dergi* was a part of those. So here *Yeni Dergi* will be contextualised in relation to the other leftist periodicals of the 1960s.

To begin with, novelty and dynamism, which were the foremost characteristics pertaining to the 1960s, were reflected even through the names of those magazines: *Yeni Ufuklar* [New Horizons], *Yeni Dergi* [The New Magazine], *Yeni Gerçek* [The New Truth], *Yeni İnsan* [The New Human], *Yeni Eylem* [The New Act], *Yeni Edebiyat* [The New Literature], *Dönem* [Period], *Devinim* [Motion], *Değişim* [Change], *Evrım* [Evolution] etc. (Günyol, 1986: 65). This productivity in the field of cultural production was largely due to the new constitution of 1961. Because, it was the most liberal and democratic constitution in the history of modern Turkey. It allowed for a free political environment to a degree that was never experienced. Consequently, leftist ideas began to influence general public in this relatively free atmosphere. In the 1960s, Turkey witnessed lively debates among intellectuals that were commonly conducted through journals.

Throughout the 1960s, leftist thought was hegemonic especially in intellectual circles. Periodicals issued weekly or monthly during that period played a significant role in the formation and circulation of leftist ideas. These periodicals could be roughly divided into two categories as political and literary ones. *Forum* (1954-1970), *Akis* (1954-1967), *Yön* (1961-1967), *Ant* (1967-1971) and *Devrim* (1969-1971) were among the political journals that represented leftist movements.

*Yön*⁸³, which was led by Doğan Avcıoğlu, was probably the most influential of them all. It was a journal both issued by intellectuals and particularly targeted at intellectuals. Together with the Workers' Party of Turkey, it defined the movement of intellectuals during the 1960s in Turkey (Aydınoğlu, 2007: 73-74). Before *Yön*, there were not systematic leftist entities in Turkey. Hence, new topics for that era, such as the working class and the woman problem, were discussed for the first time through *Yön*. Although left-Kemalism was the dominant political ideology adopted by the writers of *Yön*, there were also writers who championed for social democracy or Marxism. In short, *Yön* allowed for an environment that included both center-left and radical-left and anything in between (ibid.: 76-79). Other than political issues, *Yön* also had a cultural agenda. It included pages prepared by writers such as Fethi Naci. Moreover, *Yön* was the first magazine to publish the poems of the socialist poet Nazım Hikmet in the mid 1960s (Başgüneş, 2013: 105). Among intellectuals who contributed to this leftist magazine was also Memet Fuat who wrote multiple essays on politics and literature (see for instance Fuat, 1982 and Fuat, 2001). With two hundred and twenty-two issues in total, *Yön* provided a remarkable contribution to the enrichment of thought and knowledge in Turkey for several generations.

*Ant*⁸⁴ was founded by Yaşar Kemal, Fethi Naci and Doğan Özgüden. It was a socialist magazine which was against Islamism, militarism and imperialism. It aimed to be the voice of the proletariat with a revolutionary vision. Mehmet Ali Aybar, Süreyya Berfe, Yalçın Küçük, Fakir Baykurt, Orhan Kemal and Asım Bezirci were among the intellectuals who contributed to this magazine with their writings (Aydın, 2008: 27-29). Memet Fuat also wrote for *Ant* which further demonstrates his ideological stance as a socialist (see for instance Fuat 1982).

Besides the political ones above, there were also literary magazines such as *Varlık* (1933-still), *Yeditepe* (1950-1984), *Yeni Ufuklar* (1953-1976), *Papirüs* (1960-1970), *İmece* (1961-1970) and *Ataç* (1962-1964). Again, these magazines too were mostly led by leftist intellectuals. But their publishing policies differed especially regarding the types of literary works they chose to include in their pages.

⁸³ For the whole archive, see: <https://www.tustav.org/sureli-yayinlar-arsivi/yon-dergisi/>

⁸⁴ For the whole archive, see: <https://www.tustav.org/sureli-yayinlar-arsivi/ant-dergisi/>

Firstly, led by Yaşar Nabi Nayır, *Varlık* adhered to the Kemalist ideology. Peasant reality was in the center of the magazine's publishing activities since the mid 1940s so it foregrounded writers who were trained in village institutes. It ignored modernist writers of the time such as the poets of İkinci Yeni movement. Sait Faik, Orhan Kemal, Tahsin Yücel, Fazıl Hüsni and Attila İlhan were among the writers who wrote for *Varlık*. Despite being the longest running literary magazine of Turkey, it was not as popular as *Yeni Dergi*, *Yeni Ufuklar* and *Papirüs* in the 1960s (Günyol, 1986: 37-38). Because after 1955, it isolated itself from literary developments by rejecting both the avant-garde and social realist literature. Still, it continued to promote works centering on villages and villagers primarily (Uçar, 2018: 77).

Another magazine that was active in the 1960s was *Yeditepe* and it was founded by Hüsamettin Bozok. In its first issue, it claimed to be open to any kind of novelty but also quoted this sentence by a prominent thinker: "The type of art that draws apart from society is destined to get caught in individualism. Artists turn to excessive formalism and only feed themselves when they have nothing to say" (Günyol, 1986: 63, my translation). Some writers who wrote for *Yeditepe* are İlhan Berk, Attila İlhan, Behçet Necatigil, Hüsamettin Bozok, Ülkü Tamer and Edip Cansever (Kurdakul, 1989: 737).

Furthermore, *Yeni Ufuklar* was led by Vedat Günyol. Fethi Naci, Ferit Edgü, Aşar Timuçin and Selim İleri were among the writers who notably contributed to it. According to Sabri Altınel, what moved the magazine forward was the revolutionary character in its essence (Günyol, 1986: 58-59).

Lastly, I would like to elaborate on *İmece* [Collective Labour] as it differed greatly from the others thematically. *İmece* was a very versatile magazine that aimed to continue the tradition of village institutes. It was founded by Hamza Soydaş. Among its many contributors were Hasan Ali Yücel, Sabahattin Eyüboğlu, Şerif Tekben, Talip Apaydın, Şevket Süreyya Aydemir, Azra Erhat, Yaşar Kemal, Samim Kocagöz, Aziz Nesin and other writers that were trained in village institutes. Its first issue was dedicated to the founder of village institutes İsmail Hakkı Tonguç. Its issues consisted of essays on literary, political and social issues and generally

focused on villages, villagers, economy, land reform, education, children and so forth (Akagündüz and Yinilmez Akagündüz, 2017: 190-193).

As seen, *Yeni Dergi* was among these literary magazine of the 1960s. Different from others, however, it mostly consisted of translated writings such as essays, reviews, and short stories. Moreover, it could be claimed that as opposed to *İmece* which represented social realism and literary works that focused on villages and villagers, *Yeni Dergi* represented modernism and literary works that focused on cities and people as individuals. Thus, these two magazines were probably the ones that diverged from each other to the highest degree among other literary magazines published by leftists. Moreover, while Memet Fuat wrote for other magazines such as *Varlık* and *Yeditepe* (see Fuat, 1982 and Fuat, 2001 and Fuat, 2014), I could not find any information regarding his thoughts on *İmece*.

Now that we have contextualised *Yeni Dergi* in relation to some other periodicals of the 1960s, we can proceed to take a look at its publication journey in more detail in the following section.

4.2.3.1. A Translation-Oriented Journal: *Yeni Dergi*

*Yeni Dergi*⁸⁵ was a monthly literary review that lasted for eleven years from 1964 until 1975 without any interruption. Affiliated to De Yayınevi, it started its publishing journey in October of 1964 under the editorship of Memet Fuat. Generally, it intended to render literary and philosophical discussions to readers by translating texts from foreign languages into Turkish (Acarsoy, 2006: 16). In the first issue, Memet Fuat explains the aim of *Yeni Dergi* in his own words as follows:

Yeni Dergi will, above all, aim to convey artistic activities and discussions of thought in other languages to our language. That is why you will read more

⁸⁵ There is one article, two theses and one book that focus completely or partially on *Yeni Dergi*. Tahir-Gürçağlar primarily dwells on the non-fictional critical content in the magazine in relation to several other magazines (see Tahir-Gürçağlar, 2002). Acarsoy presents a classification of all the content that appeared in the magazine (see Acarsoy, 2006). Adatepe renders a bibliography of all issues and very detailed information about the magazine (see Adatepe, 2010). Albiz focuses on the political and ideological stances of the magazine as well as its publishing policies by comparing it to another magazine (see Albiz, 2018).

translations in this magazine. We will also include a wide range of articles that address the problems of our art and will create controversy. In the meantime, we will organize special issues in various issues by supporting collective or parallel studies as well. Yeni Dergi, will not be issued by putting together the articles that the authors have written and sent however they feel like. It will be a product of a preliminary work, an assignment. (Fuat, 1964: 2; my translation)

Considering the fact that *Yeni Dergi* had as many as a hundred and twenty-eight issues, it can be justly claimed that Memet Fuat committed to his words and the magazine fulfilled its premises. As Erdal Doğan further points out, *Yeni Dergi* indeed stood out among other magazines of its time. Because it remained in the center of artistic discussions by including translations of important texts from all over the world during the course of its publication (Doğan, 1997: 81). In fact, between the years 1964-1966, the number of pages that consisted of translated writings were 1189 out of 2002. So translated writings made up 59,4% of the magazine. However, between the years 1967-1968, this ratio fell by 16% from 59,4% to 43,5%. Then, it continued to fall drastically between the years 1969-1971 as it pointed out to 27,4%. Lastly, during the magazine's final years, between 1971-1975 to be precise, pages that consisted of translated writings only covered 11% of the total pages of the magazine (Adatepe, 2010: 11). Therefore, it can be observed that indigenous writings took the place of translated writings as the years went by. When the translation of James Joyce's novel *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* was published in 1966, however, *Yeni Dergi* was still a translation-oriented magazine. Hence, the main focus will be on the first years of the magazine while looking at its whole timeline.

Figure 6: Selected Cover Pages of *Yeni Dergi* for Special Issues that Focus on Modernist Writers



In terms of content, *Yeni Dergi* covered a wide range of topics from many different artistic fields, varying from music to theatre. It primarily concentrated on literature though, especially novels, poems and short stories. The magazine always opened up with a poem by poets such as Oktay Rifat, Behçet Necatigil and Nazım Hikmet. Poems of the leading poets of İkinci Yeni movement, namely Cemal Süreya, Turgut Uyar and Edip Cansever and İlhan Berk, were frequently included in the magazine as well. For the short story section, especially the ones by Tomris Uyar, Selim İleri and Füzûzan were preferred. Although novels were not serialized in the magazine, as it is a tradition of previous decades, snippets from novels were shared with the reader just to give a taste. Those novels usually belonged to writers who are considered as the foremost representatives of modernist literature like James Joyce, Virginia Woolf, Marcel Proust, William Faulkner and Franz Kafka. Moreover, there were also reviews and critiques written on novels. Fethi Naci, Berna Moran and Asım Bezirci, in particular, stood out among literary critics. Since translated texts dominated the magazine for a long time, there were many great translators, such as

Bertan Onaran, Murat Belge, Yurdanur Salman and Cevat Çapan, who contributed to the magazine with their valuable translations. As is seen, *Yeni Dergi* overall had a large staff consisting of qualified and renowned writers and translators.

Thanks to this productive group of writers, *Yeni Dergi* had a very dynamic nature. There were frequently polemics on various topics. Stemming from differences of opinion, writers of *Yeni Dergi* had arguments both with one another and with writers from other political and literary magazines. For instance, on the twelfth issue, dated September 1965, Azım Bezirci wrote a review on Sevim Burak's first book, a short story collection called *Yanık Saraylar* (1965). On the next issue, dated October 1965, Murat Belge criticized Bezirci for not quite grasping what the book was all about. To put it briefly, Burak had an unusual style that was not common among Turkish writers in the 1960s. She challenged the limits of language and departed from prose and moved into poetry from time to time. There was a movement in her writings in a way as words would begin with uppercase abruptly or sentences would end without commas and so on (Özkök, 2006: 64). She also used the literary technique stream of consciousness frequently to show the inner worlds of characters. So while emphasizing and praising her novel way of writing, Belge claimed that Bezirci misinterpreted the book in his review. Then, on the sixteenth issue, dated January 1966, Bezirci responded Belge, writing that as a newcomer he was already being too harsh on him with an unnecessarily dictative tone. This argument, overall, demonstrates that *Yeni Dergi* was a platform that enabled dialogue among its writers.

Now, I would also like to draw attention to another aspect of the magazine. Because including several reviews about a book whose writer tried new literary techniques to push the limits of meaning and form further proves a point about *Yeni Dergi* – its endorsement of modernist literature. When her interest in linguistic and stylistic experimentation is taken into account, Sevim Burak is considered as one of the leading figures of modernist short story in Turkey in the 1960s. She followed the footsteps of the 1950s generation of modernist short story writers such as Ferit Edgü, Orhan Duru, Leyla Erbil and Demir Özlü. Specifically, *Yanık Saraylar* became a literary phenomenon immediately after its publication. In fact, it was nominated for

the Sait Faik Short Story Award in 1966. But Cengiz Yörük, who was not a part of the 1950s generation of modernist writers, won the award for his collection of short stories named *Çölde Bir Deve* (1965). As a work of social realist movement, the book depicted the poverty and living conditions in the villages and towns of Aegean region of Turkey. After its win, Memet Fuat reacted strongly and left his duty as a judge for the Sait Faik Short Story Award since he thought it was unfair not to choose Burak's book. Burak, on the other hand, did not publish anything for seventeen years as she was very disappointed with the result (Koçakoğlu, 2006: 48). In this case, it is clearly seen that Memet Fuat acted as a patron and encouraged Turkish modernist writers in addition to introducing foreign modernist writers mentioned above through both *De Yayınevi* and *Yeni Dergi*. In fact, the critic and publisher Semih Gümüş refers to Memet Fuat as a "pure modernist" even though he refrained from defining himself like that due to the fact that social realist concerns dominated the literary circles and Marxism was internalised by the majority of intellectuals (Gümüş, 2015: 56).

Figure 7: Selected Covers Pages that Demonstrate the Ideological Stance of *Yeni Dergi*



Other than literary works and issues, there were also translations of essays by prominent philosophers such as Jean-Paul Sartre, Christopher Caudwell, Albert Camus and Bertrand Russell. The ideological tendencies of *Yeni Dergi* was mostly reflected through the non-fiction writings of such philosophers. The socialist stance

of the magazine was also further proved by some issues it published such as “Marx’çı Eleştiri Özel Sayısı” [The Special Issue of Marxist Criticism], “Marxçılık ve Edebiyat” (Marxism and Literature), “Herbert Marcuse Üzerine” [On Herbert Marcuse], “Küba Edebiyatı Özel Sayısı” [The Special Issue of Cuban Literature], “Nazım Hikmet’in Suçsuzluğu Üzerine” [On the Innocence of Nazım Hikmet] and so forth. Through these kind of issues, in addition to Marxism, Memet Fuat also foregrounded freedom, especially freedom of speech, and humanism. Thus, he may have favoured libertarian or democratic socialism over revolutionary socialism which was the most radical and dominant form of socialism at the time. Still, *Yeni Dergi* aimed to refrain from being perceived as an ideologically driven publication. Because, Memet Fuat “refused to make the journal a mouthpiece for specific ideas or people” (Fuat, 1965: 51 in Tahir-Gürçağlar, 2002: 266).

The year 1968, in which the leftist student movements peaked, can be considered to be a turning point for *Yeni Dergi*. Because, as a result of the criticisms towards its mostly translated content, the magazine started directing its attention mostly towards Turkish literature from foreign literatures after 1967 (Bayrak, 1994: 157). Still, towards the 1970s, the general stance of *Yeni Dergi* was beginning to be more and more disliked and criticized by revolutionary socialists for not being more aggressive and daring (Acarsoy, 2006: 18). As a response, in December of 1968, which saw the pinnacle of the student movement, *Yeni Dergi* released an issue entitled as “Başkaldıran Gençliğin Taptığı Adam: Herbert Marcuse Üzerine” [The Man to Whom the Rebellious Youth Worships: On Herbert Marcuse]. The chief editor Mehmet Fuat wrote against criticisms and defended their stance in his article “*Yeni Dergi*’nin Yeni Düzeni” [The New Order of *Yeni Dergi*] of the said issue as follows:

To those who think so, we have provided many articles to defend our passion that we believe to be true. We have made translations from the people who went to the extremes of revolutionism. For example, these words of Fidel Castro were for them: “The Revolution must only give up on desperate reactionaries, counter-revolutionaries. It should have a positive policy towards all the other intellectuals and writers. The Revolution must be able to grasp the real situation here and allow all non-revolutionary artists and intellectuals to find a place in the Revolution to work and create, as well as the opportunity and

freedom to reveal their creative souls even if they are not revolutionaries”.
(Fuat, 1968: 142; my translation)

Despite this response from Memet Fuat, there were still people who left *Yeni Dergi* and joined other newly-established magazines such as *Halkın Dostları* and *Gelecek* which pursued more aggressive and militant policies (Acarsoy, 2006: 18). Still, after this issue in 1968, *Yeni Dergi* underwent a renewal process and began to include indigenous works of contemporary Turkish writers and poets more and more compared to the foreign ones that were translated.

A few years later in May of 1975, *Yeni Dergi* released its final issue. Memet Fuat stated the reason behind the closure of the magazine in a farewell note to the reader as follows:

There are many art reviews coming out today. Among them, there are those similar to Yeni Dergi as well as those which are superior to Yeni Dergi in various aspects. For Yeni Dergi, which we believe to have completed its mission with today's understanding, we think it would be more beneficial to try to do something in an empty area, the criticism area, rather than persisting alongside other reviews. (Fuat, 1975: 62; my translation)

Although it was announced that *Yeni Dergi* would be released quarterly, there were no issues after the one hundred and twenty-eighth. The closure of *Yeni Dergi*, just as that of *De Yayınevi*, can be explained with the concept of resistance as suggested by Even-Zohar. Because the readers and writers showed both passive and active resistance to the magazine. As a result of passive resistance, *Yeni Dergi* was ignored and overlooked and the readers and writers turned to other leftist magazines which were more militant and aggressive in nature. Thus, the sales of *Yeni Dergi* declined. Memet Fuat himself also stated that young people turned to publications which gave weight to political concerns. According to him, in late 1960s and 1970s, art and literature fell under the influence of daily politics. But he believed that no art can progress under the shadow of daily politics and the artist had to be situated within the wider political framework (Fuat, 2002b: 98). Due to his this kind of thoughts, the readers and writers alike asserted active resistance to the magazine as well. *Yeni Dergi* was labeled as “the last stronghold of the bourgeoisie” by some

writers and translators that were once a part of the magazine (ibid.). This was the final straw for Memet Fuat:

At a time when the militancy really came to the fore, such words were uttered because we did not change our attitude and keep up with the magazines published by the youth. I think it is natural. Everything was for the revolution in those days. All the problems were to be solved and Turkey was to be out of a tight corner... We, on the other hand, were fighting for literature and art to be 'above a certain level'... (Fuat, 1999: 209)

Considering that such stigmatizing labels directed towards Memet Fuat and *Yeni Dergi* were aimed to tarnish their image and reputation, it could be suggested that the symbolic capital they accumulated for all those years also got damaged. Moreover, as De Yayınevi published books that were printed in limited numbers and sold very few as opposed to mass-produced best-selling works, it had very little economic capital which was not enough to keep *Yeni Dergi* alive. Hence, as a consequence of all these factors, Memet Fuat closed down the magazine in 1975.

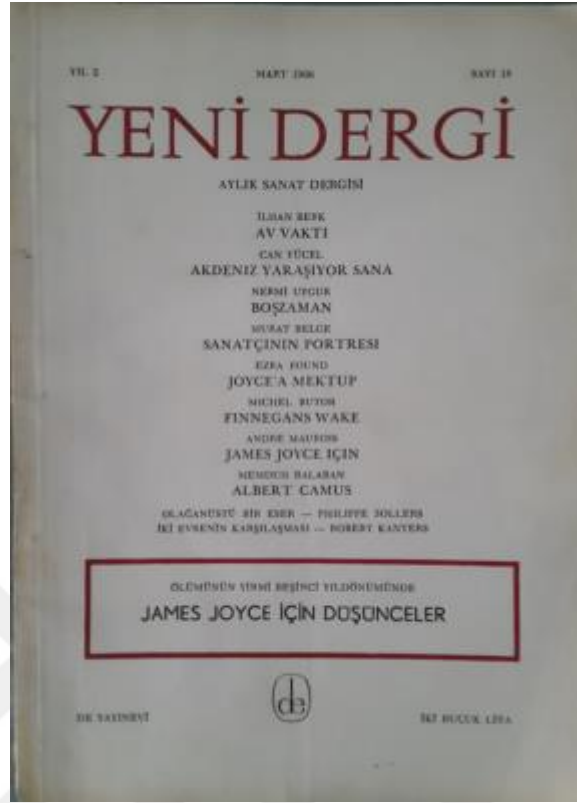
With its one hundred and twenty-eight issues in total, *Yeni Dergi* helped Turkish literature prosper with its rich content from 1964 to 1975. As a planned journal, it did not consist of arbitrary or unrelated writings but carefully selected and commissioned pieces. Above all, it imported foreign material and disseminated it through translation in order to help Turkish reader keep up with the contemporary modern world. In fact, according to the critic and translator Mehmet H. Doğan, *Yeni Dergi* served a particularly significant function by filling the gap that occurred when Turkey's first translation magazine *Tercüme* (1940-1966) was closed down (Doğan, 1997 in Adatepe, 2010: 15). Moreover, as the owner and chief editor of *Yeni Dergi*, Memet Fuat assumed the role of a culture planner alongside with the other highly qualified writers and translators of the magazine. Hence, especially thanks to the translated content *Yeni Dergi* comprised in the 1960s, it offered new and different options to the Turkish culture repertoire. These valuable contributions still keep the magazine very much alive and relevant today.

4.2.3.1.1 James Joyce Related Content in *Yeni Dergi*

Here, in this section, I will specifically focus on any content published in the pages of *Yeni Dergi* that were related to James Joyce. Because, both before and after the translation and publication of *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* by De Yayınevi, pieces written on and by Joyce were included in the magazine. The Turkish reader was enlightened about the works and literary style of this renowned figure of modernist literature. Therefore, De Yayınevi and *Yeni Dergi* must not be considered as separate entities but interrelated ones as they operated with the same agenda.

Joyce is the fourth (after Christopher Caudwell, René Wellek and Jean-Paul Sartre) most translated writer of *Yeni Dergi* with five texts in total (Adatepe, 2010: 14). Four of those are short stories from his book *Dubliners*. “Konukevi” [The Boarding House] is included in the twelfth issue in 1965. “Araby” is in the twenty-seventh issue in 1966. “Yarıştan Sonra” [After the Race] is in thirty-fifth issue in 1967. “Bir Küçük Bulut” [A Little Cloud] is in the forty-third issue in 1968. The fifth translated text by Joyce is a brief section from the voluminous novel *Ulysses*. Entitled as “*Ulysses*’den Seçmeler” [Selections from *Ulysses*], this translated piece from Joyce’s most famous work is included in the eighth issue in 1965.

Figure 8: The Cover Page of *Yeni Dergi* for the Special Issue on Joyce

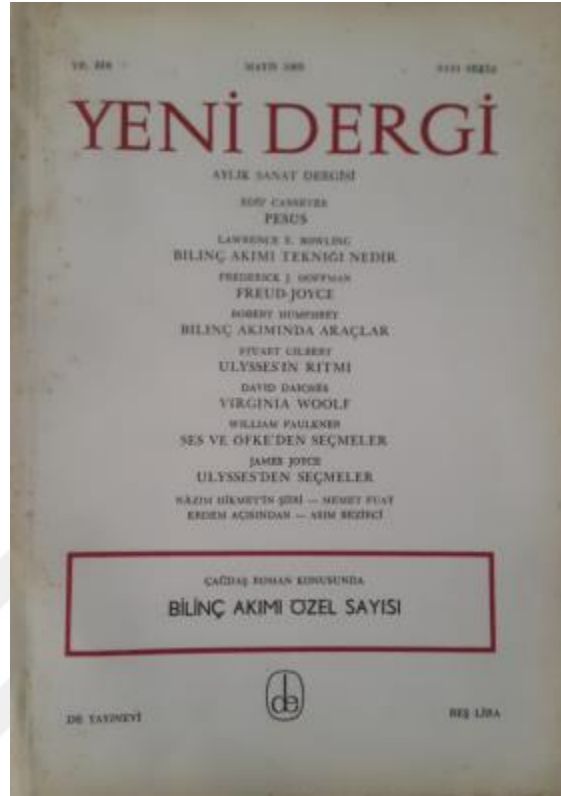


There is also a special issue on Joyce named “Ölümünün Yirmi Beşinci Yıldönümünde: James Joyce İçin Düşünceler” [On the Twenty-Fifth Anniversary of His Death: Thoughts on James Joyce]. It was the eighteenth issue of the magazine and was published in 1966. That was also the year that the translation of *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* was published by De Yayınevi with the name *Sanatçının Bir Genç Adam Olarak Portresi*. The book was published in January and the special issue on Joyce was released later in March. In that issue, most prominently, there is an essay by the translator of *A Portrait*, Murat Belge, entitled “Sanatçının Portresi” [A Portrait of the Artist]. In this essay, Belge generally aims to introduce Joyce to Turkish readers as *A Portrait* was the first complete work and the first novel by Joyce that was translated into Turkish. Thus, he primarily dwells on Joyce’s life, works, literary style and his use of language to inform the reader about this newly translated author. Belge elaborates on some well-known writers such as Aristoteles, Dante and Ibsen who inspired Joyce as well. Then, he focuses on the aesthetic theory

Joyce developed in *A Portrait*. He also shares some differences between the novel's first version *Stephen Hero* and its final version *A Portrait*. Belge explains what the names of the protagonist, Stephen Dedalus, signify and addresses their religious and mythological roots in detail. Then, he touches upon Joyce's use of irony in the novel. Furthermore, he gives information regarding Joyce's relationship with his homeland Ireland and the Catholic Church. Finally, Belge likens Joyce to the two-faced Roman God Janus, whose one face was turned to the future and the other to the past (Belge, 1966: 209-221). What is more important about this essay is that it was added as an afterword to the translation of *A Portrait* later when it was published by İletişim Yayınları, which was founded by Murat Belge.

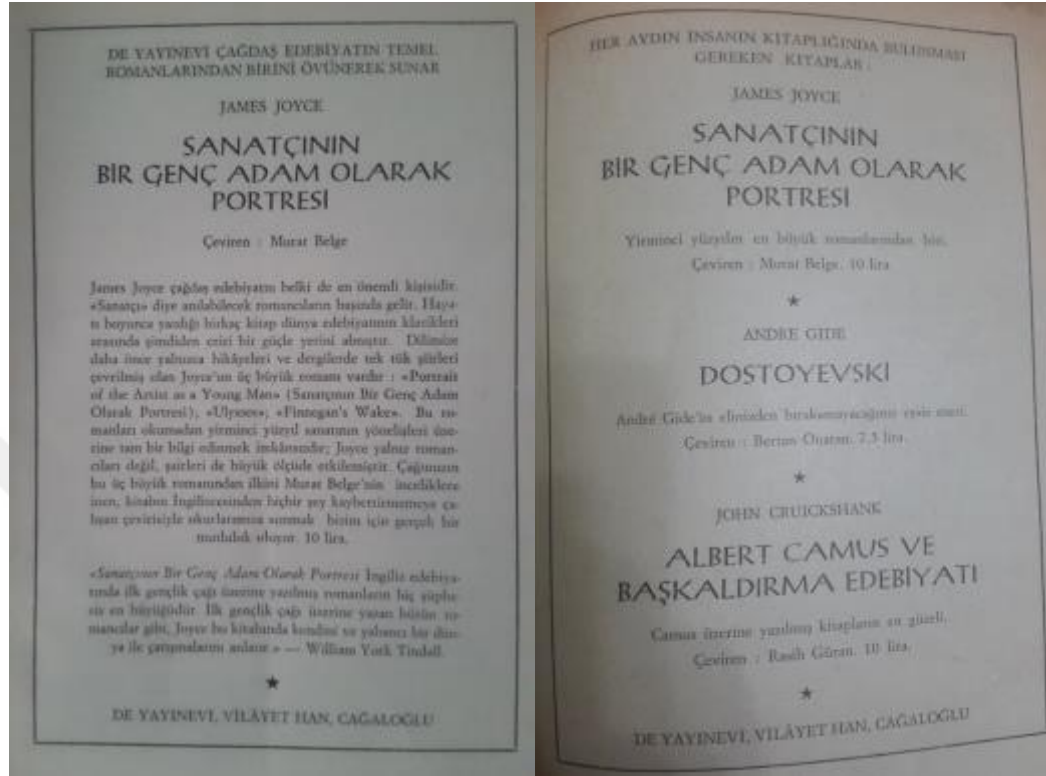
Moreover, in the special issue "James Joyce için Düşünceler", there is a letter by Ezra Pound written to Joyce. He conveys his thoughts on *Ulysses* to Joyce after he has read a chapter from it. Then, there are also essays by Robert Merle and Michel Butor, questioning whether it is possible or not to translate Joyce's most enigmatic work *Finnegans Wake*. Another essay by Jacques Lemarchand focuses on Joyce's only play *Exiles*. There are also essays by Guillaume Gillet, Stuart Gilbert, Jules Romains and Gisele Freund who give accounts of their personal impressions on Joyce as a writer as they got the chance to meet him.

Figure 9: The Cover Page of *Yeni Dergi* for the Special Issue on the Modernist Literary Technique Stream of Consciousness



Another special issue of *Yeni Dergi* named “Bilinç Akımı Özel Sayısı” (The Special Issue of Stream of Consciousness) was prepared by Murat Belge as the translator of Joyce and Faulkner. This issue also predominantly focuses on Joyce along with the other modernist writers, Faulkner and Woolf. Because, the modernist writing technique in question was widely associated with these three writers. In the special issue, firstly, Lawrence E. Bowling defines and explains the stream of consciousness technique in order to introduce it to the Turkish reader who was not much familiar with it. Then, Frederick J. Hoffman dwells on the influence of Freud on Joyce since the technique enables the writer to dive into the inner world of characters and give psychological insights to the reader. Moreover, Stuart Gilbert enlightens the reader about the rhythmic elements in *Ulysses* by giving examples from the novel. There are also a few more essays in this special issue about the works of Woolf and Faulkner.

Figure 10: Two Advertisements Published in *Yeni Dergi* for the Translation of *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*



Furthermore, *Yeni Dergi* had also an advertising function. It served as a platform that announced the new publications of De Yayinevi. Above, there are two examples from the advertising pages of the magazine. They report that Joyce's novel *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* was translated by Murat Belge and published by De Yayinevi. In the first one, *Yeni Dergi* promotes the book with an expression as follows: "De Yayinevi Çağdaş Edebiyatın Temel Romanlarından Birini Övünerek Sunar" [De Yayinevi Proudly Presents one of the Most Essential Novels of Modernist Literature]. Here, the magazine puts an emphasis on the literary movement that the novel belongs to. In the second one, *Yeni Dergi* advertises Joyce's *A Portrait* along with two more books. They are about two of the most significant writers of world literature, Dostoevsky and Camus. *Yeni Dergi* uses a more striking expression this time to refer to the books as follows: "Her Aydın İnsanın Kitaplığında Bulunması Gereken Kitaplar" [Books that Must be Present in the

Library of Every Intellectual]. Here, the magazine addresses to a limited readership and not common people. Because, just like Joyce's works, *Yeni Dergi*'s issues too did not appeal to the general public as it drew an intellectual profile with its translated content loaded with unusual concepts and ideas. In fact, it sold 1,500 copies on average (Fuat, 1968: 461 in Tahir-Gürçağlar, 2002: 265-266). Accordingly, the aforementioned expression emphasises the symbolic value, in Bourdieu's terms, Joyce and his novel possess. Therefore, just like their originals, translations of Joyce's books also cater to a special kind of target readership who are able to take part in the *illusio* that requires them to believe such difficult albeit significant modernist works are worth reading. Likewise, both De Yayınevi and *Yeni Dergi* believed and actively took part in this *illusio*. Because only then, they could have accumulated the symbolic capital necessary to be successful and prestigious in literary and publishing fields.

As seen, *Yeni Dergi* published many writings by Joyce and related to Joyce in order to introduce him to the Turkish reader and make him a familiar name in Turkey. He was primarily foregrounded as a modernist writer. His innovative way of writing was discussed and appreciated in multiple essays. His novels and short stories got the most attention. On the other hand, none of his poems were included in the pages of the magazine. So he stood out as a writer of prose not poetry. *Yeni Dergi* also tried to promote the translation of *A Portrait* with several advertisements. This further shows that publishing activities of both De Yayınevi and *Yeni Dergi* went hand in hand and were oriented towards accumulating symbolic capital predominantly by translating highly regarded modernist works.

CONCLUSION

This historical and interdisciplinary research was set out to investigate the introduction of James Joyce to the Turkish culture repertoire as a modernist writer through translation. In order to fulfill that purpose, his first novel *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* (1916) was chosen. The said book was not selected randomly but because of its particular importance for the Joyce oeuvre. Other than being the author's first novel and including narrative techniques that would be further developed in *Ulysses* (1922) and *Finnegans Wake* (1939), it embodies his transition from traditional to modernist literature. Because while rewriting *Stephen Hero* as *A Portrait*, Joyce moved away from his former literary style, which was more conventional, and tried to break the mould by leaning towards formal and linguistic experimentation.

Initially, I carried out a bibliographical research which showed that *A Portrait* was the first unabridged Turkish translation among Joyce's works. Before that, only *Dubliners* (1914) was translated into Turkish as a book with the name *Kardeşler* (1965), however, it was not a full translation since it only included six short stories out of fifteen. Moreover, as *Dubliners* adhered to the literary tradition of realism, it could not be the subject of this study. Therefore, *A Portrait* was not only the first unabridged Turkish translation but also the first modernist work of Joyce to be translated into Turkish.

Moreover, I discovered that among seven Turkish translations of *A Portrait* by unique translators between the years 1966 and 2019, the first translation of *A Portrait* was done by Murat Belge, who was then a newcomer translator at the age of only twenty three. This translation was initiated and commissioned by Memet Fuat after Murat Belge translated another important example of modernist literature, namely, *As I Lay Dying* by Faulkner. Hence, it was Memet Fuat's De Yayınevi that first published the translation of *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* with the name *Sanatçının Bir Genç Adam Olarak Portresi* and introduced Joyce to the Turkish reader in 1966.

At this point, I conducted a bibliographical research regarding the books published by De Yayınevi in order to see if there were any patterns in its publishing activities. Thanks to the catalogues of several libraries and online second-hand booksellers, I made a list of all the books I could find that De Yayınevi published between the years 1960 and 1989 when it was still active. Thus, the literary repertoire of De Yayınevi was constructed. According to my observations, during the first decade, the 1960s to be more specific, translated works dominated the repertoire of the publishing house. In fact, out of a hundred and eleven books, seventy-one of them were translated from foreign languages while forty of them were written in Turkish. To put in another way, translated works made up sixty-four percent of total works whereas indigenous works only amounted to forty-six percent. Since the 1960s was also the time period that the translation of *A Portrait* was published, it got the most attention in this research. Still, when I examined the books published in the 1970s, I noticed there was a drastic decline in the total number of publications. Also, out of twenty books published in the 1970s, only six of them were translated while fourteen of them were originally written in Turkish. In other words, translations made up merely thirty per cent and indigenous books covered as high as seventy percent of the aggregate repertoire. Therefore, there was a dramatic decrease in the ratio of translated works as opposed to indigenous ones in the 1970s when compared to the 1960s. Then, in the 1980s, this time an increase was observed in the total number of books. Indeed, sixty-three works were published. Twenty-six of those were indigenous works while thirty-seven were translated. The former amounted to forty-one percent as opposed to the latter which was saw fifty-nine percent. All these numerical information demonstrated that De Yayınevi was most active during its first decade, the 1960s. Also during that decade its publication of translated works peaked with sixty-four percent and *A Portrait* was among those works.

Moreover, I found out that De Yayınevi also had an affiliated literary magazine called *Yeni Dergi* which published as many as a hundred and twenty eight issues between the years 1964 and 1975. Upon learning that it was largely consisted of translated content and its publishing activities went parallel with De Yayınevi, I decided to include the magazine in the thesis as well. My initial research showed that

there were special issues on modernist writers such as Joyce, Faulkner and Kafka. The books of these writers were also published through De Yayınevi which further proved that they shared the same intellectual agenda. *Yeni Dergi* and De Yayınevi also seemed to attach great importance to the works of the modernist poets of İkinci movement. Seeing that pattern, the owner and the chief editor of the publishing house and the magazine Memet Fuat emerged as an agent of change. He conducted a deliberate culture planning that strove to promote modernist literature especially in the 1960s. To this end, he used translation as the main tool and offered new options to the Turkish culture repertoire. With his systematic and deliberate agenda, he aspired to keep up the Turkish reader with the modern contemporary world. But since he insisted on publishing and promoting both indigenous and translated modernist works in a time when social realist literature dominated the Turkish literary field, he was a highly criticized and ostracized figure. By investigating his publishing activities and policies in De Yayınevi and *Yeni Dergi*, this study also uncovered criticisms he faced particularly by revolutionary leftists who argued that the only appropriate way to use literature was as an ideological apparatus.

To sum up, this master's thesis aimed to question the translation and publication of *A Portrait*, which was the first unabridged and modernist work by Joyce in the Turkish culture repertoire, within the historical context. For this purpose, an interdisciplinary approach was adopted by combining the polysystem theory of Even-Zohar and the field theory of Bourdieu. Within the framework of these theories, the publisher, who was also the initiator, the translator, the publishing house, the magazine as well as the political and literary climate of the 1960s were studied for a broader understanding of this cultural production.

Chapter One consists of three parts. In the first part, I introduced the groundbreaking cultural movement that is modernism with a focus on literature. In general, it entailed breaking away from the conventional ways of writing and boldly experimenting with both form and content. In coming up with various literary themes and techniques, modernist writers were inspired by several leading figures of Western science and thought who immensely shaped their vision. Darwin revealed that humans were a part of nature and not above other creatures. Freud's discovery of

the unconscious mind where the innermost desires are kept led to the advent of stream of consciousness method. Nietzsche contended that traditional norms and values dissolved with modernity and religion yielded to secularism. Marx's dialectical materialist approach helped understand relations and struggles among social classes. Saussure's claim that language was a social construct and meaning was arbitrary paved the way for linguistic experiments and innovations. Finally, Einstein's theory concerning the relativity of time and space enabled the formation of not linear but cyclical timelines in literary works. Overall, modernism was the literature of the city, technology, communication, war, industry and mass market. Contrary to realist works, modernist ones did not cater to the common reader due to their complex storylines and enigmatic languages.

In the second part, I focused on James Joyce, who is widely accepted as the writer of the most difficult modernist works. I started with his biography to show how he came to be a major figure of literary modernism. I dwelled on religious education he received in Jesuit schools and philosophers and authors who inspired him since early ages. Moreover, I discussed his life in self-imposed exile in different cities of Europe which he embarked on to get away from the encompassing nets of family, religion and homeland. Among those cities especially Paris fed his modernist vision as it was the hub of artistic creation of all avant-garde. Then, I proceeded to explain how his literary style evolved.

Finally, in the third part, I explored Joyce's first modernist work as well as first novel *A Portrait*. As the first thing, I summarized the book to demonstrate its modernist themes such as coming-of-age, deep introspection, questioning the individual's place in society, philosophical inquiry and religious scepticism. Lastly, I foregrounded modernist techniques used in the novel in five headings: narrator and point of view, stream of consciousness, poetry and musicality, epiphany, neologism and multilingualism. By giving examples from the book, I elaborated on these most distinct features of the novel.

Chapter Two consists of three parts. In the first part, I explored the literature on Joyce and his oeuvre. I found out there are many institutions, foundation, research centers, summer schools, conferences, museums and journals and even a festival

dedicated to Joyce all around the world. This proves what an immense cultural figure he is internationally. Moreover, when the online catalogues of British Library and Library of Congress were scanned, a great number of individual works were found on a myriad of subjects written in various perspective, such as Marxism, feminism, postcolonialism and psychoanalysis, related to Joyce and his works. My research showed that the studies conducted in Turkey, on the other hand, were mostly graduate studies that focused on the linguistic features of Joyce's works. Also, it was discovered that there was a very limited research on him from the perspective of Translation Studies and the majority of them conducted comparative analysis on different translations of Joyce's books. Therefore, it was revealed that this thesis diverged from the general tendency shown in the studies in Turkey by adopting a sociocultural approach to translation.

In the second and third parts of Chapter Two, theoretical and methodological frameworks of the study were presented. By following an interdisciplinary perspective, this thesis combined the culture researcher Itamar Even-Zohar's polysystem theory with the sociologist Pierre Bourdieu's field theory. I started with a brief information on the cultural turn in Translation Studies and how it differed from the previous approaches that were based on linguistic analyses. Then, I elaborated on the polysystem theory and the concepts suggested by Even-Zohar such as culture planning, culture repertoire and resistance. I also defined and described Gideon Toury's concept of agent of change. After that, I proceeded with the short introduction of social turn in Translation Studies. Finally, the main concepts of Bourdieusian sociology were defined and explained. Among them were *habitus*, field, capital (social, cultural, economic and symbolic) and *illusio*.

Even-Zohar's polysystem theory allowed me to locate De Yayınevi's mostly translated publications in their historical context. Moreover, common features of both indigenous and translated books and magazines produced in the home repertoire were examined to reveal the general dynamics of the Turkish literary field in the 1960s. Accordingly, social realist works and modernist works were deemed as two different options in the Turkish culture repertoire. Thus, a dialectical view was applied to look into the opposing literary movements (social realism and modernism)

and genres (village novel and modernist novel) and the conflict between them in the 1960s in Turkey. It was my contention that Memet Fuat acted as an agent of change since he endorsed modernist literature when social realist literature occupied a central position in Turkish literary polysystem. In this respect, the concept of resistance was utilized to discuss criticisms he got in the 1960s due to the culture planning activities he led by mainly publishing modernist works. In sum, the concepts put forward by Even-Zohar and Toury were very useful in contextualising *A Portrait* in relation to the other books published by De Yayınevi and De Yayınevi's books in relation to other books published in the Turkish culture repertoire.

Besides, I also benefitted from Bourdieu's three main concepts as they are all interrelated entities and had better be used together. With *habitus* and four types of capital, I tried to foreground the human agents, namely the publisher Memet Fuat and the translator Murat Belge, who were responsible for the presentation of *A Portrait* to the Turkish reader. Finally, the concept of field allowed me to delve into the political and sociocultural as well as literary and publishing realms of Turkey in the 1960s to shape out their structures.

After presenting theoretical background, I elaborated on the long process of data collection from various sources such as biographies, memoirs, magazines and bibliographies. As for methodological tools, Toury's extratextual materials and Genette's paratextual elements were utilised. Moreover, Bourdieu's understanding of intertextuality provided guidance. Because according to him, texts not only must be evaluated in relation to other texts but also to the structure of the field and the agents involved. So not only an internal reading of the text but also an external reading of it was done. Also for data analysis carried out in the next two chapters, Bourdieu's method, which identifies three levels of social reality, was adopted. Firstly, genesis of the *habitus*es of human agents, Memet Fuat and Murat Belge, was discussed. Secondly, the position of the literary field within the field of power was scrutinized. Thirdly, the structure of literary field itself was examined.

Chapter Three consists of two parts. Firstly, thanks to the (auto)biographical data collected from various sources, the accumulated *habitus* and capital of the

commissioner and publisher of *A Portrait*, Memet Fuat, were investigated. Mainly his family background, educational credentials, and career as a publisher were reviewed. It was revealed that he originally came from a noble and wealthy family that was high on economic capital. His grandfather was an Ottoman pasha while his father was a very versatile individual as he was an actor, director, pianist, writer and translator. But since he was mostly away in abroad, he was closer to his mother Piraye Altınoğlu and stepfather Nazım Hikmet. Piraye highly valued language education and literacy knowledge and encouraged his son to direct his interests towards those kind of fields. Nazım Hikmet corresponded with him through letters when he was in prison and gave him book suggestions as well as evaluating the poems and short stories he wrote. Eventually, Memet Fuat graduated from the department of English Language and Literature of İstanbul University. After working as a teacher for some time, he became a translator and then a publisher when he established De Yayınevi. In short, with the *habitus* analysis, he was foregrounded as a socialized and cultured individual. His accumulation of all four types of capital were also examined to demonstrate that it was not coincidental that he heralded the introduction of Joyce's *A Portrait* to the Turkish reader.

A similar route was followed when investigating the *habitus* of Murat Belge. Firstly, I dwelled on his family and discovered that he also came from a noble and wealthy background. Moreover, since infancy, he was surrounded by well-structured *habitus*es as he was the son of the journalist and politician Burhan Asaf Belge and nephew of the acclaimed writer Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu. As for educational credentials, it was found out he went to a foreign high school that foregrounded language education. Then, he graduated from the department of English Language and Literature of İstanbul University just like Memet Fuat. But unlike him, he was not interested in writing literary works, instead, he wanted to become a literary critic or historian. Still, he started his literary career as a translator when he was still in university. He was only twenty three when he translated *A Portrait*. Therefore, it was revealed that both Memet Fuat and Murat Belge were well-read and well-educated people with well-rounded *habitus*es. As they took part in the *illusio* regarding the

symbolic value Joyce possesses as a modernist foreign writer and a huge cultural figure internationally, they deliberately chose to invest in Joyce's book.

Chapter Four, which is the final chapter, consists of two parts. In the first part, political and social climate of the 1960s was discussed with a specific focus on the rise of the left and then the radicalization of it. Because, the former phenomenon led to the establishment of many new publishing houses and journals such as *De Yayinevi* and *Yeni Dergi* and then the latter caused the closure of some of those. As the first thing, I dwelled on the 27 May coup d'état as it was the defining event of the period. It was revealed that although it was an anti-democratic intervention to the politics, it paradoxically led up to the liberation of political and social life to a degree that was never witnessed in Turkey before. The constitution of 1961 and the rights and freedoms it provided were the most explicit manifestations of this relatively free atmosphere. As a consequence, new books and periodicals and publishing houses emerged.

In the second part, I focused on the literary and publishing fields of the 1960s in order to contextualise *De Yayinevi* and *Yeni Dergi* in relation to other publishing houses and magazines of the period respectively. As the first thing, I elaborated on the dominant sense of literature and the dominant literary movement of the said period, namely social realism. In terms of genre, the emphasis was on the novel, specifically village novel, as *A Portrait* is also a novel. To demonstrate how Joyce's modernist novel differed from the indigenous novel of the 1960s that were written according to the norms of social realism, I scrutinized the main themes and techniques of village novel. As opposed to modernist novel which centered on individuals and their personal problems by delving into their inner worlds, village novel was concerned with the society and its issues as a whole. In general, it explored class struggles and less than ideal living conditions of villagers.

After the genre of village novel, I briefly concentrated on some publishing houses that were active in the 1960s in order to contextualise *De Yayinevi*. Then, I elaborated on the publishing journey of *De Yayinevi* from 1960 to 1989 in detail. When publishing activities and policies of it were considered, it was discovered that modernist fiction works dominated its repertoire. Moreover, Memet Fuat aimed to

gain symbolic capital rather than economic as it was considered to be prestigious to publish modernist writers such as Joyce. Also, as Joyce's difficult and enigmatic works do not appeal to large audiences and would not sell thousands, he did not undertake this translation initiation predominantly for the sake of money. The stakes of the literary field is mostly symbolic anyway as it is relatively free from the demands of economic world. Therefore, accumulation of symbolic capital was the main driving factor for him.

Memet Fuat's magazine *Yeni Dergi* also operated with the same agenda. After going over some other periodicals issued in the 1960s, it was discovered that *Yeni Dergi* was the one which had the most translated content. It also foregrounded modernist writers and works whether Turkish or foreign. It also had a promotion function as it advertised books published by De Yayınevi.

Against such activities of De Yayınevi and *Yeni Dergi*, however, some revolutionary socialists who were also men of letters exerted resistance. Memet Fuat and the writers of the publishing house and the magazine were labeled as bourgeois artists, reactionaries, decadents and criticized for not being more aggressive and militant. Memet Fuat, on the other hand, supported artistic freedom rather than the manipulation of literature as an ideological tool or the weapon of revolution. As a result of this resistance, nonetheless, sales of De Yayınevi and *Yeni Dergi* gradually dropped and eventually they both were close down.

When the publishing activities and policies of De Yayınevi and *Yeni Dergi* are considered, it was revealed that *A Portrait* was not a singular case as many works of modernist literature, whether indigenous or translated, were presented as different options to the Turkish culture repertoire under the leadership of Memet Fuat. Modernist novel and its writing techniques were imported to the Turkish culture repertoire through translation. Therefore, De Yayınevi and *Yeni Dergi* contributed greatly to the introduction and recognition of literary modernism in Turkey. Moreover, the owner of the publishing house and the magazine, Memet Fuat acted as a patron by commissioning the translation of modernist works and publishing them through De Yayınevi and *Yeni Dergi*. In addition to enabling the translation of

foreign modernist writers' works, he also endorsed the works of Turkish modernist writers such as the poets of İkinci Yeni.

Finally, Memet Fuat can be considered to be an agent of change since he was not merely a text producer but a leading figure who embraced literary modernism and actively tried to introduce it to the Turkish culture repertoire. In accordance with this perspective, he conducted a deliberate culture planning against the dominant literary movement, social realism, and the dominant genre, village novel, of the 1960s. Commissioning, translation and publication of *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* was, hence, one albeit significant part of this larger endeavour led through De Yayınevi and *Yeni Dergi*. As a consequence, a new novelist, James Joyce, a new literary work, *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*, a new literary movement, modernism, and new literary techniques, especially stream of consciousness, were introduced to the Turkish culture repertoire in 1966.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1: The List of all James Joyce Translations Published between 1965 and 2019 in Turkey

YEAR	TITLE	TRANSLATOR	PUBLISHING HOUSE	EDITION	SERIES	PAGES	PLACE OF PUBLICATION
1965	Kardeşler [The Sisters / Dubliners]	Gülçin Yücel	Ataç	1		54	İstanbul
1966	Sanatçının Bir Genç Adam Olarak Portresi [A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man]	Çeviren: Murat Belge	De	1	Anlatı Dizisi	272	İstanbul
1979	Sürgünler [Exiles]	Çeviren: Selçuk Yönel	Kültür Bakanlığı	1		141	Ankara
1983	Sanatçının Bir Genç Adam Olarak Portresi [A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man]	Çeviren: Murat Belge	Birikim	1	Edebiyat Dizisi	240	İstanbul
1983	Bir Küçük Bulut [A Little Cloud / Dubliners]	Metin Celal	İmge	1		86	İstanbul

1983	James Joyce'un Mektupları [Letters of James Joyce]	Kudret Emiroğlu	Düşün	1		120	İstanbul
1986	Giacomo Joyce [Giacomo Joyce]	Zeynep Avcı	Broy	1		63	İstanbul
1987	Dublinliler [Dubliners]	Çeviren: Murat Belge	İletişim	12	Dünya Klasikleri	250	İstanbul
1989	Sanatçının Bir Genç Adam Olarak Portresi [A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man]	Çeviren: Murat Belge	İletişim	1	Çağdaş Edebiyat Dizisi	240	İstanbul
1990	Sürgünler [Exiles]	Çeviren: Bora Komçez	Kabalcı	1		140	İstanbul
1990	Sürgünler [Exiles]	Türkçesi: Selçuk Yönel	İmge	1		152	Ankara

1991	Sanatçının Mektupları [Letters of James Joyce]	Kudret Emiroğlu	İmge	1		156	Ankara
1992	Ulysses / Proteus ve Lestrygonian'lar Bölümleri [Ulysses]	Türkçesi: Yaşar Günenç	Yaba	1		74	Ankara
1992	Sanatçının Bir Genç Adam Olarak Portresi [A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man]	Çeviren: Murat Belge	İletişim	2	Çağdaş Dünya Edebiyatı	276	İstanbul
1993	Ulysses / Proteus ve Lestrygonian'lar Bölümleri [Ulysses]	Türkçesi: Yaşar Günenç	Yaba	2		79	Ankara
1994	Ulysses / Telemachus ve Calypso Bölümleri A Work in Progress [Ulysses]	Nevzat Erkmen Çevirisi	Söz	1	Yazın Dizisi	148	İstanbul

1994	Bütün Şiirler [Collected Poems]	Türkçesi: Osman Çakmakçı	Altıkırkbeş	1		95	İstanbul
1996	Ulysses / Proteus ve Lestrygonian'lar Bölümleri [Ulysses]	Türkçesi: Yaşar Günenç	Yaba	3		85	Ankara
1996	Ulysses [Ulysses]	Çeviren: Nevzat Erkmen	Yapı Kredi	22	Kazım Taşkent Klasik Yapıtlar	841	İstanbul
1996	Anıklıklar [Epiphanies]	Türkçesi: Levent Kayas	Altıkırkbeş	1		135	İstanbul
1996	Ulysses [Ulysses]	Çeviren: Selma Saran	Seren	1		64	Ankara
1997	Giacomo Joyce [Giacomo Joyce]	Türkçesi: Erhan Kuzman	İzlek	1		70	Ankara
1997	Ulysses 1. cilt [Ulysses]	Çeviren: Nevzat Erkmen	Yapı Kredi	1/3. ed.	Kazım Taşkent Klasik Yapıtlar	430	İstanbul

1997	Ulysses 2. cilt [Ulysses]	Çeviren: Nevzat Erkmn	Yapı Kredi	1/3. ed.	Kazım Taşkent Klasik Yapıtlar	410	İstanbul
2000	Bütün Şiirler [Collected Poems]	Osman Çakmakçı	Babil	1		103	İstanbul
2003	Ulysses / Proteus ve Lestrygonian'lar Bölümleri [Ulysses]	Türkçesi: Yaşar Günenç	Yaba	4		88	Ankara
2010	Dublinliler [Dubliners]	Türkçesi: İmdat Yeğen	Parşömen	1		230	İstanbul
2011	Giacomo Joyce [Giacomo Joyce]	Türkçesi: Zeynep Avcı	Sel	1		66	İstanbul
2011	Oda Müziği: Bütün Şiirleri [Chamber Music]	İngilizce Aslından Çeviren: Osman Çakmakçı	İş Bankası Kültür Yayımları	4	Modern Klasikler	130	İstanbul
2012	Sanatçının Bir Genç Adam Olarak Portresi [A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man]	Türkçesi: İmdat Yeğen	Parşömen	1	Çağdaş Dünya Edebiyatı	288	İstanbul

2012	Kedi ve Şeytan [The Cat and the Devil]	Çeviren: Celal Üster	İletişim	2	Çocuk Kitapları Dizisi	36	İstanbul
2012	Ölümler [The Dead / Dubliners]	Bilge Makas	Alakarga	1		63	İstanbul
2012	Ulysses [Ulysses]	Armağan Ekici	Norgunk	1		750	İstanbul
2013	Sanatçının Bir Genç Adam Olarak Portresi [A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man]	Çevirmen: Veysel Çetin	Mitra	1		292	İstanbul
2013	Eleştiri ve Deneme Yazıları [The Critical Writing of James Joyce]	Çeviren: Fuat Sevimay	Aylak Adam	1		285	İstanbul
2014	Giacomo Joyce [Giacomo Joyce]	Çeviren: Nil Sakman	Aylak Adam	1		50	İstanbul
2014	Gözünü Kapat ve Gör: Aforizmalar [Shut Your Eyes and See: Aphorisms]	Çeviren: Nil Sakman - Fuat Sevimay	Zeplin	1		73	İstanbul

2014	Bırak Seni Seveyim: Mektuplar [Let Me Love You: Letters]	İngilizce Aslından Çeviren: Pelin Arda	Dedalus	1		158	İstanbul
2014	Ölüler [The Dead / Dubliners]	Çeviri: Mustafa Bal	Palto	1		80	İstanbul
2015	Dublinliler [Dubliners]	Çeviren: Murat Belge	İletişim	4	İletişim Klasikleri	276	İstanbul
2015	Dublinliler [Dubliners]	Çeviren: Merve Tokmakçioğlu	Aylak Adam	2		285	İstanbul
2015	Dublinliler [Dubliners]	Çeviri: Mustafa Bal	Palto	1		232	İstanbul
2015	Sanatçının Bir Genç Adam Olarak Portresi [A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man]	Çeviren: Murat Belge	İletişim	3	İletişim Klasikleri	339	İstanbul

2015	Sanatçının Genç Bir Adam Olarak Portresi [A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man]	Çeviren: Fuat Sevimay	Aylak Adam	1		338	İstanbul
2015	Gözünü Kapat ve Gör: Aforizmalar [Shut Your Eyes and See: Aphorisms]	Çeviren: Nil Sakman	Zeplin	2		78	İstanbul
2015	Sanatçının Mektupları [Letters of James Joyce]	Çeviren: Kudret Emiroğlu	Notos	1		209	İstanbul
2015	Ölümler [The Dead / Dubliners]	Merve Tokmakçıoğlu	Zeplin	1		70	İstanbul
2016	Dublinliler ve Dublinliler Üzerine Yazışmalar [Dubliners]	Çeviren: Nilüfer İlkaya	Alakarga	2	Alakarga Öykü	284	İstanbul
2016	Dublinliler [Dubliners]	Çeviren: Seda Özdil	Alfa	1		308	İstanbul

2016	Sürgünler [Exiles]	Çeviren: Bora Komçez	Alfa	1	Alfa Edebiyat	222	İstanbul
2016	Sanatçının Genç Adam Olarak Portresi [A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man]	Çeviri: Göksu Birol	Yason	1	Dünya Klasikleri Dizisi	286	Ankara
2016	Finneganın Vahı I [Finnegans Wake]	Tercüme: Umur Çelikyay	Aylak Adam	1		314	İstanbul
2016	Finnegan Uyanması [Finnegans Wake]	Türkçesi: Fuat Sevimay	Sel	1		647	İstanbul
2016	Kopenhag'ın Kedileri [The Cats of Copenhagen]	Çeviren: Celal Üster	Hep Kitap	1		30	İstanbul
2017	Dublinliler [Dubliners]	Çeviren: Merve Tokmakçioğlu	Aylak Adam	2		285	İstanbul
2017	Finneganın Vahı II [Finnegans Wake]	Tercüme: Umur Çelikyay	Aylak Adam	1		534	İstanbul

2017	Kahraman Stephen [Stephen Hero]	Çeviren: Merve Tokmakçioğlu	Aylak Adam	1		238	İstanbul
2017	Ölüler [The Dead / Dubliners]	Çeviri: Mehmet Ali Sevgi	Palto	2		80	İstanbul
2018	Dublinliler [Dubliners]	Türkçesi: Fuat Sevimay	Chiviyazıları	1	Edebiyat	234	Ankara
2018	Dublinliler [Dubliners]	Türkçesi: Mustafa Bal	Everest	1	Modern Klasikler	254	İstanbul
2018	Nora'ya Mektuplar [Letters to Nora]	Türkçesi: Nilüfer İlkaya	Alakarga	1		115	İstanbul
2019	Sürgünler [Exiles]	Türkçesi: Fuat Sevimay	Sel	1		144	İstanbul
2019	Bırak Seni Seveyim: Mektuplar [Let Me Love You: Letters]	Pelin Arda	Karbon	1		179	İstanbul

2019	Sanatçının Gençlik Portresi [A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man]	Çeviren: Fuat Sevimay	İthaki	1	İthaki Modern	288	İstanbul
2019	Ulysses [Ulysses]	Fuat Sevimay	Kafka	1		656	İstanbul
2019	Sanatçının Bir Genç Adam Olarak Portresi [A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man]	Türkçesi: Nilüfer İlkaya	Alakarga	1	Klasikler	144	İstanbul
2019	Sanatçının Bir Genç Adam Olarak Portresi [A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man]	Berna Kabacaoğlu	Zeplin	1		288	İstanbul

Appendix 2: The list of *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* translations, retranslations and re-editions published between 1966 and 2019 in Turkey

YEAR	TITLE	TRANSLATOR	PUBLISHING HOUSE	EDITION	SERIES	PAGES	PLACE OF PUBLICATION
1966	Sanatçının Bir Genç Adam Olarak Portresi (A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man)	Çeviren: Murat Belge	De	1	Anlatı Dizisi	272	İstanbul
1983	Sanatçının Bir Genç Adam Olarak Portresi (A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man)	Çeviren: Murat Belge	Birikim	1	Edebiyat Dizisi	240	İstanbul
1989	Sanatçının Bir Genç Adam Olarak Portresi (A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man)	Çeviren: Murat Belge	İletişim	1	Çağdaş Edebiyat Dizisi	240	İstanbul

1992	Sanatçının Bir Genç Adam Olarak Portresi (A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man)	Çeviren: Murat Belge	İletişim	2	Çağdaş Dünya Edebiyatı	276	İstanbul
1994	Sanatçının Bir Genç Adam Olarak Portresi (A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man)	Çeviren: Murat Belge	İletişim	3	Çağdaş Dünya Edebiyatı	276	İstanbul
2011	Sanatçının Bir Genç Adam Olarak Portresi (A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man)	Çeviren: Murat Belge	İletişim	4	Dünya Klasikleri	296	İstanbul
2012	Sanatçının Bir Genç Adam Olarak Portresi (A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man)	Çeviren: Murat Belge	İletişim	5	Dünya Klasikleri	296	İstanbul

2012	Sanatçının Bir Genç Adam Olarak Portresi (A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man)	Türkçesi: İmdat Yeğen	Parşömen	1	Çağdaş Dünya Edebiyatı	288	İstanbul
2013	Sanatçının Bir Genç Adam Olarak Portresi (A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man)	Çevirmen: Veysel Çetin	Mitra	1		292	İstanbul
2015	Sanatçının Bir Genç Adam Olarak Portresi (A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man)	Çeviren: Murat Belge	İletişim	3	İletişim Klasikleri	338	İstanbul
2015	Sanatçının Genç Bir Adam Olarak Portresi (A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man)	Çeviren: Fuat Sevimay	Aylak Adam	1		338	İstanbul

2016	Sanatçının Genç Adam Olarak Portresi (A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man)	Çeviri: Göksu Birol	Yason	1	Dünya Klasikleri Dizisi	286	Ankara
2019	Sanatçının Gençlik Portresi (A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man)	Çeviren: Fuat Sevimay	İthaki	1	İthaki Modern	288	İstanbul
2019	Sanatçının Bir Genç Adam Olarak Portresi (A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man)	Türkçesi: Nilüfer İlkaya	Alakarga	1	Klasikler	144	İstanbul
2019	Sanatçının Bir Genç Adam Olarak Portresi (A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man)	Berna Kabacaoğlu	Zeplin	1		288	İstanbul

Appendix 3: The List of all the Books, both Indigenous and Translation, Published by De Yayınevi between 1960 and 1989

YEAR	TURKISH TITLE	ORIGINAL TITLE	AUTHOR	TRANSLATOR	PAGES	PLACE OF PUBLICATION
1960	Briç (Yeni Sayı Metodu) Briç Nasıl Oynanır?	The Fundamentals of Contract Bridge (Including the New Point Count Method)	Charles H. Goren, Hubert Phillips, Terence Reese	Fuat Bengü	152	İstanbul
1960	Düşünceye Saygı		Memet Fuat		112	İstanbul
1960	Uluslararası Briç Yasaları	The International Laws of Contract Bridge	Portland Kulübü, Avrupa Briç Birliği, Amerika Ulusal Yasalar Komisyonu	Fuat Bengü	57	İstanbul
1961	Trenton ile Camden'e Mutlu Yolculuk	The Happy Journey to Trenton and Camden	Thornton Wilder	Memet Fuat	30	İstanbul
1961	Sweeney Agonistes	Sweeney Agonistes	T. S. Eliot	Ülkü Tamer	28	İstanbul

1961	İstridye ile İnci	The Oyster and the Pearl	William Saroyan	Memet Fuat	37	İstanbul
1961	Kulaktan Kulağa	Spreading the News	Lady Augusta Gregory	Memet Fuat	36	İstanbul
1961	Philotas	Philotas	G. E. Lessing	Zahide Gökberk	68	İstanbul
1961	Denemeler	Selected Essays	T. S. Eliot	Akşit Göktürk	78	İstanbul
1961	Dağ Yolunda		Anton Çehov	Ülkü Tamer	40	İstanbul
1961	Woyzeck	Woyzeck	Georg Büchner	Hasan Kuruyazıcı	43	İstanbul
1961	Tiyatro Deneyi		Eugene Ionesco	Teoman Aktürel	40	İstanbul
1961	Şenlikname Düzeni: Türk Minyatüründe Gerçekçi Duyuş ve Gelişme		Sezer Tansuğ		50	İstanbul
1961	Çağrılmadan Gelen	L'Intruse	Maurice Maeterlinck	Memet Fuat	32	İstanbul
1961	Turgut Uyar-Edip Cansever		Hüseyin Cöntürk, Asım Bezirci		85	İstanbul
1961	Kel Şarkıcı	La Cantatrice chauve	Eugene Ionesco	Ülkü Tamer Genco Erkal	50	İstanbul

1962	Çürük Elma		Atila Alpöge		64	İstanbul
1962	Sağlık Yurdu	Hall of Healing	Sean O'Casey	Cevat Çapan	47	İstanbul
1962	Gerçeküstücülük I (Surrealisme-Açıklamalar) (Antoloji)		S. Hilav, E. Ertem, O. Kutlar		73	İstanbul
1962	Gerçeküstücülük II (Surrealisme-Örnekler) (Antoloji)		S. Hilav, E. Ertem, S. Maden	27 sanatçı, 12 çevirmen	160	İstanbul
1962	Gitgel Dolap	The Dumb Waiter	Harold Pinter	Ergun Sav	44	İstanbul
1962	Sanat Meseleleri		Suut Kemal Yetkin		62	İstanbul
1962	Kapıların Dışında	Draußen vor der Tür	Wolfgang Borchert	Behçet Necatigil	64	İstanbul
1962	Seçme Şiirler	Selected Poems	Arthur Rimbaud	İlhan Berk	62	İstanbul
1963	Ay Doğarken	The Rising of the Moon	Lady Augusta Gregory	Akşit Göktürk	21	İstanbul
1963	Pyrrhus ile Cineas	Pyrrhus and Cineas	Simone de Beauvoir	Asım Bezirci	110	İstanbul

1963	Türk Edebiyatı 1963 Memet Fuat'ın Seçtikleri		Memet Fuat		220	İstanbul
1963	Yeşil Papağan	Der Grüne Kakadu	Arthur Schnitzler	Hasan Kuruyazıcı	61	İstanbul
1963	Fener, Gece ve Yıldızlar	Laterne, Nacht und Sterne	Wolfgang Borchert	Behçet Necatigil	37	İstanbul
1963	Leonce ile Lena	Leonce und Lena	Georg Büchner	Adalet Cimcoz	50	İstanbul
1963	Cathay	Cathay	Ezra Pound	Ülkü Tamer	63	İstanbul
1964	Zavallı Aubrey	Poor Aubrey	George Kelly	Memet Fuat	67	İstanbul
1964	Philipp Hotz'un Büyük Öfkesi	Die große Wut des Philipp Hotz	Max Frisch	Hasan Kuruyazıcı	54	İstanbul
1964	Blaise Cendrars (Hayatı - Şiirleri) Seçmeler		Blaise Cendrars	Said Maden	175	İstanbul
1964	Sartre: Yazarlığı ve Felsefesi	Sartre: Romantic Rationalist	Iris Murdoch	Selahattin Hilav	137	İstanbul
1964	Baudelaire	Baudelaire	Jean Paul Sartre	Bertan Onaran	172	İstanbul
1964	Gelinlik Kız - Önder	La jeune fille à marier - Le Maître	Eugene Ionesco	Genco, Süreya, Tamer	30	İstanbul

1964	Epik Tiyatro Üzerine		Bertolt Brecht	Kamuran Şipal	142	İstanbul
1964	Ağızda Bir Sevi		Paul Eluard	Sabahattin K. Aksal	61	İstanbul
1964	Dönemeç	Die Kurve	Tankred Dorst	Behçet Necatigil	51	İstanbul
1964	Türk Edebiyatı 1964 Memet Fuat'ın Seçtikleri		Memet Fuat		200	İstanbul
1964	Tragedyalar		Edip Cansever		83	İstanbul
1964	Dostoyevski'den Sartre'a Varoluşçuluk	Existentialism from Dostoevsky to Sartre	Walter Kaufmann	Akşit Göktürk	79	İstanbul
1965	Mutlu Günler	Happy Days	Samuel Beckett	Akşit Göktürk	59	İstanbul
1965	Türk Edebiyatı 1965 Memet Fuat'ın Seçtikleri		Memet Fuat		255	İstanbul
1965	Hiroşima	Hiroshima	John Hersey	R. Tomris	110	İstanbul
1965	Dostoyevski	Dostoevsky	Andre Gide	Bertan Onaran	213	İstanbul
1965	Ateş Yakmak	To Build a Fire	Jack London	Memet Fuat	86	İstanbul

1965	Bu Salı	An diesem Dienstag	Wolfgang Borchert	Kamuran Şipal	148	İstanbul
1965	Sosyalizm	Socialism	Bertrand Russell	Murat Belge	108	İstanbul
1965	Sözcükler	Les Mots	Jean Paul Sartre	Bertan Onaran	178	İstanbul
1965	Don Cristobita ile Dona Rosita'nın Acıklı Güldürüsü	Retablillo de Don Cristóbal, Doña Rosita la soltera	Federico Garcia Lorca	Memet Fuat	62	İstanbul
1965	Destansı Öykü		Yorgo Seferis	Cevat Çapan	24	İstanbul
1965	Don Perlimplin ile Belisa'nın Bahçede Sevişmesi	Amor de Don Perlimplín con Belisa en su jardín	Federico Garcia Lorca	Tarık Okyay	36	İstanbul
1965	Albert Camus ve Başkaldırma Edebiyatı	Albert Camus and the Literature of Revolt	John Cruickshank	Rasih Güran	296	İstanbul
1965	Döşegimde Ölürken	As I Lay Dying	William Faulkner	Murat Belge	216	İstanbul
1965	Eski Toprak		Behçet Necatigil		79	İstanbul
1965	Ferhad ile Şirin		Nazım Hikmet		84	İstanbul

1965	Yıldızlara Bakmak, Kadın ve Kedi		Behçet Necatigil		40	İstanbul
1965	Doğumgünü Partisi	The Birthday Party	Harold Pinter	Memet Fuat	89	İstanbul
1965	Döşegimde Ölerken, Ayı	As I Lay Dying, The Bear	William Faulkner	Murat Belge	367	İstanbul
1965	Divançe		Behçet Necatigil		53	İstanbul
1965	Bir Aşk Kırgınının Şarkısı		Guillaume Apollinaire	C. Süreya, R. Tomris	39	İstanbul
1965	Virgülün Başından Geçenler		Ülkü Tamer		32	İstanbul
1965	Gizli Oturum	Huis Clos	Jean Paul Sartre	Bertan Onaran	51	İstanbul
1965	Saat 21-22 Şiirleri		Nazım Hikmet		40	İstanbul
1965	Göçebe		Cemal Süreya		44	İstanbul
1965	Bakışsız Bir Kedi Kara		Ece Ayhan		24	İstanbul
1965	Yabancınn Açıklaması	Explication de L'Étranger	Jean Paul Sartre	Bertan Onaran	112	İstanbul

1966	Marxism, Varoloşçuluk ve Birey		Adam Schaff Pyama P. Gaidenko	Evinç Dinçer	63	İstanbul
1966	Türk Edebiyatı 1966 Memet Fuat'ın Seçtikleri		Memet Fuat		307	İstanbul
1966	Boğuntulu Sokaklar		Demir Özlü		86	İstanbul
1966	Sanatçının Bir Genç Adam Olarak Portresi	A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man	James Joyce	Murat Belge	266	İstanbul
1966	Malte Laurids Brigge'nin Notları	Die Aufzeichnungen des Malte Laurids Brigge	Rainer Maria Rilke	Behçet Necatigil	231	İstanbul
1966	Rubailer		Nazım Hikmet		34	İstanbul
1966	Dört Hapisaneden		Nazım Hikmet		105	İstanbul
1966	Şato I	Das Schloß	Franz Kafka	Kamuran Şipal	212	İstanbul
1966	Şato II	Das Schloß	Franz Kafka	Kamuran Şipal	462	İstanbul
1966	Sabahat		Nazım Hikmet		101	İstanbul
1966	Elleri Var Özgürlüğün		Oktay Rifat		64	İstanbul

1966	Memleketimden İnsan Manzaraları II		Nazım Hikmet		169	İstanbul
1966	İçime Çektiğim Hava Değil Gökyüzüdür		Ülkü Tamer		35	İstanbul
1966	Üvercinka		Cemal Süreya		62	İstanbul
1966	Çağrılmayan Yakup		Edip Cansever		62	İstanbul
1967	Merdivenin Dibiindeki Gülümseyiş	The Smile at the Foot of the Ladder	Henry Miller	R. Tomris	41	İstanbul
1967	Edebiyat Nedir	Qu'est-ce que la littérature?	Jean Paul Sartre	Bertan Onaran	150	İstanbul
1967	Ayı	The Bear	William Faulkner	Murat Belge	150	İstanbul
1967	Küskün Kahvenin Türküsü	The Ballad of the Sad Cafe	Carson McCullers	İpek Tümerdem	97	İstanbul
1967	Türk Edebiyatı 1967 Memet Fuat'ın Seçtikleri		Memet Fuat		292	İstanbul
1967	Edebiyat Üzerine		Jean Paul Sartre	Bertan Onaran	172	İstanbul
1967	Memleketimden İnsan Manzaraları III		Nazım Hikmet		114	İstanbul

1967	Memleketimden İnsan Manzaraları IV		Nazım Hikmet		94	İstanbul
1967	Memleketimden İnsan Manzaraları V		Nazım Hikmet		162	İstanbul
1967	Sevme Sanatı	Die Kunst des Liebens	Erich Fromm	Yurdanur Salman	135	İstanbul
1967	Üç Yazardan Hikayeler		H. Miller, E. Caldwell, C. McCullers	R. Tomris	97	İstanbul
1968	Varenka Olesova	Варенька Олесова	Maksim Gorkiy	Mehmet Özgül	167	İstanbul
1968	Kuyudaki Zenci	The Negro in the Well	Erskine Caldwell	Memet Fuat	90	İstanbul
1968	Hawaii Hikayeleri	Stories of Hawaii	Jack London	Tülay Çelebigil	159	İstanbul
1968	Türk Edebiyatı 1968 Memet Fuat'ın Seçtikleri		Memet Fuat		285	İstanbul
1968	Sanatın Gerekliliği	Von der Notwendigkeit	Ernst Fischer	Cevat Çapan	254	İstanbul
1968	Büyüyen Taş	Le mythe de sisyphé	Albert Camus	Bertan Onaran	105	İstanbul
1968	Düşkünler		Maksim Gorkiy	Mehmet Özgül	113	İstanbul

1968	Oğlum, Canım Evladım, Memedim		Nazım Hikmet		173	İstanbul
1968	Yaz Dönemi		Behçet Necatigil		47	İstanbul
1968	İki Başına Yürümek		Behçet Necatigil		63	İstanbul
1968	Aşıkane		İlhan Berk		48	İstanbul
1968	Ortodoksluklar		Ece Ayhan		31	İstanbul
1968	Evler		Behçet Necatigil		63	İstanbul
1968	İlkokul Çocukları İçin Şiirler		A. H. Çelebi, C. S. Tarancı, Z. O. Saba, vd.		188	İstanbul
1969	Şişkolarla Sıskalar		Andre Maurois	Ülkü Tamer	75	İstanbul
1969	Türk Edebiyatı 1969 Memet Fuat'ın Seçtikleri		Memet Fuat		277	İstanbul
1970	Vietnam'a Sevgiler	Love to Vietnam	Edita Morris	Ülkü Tamer	95	İstanbul
1970	Türk Edebiyatı 1970 Memet Fuat'ın Seçtikleri		Memet Fuat		244	İstanbul

1970	Şeytanın Altınları: Grimm Kardeşler'den Masallar		Grimm Kardeşler	Ülkü Tamer	66	İstanbul
1970	Lili Brik'e Mektuplar		Vladimir Mayakovski	Bertan Onaran	232	İstanbul
1970	En/Cam		Behçet Necatigil		46	İstanbul
1970	Bir Gün Mutlaka		Ataol Behramoğlu		32	İstanbul
1970	Kirli Ağustos		Edip Cansever		84	İstanbul
1970	Memleketimden İnsan Manzaraları (5 cilt tek kitapta)		Nazım Hikmet			İstanbul
1971	Türk Edebiyatı 1971 Memet Fuat'ın Seçtikleri		Memet Fuat		306	İstanbul
1971	Sanat ve Edebiyat	Über Kunst und Literatur	Marx, Engels	Murat Belge	150	İstanbul
1971	Öğretmen Duyşen	Первый учитель	Cengiz Aytmatov	Ülkü Tamer	79	İstanbul
1971	Seksen Günde Dünya Gezisi	Le tour du monde en quatre-vingts jours	Jules Verne	Bertan Onaran	284	İstanbul
1973	Zebra		Behçet Necatigil		64	İstanbul

1976	Nazım ile Piraye		Memet Fuat		319	İstanbul
1976	Memleketimden İnsan Manzaraları		Nazım Hikmet		599	İstanbul
1976	Yunus Emre: Yaşamı, Sanatçı Kişiliği, Yapıtları		Memet Fuat Bengü		144	İstanbul
1977	Pir Sultan Abdal: Yaşamı, Sanatçı Kişiliği, Yapıtları		Memet Fuat Bengü		159	İstanbul
1977	Ahmet Haşim: Yaşamı, Sanatçı Kişiliği, Yapıtları		Memet Fuat		159	İstanbul
1977	Şinasi: Yaşamı, Sanatçı Kişiliği, Yapıtları		Memet Fuat		146	İstanbul
1979	Tevfik Fikret: Yaşamı, Sanatçı Kişiliği, Yapıtları		Memet Fuat Bengü		208	İstanbul
1980	Karacaoğlu: Yaşamı, Sanatçı Kişiliği, Yapıtları		Memet Fuat		157	İstanbul
1980	Gerçekliğin Evrensel Mirası	Über Kunstwerk und Wirklichkeit	Anna Seghers	Ahmet Cemal	135	İstanbul
1983	Yazarın Sorumluluğu		Mihail Şolohov	Eser Yalçın	151	İstanbul
1983	Umarsız Penelope	Η απόγνωση της Πηνελόπης	Yannis Ritsos	Cevat Çapan	104	İstanbul

1984	Yeter Ki Kararmasın		Onat Kutlar		77	İstanbul
1984	Rahibe	Memoirs of a Nun	Denis Diderot	Adnan Cemgil	195	İstanbul
1984	Diderot	Diderot	Andre Cresson	Asım Bezirci	109	İstanbul
1984	Diderot: Çağı, Yaşamı ve Eseri		Server Tanilli		117	İstanbul
1984	Filozofça Düşünceler: Yasayı Çiğnemenin Tehlikeleri Üzerine		Denis Diderot	İsa Öztürk	96	İstanbul
1984	Kurşun Asker		Lubomir Levçev	Fahri Erdiñç, Kemal Özer	87	İstanbul
1984	Taşlıtarladaki Ev		İlhami Bekir Tez		107	İstanbul
1984	Gerçekçi Düşüncenin Kaynakları		Afşar Timuçin		391	İstanbul
1984	Alışkanlıklar da Değişir		Yannis Ritsos	Cevat Çapan	93	İstanbul
1984	Carrar Ana'nın Tüfekleri Denize Giden Atlılar		B.Brecht J.M. Synge	Teoman Aktürel, Orhan Burial	118	İstanbul

1984	Küçük Paşa		Ebubekir Hazım Tepeyran		152	İstanbul
1984	Saf Şiir Yoktur		Mayakovsky, Eluard, Brecht, Aragon, Neruda	Erdoğan Alkan Teoman Aktürel	103	İstanbul
1984	Estetik (Gerçekliği Sanatsal Özümsemenin Bilimi)		Avner Ziss	Yakup Şahan	313	İstanbul
1984	İkinci Dünya Savaşı'nda Edebiyat Anıları		Hasan İzzettin Dinamo		143	İstanbul
1984	Gökyokuş		Can Yücel		125	İstanbul
1984	Satrançta Turnuva Hazırlığı		Aleksandr Koblenz	Uluğ Nutku, Serdar Çelik	175	İstanbul
1985	Özgürlük Demokrasi ve Liberal Ekonomi		Arslan Başer Kafaoğlu		170	İstanbul
1985	Lanetliler		Erendiz Atasü		220	İstanbul
1985	Gerçekliğin Boyutları		Luis Aragon	Erdoğan Alkan	159	İstanbul

1985	Gerçekçiliğin Evrensel Mirası		Anna Seghers	Ahmet Cemal	105	İstanbul
1985	Küba Şarkıları		Nicolas Guillen	Özdemir İnce	155	İstanbul
1985	Nükleer Savaş ve Gezegenin Biyolojik-İklimsel Yıkımı		Serol Teber		140	İstanbul
1985	Red Türküleri		Eluard, Aragon, Superviele, vd.	Okay Gönensin	128	İstanbul
1985	Şey		Remzi İnanç		120	İstanbul
1985	Şiir Boşuna Yazılmış Olmayacak		Pablo Neruda	Nesrin Akman	149	İstanbul
1985	Tiksinti Çağı		Uğur Kökten		152	İstanbul
1985	Viva Meksika	Insurgent Mexico	John Reed	Nesrin Arman	263	İstanbul
1985	Denizin Değiştirdiği	The Sea Change	Ernest Hemingway	Memet Fuat	95	İstanbul
1985	Ufkun Dışında		Süreyya Berfe		288	İstanbul
1985	Yapısalcılık Üstüne (Eleştirel Bir Yaklaşım)		Avtonomova, Kovalçenko, Sivaçov, vd.	Oğuz Özügül	247	İstanbul

1985	Acılı Kuşak		Mehmed Kemal		334	İstanbul
1985	Sinema Bir Şenliktir		Onat Kutlar		186	İstanbul
1985	Canfeda		Can Yücel		101	İstanbul
1985	Picasso ile Konuşmalar	Conversations avec Picasso	Brassai	Yakup Şahan	326	İstanbul
1985	Picasso		Serol Teber		235	İstanbul
1985	Kasımpatları	The Chrysanthemums	John Steinbeck	Memet Fuat	94	İstanbul
1986	Hayatı Seviyorlardı: Fransız Rezistansçıların Son Mektupları		Kolektif	Halim Karslıoğlu	108	İstanbul
1986	Sürgündeki Şili		Alegria, Delano, Dorfman, vd.	H. Okan Alkar	275	İstanbul
1986	Gecede Sözcükler Işıyor		Ernesto Cardenal	Mehmet Ünal	150	İstanbul
1986	Gerçekçi Düşüncenin Gelişimi		Afşar Timuçin		440	İstanbul

1986	Sinema Estetiğinin Sorunları - Filmin Semiotiğine Giriş		Yuri M. Lotman	Oğuz Özügöl	144	İstanbul
1986	Gerçekçilik Estetiği		Aziz Çalışkar		304	İstanbul
1986	Briçte Squeeze		Bertrant Romanet	Hüseyin Rahimoğlu	352	İstanbul
1986	Kutsal Sığınak	Sanctuary	William Faulkner	Hamdi Koç	294	İstanbul
1986	Bahar İsyancıdır		Onat Kutlar		84	İstanbul
1986	Sabahattin Ali		Filiz Ali, Atilla Özkırımlı		416	İstanbul
1986	Mehmet, Reşat ve Nuri Beyler (Paris Komünü'nde Üç Yurtsever Türk)		Serol Teber		123	İstanbul
1986	Seslerin Ayak Sesleri		Arif Damar		78	İstanbul
1987	Yitik Kuru		Rafael Alberti	Ahmet Cemal	323	İstanbul
1987	Kızıma Mektuplar		Ataol Behramoğlu		55	İstanbul

1987	Bir Savaşçının Konuşmaları		Henri Barbusse	Sevgi Tamgüç	154	İstanbul
1987	Dikkatli Ariostos		Yannis Ritsos	Herkül Millas	112	İstanbul
1987	Büyükdedem Karl Marx	Karl Marx, mon grand-père	Robert-Jean Longuet	Renan Akman	215	İstanbul
1987	Zorba ve Ozan		Özdemir İnce		79	İstanbul
1987	Devrim	Revolution	Jack London	H. Okan Alkar	142	İstanbul
1987	Mozart ve Salieri Küçük Tragedyalar	Моцарт и Сальери	Aleksandr Puşkin	Tomris Uyar	95	İstanbul
1988	Torunuma Mektuplar		Jürgen Kuczynski	Zeki Gürsoy	255	İstanbul
1988	Gorki Aramızda		Konstantin Fedin	Hüsen Portakal	269	İstanbul
1988	Gümüş Olmak İstiyorum (Rafael Alberti'nin Seçtikleri)		Federico Garcia Lorca	Adnan Özer	187	İstanbul
1989	Bindokuzyüzotuzdokuz / Polonya'da / Çocuklar Seferi		Bertolt Brecht	Babür Kuzucuoğlu, Ragıp Zoralı	47	İstanbul

Appendix 4: An Advertisement Page of *Milliyet* from 1965 that Shows the Publications of Several Publishing Houses including De Yayınevi

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GERÇEK YAYINEVİ

YENİ 3 KİTAPINI SUNAR:

- **NATO VE TÜRKİYE**, 256 sayfa. 10 lira. Yurdunu seven herkes sarı, sıcak bir kitap. Ve herkesin birbirine soracağı bir imza: Ali Halil.
- **1 MAYIS**, Scott Fitzgerald'ın nefis küçük romanı. Basılan sol gazete idarehaneleri, cürüyen bir toplum tabakasının insanları... 4 lira.
- **GÜVERCİNLİĞİNİN HİKAYESİ**, Stalin'in gadrine uğrayan, Yahudi asıllı büyük Sovyet yazarı İsaak Babel'den Türkçede ilk kitap. İlya Ehrenburg'un Babel hakkındaki hatıraları kitaba eklenmiştir. 4 lira.
- **BAĞIMSIZLIK, DEMOKRASİ, SOSYALİZM**, Mehmet Ali Aybar. 20 lira. Türk sosyalistlerinin başucu kitabı. Tükensemek üzeredir.
- **KATALOĞUMUZU İSTEYİNİZ.**
- **GERÇEK YAYINEVİ**, P.K. 655, İSTANBUL.

DE YAYINEVİ

- **YENİ DERGİ**, Nisan 1968 sayısında, «Çağdaş İtalyan Sineması», Behçet Necatigil'in Edip Cansever'in son girileri, James Joyce, Juan Rulfo'nun hikâyeleri, Asım Bezirci, Ali Geyikdili, Murat Belge, Halûk Şahin, Ender Erenel'in yazıları, Michel Cournot'un, İtalyan Truffaut eleştirisi.
- Yıllık aboneli 32 lira.
- **YENİ DERGİ'ye** abone olarak kitap klübü üyeleri arasına katılın ve özel yayınevilerinin bütün kitaplarını yüzde yirmi indirimle alın. Fazla bilgi Nisan sayımızda.
- **TÜRK EDEBİYATI** 1968, Memet Fuat'ın seçtikleri. Bu kitabın sonundaki 1000 lira armağanı soruşturmaya katılma süresi 30 Nisan'da bitiyor. Hatırlatırız.
- Seçme Kitaplar:
 - **SANATIN GEREKLİLİĞİ** Fischer Sanat çevrelerinde herkes bu kitap, tan söz ediyor. Marx'çı sanat eleştirisinin doruğu olan eser (10.00)
 - **SEVME SANATI** Fromm. (500)
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- Yazar: HALUK G. GÜRSSEL.
- Kitapçılardan ve AKBANK şubelerinden arsayınız.
- Dağıtım: BATES.

ÇAĞLAYAN KİTAPBEVİ

- 1968 kataloğumuzu isteyiniz.
- **ÇAĞLAYAN KİTAPBEVİ**, daima yurt hizmetinde.
- **ÇAĞLAYAN KİTAPBEVİ**, Tokatlıyan Han Üst Pasaaj No: 21/7, Beyoğlu - İSTANBUL.

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(*Milliyet*, 14.09.1965: 6)

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Appendix 6: Photographs of Memet Fuat with his mother Piraye Altınoğlu and stepfather Nazım Hikmet



Appendix 7: Photographs of Memet Fuat in the office of *Yeni Dergi*

