



**HISTORY AND MEMORY IN JULIAN
BARNES'S *THE SENSE OF AN ENDING***

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Master's Thesis

English Language and Literature Department

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AN ENDING***

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ADVISOR
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TEZ BEYAN FORMU

SOSYAL BİLİMLER ENSTİTÜSÜ MÜDÜRLÜĞÜNE

BİLDİRİM

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ÖZET

YÜKSEK LİSANS TEZİ

JULIAN BARNES'IN *BİR SON DUYGUSU* ROMANINDA TARİH VE BELLEK

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Postmodern edebiyat kuramları ışığında çağdaş romanlarda sıklıkla kullanılan tarih ve bellek kavramlarını eserlerine başarıyla yansıtan Julian Barnes'sın *Bir Son Duygusu* adlı romanı, otobiyografik bir bellek yanılmasının izlerini sürmektedir. Güvenilmez anlatıcı tekniğiyle de kişisel tarihin geçmişle olan çatışmalarını ve belleğin geçmişi hatırlamadaki eksikliğin ortaya konulduğu romanda, *anlatıcı* Tony Webster postmodern tarih anlayışı özelliklerini de taşıyan otobiyografik anlatısının güvenilirliğini sorunsallaştırır. Kişisel tarihin güvenilirliğinin, travmatik olarak değerlendirilebilecek anıların belleği yanıltmasıyla nasıl şekillendirebileceği ve anlatıcının çeşitli yöntemlerle kendi geçmişini nasıl inşa etme çabasında olduğu bu roman, yerleşik tarih anlayışına karşın postmodern bir bakış sunmaktadır. Bu bağlamda öncelikle postmodernizm, postmodern tarih anlayışı ve buna bağlı olarak sorunsallaştırılan tarihin geçerliliğini bilişsel olarak travmatik olayların birey ve bellek üzerindeki etkileriyle inceleyen bu çalışma, postmodern edebiyat kuramı doğrultusunda Julian Barnes'sın anlatıcı ve anlatıyı nasıl sorunsallaştırdığını ortaya koymayı amaçlamaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Postmodernizm, Tarihsel Kurgu, Tarih, Bellek, Julian Barnes.

ABSTRACT**MASTER’S THESIS****HISTORY AND MEMORY IN JULIAN BARNES’S *THE SENSE OF AN ENDING*****Samet BAYTAR****Advisor: Assist. Prof. İsmail AVCU****2021, Page: 89****Jury: Assist. Prof. Dr. İsmail AVCU
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Julian Barnes’s 2011 novel, *The Sense of an Ending*, reflecting the frequently used concepts of history and memory in contemporary literary works in the light of postmodern literary theories which traces an autobiographical fallacy of memory. The narrator Tony Webster problematizes the authenticity of his autobiographical narrative as in the postmodern understanding of history. Through the unreliable narrator technique, Barnes reveals the deficiencies of memory in remembering the past and the conflicts between personal and collective history. The novel overtly exposes how the authenticity of personal history can be shaped by the traumatic deceptions of memory and offers a postmodern perspective against the established understanding of history utilizing how the narrator strives to construct his past. This study examines the authenticity of history depending on postmodernism and postmodern understanding of history and cognitive effects of traumatic events on memory and individual. It aims to present how Julian Barnes problematizes the narrator and the narrative following the postmodern literary theory.

Key Words: Postmodernism, Historical Fiction, History, Memory, Julian Barnes.

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INTRODUCTION

History and memory are among the noticeable theoretical frameworks of contemporary fiction, especially after the second half of the twentieth century, and they coincided with the ascent in postmodern literary theory. With the emergence of postmodernism and postmodern literary theory, the sceptical approach mainly towards history and its representation sparked a sequent influence in the literary reverberation of postmodernism. Prominent figures such as Jean-Francois Lyotard, Jacques Derrida, Jean Baudrillard, and Linda Hutcheon helped to constitute the theoretical framework of postmodernism. The most obvious approach of postmodernism is scepticism towards prescriptive notions such as grand narratives, or the concept of reality and history, and the problem of representation and authenticity. Hutcheon explains the problem as follows:

In most of the critical work on postmodernism, it is narrative—be it in literature, history, or theory—that has usually been the major focus of attention. Historiographic metafiction incorporates all three of these domains: that is, its theoretical self-awareness of history and fiction as human constructs (historiographic metafiction) is made the grounds for its rethinking and reworking of the forms and contents of the past. (Hutcheon, 2004: 5)

The constructed nature of history and literature is emphasized as the distinction between the two becomes blurred. Hayden White enounces the literary turn of history and the historical turn of literature in his famous work *Metahistory*: “I treat the historical work as what it most manifestly is: a verbal structure in the form of narrative prose discourse” (White 2014: ix). The primary source of both history and literature is in the past. Still, the representation of the past appears problematic considering the issues such as the human factor and past being active in the past only. To Hutcheon, history, and fiction are both “identified as linguistic constructs” (Hutcheon, 2004: 105), and this analogy clarifies that history is a prominent yet contested issue under postmodern interpretation.

The issue seems tenable in literature, but the term historiographic metafiction permeates almost every fiction consisting of history as subject matter. Beata Piatek remarks on the issue in *History, Memory, Trauma In Contemporary British and Irish Fiction* as: “The debate about history focuses on the possibility of establishing the objective historical truth in the form of knowledge about the past as it really was” (Piatek, 2014: 15). The postmodern approach towards history and literary theory highlights the disregarded aspects arising from memory studies. The notion such as personal history

changed the definition and perception of what history is composed of and how it is constructed. The influence of the postmodern approach destabilizes the established notions and celebrates the antithetic and unheeded. Stuart Sim mentions the influence of postmodernism as: “a deployment of philosophy to undermine the authoritarian imperatives in our culture, both at the theoretical and the political level” (Sim, 2001: 13). In parallel with Linda Hutcheon and Hayden White, Sim’s remarks emphasize Lyotard’s insurgent theories against the contemporary world and grand narratives.

The philosophy of history discusses the nature of historical knowledge and the problem of its representation. The primary source of history is the past, but writing history is also problematic, and it is questioned with a skeptical stance by postmodern theory. The distinction between history and literature, as mentioned above, becomes vague in terms of their constructed nature and authoring. Eventually, history is produced by historians and human factors such as subjectivity and prepossession subject to historical writing and fiction. Keith Jenkins points out the issue as: “The past has occurred. It has gone and can only be brought back again by historians” (Jenkins, 2004: 19). Therefore, the representation of the long-gone events and retrospective interpretation avert history from achieving authenticity. There may be other versions or interpretations of the same historical material, and for this reason, the issue that history is a science is very contested.

Historical writing is in the historian’s authority, and it is liable to possible regulations stemming from predetermined intentions or individual predisposition. Historian’s intention determines the interpretation of the substances as Hutcheon asserts: “Representations of the past are selected to signify whatever the historian intends” (Hutcheon, 2004: 122). In this regard, it is possible to exempt or misrepresent history as intended by historians in common with fiction writers. From ancient times to the present day, historical writing serves to inform, guide, govern, and manipulate. The importance of documentation is prerequisite for historical writing, but the postmodern scepticism and its reflection in literature as historiographic metafiction, as Hutcheon accentuates, present the questions about history.

Essentially, Linda Hutcheon’s remarks about the postmodern framework on history, including historiographic metafiction and other postmodern techniques employed in literature, constitute one of the prevalent theoretical backgrounds of this study. Historical

writing is substantially an interpretation of the past for Linda Hutcheon, as she asserts that:

It is not surprising that this should be the case, especially with historical representation, for the question of historiography's representational powers is a matter of current concern in a number of discourses but most obviously, perhaps, in historiographic metafiction. (Hutcheon, 1989: 47)

Memory, on the other hand, is an inseparable part and the intermediary of the past. It is a fundamental component of human existence and maybe the most distinguishing feature of our species. The definition of memory varies as several fields of study work on the concept, because the widespread definition is that memory is a particular moment or experience in the past, or an ability to store and recollect information. The most appropriate and current field of memory is literary theory, from Sigmund Freud's psychoanalysis to contemporary studies. Memory's primary function is related to retain and recall the information stored in our brains through the mediums of remembering and forgetting processes.

From ancient Greece until today, memory has undergone a process of development. Memory was art in ancient Greece, where poets and historians were differentiated through their use and potential abuse of it. The differentiation between the historian and the poet made by Aristotle in *Poetics* echoes the use of memory by the two. Historians record what has happened, and the poets represent what may happen. However, memory was also an improvable entity; it was seen as artistry trained and cultivated, and memorizing meant being able to recall and be estimable. In ancient Rome, memory morphed into a mastery of recollection from the artistry of Greece. Reciting texts from memory or mnemonic technique was necessary for public meetings to influence people.

Afterward, thinkers such as John Locke and David Hume extended the role of memory in constructing personal identity and the self. The relationship between memory and the self was examined by the following thinkers. In *Matter and Memory* (1990), Henri Bergson lays the foundations of the individual memory concept in modern terms, where he divides memory into two sections as habit memory and pure memory. Through the individuality of memory, developed and enounced by these thinkers, relative and unique perceptions among individuals and the self became prominent in the literary sphere.

Theories of Maurice Halbwachs, the eponymist of collective memory, gained importance through introductions by Pierre Nora.

In the second half of the twentieth century, after numerous severities and significant events such as the world wars, the Holocaust, post-colonialism, the cold war, and the fall of the Soviet Union triggered a tendency on memory and consequent trauma studies named “memory boom”. More up-to-date studies on cognitive psychology involve autobiographical memory in contrast to prevalent individual and collective memory theories. “It is memory for specific, genuine events that are personally experienced and when compiled, they form a long-lasting personal narrative. It is high in self-reference and is subject to personal interpretation” (Gregory, 2011). From this point of view, it is possible to enounce that personal memories generate a personal narrative that is similarly subjective as any other narration since personal experiences are relative.

The relationship between memory and imagination is quite popular in contemporary British fiction. Most of the novels of Julian Barnes frame this relationship with the narratives in which the characters try to find their way out from the present through their interpretations of the past. In these novels, the use of unreliable narrator and the unreliability of memory problematize identity and understanding with the help of self-deception and relativity of experiences. Ideas of thinkers like Friedrich Nietzsche and Karl Marx on past or history as a burden needing to be disengaged can also be seen in these novels revolving around memory's deficiencies and manipulations.

This thesis aims to analyze postmodern approach history and memory theories in Julian Barnes's *The Sense of an Ending* (2011) under the light of the postmodern literary approach. In the first chapter, the theoretical backgrounds of postmodernism, history, and memory will be introduced and discussed with their historical development. The issues problematizing history, and the representation of it, and memory as a cause of subjectivity averting the authenticity of historical knowledge will also be discussed. In the second chapter, the applications of the theoretical background to the novel will be examined and presented. Since the novel revolves around the issues surrounding history and memory, and the narrator Tony Webster tells his life story from his adolescence and old age; he puts himself in a position of a historian who controls his personal history but eventually admits and acknowledges the fact that his version is constructed, not absolute. Tony

ponders about his constructed personal history and, as a retired man approaching the end of his life, desires peace, but he has to come to terms with his repressed and unheeded past experiences turn him into an unreliable narrator. In these respects, Tony's cognitive and emotional progress show parallelism with autobiographical memory theory and its functions as well as the issues around history and its representation.



CHAPTER ONE

POSTMODERNISM, HISTORY, AND MEMORY

1.1. Postmodernism

Postmodernism or the postmodern is so ubiquitous in our life that everyone seems to know the term. It is usual for people to call or label anything postmodern, but many people become lost when asked for an explanation or definition. As its name implies a subsequent movement or perhaps an anti-modernist notion but postmodernist characteristics are multifaceted and are in a constant state of flux. Considering postmodernism has an extensive utilization from architecture to performing arts, it becomes hard to describe or identify things related to it. We live in a postmodern or post-postmodern world, yet the theoretical and philosophical background of these terms lacks when we talk about postmodernism due to the entangled nature of the notion “postmodern” since it raised more questions than answers.

The theoretical ground for postmodernism is so contested that a key figure such as Jürgen Habermas has a difference of opinions with Jean-Francois Lyotard or Richard Rorty. Besides, many of the contributors to postmodernism seem challenging, such as Jacques Derrida, Michel Foucault, or Jean Baudrillard. However, to grasp the foundations of postmodernism, one must go through the task of discovering the ‘postmodern philosophy’ first, instead of ephemeral examining its emergence and advance.

To define what postmodernism is or what is the basis of the notion, Stuart Sim explains postmodernism in the Editor’s Introduction section of *The Routledge Companion to Postmodernism* (2001) as:

In a general sense, postmodernism is to be regarded as a rejection of many, if not most, of the cultural certainties on which life in the West has been structured over the last couple of centuries. It has called into question our commitment to cultural ‘progress’ (that economies must continue to grow, the quality of life to keep improving indefinitely, etc.), as well as the political systems that have underpinned this belief. (Sim, 2001: VII)

Compared to others that emphasize the slipperiness or the incomprehensibility of postmodernism, this definition eases understanding postmodernism’s foundations. Of course, it is implied that postmodernism is a movement after modernism due to the ‘post’

in the term itself, but it does not merely refer to the era or trends after modernism: postmodernism is a prime rejection of certainties. The postmodern rejection of the Enlightenment's certainties was a revolt against the established order and oppression of western culture or modernism.

On an introductory basis of postmodern philosophy, Jean-François Lyotard's rejection of the grand narratives stands up to the universalizing and generic school of thought in his *The Postmodern Condition* (1984). Lyotard's query about the grand narratives or 'metanarratives' emerges from the inability of the authoritative and entrenched imposition of the Enlightenment.

Simplifying to the extreme, I define postmodern as incredulity toward metanarratives. This incredulity is undoubtedly a product of progress in the sciences: but that progress in turn presupposes it. (Lyotard, 1984: xxiv)

In a sense, Lyotard's disillusionment was caused by the overlooked drives of change by the entrenched and archaic mode of thought of Enlightenment. Knowledge or information could be collected in various ways in contrast with the previous times and, this development was so determining for Lyotard to miss out: "Our working hypothesis is that the status of knowledge is altered as societies enter what is known as the post-industrial age and cultures enter what is known as the postmodern age" (Lyotard, 1984: 3).

Thus, the prevalent modes of thought need to adapt themselves to ever-changing ways of collecting knowledge or 'data' in a postmodern environment. *The Postmodern Condition* also has a subtitle: *A Report on Knowledge*. Lyotard's report presents his results on knowledge in a postmodern world in which he inquires the basis of knowledge. Consequently, Lyotard assumed a sceptical attitude towards established notions of power. It also should not be forgotten that the power of the knowledge or data came into play from the 20th century on and, this power, for Lyotard, may be manipulative and even oppressive: "Whoever controls knowledge, Lyotard insists, now exerts political control, and he is keen to ensure that the dissemination of knowledge is kept as open as possible" (Sim, 2001:8). Underlying causes behind Lyotard's rejection of grand narratives along with his scepticism evolved out of his disillusionment and cynicism towards the disregard and incompetence of modern culture had back then.

Similar to Lyotard, another opposing thinker to the modern and universalized mode of thought is Jacques Derrida. Ferdinand de Saussure suggested the linguistic theories of language systems of signs in which a signifier and a signified controlled by internal grammar. Therefore, it was possible to decode the meaning behind the words (signifier) and concepts (signified) but, Derrida challenged this 'structuralist' approach by underlining the variability of the language in his famous work *On Grammatology* (2016). The scepticism of Derrida lies behind his admirations of Søren Kierkegaard and Nietzsche and their inquiries on history, time, and 'our time' (Nicholas Royle, 2003: 9). In reply to the unifying and restraining structuralist school of thought, Derrida offers deconstruction, and even he does not like the term himself. Derrida's scepticism was towards Saussure's unifying internal grammar or any system that has some deterministic power. Derrida's difference takes a stand against internal grammar systems as it suggests that it is not possible to identify homonymic words. Uncertainty and diversity are at the core of Derrida's difference. As Stuart Sim explains: "difference always intrudes into communication to prevent the establishment of 'presence', or completeness of meaning" (Sim, 2001: 6).

Speaking of difference, a figure who stands out as a distinctive thinker of postmodern philosophy comes to mind: Michel Foucault. Sexual orientations apart from the established heterosexual inducement of modernism were disparaged and marginalized. Foucault interrogated this condition in his comprehensive study *The History of Sexuality* (1990-84). The collection introduces the roles of homosexuality from ancient Greek and Roman cultures and the emergence of sexuality as an intricate subject. What Foucault objected was the oppression and demonization of the other sexual orientations marginalized and excluded from society. According to Foucault, Western culture became authoritative with time, and the exclusion of difference makes him sceptical towards established notions of modern culture. Therefore, Foucault sought liberation in thought and paradigms in social life as a postmodernist thinker.

In addition to Foucault's postmodern theory concerning marginalized people, women felt the same exclusion. Modern Western culture did not distinguish women from other excluded minorities. However, women were still ignored by patriarchal governance. Luce Irigaray theorized her scepticism about patriarchal oppression and stereotypical gender roles imposed by traditional culture in *The Sex Which Is Not One* (1985). Irigaray's

disillusionment towards western culture emerges in her studies where she questions women's exclusion in Western philosophy. Women were deemed a commodity, disparaged by the West's domineering forces of the established order. "There remains, however, the condition of underdevelopment arising from women's submission by and to a culture that oppresses them, uses them, makes of them a medium of exchange, with very little profit to them" (Irigaray, 1985: 32). She discussed language and gender in a deconstructive approach. Similar to Derrida, Irigaray shared the same disbelief in determinative systems.

Psychoanalytical and political scepticism towards modern culture and historiography were discussed by Gilles Deleuze. In his work *Anti-Oedipus* (2009) which he wrote along with the psychoanalyst Félix Guattari, Deleuze defines humans as desiring-machines "who lack the sense of unity we generally associate with individual identity, but who find the opportunity to express their desire being curbed by the socio-political authorities (with fascism the most potent example of how the process works)" (Sim, 2001: 7). Deleuze and Guattari examine the world's changes after Vietnam (1955-75) and the cold war that 'deactivate' the modern culture's way of thinking, political discourse, and philosophical ethics. After 1965, in a postmodern world, their approach was to be sceptical: "A war fought on two fronts: against social exploitation and psychic repression?" (Deleuze and Guattari, 2009: xi).

Traditional, social and political ways of thinking of the time were so oppressive that people had to suppress their desires in an authoritative cosmos "but the man who enjoys the full exercise of his rights and duties has his whole body marked under a regime that consigns his organs and their exercise to the collectivity" (Deleuze and Guattari, 2009: 144). Postmodernism's mistrust of grand narratives embodies social, political, and economic movements, including marxism as well as capitalism. Within this context, Deleuze and Guattari contributed to postmodern philosophy's sociopolitical framework through their examination. Deleuze also contributed to historiography in the light of psychoanalysis.

In postmodern philosophy, reality became suspicious. Furthermore, the scepticism towards the perception of truth and technology was discussed by Jean Baudrillard. For Baudrillard, it was almost impossible to tell the difference between reality and simulation

because of the technological developments he calls 'hyperreal'. *Simulacra and Simulation* (1994), Baudrillard interrogates the nature of truth in a postmodern world where Baudrillard enounces that the Gulf War (1991) did not occur. The war, for Baudrillard, was a simulation where millions of people watched through television.

These sceptical approaches towards modern western culture and its authoritative devices in various fields such as universalism and formalism are the distinct features of postmodernism. Liberty, diversity, and incredulity are highlighted in postmodern philosophical theory. Postmodernism's skeptical questioning and rejection of grand narratives in sociopolitical perspectives provoked a backlash in philosophical and academic groups as expected. Frederic Jameson criticized the postmodern school of thought as a stooge to rightwing politics since postmodernists harshly criticized leftist and Marxist notions as deficient movements. In *Cambridge Companion to Postmodernism*, Steven Connor states that: "Centrist or absolutist notions of the state, nourished by the idea of the uniform movement of history towards a single outcome, were beginning to weaken" (Connor, 2004: 3).

It was eventual that postmodern philosophy infuriated or discomforted people since they were perplexed by destabilizing the grand narratives/theories. As Stuart Sim sums up: "Postmodern philosophy, therefore, can be seen as a deployment of philosophy to undermine the authoritarian imperatives in our culture, both at the theoretical and the political level" (Sim, 2001: 13).

In the light of these insurgent postmodern philosophical theories and scepticism, it was inevitable in literary theories that postmodernism challenges and spoils established notions. From Lyotard's repots on knowledge to Derrida's deconstruction of stationary denotations and Baudrillard's distortion of reality, the postmodern literary theory had an uprising hand in hand with postmodern philosophy. As Lyotard argues the position of the postmodern artist or writer as: "in the position of a philosopher: the text he writes, the work he produces are not in principle governed by pre-established rules, and they cannot be judged according to a determining judgment, by applying familiar categories to the text or the work" (Lyotard, 1984: 81).

The postmodern literary theory suggested alternative and new representations and authenticity of history or historical subject matters principally in narrative fiction. As Linda Hutcheon asserts:

In most of the critical work on postmodernism, it is narrative—be it in literature, history, or theory—that has usually been the major focus of attention. Historiographic metafiction incorporates all three of these domains: that is, its theoretical self-awareness of history and fiction as human constructs (historiographic metafiction) is made the grounds for its rethinking and reworking of the forms and contents of the past. (Hutcheon, 2004: p. 5)

Hutcheon's famous book on postmodernism, titled *Poetics of Postmodernism*, mirrors the turn from modernism to postmodernism with a turn from poetry to fiction which Hutcheon names historiographic metafiction. The prominent features of Hutcheon's historiographic metafiction are self-consciousness of the narrative positioning, filtering past events, and the constructed nature of history. To Hutcheon, history and fiction are both "identified as linguistic constructs" (Hutcheon, 2004: 105), and this analogy clarifies that history is a prominent yet controversial issue under postmodern interpretation.

Hutcheon eliminates the previous distinctions between fiction and history in terms of actuality and fictionality following the postmodern theories. In *Historicism* (2003), Paul Hamilton discusses the historiography from Ancient Greek to contemporary historiography. Hamilton asserts that: "history no longer looks opposed to fiction, but within history, we encounter different writing genres, in which it is appropriate to tell different kinds of story" (Hamilton, 2003: 9). In parallel with Hutcheon, Hamilton also highlights the constructed nature of historiography when he talks about Thucydides's method of how the lack of documentation is compensated with "on probability, on his sense of what sounds inevitable and fitting" (Hamilton, 2003: 9). It is also worthy of note that while commenting on Homer's historiographical methods, Thucydides despises him as a poet who would 'exaggerate' the facts. Hamilton cross-examines the distinction between historiography and fictionality, and his conclusion highlights the constructed nature of both due to their artefactual nature.

Nevertheless, postmodern literary theory is not just bounded by historiographic metafiction. There are other characteristics, some of which are similar, whereas some are a reaction to the modernist notions. Described "as a self-conscious aesthetic component

of its constitution” by Julian Wolfrey in *Key Concepts in Literary Theory* (2013), postmodern literary theory is also a “suspicion towards the grand narratives of history” (Wolfrey, 2013: 142). The most prominent characteristics of postmodern literature are as below.

Temporal Disorder: Refers to unconstrained, non-linear timelines, and narrative techniques in which a sense of time is shredded due to disenchantment of a linear, and stable progress. “It disorders the linear coherence of narrative by warping the sense of significant time, kairos, or the dull passing of ordinary time, chronos” (Sim, 2001: 124).

Metafiction: A writing technique about writing makes the reader aware of the fictionality of the literary work. It is a prevalent technique in conjunction with historiographic metafiction.

Historiographic Metafiction: Another way of metafiction fictionalizes actual historical events or figures explicitly. John Fowles's neo-Victorian novel, *The French Lieutenant's Woman* (1969), is partly set in the Victorian period and Fowles openly criticizes and highlights specific features of the era.

Pastiche: A technique of piece previous literary styles together to forge new styles, displaces collage in the wake of the intricacy of undermined authenticity. As Fredric Jameson notes in *Postmodernism and Consumer Society* (1983), “the writers and artists of the present day will no longer be able to invent new styles and worlds ... only a limited number of combinations are possible; the most unique ones have been thought of already” (Sim, 2001: 125-126).

Fragmentation: The plot, characters, setting, and themes of the narrative are scattered and subverted to urge the “wholeness and completion associated with traditional stories” (Sim, 2001: 126). Multiple endings, breaking up the text into short fragments or sections as in *The Golden Notebook* (1962) by the British novelist Doris Lessing in which the four notebooks of the heroine labeled by the colours constitute a golden notebook.

Irony, Playfulness, Black Humor: Kurt Vonnegut, Joseph Heller, and Thomas Pynchon's works treat serious subjects such as war and social oppression playfully and humorously. Irony was used long before postmodernism and black humour, which is a sarcastic and sceptical attitude towards serious subjects. However, it is identified with the postmodern literary works to express frivolity or disengagement.

As in Hutcheon's view, the postmodern literary theory blurs the distinctive properties of history and literature while undermining the authenticity of historiography by replacing it with historiographical metafiction in which postmodernist literary characteristics are salient. Hutcheon continues to draw a parallel suggesting "both history and fiction are discourses, that both constitute systems of signification by which we make sense of the past" (Hutcheon, 2004: 89). It is now clear that the postmodern literary theory mainly deals with 'narrative fiction' in terms of historical subject matters. Hayden White in *Metahistory* (1973) also postulates the literary turn of history and the historical turn of literature. Therefore, history becomes an inextricable part of postmodern literature in terms of both theoretical and problematical respects.

1.2. History

There have been continuing debates about the reasons for history's essence and existence. As human beings, we are curious and try to make sense of the things around us; occurrences in our lives. The past emerges as a means of interpreting the current state to give meaning to the present. Nevertheless, using long-gone events, cases, and actions to precisely construe is inevitably deficient because history, as a medium of resurrecting the past, is not free from the historian's perception and perspective. By definition, the historian's standpoint predominantly interprets and retells the past from his point of view. Alternatively, Keith Jenkins points out that: "The past has gone, and history is what historians make of it when they go to work. History is the labour of historians" (Jenkins, 2004: 19).

Therefore, the historian's influence to shape the past is explicitly disputable since the intentions in interpretations may exclude particular substances such as marginal groups or minorities. For instance, women are seem excluded in most of history or historiography; but in reality, it is not the case. The historian's inevitable impact lies behind his representation of the past, marginalizing the particular substances, despite the historian himself. As Linda Hutcheon argues history as: "representations of the past are selected to signify whatever the historian intends" (Hutcheon, 2004: 122).

It is possible to confuse history with the past but there is a difference between these two concepts. "History, like theology or natural science, is a special form of thought"

according to Robin George Collingwood (2015). Commenting on history, as Paul Cartledge (2006) argues in *Companion to Historiography*: “But only in our ‘natural history’ is that etymological connection at all closely maintained, and ‘history’ itself—whether the past, or the study of it, or of some of it—is and must remain a radically ambiguous term” (Bentley, 2006: 2). Naturally, past events come to mind when we talk about history; however, attention should now be paid to the difference between past and history seeing that the two are not the same.

History tells or accounts for past events, but the past is impossible to revitalize. Thus, history is merely a mediator between the past and the present. Moreover, the difference between past and history generates a conflict, as Keith Jenkins argues: “because the past was not an account but events, situations, etc. As the past has gone, no account can ever be checked against it but only against other accounts” (Jenkins, 2004). From this point of view, historians interpret the pieces of evidence peculiar to past events or situations solely as mediators. Thence, this mediation cannot be the complete retelling of what happened; instead, it is one of many potential customizations at best.

The issue is pursued by Linda Hutcheon as she argues: “We cannot know the past except through its texts: its documents, its evidence, even its eye-witness accounts are texts” (Hutcheon, 2004: 16). In conclusion, history is a personal construct rather than a collective factuality. Jenkins lists three impassable restraints for history in theory; these are epistemological, methodological, and ideological issues. Moreover, Hutcheon’s definition of how historiographic metafiction treats the past resembles those issues: “Historiographic metafiction asks both epistemological and ontological questions. How do we know the past (or the present)? What is the ontological status of that past? Of its documents? Of our narratives?” (Hutcheon, 2004: 50).

Epistemological Issue: Epistemology is the hypothesis of information, particularly concerning its strategies, legitimacy, and scope, and the differentiation between legitimized conviction and supposition. It is about the theory of knowledge and how we know things in the first place. This philosophical approach problematizes historical knowledge. The evidence historians use are the primary sources of their information to reflect the past, but the evidence cannot correspond with the facts; recorded documents about the past are deficient in resurrecting the actual experiences. The problem of

accuracy emerges at this stage, and it is only a comparison between the versions or interpretations of various historians. In his review of the problem, Jenkins identifies the problem as: "...the historian's viewpoint and predilections still shape the choice of historical materials, and our own personal constructs determine what we make of them" (Jenkins, 2004: 22).

Consequently, the epistemological problem of history seems inextricable due to the nature of retelling and the standpoint of the teller. A historian can miss out on certain aspects of the information because decoding the past is similar to illuminate a cave in the dark with a torch; one can highlight specific details but inevitably overlooks the vast majority of the details (Robinson, 2011: 5). Commenting on the issue, Robinson states:

It is a commonplace that we view the past through the filtering lens of our present interests; the range of what we see is accordingly restricted by this viewfinder, which focuses selectively on only part of the much larger potential field of vision. (Robinson, 2011: 20)

Methodological and Ideological Issues: Methodology is another problem related to history because there are diverse approaches that make it challenging to select or exclude any. It is almost impossible to decide on the best historical methodology because of the controversies around history writing. By extension, history's ideological problem emerges because the well-accepted versions of histories are decided by those who are in a position to accept and establish that particular version. Jenkins exemplifies this by stating:

[...] the choice of subject matter and the methodological approach was made from a black, Marxist, feminist perspective. Yet I doubt if any such course could be found. Why not? Not because it would not be history, for it would, but because black Marxist-feminists don't really have the power to put such a course into this sort of public circulation. (Jenkins, 2004: 25)

This example sums up the partial and selective problems and the constructed nature of history resulting from methodology and ideology problems. Therefore, instead of asking 'what is history?', the question needs to be altered as 'who is history for?' The same evidence from the past can be interpreted differently under the lights of various methodologies and ideologies.

History allows people to create identities for themselves to strengthen their ideologies. Inherently, history is a defective discourse about the past regarding the issues mentioned above, and historiography becomes correspondingly problematic. Linda

Hutcheon discusses these issues in *Poetics of Postmodernism* as: “The provisional, indeterminate nature of historical knowledge is certainly not a discovery of postmodernism. Nor is the questioning of the ontological and epistemological status of historical ‘fact’ or the distrust of seeming neutrality and objectivity of recounting” (Hutcheon, 2004: 88). Therefore, it is possible to state that the problem of authenticity and representation of the past is a long-standing issue and the postmodernist approach puts the issue forward by inquiring about the distinction between fact and fiction.

1.2.1. Historiography

The origins of historiography can be traced back to Ancient Greece where Herodotus and Thucydides respectively wrote about Greek history apart from the myths and legends to attain a truthful portrayal. Thucydides’s evidence-based approach to the past events differentiates him, as in Herodotus’s witness accounts, from their counterparts. Their approaches were humanistic rather than theocratic and differed from theocratic works of legends and myths such as Homer’s.

The word history is also derived from the Greek, meaning research or inquiry as Herodotus uses it as his title (Collingwood, 1994). Thus, Herodotus’s book *Histories* (425 BCE) implies the father of history’s investigative approach. Herodotus’s *Historia* deals with the general public and the political issues, including the wars with Persians like Thucydides whose works also give weight to documentation while describing the Peloponnesian War. The constructed national identity and history are apparent in both historians’ works, but it can be said that they are avoided the myth and the legends to achieve factuality. However, their approaches differed in that sense. For instance, oral traditions were the first examples of the historical discourse in Ancient Greece, and Herodotus refers to the oral traditions, whereas Thucydides rejects this kind of evidence due to the unreliability of the sources.

Thucydides’s approach seems reasonable since oral traditions change over time, and authenticity is a big problem. As Michael Bentley describes the difference: “Whereas Herodotus was prepared to give credence to stories concerning events as much as two generations before his birth, Thucydides was from choice the contemporary historian par excellence” (Bentley, 2006: 40). Thucydides writes about the war that broke out in his

time with his observations (contemporary history) in contrast with Herodotus who used maybe two generations old oral traditions as a primary source of information. The subject matters also differ between the two: Herodotus primarily dealt with the Persian war, which makes him quite 'chauvinistic' whereas Thucydides deals with what we may call civil wars.

C. Behan McCullagh discusses the metaphorical terms and descriptions that historians typically use. The historians' interpretations enrich the comprehension of and the cohesion within the documents or pieces of evidence they work. However, it is almost inevitable for historians not to use these kinds of terms and descriptions to convey their remarks; otherwise, the evidence would be transferred plainly. Despite both Herodotus and Thucydides' efforts to stick to evidence-based and tenable methods, neither their works of historiography nor their successors are scientific due to the role of subjectivity as an inescapable element in a scholarly investigation (Iggers, 2005: 18).

Moreover, the succession of those historians ceased to exist until the Roman contributions. Greek influence on Romans was significant in various aspects, including pagan religion and literature. Following the Greek and Hellenistic historiography, Polybius (264-146 BCE) came to the forefront among Greco-Roman historians. Polybius's historical writing coincided with the rise of the empire and it competes against Carthage. However, Polybius reverberated the religious influence in his writing as in Romans. Therefore, historical prose and the historical themes in poetry blossomed in Roman tradition thanks to the religious and moral touches. Later on, Roman transubstantiation separated the Greco-Roman historical writing from the emerging Christian historiography. *The Bible* became the primary source of information about the past and justification for interpreting history.

Afterward, in the Medievalist approach to historical writing, periodization both serves and problematizes historiography. Separate parts of the world except Romans were excluded in medieval historiography in the middle ages. In addition to the geographical narrowness, temporal blur is a problem in medieval historiography to distinguish it from the Roman. Commonly, the year 1453 is accepted as the end of an era and the beginning of a new one reaching Renaissance and Reformation until the French Revolution and

Napoleonic Wars (1803-15). Bentley also points out the problems of the Medievalist approach:

In neither geographical nor chronological terms, is the notion of 'the Middle Ages' neutral, value-free and unproblematic. For all its faults, it remains in common usage, and will assuredly continue to do so. Part of its usefulness is simply its fuzziness, hallowed by five centuries of historical tradition. (Bentley, 2006: 118)

The Enlightenment period, continuing the historiography traditions of medieval and Greco-Roman schools, acted collaterally to the new way of thinking in historical writing. Eighteenth-century historiography was profoundly under the influence of intellectual revolution and scientific climate such as Sir Isaac Newton. Paul Hamilton remarks on the influence of the era:

History, like any other form of thinking about humankind, should therefore take its bearings from this foundation, whose rationality had been proclaimed with a new confidence from Descartes onwards. (Hamilton, 2003: 151)

Observing and highlighting human beings, seventeenth-century thinkers addressed historiography in the same direction. However, in the eighteenth century, historians and thinkers changed their historical viewpoints into a tremendous and universal progression. Human nature was involved in an interaction with society and progress. It is not easy to characterize the Enlightenment and its effects on historiography but, roughly speaking, rationality and anthropocentrism shaped the era. Universal truth was set as an objective, but the negative remarks of Immanuel Kant and Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel postponed this objective. Kant accentuated the interpretative nature of historiography and the position of the historian opposed to universal truth. However, Kant honors Thucydides as being the pioneer of authentic and accurate historiography.

There has been a gradual development and change towards the historiography on being scientific, but in the nineteenth century, historiography saw the most remarkable breakthrough with Von Ranke's approach. History became a profession in the newly founded universities in Germany. Truth and objectivity have always been a challenge for historiography because past events are beyond the historians' reach. Historians can only interpret the pieces of evidence of the past. Not only the historian's subjectivity but also the credibility of historical materials are in question. C. Behan McCullagh proposes this question in the introduction of his book *The Truth of History*: "Every culture views the

world differently, through the lenses of its cots and interests, so how can any account of the world be thought true?” (McCullagh, 1997:1). This question emphasizes the inevitable partiality of historiography. Therefore, interpretations of past events may vary.

Following Charles Darwin and other secular and revolutionary scientists' publications, the second half of the nineteenth-century intelligentsia tended to secularise scientific approaches. Historians were no exception to these inclinations, following the German school of history, French historians carried historical understanding one step further. François Guizot, for instance, implemented a new surgical approach similar to the *autopsy* towards historical understanding. This instance is exemplified in work undertaken by Michael Bentley as:

He taught that historical science ought to assume the categories of autopsy. One must study anatomy (the collecting of the facts) and physiognomy (the individual features of events) with a view to constructing a physiology (the laws that govern historical events.) (Bentley, 2006: 44)

This kind of approach signaled the changes towards historical understanding and perspective shaped by the social and cultural alterations and secularisation. Following the Revolution in 1848, historical knowledge has been profoundly affected by extreme scientism and the French democratic movement of thought. Consequently, successors of these alterations followed in the footsteps of the Darwinian school of thought and turned their historical readings and analyses against religious instructions. Developments in the fields of sciences such as zoology and psychology in consideration of scientism shaped the historical interpretations such as man's position in the world, which parted ways with conventional approaches such as religious or moral.

Henry Thomas Buckle applied these new approaches to British history in his book *History of Civilisation in England* (2014) in which he tried to use the developments in other scientific branches as mentioned above to historical interpretation (Bentley, 2006: 44). Integrated scientific aspirations and social, cultural, and economic alterations in Europe after the revolutions changed history writing. Marxist understandings of new financial mechanisms, such as industrial processes, coincided with nationalist motivations, and historical approaches suited for these changes came into view. New intellectual fields such as sociology, psychology, and anthropology in the late nineteenth

century constituted the integrated scientific aspiration in social sciences. Historiography, therefore, had thorough alterations based on these changes.

Sure enough, Britain affected these alterations in every sense, including historiography, but it followed its unique path towards historical understanding. Unlike German and French cultural histories, Britain dealt with its own experiences such as English freedom and English stories. Eventually, Whigs appeared in British history and dominated the British historical understanding. Religion remained central to the British intelligentsia and Whigs were religious and predominantly Anglican people; consequently, historical interpretations revolved around medieval perspectives.

From 1900 on, university mechanisms throughout Europe, following Germany, saw great popularity with its new features such as publishing articles to meet graduation criteria and introducing a doctoral system. In England, educational opportunities increased, Oxford and Cambridge opened their doors to the unprivileged. Social and economic dynamics played a significant role in these educational alterations, and historiography accordingly saw professionalization (Bentley, 2006: 31-81). Social changes gave shape to historical interpretations; phrases such as *social unit* became popular to study societal concepts in consideration of newly introduced intellectual and scientific approaches. In other words, historiography was objected to the alterations in social, economic, and scientific advances. That is why Marx's social theory gained importance not only in historiography but also in almost all social sciences.

Key figures such as Marx, Nietzsche, and Freud formed an integrated perspective to history and historiography as modern vanguards but what we call postmodernism alters the integration and interpretation altogether. For instance, Foucault is concerned with history, but his interpretation opposes the modern historical idea of continuity. He puts forward discontinuity as a critical concept as well as continuity in history. Hamilton points out that Foucault:

In his unearthing of 'other unities', Foucault looks committed to a more genuinely historical recovery of the past than before. This traditional ambition, though, is complicated for him by the shape, highly problematic for historiography, in which he thinks the past should appear. (Hamilton, 2003: 118)

Foucault is one of the many critical contributors to postmodern understanding that affects historiography. In addition to Hamilton, Linda Hutcheon provides an understanding of Foucault's discontinuity concept:

What has surfaced is something different from the unitary, closed, evolutionary narratives of historiography as we have traditionally known it: as we have been seeing in historiographic metafiction as well, we now get the histories (in the plural) of the losers as well as the winners, of the regional (and colonial) as well as the centrist, of the unsung many as well as the much sung few, and I might add, of women as well as men. (Hutcheon, 1989: 66)

To comprehend the postmodern condition, Linda Hutcheon provides insight in *The Politics of Postmodernism* (1989). History and historiography began to be questioned, and the distinction between past and history drew the attention of postmodern theorists. The fictional nature of writing, therefore literary and biased elements of historiography have begun to be interrogated as well. Therefore, historiography's unquestionable authority is cracked because the postmodern historical approach tells that historiography is only an interpretation of the bygone past. Linda Hutcheon (1989) suggests that: "...it is more an attempt to comprehend and master it by means of some working (narrative/explanatory) model" (Hutcheon, 1989: 64).

Hutcheon's remarks on the fictionality of historiography present a postmodern approach to history in which objectivity and autonomy are replaced with subjectivity and partialism that she terms as historiographic metafiction. Therefore, the distinction between literature and historiography, which tried to be formed by the previous theories and approaches, became blurry and indistinguishable. Hayden White also emphasizes this situation in the preface of *Metahistory* as: "I treat the historical work as what it most manifestly is: a verbal structure in the form of narrative prose discourse." (White, 2014: ix). White continues to mark historiography's literary tendencies and necessities while resembling historian's work to a poetic act. Together with Hayden White's remarks on historical works, Steven Connor states that: "the move from modernism to postmodernism involves a move from poetry to fiction" (Connor, 2004: 76).

The momentum of the world after the 1970s and 1980s corresponded with the social and scientific developments merged social sciences; historiography was under the influence of these developments. Francis Fukuyama described the cause and effect

relation between the modern world and historiography in his book *The End of History and the Last Man*. George Iggers exemplify this causation:

a modern technological society based on capitalist free market principles accompanied by representative parliamentary institutions signified the achievement of a rational order of things as the outcome of historical development. (Iggers, 2005: 101)

These aspects of postmodern societies can be described as destructive in terms of consequences in everyday life. Fukuyama points to the dangers of the deception in which postmodern culture is constructive and decisive in his book. The chain of causation can be traced back to Marx and Hegel from Fukuyama's ideas about the end of history because the idea of the progress of history is similar. Fukuyama's description of history as an evolutionary process and the clash between man and technology in which man has no control over technology direct Fukuyama to believe and suggest liberal democracy as an answer.

As a result, the changing social and scientific atmosphere in the postmodern world deeply affected how historiography was formed and evaluated. Hutcheon sums up this postmodern outcome as: "It does not deny the existence of the past; it does question whether we can ever know that past other than through its textualized remains." (Hutcheon, 2004: 20). The postmodern effect in the literary world put narrative expression and scepticism forward instead of poetic representation. Social sciences emerged and merged to present universal conclusions, so history and historiography have been deeply affected by sceptical postmodern approaches compared to the previous ones.

1.2.2. Historical Fiction

History began to be seen as a changing and dynamic actuality compared to a previous unalterable and stable condition. The wars in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries included individuals in a mass experience and that experience needed to be supported with persuasive social and ideological notions of national identity. Thinkers like Hegel also supported this new approach to history as the progress of humanity, as Lukács suggests: "Hence the concrete possibilities for men to comprehend their existence as something historically conditioned, for them to see in history something which deeply affects their daily lives and immediately concerns them" (Lukács, 1989: 24). We

understand that the individuals who participated in those wars were able to comprehend the motives with a historical contribution, just like in Sir Walter Scott's historical novel, *Waverley* (1814), the protagonist's realization about his journey's consequences.

The remarkable effect of history upon individual life was combined with a necessity of national history, according to Lukács. In this very moment, Sir Walter Scott showed up with his unique usage of characterization through history by giving meaning to the existence of an individual through his authentic approach to history. The term communication frequently appears in the works of Lukács to distinguish Scott from the previous practitioners: "regard the particular psychology and ethics which arise from them as a historical curiosity, but should re-experience them as a phase of humanity's development which concerns and moves us" (Lukács, 1989: 42). This communication channel of Scott in which a contemporary individual apprehends the consequences of historical events and his place in history had a significant impact on the development and the rise of the novel. Scott's eponymous character *Waverley* represents historical progress and perception as an ordinary individual, and the immediate reader could empathize with him.

Scott's influence and prophecy continued in the nineteenth century and made him a globally known figure in literature imitated and resounded. He was even compared to historians and deemed more successful in making the past familiar with contemporary readers and clear. However, a figure in history showed up with a book called *History of the Latin and Teutonic Nations* (1874) named Leopold von Ranke. Ranke believed and approved the use of history as pure and simple as to show what had happened without presumption. Then, the echoing sense of history as a specific discipline caused the historical novel to be connected with the arising discipline rather than literary novels.

The historical novel was vital because it commented on the past and made people understand their contemporary existence. Therefore, it was inevitable for historical novels to evoke their audience to take social or political actions. However, medievalism was quite popular in Britain at that time, and the works related to that theme were not about a social or political change. Despite the famous medieval works, some writers such as Charles Dickens, William Makepeace Thackeray, and Elizabeth Gaskell use the historical novel's power to contrive a social change and awareness.

One of the prominent authors in nineteenth-century Britain, Charles Dickens, dealt with the history and present issues and labeled both concepts as much of a nightmare. Growing industrial society saw quite the opposite decline in virtue and nobility, which did not happen overnight, and Dickens sought the dynamics in history and commented on them in his works. Dicken's first historical novel *Barnaby Rudge* (1841) reveals his unique observation of the era. The novel is set during the riots of the 1780s, a long time after the events occurred. Dicken's portrayal of individual and collective violence throughout the riots separates the English people from mobs and lunatics. He associates the violence with mobs and, in a way, warns English people against the rebellion not just in fiction but also in reality by highlighting virtue and nobility among society (de Groot, 2010).

On the other hand, George Eliot stands with such incomparability in her approach towards history in presenting its consequences on women of both individual and collective foundations. Her well-known novel, *Middlemarch* (1871), portrays the importance of the ignored. Her conscious attempt to put the marginalized women in the readers' minds differentiates her; she demonstrates that the social inequalities caused women to be disappointed with their attempts to climb over those obstacles. Women cannot resist and change their imposed faith like Dorothea, the heroine of *Middlemarch*, who is punished for her ventures to be released from the constructed identity presented to her. Eliot discusses the role of history and society on female identity in-depth and concludes that the untold, anonymously contributed stories of many heroines were sinking into oblivion by the dominant, demanding, and conventional history. Keith Jenkins also addresses this exclusion:

[...]how many other groups, people(s), classes, have been/are omitted from histories and why; and what might be the consequences of such omitted 'groups' were central to historical accounts and the now central groups were marginalized. (Jenkins, 2004: 19)

Unlike historians who sought to discuss history without understanding the forgotten and left-off individuals, Eliot evoked a historical sensibility that had fallen short of integrity. As de Groot asserts: "*Middlemarch* sees the importance of minutiae in clear contrast with the epic sweep of other historical novels, such as *War and Peace*, which seek to use the historical novel to explain great public historical processes" (de Groot,

2010:38). Moreover, this reveals Eliot's incomparability and distinction as opposed to general historicity. To understand the personal present, Eliot emphasizes the importance of the shifts of the personal past. Her works explore and portray history to understand the process and keep along with the inevitable social change.

Virginia Woolf carried narrative strategies one step further by stating that the conventional writing approaches did not serve the apparent complexities of the contemporary (modern) world. In addition to Gustave Flaubert's contributions, Woolf introduced the psychological representations of individuals to apprehend the complexities of life and sparked off a new literary movement called modernism. Woolf's novel *Orlando* (1928), subtitled *A Biography*, is about the protagonist's journey throughout history in periods to the present time in which Orlando never dies and changes gender. This transformation symbolizes the conscious effort to undermine and protest the conventional and patriarchal writing and history norms. The fraction in the narrative and the style of the novel allows Woolf, through Orlando's agency, to challenge conventional forms and contents up the point of the new convention of modernism. Woolf reordered the traditional novel form by exploring possibilities and verisimilitudes.

Similarly, H. G. Wells continued the experiment on history in his excellent novel *Time Machine* (1895) by overthrowing history's linearity. The novel is set in the future and the transition between time subverts the progressive and linear understanding of the past. The history then seems transitive and flexible for both Wells and Woolf as they innovatively deployed new ways of understanding and communication of the past.

WWI profoundly affected the way historical novels were written and evaluated. The war caused a kind of pause in historical novels, and the mainstream novel form marginalized the genre. Then, the audience of the historical novel became women by a majority. After the apparent decline, the historical novel found a place in education rather than literary space. Teachers used historical novels to add to the syllabuses and introduce students to the past with more appealing works rather than solely historical sources. Therefore, it is plausible to say that a historical novel is a hybrid form of writing that was caught in the middle ground between its factual and fictional roots. However, from its emergence with Scott to the contemporary instances, the historical novel preserved its

nationalist and sometimes manipulative features. A self-definitive narration of national identity has been one of the essential components of the historical novel all along.

Many critics were aware that the historical novels were delusive, but the educational episodes based on reality helped the genre to feature in the academic environment. This area of usage differentiated the historical novel from the rest of the sub-genres. However, the problem was on another differentiation between history and the historical novel: historical fiction was not history but deemed better because of its easily apprehensible content. So, the fictional imagination that caused trouble through the genre's authority helped its audience who had no intention to read more severe and restricted historical artefacts. From the twentieth century on, the historical novel parted ways with the mainstream novel genre and the history itself and was located in a distinct position thanks to its experimental and pedagogically useful features rather than an aesthetical one. Teachers J. A. Buckley and W. T. Williams wrote *Guide to British Historical Fiction* (1912), a chronological account of historical fiction from the first instances to the 1900s, to supplement their history classes and introduce students to the periods. Like Herbert Butterfield, some other figures considered the historical novel as a form of history and emphasized the overlapping features between the two. Then the historical novel turned into a complementary to the history rather than comparison.

Developments in the material production of books, in subscription-based commercialization, revealed that the more significant part of the audience was women. So, the results corresponded with literary works addressed to women, such as romance fiction. There was an interest in the historical romances after WWII, mostly by the female readers. As a quite successful publisher of the genre, Harlequin was generally overlooked by critics due to the content of their novels despite the global sales success. As in Harlequin, mass-market and mass-production helped publishers reach a wider audience, and historical romance became quite popular during the second half of the twentieth century. These books were different in their approach to history, unlike Scott or his successors, historical romances deployed history not as a progressive entity but preferably as an area for identity and personal relationships as the name suggested. History is used in a simple plot and without sophisticated writing and presentations, historical romances were about ups and downs between the female protagonist and the charming man.

The change in the way people reached and read the books, especially a mail-order system, paved the way for more exceptional innovations such as Penguin Books which helped people to access contemporary books of the time beginning with the crime fictions of Agatha Christie who helped Allan Lane to conceptualize the company in the first place. The company was a significant success, and the public response was tremendous as they sold a million copies within ten months. These changes in the late twentieth century revolutionized the publishing and reading habits, mass-production, and growing interest in literary works paved the way for modern literature.

Historical novels are obsessed with paratexts: footnotes, additions, acknowledgments, bibliographies, author information, maps. From these materials, we can garner a huge amount of information about the text itself, how it is being presented and represented. (de Groot, 2010: 63)

Historical romances began to emerge as one of the most important genres for women writers and readers in the twentieth century. History, as represented in these novels, was more appealing to women in which Scott and the Gothic novels were at the forefront. One of the main reasons women writers attach themselves to the historical novel was that they were allowed to focus on the varieties of individual identity and otherness. Perpetually overlooked stories of minorities, women, for instance, were starring in Jeanette Winterson and Angela Carter's books as outcasts take over the male-dominated history telling.

On the other hand, historical novels that aimed to access male audiences were primarily about heroism and adventure in such a way that wars and battles were common in setting, and soldiers or sailors were in the center of characterization. The progressive nature of those novels celebrated heroism and masculinity in a nationalistic manner to stimulate the reader's impulses. Topics such as adventure and militarism differentiated these writings from the novels about love and relationships. The similar progression between the two audiences and the works written in the twentieth century was in history as historical romances for women dealing with the otherness through individual relationships and developments. In contrast, adventurous works for men dealt with a hero's progress throughout a quest or a journey.

The repression and marginalization were different in those works since women faced gender-based othering, yet men faced class and hierarchical discrimination throughout the history represented in the works.

Alexandre Dumas's *Three Musketeers* (1844) was influential in the ways it contained journeys of brotherly adventurers and a nautical theme in Rober Louis Stevenson's *Treasure Island* (1882) in which both revolution and revolt were the cause of the progression of those military historical romances. C. S. Forester's *Hornblower* continued the tradition in the twentieth century. His writing includes national elements as the serial novels written after WWII followed by Bernard Cornwell's books about significant historical events such as Napoleonic Wars (1803-15) with such details to underline the individual actions that affected those events. Cornwell became one of the most successful and globally read writers of the genre with his paratextual additions on petty details of warfare through maps to attain authenticity. Arthur Conan Doyle used this kind of additional elements since crime fiction can be seen as a branch of the historical novel in the making which led to historical detective/crime fiction emerging as expected with Umberto Eco's works. Historical crime fiction used religion or historical developments, especially in the nineteenth century with the leaps in everyday life due to industrialization.

Historical novels have nationalist features since each novel deals with its own social and geographical origin, and the audiences that are a foreigner to the novel's origins may find it hard to relate to and comprehend. Globally accepted historical novel subjects such as World Wars or Holocaust narratives are available but, other than these, each writer is unsurprisingly bound to their origins. Indeed, one can read a historical novel from another background with translations or in the original language. So, the educational motives of the historical novel are questionable then. Still, this innate feature of the genre requires an awareness of the readers before reading, and it is often remarked but sometimes hindered by the authors via paratextual elements. It is useful to know the time, setting, and context of the work to understand and appreciate the historical novel.

From the 1990s on, Kazuo Ishiguro's Nobel Prize achievement and his prominent novel *The Pale View of Hills* (1990) helped historical novels to gain the critical success that leads the genre to become more popular than ever along with Rose Tremain's Booker

Prize-shortlisted novel *Restoration*. Ishiguro's other works such as *The Remains of the Day* (1990) and *The Buried Giant* (2016) popularised the genre and similar literary works. The historic turn of the Anglophone fiction owes much to Ishiguro and Tremain's works, their impact upon the British literature as historical novels followed and perpetuated by many such as Ian McEwan and Julian Barnes. Ian McEwan's *Atonement*, along with Julian Barnes's works, is set in the past. Still, postmodern aspects such as historiographic metafiction and fragmentation in those books made them popular and easy to access for contemporary readers and appeal to literary taste at once. Barnes's works such as *Flaubert's Parrot* (1990), *Arthur & George* (2007), and *A History of the World in 10½ Chapters* (2020) are somewhat experimental on history accompanied by salient postmodern approaches; undermining the certainty of both history and memory as constructed entities. The liaison between reality and literature is one of the critical aspects of Barnes's writing.

Postmodernism is skeptical of history because it represents the past, but its legitimacy and authenticity are in doubt because of the constructed nature of writing itself. Past is inaccessible, contrary to the belief in a progressive history, the past is not stable and centralized as imposed by the grand narratives. Theorists of postmodern historiography challenge the authenticity of history in representing the past because literary inclusion disrupts actual events, and there is no objective or real history since all versions of history are partial and constructed by nature. Hayden White concurrently emphasizes the literariness of history as well as the historicity of fiction. Readers try to imagine the past through the historian's interpretations which are not too far away from fictionalization, and therefore history becomes the target of legitimately representing the past. History is problematized with postmodern thinking and approaches because of its innate nature of construction and inevitable partiality. The notions of certainty and progress of history are challenged with the ever-changing and uncertain disposition of the past. The literary reflection of these iconoclastic approaches towards history can be seen in unreliable narratives as in Ishiguro's works or marginalized stories as in Jeanette Winterson's works.

Postmodern historiographic criticism destroys the distinction between the historian and the novelist since they both use the same narrative devices. Furthermore, Frederic Jameson proposed that the effect of postmodernism is traceable through social and

economic changes. He underlines that Lacan's schizophrenia concept is socially applicable since people are deficient in the sense of time and they have no past; instead, they live in the perpetual present without personal identity, and therefore there without a past. Jerome de Groot refers to the literary disposition of history and its narration:

Historical novels are keenly interested in the interaction between what is 'known' and what is made up, querying, for instance, the deployment of varieties of quoted 'evidence', which is often literary, therefore highlighting the innate textuality of history, to frame a persuasive narrative, and the use of the realist mode to present a story which is clearly fiction. (de Groot, 2010: 113)

One of the early practitioners of the postmodern techniques, Fowles used pastiche and metanarrative in his novel *The French Lieutenant's Woman* (1998) to experiment with a new sense of historiography. Fowles challenges scientific, religious, or literary orders as metanarratives by deploying various characters such as Charles Lyell who echoes Charles Darwin's rationalist approach towards science. This method makes the novel explicit, and the three different endings of the novel emphasize the lack of certainty and realism and suggest forward new ways of understanding for the historical novel.

Another contribution to the postmodern sense of historiography occurred in detective novels with Umberto Eco above all. The detective novel Eco represents is not crime fiction but rather is a way of resolving the past for the truth by an academic/scientific approach to the knowledge systems. The emphasis is the partiality of historical documents, and some paratextual elements like the use of maps contribute to the authenticity of Eco's novels.

Beginning with Scott, historical novels create a national identity and unity as Lukács puts forward, but the opposite is possible. Intrinsic national myths and tales began to be questioned with the arrival of postmodern approaches where marginalized or ignored aspects of the past became more of an issue in the contemporary world. For instance, Toni Morrison's *Beloved* (1998) reminds the contemporary people of slavery and oppression by exploring the trauma of the Atlantic slave trade in the past. The characters in the novel remember their haunting past where violence, murder, sexual abuse, and other crimes were the realities of their lives through flashbacks and the past is a traumatic place one needs to escape, but it is impossible when the past haunts Sethe, the principal character, in the present. As a historical novel, *Beloved* helps to recapture American society's dark past, especially the traumatic experiences of the people of colour

and the plight of women with a political rewriting. The novel is about people who were silenced with oppression and it echoes the same theme; the past haunts the present of the American society.

Postcolonial writings contributed further to the historical novel's power to imply political and social discourse. Edward Said's book *Orientalism* (1979) helped conceptualize the representation of Western perspectives on Oriental people to justify imperial and colonial impulses. Historical conspiracy fiction on alternatives such as Dan Brown's books presenting different interpretations about the past is quite problematic since the audiences find Brown's books exciting and believe in his conspiracies.

The distinction between history and literature became blurry in the contemporary era due to the emergence of postmodern literary theory that sceptically examines history's nature and validity. The textuality of history caused dissidence in terms of acceptability. Since it was textual, history's constructed nature or fictionality was stepped forth by postmodern theorists as a deficiency on its legitimacy. Linda Hutcheon claims:

And in arguing that history does not exist except as text, it does not stupidly and "gleefully" deny that the past existed, but only that its accessibility to us now is entirely conditioned by textuality. We cannot know the past except through its texts: its documents, its evidence, even its eye-witness accounts are texts. Even the institutions of the past, its social structures and practices, could be seen, in one sense, as social texts. (Hutcheon, 2004:16)

Hutcheon's claims about the textuality of history coincide with her definition of historiographic metafiction. In consideration of the intertwinement of history and fiction in the contemporary world, it became troublesome to separate history from fiction, with the increasing interest in historiographic metafiction after the second half of the twentieth century, and with the arrival of postmodern theory. Hayden White's remarks also contributed to the challenge of separating history's literary turn and literature's historical turn.

1.3. Memory

Memory is a fundamental component of human existence and may be the most distinctive feature of our species. Other species use their memory to grasp their environment and maintain their lives, but humans are distinctively "remembering animals" in Nietzsche's words in *Untimely Meditations* (1873). On the grounds of this

remembering, memory can be defined as a primary source referred by individuals in an attempt to conceive themselves, the surrounding world, and the present through channeling past memory, then, functions as a link between the past and present and opens the way for the future to anticipate and forges an identity for individuals. In Angelica Nuzzo's words: "...it constitutes one's identity as much as it changes and distorts such identity" (Nuzzo cited in Kattago, 2015: 49). Memory stands upon the past or the past remnants as an abutment for that comprehension bridge. Because the past is all but impossible to revitalize, the remnants in memory are mostly the sole abutment in the one-way flow of the past.

Moreover, the relationship between memory and the past has more dimensions, and it is not just about remembering or recollecting the past because these acts happen in the present, in retrospect. From ancient Greece to the day, philosophers pondered about the essence of memory and time. Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel, for instance, introduces the dialectical approach towards memory and considers it as a cause of social alienation (*Entäußerung*), followed up by Marx and other thinkers. From this point of view, memory or dialectical memory in Hegel's definition is not just an inner expedition but also an external inference that may alienate individuals while reading into it. Therefore, it is safe to say that the importance and currency of memory move beyond merely understanding the past.

In the general sense, memory can be described as a particular moment or experience in the past or an ability to store and recollect information. However, memory has gained ground in several disciplines from antiquity to the present, and therefore, various definitions of memory in different disciplines, from biology and neurology to philosophy and psychology, exist. The inherent relation between memory and the past also helps the proliferation of memory in numerous fields and makes memory an omnipresent term.

Since literary memory studies are closely associated with the psychological fraction, the definition of memory in *The Cambridge Dictionary of Psychology* (2009) may be helpful:

Any relatively lasting storage of information in the brain, which is currently hypothesised to involve encoding, storage, and retrieval of the information. This includes numerous kinds of information and different storage processes, including remembering a specific event, knowledge in general, and knowledge

of how to do things like see, move in a coordinated way, and ride a bicycle. (2009, 303)

This definition emphasizes memory's fundamental features, such as storing and restoring information, in addition to personal experiences and knowledge. The primary function of memory is related to retain and recall the information stored in our brains through the mediums of remembering and forgetting processes. The related issues and factors that bear upon these cognitive mechanisms of memory will be analyzed and presented in this section.

1.3.1. History of Memory

Etymologically, the word memory stems from the ancient Greeks. Beata Piatek explains the roots of the word in *History, Memory, Trauma in Contemporary British and Irish Fiction* (2014): "After all, the goddess of memory, Mnemosyne, was the mother of the muses, and therefore the origin of all arts and sciences including Clio's history" (Piatek, 2014: 23). Memory was art in ancient Greece, where the poet and the historian were differentiated through their use and potential abuse of the memory. Memory was also an improvable entity; it was seen as artistry trained and cultivated, and memorizing meant being able to recall and be estimable. Besides, Plato makes mention of the origins of writing in Egypt by Theuth. When the god Theuth bestows writing to the king Thamus of Egypt as a recipe to make the people of Egypt wiser, the king sees it differently. The king sets against the recipe for wisdom; writing will make his people lazy and reveal the forgetfulness in their souls; they will rely on what is written instead of what is true: "Writing could act as a prompt for recollection, but not as an aid for true remembering" (Whitehead, 2008: 20). After many centuries, this same idea that memory is threatened by writing is perpetuated by twentieth-century thinkers like Pierre Nora and Paul Ricoeur.

In ancient Rome, memory morphed into a mastery of recollection from the artistry of Greece. Being able to recite texts from memory or mnemonic technique, in other words, was prominent in Cicero's descriptions. He defines the required mastery of recollection (mnemonic technique), and it was developed through medieval monastics. One should become the author of the decided text and digest it. Greek and Roman contributors on memory as well as the medieval additive formed the basis of classical rhetoric. As Anne Whitehead sums up:

This tradition consciously builds on Aristotle's notion of recollection to develop a system of memorizing that involves the methodical ordering of memory images and a search based on the principle of association. (Whitehead, 2008: 33)

Afterward, John Locke and David Hume questioned the role of memory in constructing the self. Locke's ideas about memory in his famous work, *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding* (1695), were concerned with the mindfulness or self-consciousness of the mind and its ability to revive information. On the other hand, Hume made ground for the shift between an idea of memory by duplexing memory and imagination in *A Treatise on Human Nature* (1739) with an idea of imagination vice versa. Additionally, Hume underlines the importance of the interaction between memory and imagination merge with our perceptions over time to compose unified selfhood, but he thinks the result is merely an illusion. Hume also sees the burden or challenge of knowing the past and its influence on the present (Piatek, 2014: 25).

In *Matter and Memory* (1896), Henri Bergson lays the foundations of the individual memory concept in modern terms, where he divides memory into two sections as habit memory and pure memory. Habit memory consists of automatic behaviours gained through repetition, whereas pure memory consists of personal memories, primarily unconscious (Bergson, 1990). In addition to this division, Bergson also propounds the term 'duration', which is essential to contemporary memory studies, an alternative to chronological time (Piatek, 2014: 27). Through the individuality of memory, developed and enounced by these thinkers, relative and unique perceptions among individuals and the self became prominent in the literary sphere. The emerging social and political developments in Europe coincided with the changing memory approaches and their reverberation in contemporary fiction.

Following the two world wars and the globally erratic atmosphere, the intelligentsia has attached importance to collective memory rather than individual in the wake of the aftermath of the wars. The treatment of certain races and communities as subhuman, vividly the sufferings of the Jews in World War II, stimulated the interest of thinkers towards collective memory and the discrepancy between historiography and memory. Theories of Maurice Halbwachs, the eponymist of collective memory, gained importance through introductions by the historian Pierre Nora, whose seven-volume project on memory named *Lieux de Mémoire (Realms of Memory)* (1984-92) became popular.

Pierre Nora's three-volume work, *Rethinking the French Past* (1996), has become one of the primary sources in modern memory studies after its publication. The work is known as 'realms of memory' and made ground in various disciplines in social sciences. In this work, Nora discusses memory from literary and cultural perspectives concerning history. He questions the notions of national identity in consideration of the relationship between memory and history. The contrast between these two concepts in modern people who are aware that the past has been surpassed by history causes a change in their 'realms'. Like the story of Theuth, modern people recall the past from the pieces of evidence and documents because they do not live in the memories; instead, they change their realms of memory. Anne Whitehead suggests the presence of remembering as: "Spatiality, then, is crucial to the activity of remembering and seems as important as temporality to both its conceptualization and its practice" (Whitehead, 2008: 11).

Thus, the concept of collective memory refers to the socially constructed aspect of memory because we are social beings that can be manipulated by social and cultural factors. Therefore, individual memory is indissociable from collective memory. The problematic relationship between history and memory designates collective and individual perceptions, respectively. It is impossible to think of an individual immune to the social, cultural, and collective factors, as well as it is impossible to think of an individual memory without collective memory.

In his book *Memory, History, Forgetting* (2000), Paul Ricoeur discusses the function of memory as a connection to the past, whereas other thinkers highlight the slipperiness and vagueness of it. Another aspect of memory is what makes Ricoeur different from others in that he sees memory as the one and only intermediary to the past, and for this reason, he focuses on the uses and probability of memory rather than its deficiencies. Through the processes of forgetting and remembering, history and memory are reasoned, and the blocked memories of the past, namely traumas, are also classified by Ricoeur.

Sigmund Freud influenced Ricoeur and his works on the inability to remember traumatic events in memory with salient works of Freud such as *Mourning and Melancholia* (1917). Ricoeur expands Freud's trauma theory from individual memory to the collective trauma and wounds, represented in literature simultaneously. In contrast to

individual ones, collective wounds and traumas may become more evident, such as losing a war or being exposed to ill-treatment like the Holocaust. To Ricoeur, witnessing and testimony are essential to maintain sanity by remembering and overcoming the traumatic losses individually and collectively. The centrality of remembering and integrating the past loss makes way for coming to terms with the self and past. Lastly, Ricoeur believes that “sometimes it is better to let go of history, to forget the past in order to overcome the instincts of resentment and revenge” (Piatek, 2004: 28-31)

In the second half of the twentieth century, after numerous severities and significant events such as the world wars, the Holocaust, Decolonization, the cold war, and the fall of the Soviet Union triggered a tendency on memory and consequent trauma studies named ‘memory boom’. The aftermath of the Holocaust pioneered the interest in memory and trauma through the witnesses’ experiences, followed by developments on human rights to prevent similar catastrophes. The postmodern condition of the 1960s, such as post-colonial, post-communist movements, and the aftermath of the Holocaust, caused people to think about their ontology insofar as the same condition made people sceptic towards established and predetermined narratives when memory emerged as an alternative way of expression for the neglected ones.

Therefore, trauma studies and illustrations accompanied the memory boom because traumatic experiences mentioned above in the twentieth-century violence are a hallmark. The burden of the past and its traumatic experiences gave rise to memory studies to make sense and make use of them. Trauma, for these reasons, can be seen as an outcome of modernity and an essential part of postmodernity. The key figure of the traumatic orientation of memory boom is the emergence of a witness, ‘the era of witness,’ as Ernst Nolte’s words (Holte cited in Kattago, 2015: 9) since the access to the past has accordingly changed. In respect thereof, a witness is in the center of collective memory, forming and shaping the remembrance following the personal experiences or individual memories. As Kattago puts forward: “The importance of the witness as a moral truth-teller called into question the delicate relationship between historical truth, justice, aesthetic representation and political commemoration” (Kattago, 2015: 9).

From Nietzsche’s or Freud’s comments on the burden or boredom of personal memory and experiences to Halbwach’s collective memory concept and the memory

boom, there have been numerous dynamics that changed the way we perceive memory. The relationship between memory and history entails new and concurrent approaches that move with the times. Such in the in-memory boom, the traumatic experiences and scepticism towards historical narratives arising from the violence in the twentieth century have caused memory to change its shell. The linking role of memory between past and present is blurred in association with trauma, and history seems haunting instead of guiding the present. Memory-related concepts such as trauma, witness, individual, or even autobiographical memory became prominent in contemporary literary studies and psychology following the memory boom.

The relationship between memory and imagination is quite popular in contemporary British fiction. The novels of Kazuo Ishiguro, John Banville, and Julian Barnes frame this relationship with their narratives in which the characters try to find their way out from the present through their interpretations of the past. In Ishiguro's *A Pale View of Hills* and *The Remains of the Day*, Banville's *The Sea*, and Barnes's *Before She Met Me*, the use of unreliable narrator and the unreliability of the memory in the works problematize identity and perception through self-deception and relativity of experiences. Ideas of philosophers like Nietzsche and Marx on past or history as a burden are needed to be disengaged. It can also be seen in these novels revolve around the deficiencies and manipulations of memory.

It is possible to divide memory into individual and collective memory, even though individual memory comes to mind when we talk about memory in general. Individual memory consists of personal experiences and knowledge, whereas social, communal, and participative experiences and knowledge constitute collective memory shared commonly by the masses, large and small. A simple example of individual memory would be when we talk about an academic study or useful information about life; we use our memory and past experiences, which are also knowledge and know-how in a way. On the one hand, since the burdens of the past shape individual memory, individuals are the main subject of their sui generis mental expeditions as 'memory carriers' loaded with components of their history. On the other hand, the collective memory example can be expanded to the masses consisting of individuals such as nations or post-war Jews, which share an inherited knowledge and experience. Collective memory, however, is not simply a sum of personal memories. When Maurice Halbwachs enounced his extensive remarks on his

concept ‘collective memory’ (*la mémoire collective*) to understand the foundations of memory itself, he sparked an extensive argument on memory’s formative function not only individually but also collectively.

1.3.2. Collective Memory

Maurice Halbwachs coined the term ‘collective memory’ (*la mémoire collective*) in 1925, but “the idea of historical consciousness is decidedly older than the concept of collective memory, with roots in German philosophy of history and time” (Kattago, 2015: 3). Collective memory acts as a tool for creating public consciousness that composes collective identity. Therefore, the origins of collective memory or consciousness go back to the ancient ages. Collective memory acts as a tool for creating public consciousness that composes collective identity. Therefore, the origins of collective memory or consciousness go back to ancient times. The remembering process is not a collective event; instead, it becomes collective when individuals remember and share the same memory to frame a collective memory.

Historiography also has an aim to constitute a collective memory. After all, history is not possible without the memory of the past. The relationship between nationalism and historiography to create a national identity resembles public consciousness consisting of shared individual memories. Amos Funkenstein in *Collective Memory and Historical Consciousness* (1989) quotes Hegel, describing collective memory as: “without memory of the past, there is no history, in the sense of events that are meaningful to the collective, events experienced by a collective that is aware of them” (Hegel quoted in Funkenstein, 1989).

Reinhart Koselleck, a German prisoner of WWII, shares his thoughts about collective memory on his experiences and witnessing the holocaust: “there are ‘collective conditions’ enabling individual memory” (Koselleck quoted in Kattago, 2015: 4). Stating that there are only collective conditions (*Kollektive Bedingungen*) that make memory possible, Koselleck puts individual memory forward that shares collective conditions with others and constitutes collective memory. Therefore individual memory is a sine qua non, building up a collective memory. Moreover, collective memory is a disputable concept and figures such as Susan Sontag or Koselleck challenged noncohesive

individual memory. However, Sontag's 'collective instruction' and Koselleck's 'collective conditions' share common aspects which are of service to collective memory: "through imagination, empathy and, above all, language" (Kattago, 2015: 4). For this reason, Halbwachs's collective memory formation considers those aspects as he asserts: "it is language, and the whole system of social conventions attached to it, that allows us at every moment to reconstruct our past" (Halbwachs, 1992: 173). Retrospective consideration and the presence problematizes the past considering the social and linguistic restraints as constructing history.

1.3.3. Individual Memory

As a constituent of collective memory, individual memory comes to the forefront because it is eventually an individual who remembers as a group member. Individual memory, briefly, takes shape over positive or negative, all personal experiences or components in other words. That is to say; individual memory is descriptive of unique and personally identifiable components due to variant impressions and perceptions. Each individual has possession of their distinctive memories from others; one particular incident may make disparate grounds in any individual's memory. For instance, a divorce might be inevitable and much better for the parents, but its influence and devastation might also be traumatic for children experiencing it. Therefore, children may have unpleasant and damaging memories. In contrast, the parents may not feel the same about that incident or prioritize their children; in fact, each family member may remember these incidents unpredictably different from their memories. There are as many distinct memories of a single event as the number of individuals.

The processes of remembering and forgetting may differ from individual to individual, as is the case of the varieties of impressions or influences of incidents on individual memory. Therefore, it can be said that the accentuated variation and uniqueness upon memory evolve out of the cognitive mechanisms termed remembering and forgetting. Since the abutment of memory is composed of the past or its remnants, the importance of remembering and forgetting becomes evident. For instance, Herodotus famously expresses his objective on writing history and remembering "to prevent the traces of human events being erased by the time" (Herodotus, 1988: 3). Of course, written

documents resist the time, but it is essential to have the presupposition of the historian who constitutes the history.

1.3.4. Autobiographical Memory

Starting from memory and dividing it into two sub-headings as individual memory and collective memory, help us compare and contrast the common traits and discrepancies between them. The historical background of the memory studies mentioned above designates the diachronic developments on memory studies as a cumulative process. Therefore, it is positive to follow the contemporary memory studies and their reflections and implementations on literary works. Apart from the individual and the collective, autobiographical memory is a neoteric notion in cognitive psychology. Contemporary scholars discuss autobiographical memory and its interaction with the past as the aforementioned predecessors did.

Collective, individual or autobiographical, the relationship between memory and past has always been a major issue because the past surfaces whenever memory is stimulated. Soljana Cili and Lusia Stopa in the preface of their book describe the importance of autobiographical memory as:

Autobiographical memory shapes our understanding of ourselves, guides our behaviour, and helps us to develop and maintain relationships with others. The ways in which we interpret and narrate our memories have important implications for our psychological well-being, and can sometimes contribute to the onset and maintenance of a variety of psychological disorders. (Cili & Stopa, 2019)

It is inevitable to ignore or neglect the past because “the past does not stay in the past. It shapes our personality, colours our views of ourselves and the world around us, and affects our emotions and how we behave or interact with our environment” (Cili & Stopa, 2019: xi). Following the advances and accumulation of memory studies throughout history and numerous disciplines, cognitive psychology may be the most up-to-date approach in memory studies and human understanding of the self. Therefore, literary works that employ first-person or even unreliable narrators such as Ishiguro's and Barnes's works knowingly or unknowingly present autobiographical memory features in their fiction.

Memories such as the first day of primary school, seeing one's child or a baby sibling for the first time, graduating from university, family gatherings, and failed attempts to attain career goals are all examples of meaningful AMs about which individuals would typically remember the context (e.g., time, place, other people present) and which they would recall from their own unique perspective. (Cili & Stopa, 2019: 1)

As distinct from individual memory, autobiographical memory has three key functions; directive, self, and social. Since it is a relatively new model, there are some additional factors but the main three functions of autobiographical memory will set a framework for this study. The directive function of autobiographical memory is to direct daily individual behaviour under personal experiences and perceptions. This function enables individuals to perform a behaviour that hinges upon know-how in many circumstances, as explained below:

Individuals may use past experiences and the lessons learnt from them to solve problems, make decisions, plan future behaviour, motivate themselves, manage their emotions, make sense of their experiences, and update their view of themselves or their life. (Bluck et al., cited in Cili & Stopa, 2019)

Therefore, the directive function refers to identify and elude a problem in our daily lives. This operation may be conscious or unconscious, but the prominent feature of this function is to prevent individuals from undesirable responses or consequences based on former experiences. To exemplify, a traumatic experience of an incident functions directive as avoiding similar situations such as driving fast and carelessly. On an unconscious level, the directive function does not need an experience or learning, such as automatically reacting when drowning. In other words, the directive function of autobiographical memory refers to acquired behaviours based upon past experiences and learnings, and responses.

The self function of autobiographical memory: “concerns the role of AM in the development and maintenance of a continuous, coherent, and ideally positive sense of self” (Bluck et al., as cited in Cili & Stopa, 2019). Individuals construct a narrative identity that revolves around their past, present, and future projections that coincide with a single and complete self. It is a sine qua non for psychological well-being and making sense of their lives. Awareness and acknowledgment are the primary sources of a coherent sense of self; therefore, the relationship between autobiographical memory and the self

needs a function that helps individuals come to terms with their narrative identity. In this respect, individuals may reconsider their past experiences and memories with the intention of standing with the narrative identity that ensures their well-being. Therefore, the self function of autobiographical memory may sometimes distort, redefine or even mould personal experiences to maintain narrative identities and to prevent unwanted confrontations, both consciously and unconsciously.

The social function of autobiographical memory “is related to the use of AM in developing and nurturing interpersonal relationships” (Bluck et al., as cited in Cili & Stopa, 2019). The narrative identity mentioned above needs to be shared and approved by other individuals. This function does not necessarily mean to persuade others in terms of falsely constructed narrative identities, but sharing individual narratives makes way for empathy on others because we need to feel genuine and reliable. Therefore, the social function enables us to share and participate in experiences as an exchange and provides a sense of belonging and empathy in human relations.

The characteristics of memory, autobiographical memory, in particular, influence individuals on their utilization of the past. Positive and negative memories shape human behaviours and emotions in terms of autobiographical functions as per above. Naturally, several variables affect the functions of autobiographical memory such as culture, age, gender, personality attributes, and psychological well-being.

Culture may be one of the most prominent variants since an individual’s self is inevitably shaped and formalized by cultural factors. “By growing up and living in a certain environment, we develop a cultural understanding of the self that is thought to affect the nature, accessibility, and function of AM” (Cili & Stopa, 2019: 6). Cultural factors, stemming from the influences of environmental determinants on individual experiences, have a role in identity construction. They determine how an individual perceives the surrounding world and are carried on with the individual’s conception. For this reason, cultural factors such as the environment determine the understanding and interpreting of an individual and how s/he operates autobiographical memory functions.

Age is also influential because narrative identity construction and the use of autobiographical memory functions may change with time. “Older adults use AM for self-

related purposes just like young adults, they may do so for different reasons, for example for death preparation rather than identity construction” (Cili & Stopa, 2019: 4).

Similar to cultural factors, personality characteristics also heavily influence the use of autobiographical memory functions. Four characteristics become prominent on this variant: conscientiousness, openness to experience, self-concept clarity, and self-esteem (Cili & Stopa, 2019: 9). The primary feature of autobiographical functions is to encourage individuals to construct and maintain an integrated self.

Psychological well-being refers to an individual's emotional state that depression or adverse experiences affect the self besides autobiographical memory functions. “Individuals with higher levels of depressive symptoms were less likely to find talking about their past experiences useful or beneficial” (Cili & Stopa, 2019: 10). Remembering or sharing in a negative experience may affect the self and cause inconsistencies in autobiographical memories therefore the self function steps in to redefine past experiences.

In conclusion, autobiographical memory has a share in how we construct our identities and shape ourselves. In conjunction with the variables, three main functions of autobiographical memory help us form and maintain a social identity in company with our narrative identities. For these reasons, autobiographical memory designates our thoughts, feelings, and behaviours based on our experiences and lessons of the past. Making sense of the past and construct a coherent narrative identity regarding the aforementioned functions may be called autobiographical reasoning. While reasoning, episodic memory “a memory of personal significance which includes the circumstances in which a particular episode (event) occurred” (Statt, 1998: 48) records all personal experiences, but “only those experiences that are relevant for our long-term goals become part of our autobiographical knowledge and shape the life story and the self” (Cili & Stopa, 2019: 32). However, we cannot choose the kinds of situations we are subjected to, and we do not always excel in processing them without the functions of autobiographical memory. Therefore, the role of autobiographical memory is to be recognised, considering it sheds light on the constructive nature of memory and how it operates against the undesired experiences to maintain a stable identity. The relationship between memory and identity construction is supported and formed by autobiographical memory.

CHAPTER TWO

POSTMODERNISM, HISTORY AND MEMORY IN *THE SENSE OF AN ENDING*

2.1. Critical Biography of Julian Barnes

Julian Barnes was born in Leicester on 19 January 1946. His parents were French teachers, and he has a brother named Jonathan Barnes, a Professor of Philosophy at the University of La Sorbonne in Paris. The Barnes family spent many of their holidays in France, and it was inevitable for Julian and Jonathan not to be influenced. Julian is considered a Francophile, and his readings as a boy include French writers such as Arthur Rimbaud, Charles Baudelaire, Voltaire, and Gustave Flaubert, which are reflected in his writings. As Merritt Moseley describes in *Understanding Julian Barnes* (1997): “He is at home, intellectually and culturally, in France; he makes his readers feel at home there as well” (Moseley, 1997: 171).

Julian Barnes studied philosophy and modern languages at Magdalen College, Oxford, and then taught English in Rennes, France. After graduation, he worked as a lexicographer for the Oxford English Dictionary supplement for three years. In 1977, Barnes began working as a reviewer and literary editor for the *New Statesman* and the *New Review*. In between 1979 to 1986, he worked as a television critic, first for the *New Statesman* and then for the *Observer*. In 1979, Barnes married Pat Kavanagh, a literary agent, until she died in 2008. At the *New Statesman*, he worked under Martin Amis, a close friend until they fell out in the mid-1990s when Amis dropped Kavanagh as his agent. (Childs, 2011: 3)

In 1980, Barnes published his first novel, *Metroland*, and won the Somerset Maugham Award for a debut novel. Barnes has received several awards and honours for his writing, including the 2011 Man Booker Prize for *The Sense of an Ending*. Three additional novels were shortlisted for the Man Booker Prize (*Flaubert's Parrot* (1984), *England, England* 1998, and *Arthur & George* 2005).

In 1983 (one year before the publication of *Flaubert's Parrot*), Barnes had already been selected by the Book Marketing Council as one of the twenty ‘Best of Young British

Novelists' in a list that included Martin Amis, Pat Barker (born 1943), William Boyd (born 1952), Kazuo Ishiguro (born 1954), Ian McEwan (born 1948), Salman Rushdie (born 1947) and Graham Swift (born 1949). Barnes also published essays and four detective novels under the pseudonym called Dan Kavanagh. He was named Chevalier of the Order of Arts and Letters in France in 1988, promoted to Officer in 1995, and finally to Commander in 2004.

The Man Booker Prize-winning author of *The Sense of an Ending* published more than a dozen novels, three collections, and non-fiction writings in which he presents his wit, sense of irony, satire, and experiments with narration. Cornelia Stott describes that Barnes: "begins to cultivate the cool laconic irony which will become one of his trademarks in later books" (Stott, 2011: 106). As understood, irony may be one of the most noticeable characteristics of Barnes's writings, and he views it as a device to cope with existence. For instance, in an article published in the *London Review of Books*, titled "Candles for the Living", Barnes states that: "Much of this would be intolerable without a sense of irony" (Barnes, 1990).

There are recurrent themes in Barnes's writings, such as "obsession, love, the relationship between fact and fiction, or the irretrievability of the past" (Guignery, 2006: 1). History and memory may be at the forefront of Barnes's writing. The problem of truth, the constructed nature of history, and the unreliability of memory, including different past versions, are prominent in his writings. Peter Childs in his collection *Julian Barnes: Contemporary British Novelists* (2011) describes Barnes's writing and the influence of English poets on him such as Thomas Hardy and Philip Larkin as:

Elegising as much as eulogising over existence's inability to deliver wish-willed expectations, with life marked by a sense of loss and disappointment but also of continued hope underlined by stoicism and pragmatism. (Childs, 2011: 5)

In Barnes's writings, consciousness plays a role in the disillusionment of acknowledging the fact that memory is indeed a relative and personal construct so that it can be distorted and twisted in an attempt to maintain life. An awareness of fictionality or fabrication may cause distaste and discomfort leading to dissociation, but at the same time, this awareness signals an awakening that discredits the narrator, changing them into unreliable narrators. Therefore, false memory emerges as a mediator to problematize the

nature of truth and knowledge, especially about past and history. Barnes deals with personal history and undermines the integrity and accuracy of which is broader.

If the past is alive for us in the present because we remember it, Barnes's fiction would suggest that it is not necessarily the past that we remember. The versions and details that inhabit memories are mutable and changeable. Recollections fashion a current sense of identity and arguably vice versa, but for Barnes, the most important aspect to memory is that it is imaginative. (Childs, 2011: 6)

There are many references in Barnes's writings to the processes of forgetting and remembering in which he intentionally toys with the reader. The memory problem in remembering, mostly uneasy experiences, delivers decline or loss of identity. The distinction between fact and fiction is blurred, and the imaginative aspect of personally constructed identity and memoirs are highlighted in many of Barnes's works. Thus, whether individual or collective, the processes of construction and reconstruction of the past are significant issues for Barnes's writings. For that reason, scepticism towards truth, reality, and history stands out in his fiction.

To exemplify, Barnes demonstrates the constructed and imaginative aspect of memory by interpreting the question of history in *The Sense of an Ending* as "lies of the victors, the self-delusions of the defeated, or memories of survivors" (Barnes, 2012). His approach to history signals a postmodern perspective in which the rejection of metanarratives is apparent. The literary turn of history and the historical turn of literature as Hayden White suggests underpins Barnes's sense of history. Historiographic metafiction, which can be recognized in Barnes's pluralist and postmodern sense of history, sticks out in *Flaubert's Parrot* as a subversion of biography. The epistemological problems of history and the choice of historian or his construct constitute history, and this issue is apparent in Barnes's fiction. In *Flaubert's Parrot*, Barnes notes:

Books say: She did this because. Life says: She did this. Books are where things are explained to you; life is where things aren't. I'm not surprised some people prefer books. Books make sense of life. (Barnes, 2012: 168)

The distinction between reality and fantasy and scepticism towards truth indicates a self-reflexive aspect in Barnes's writings. Free will, the pursuit of truth, and love are all ironically and sceptically examined by Barnes. Cornelia Stott discusses Barnes's approach to history as an underlying postmodern perspective in *The Sound of Truth: Constructed and Reconstructed Lives in English Novels since Julian Barnes's Flaubert's*

Parrot (2011) as: “Barnes’s oeuvre exemplifies postmodern scepticism towards a concept of historical truth in combination with a typical contemporary playfulness” (Stott, 2011:12). Barnes presents many postmodernist literary characteristics in his fiction, including historical characters, intertextual references, and his experimentation with genres as if he is inventing the novel anew: “concerning memory, finding ways of making the past accessible, and dealing with the tendency of wanting to change the view of the past to fit the present” (Stott, 2011: 12).

In conclusion, Julian Barnes is a *sui generis* writer with various fields of interest and experimental in narrative forms. His fiction is mainly considered postmodern primarily because of his sceptical approach towards history and memory. *Flaubert’s Parrot* can be regarded as a key text in postmodern writing along with *The French Lieutenant’s Woman* (1969) by John Fowles (Stott, 2011). As Peter Childs sums up Barnes’s recurrent thematic concerns “including memory, history, representation, belief, truth, art, identity, and death” (Childs, 2011:15). Julian Barnes masterly combines these themes with postmodern features such as fragmentation, temporal disorder, intertextuality, historiographic metafiction, irony, and playfulness.

2.2. Postmodernism and *The Sense of an Ending*

The Sense of an Ending (2011), a Man Booker Prize-Winning novel by Julian Barnes, tells the personal history of a retired man named Tony Webster, a retired historian and narrated by himself. The novel revolves around in-depth themes such as time, memory, and history. Tony thinks he was “average at life; average at truth; morally average” (Barnes, 2012: 100). Yet his self-perception is disturbed when he receives a bequest from his age-old girlfriend Veronica’s mother, Mrs. Sarah Ford. Tony is bequeathed with 500 pounds and two enclosed documents. The first document is a letter from Sarah, explaining the money and telling about Adrian Finn, an old friend of Tony and Veronica’s boyfriend who committed suicide. Mrs. Sarah Ford bequeaths the diary of Adrian to Tony as well, and these events remind him of his school days “where it all began” (Barnes, 2012: 2). Tony does not feel nostalgia for his past. Still, he is forced to remember his friendship with fellows, especially Adrian, his relationship with Veronica, and he is forced to come to terms with his memories.

Tony's personal history goes between the definitions such as "the lies of the victors", "the self-delusions of the defeated", and "the memories of the survivors, most of whom are neither victorious nor defeated." (Barnes, 2012: 17-55) Tony was the only survivor in his version until Mrs. Ford's bequest forces him to remember and scrutinize his version. Beginning as a survivor, Tony turns into a defeated man who is also self-delusional because of the imperfections of his memory, and the reader notices his version is not to be trusted. Barnes uses the unreliable narrator narrative strategy to distinguish facts and fiction in Tony's narration and make the reader reinterpret Tony's personal history. In more ways than one, Barnes problematizes the reliability of memory and presents its flaws, such as when Tony is shocked when he rereads the letter he wrote years ago as if he was not the author or when Tony consciously talks about the problems of remembering the past as it was. Tony is also aware of the deficiency of his memory, saying: "what you end up remembering isn't always the same as what you have witnessed" (Barnes, 2012: 3). The concept of, "how time holds and moulds us" (Barnes, 2012:3) and, correspondingly, the relationship between memory and history underlies the sense of an ending and unrest in the novel.

2.2.1. Fragmentation

The novel begins with Tony remembering specific images "in no particular order" (Barnes, 2012:4), and this disorder indicates the fragmentation that Barnes uses in the novel on several occasions. Firstly, the novel begins with Tony's rememberings from the past, each meaningful in his life later on, and as well as the non-linear narration, the narrator and the plot are also subverted in the novel in terms of fragmentation. As Stuart Sim explains, fragmentation is against "wholeness and completion associated with traditional stories" (Sim, 2001: 126). Barnes disintegrates the narration through Tony's recollections, eventually disrupts the integrity of Tony's past and his self-perception. There are numerous instances of fragmentation in the novel, from Tony's memory and identity to his narration.

For instance, Adrian defines history differently from the rest of the class when the history teacher Old Joe Hunt asks what it is: "that certainty produced when the imperfections of memory meet the inadequacies of documentation" (Barnes, 2012:17). Similarly, Tony fails to integrate his recollections because they are imperfect and lack

documentation as well. When Mrs. Ford bequeaths him the documents, Tony is prompted to consider his memories “a few incidents that have grown into anecdotes, to some approximate memories which time has deformed into certainty” (Barnes, 2012: 4), and this deformity scatters and subverts his understanding as well as his integrity. Therefore, Tony becomes a fragmented character and turns into an unreliable narrator by fragmenting his personally constructed past.

2.2.2. Temporal Disorder

In the first chapter, Tony revisits his schooldays, the place “where it all began” (Barnes, 2012:4) and reminisces the same events in the second chapter, with a different standpoint. He is no longer stand-alone in his narration. Therefore, the temporal disorder is also a sign for Tony’s memory in which he disarranges his experiences temporarily.

The novel begins when Tony remembers six different imageries or scenes, which he throws doubt on the accuracy. “I remember, in no particular order” (Barnes, 2012: 3) is a statement that foreshadows temporal disorder in the novel because Tony begins with the present but goes back to his past, and this shift between past and time is repeated throughout the novel. Furthermore, his following contemplations about time also signifies the disorder: “Some emotions speed it up, others slow it down; occasionally, it seems to go missing” (Barnes, 2012: 3).

Tony allocates a remarkable amount of time to narrate his school days, but he sums up his marriage and becomes a father in one or two pages and goes back to his school days yet again. Thus, the importance Tony attaches to specific periods of his life is reflected through temporal disorder in the novel.

2.2.3. Intertextuality

Intertextuality is another postmodern feature employed by Barnes in *The Sense of an Ending*. Barnes refers to the specific writers and thinkers to portray the characters who read them. “If Alex had read Russell and Wittgenstein, Adrian had read Camus and Nietzsche. I had read George Orwell and Aldous Huxley; Colin had read Baudelaire and Dostoyevsky” (Barnes, 2012: 9-10). Tony’s crew also uses terms such as ‘Weltanschauung’ and ‘Sturm und Drang’, philosophically self-evident expressions.

Moreover, Tony introduces Veronica to readers by comparing their bookshelves to portray Veronica and himself intellectually, and there are intertextual elements in this section. They talk about Ted Hughes, an English poet, and make reference to his works: “Of course, everyone’s wondering what Ted Hughes will do when he runs out of animals” (Barnes, 2012: 24).

Additionally, there are several references to the music. When Tony sings a song from The Rolling Stones, “Time is on My Side” as “ti-yi-yi-yime is on my side, yes it is...” (Barnes, 2012: 89) contains a reference to other genres as intertextuality. The Stones song is referred to twice in the novel, first in Tony’s youth and then towards the end of the novel, so it is significant. Frank Sinatra’s “I’ve Got You Under My Skin” is also referenced by Tony. He also tells about his pop section by the time Veronica explores them: “Elvis, the Beatles, the Stones (not that anyone could object to them, surely), but also the Hollies, the Animals, the Moody” (Barnes, 2012: 21). These instances can be seen as intertextual references as well.

2.2.4. Metafiction

It is a technique about writing that makes the reader aware of the fictionality of the literary work, is subtly employed by Barnes in the novel. Confronting with his past and the deficiencies of his memory, Tony realizes that his version becomes questionable. In this way, throwing Tony’s version of truth into question, Barnes creates a critical distance between the reader and the novel that causes the questioning of reality:

It strikes me that this may be one of the differences between youth and age: when we are young, we invent different futures for ourselves; when we are old, we invent different pasts for others. (Barnes, 2012:80)

Tony here tries to justify his fallacious memory and deficiencies in his past, but the reader is distanced through his awareness because he becomes an unreliable narrator, so the reader assumes that Tony’s version of events is not to be trusted. The fragmented structure of memory and bringing them back presents how Tony moulds his memories to advocate for his benefit: “it was easy to give this version of my history because that “s what I” d been telling myself anyway” (Barnes, 2012: 69).

Tony’s earlier narrations become questionable and unreliable as the novel progresses. Thus, to make sense of Tony’s experiences and narration, the reader needs to

read the book from the beginning, bearing Tony's unreliability in mind and distancing because Tony's previous versions were fictitious. In addition, Adrian's diary is another example of metafiction in which he contemplates the relationships between Tony, Veronica, Mrs. Sarah Ford and himself. Barnes includes the diary in the novel against Tony's control over the narrative because Adrian thinks about the question of accumulation in life. Adrian's mathematical or logical formula to express the relationship between the four continues with the concept of responsibility that echoes his existentialist perspective, and he cannot solve the equation consisting "b, a1, a2, s, v" (Barnes 2011), and Tony obsesses with the equation, accumulation and responsibility mentioned in the diary.

2.2.5. Irony

It is one of the main features of Barnes's writings with his sense of humour and playfulness. In postmodern literature, dealing with serious subjects playfully and humorously such as war and death as in Kurt Vonnegut or Thomas Pynchon's works are prevalent. Suicide, for instance, confronts the reader in *The Sense of an Ending* twice.

In the first instance, Robson of the Science Sixth passes away in Tony's schooldays and this incident attracts the boys' attention. They speculate that Robson was, indeed, in a relationship with a girl and impregnated her, so facing the consequence he couldn't handle, Robson hung himself. Adrian refers to Eros and Thanatos and says that "Thanatos wins again" (Barnes, 2012: 13). The boys discuss Robson's suicide in terms of existentialist philosophy but eventually Tony concludes that the cause of Robson's was enviable "Fucking bastard! Why him and not us? Why had none of us even had the experience of failing to get a girlfriend?" (Barnes, 2012:14).

When Tony finds out that Adrian killed himself, he feels the same jealousy but this time Tony philosophically approves the act. Adrian cuts his wrists in the bath and unlike Robson, an object of ridicule, Tony concludes Adrian's suicide was "first-class degree, first-class suicide" (Barnes, 2012: 49). Tony's mother also says that "He was too clever. If you're that clever you can argue yourself into anything" (Barnes, 2012: 52), and this makes Tony jealous of Adrian and his suicide. First, Robson makes Tony jealous because he achieved to get a girl pregnant, and then Adrian, with the way he killed himself and

the precision of his act, makes Tony feel jealous because he was unsuccessful in the schooldays to get to Robson's level, and he was not that clever to argue himself into death.

“Highmindedness, melancholy, the illusion of free will and the pursuit of truth, love and art are all displayed barely and ironically” (Childs, 2011:11) in Barnes's writings, and this definition fits the handling of suicide in *The Sense of an Ending*. Ironically, associating Adrian with the likes of Camus and Nietzsche, since he read and was influenced by them, in an existentialist worldview is justified as philosophically self-evident by Tony.

Julian Barnes presents postmodernist incredulity towards history and reveals the flaws of memory and the construction of personal identity through the agency of significant features of postmodern fiction. The fragmented structure of the narrative following Tony's identity and self-perception ironically and playfully portrays Tony's story in *The Sense of an Ending* with intertextual references and metafictional distancing that cause the reader to redefine the novel.

2.3. History in *The Sense of an Ending*

The Sense of an Ending is narrated by Tony Webster, in the first-person point of view and his narration is pretty partial. However, Barnes problematizes the narration by exploring the deficiencies in Tony's memories and portraying opposite versions of the narrator's constructed truth, precisely like historiography that the author seems sceptic throughout his writings. Like history, a medium of resurrecting the past, a fictional narrative is not free from the writer's perception and perspective. The standpoint of the historian dictates the history as Tony's version is told by his point of view. The primary source of history is the past, and as Keith Jenkins points out:

The past has occurred. It has gone and can only be brought back again by historians in very different media, for example in books, articles, documentaries, etc., not as actual events. The past has gone and history is what historians make of it when they go to work. History is the labour of historians. (Jenkins, 2004: 19)

The Sense of an Ending is also what Tony Webster makes of his personal history, arising from his rememberings. Tony reads history at Bristol, so he is aware of the problematic mould of history. At the beginning of the book, he problematizes the time,

the temporariness of it, saying: “And yet it takes only the smallest pleasure or pain to teach us time’s malleability” (Barnes, 2012: 4). Primarily a concept that frames the past, if time is irregular and elusive, it is inevitable for Tony to fall short in remembering the past as it was. Therefore, Tony's history based on the past is subjected to the malleability of time.

Barnes intentionally uses time as a volatile concept from the very beginning and foreshadows Tony’s confusion with history and memory. Time is malleable to Tony because he knows that “Some emotions speed it up, others slow it down; occasionally, it seems to go missing – until the eventual point when it really does go missing, never to return.” (Barnes 2012:3) The reader notices the missing parts in Tony’s memories when they come back or when Tony recalls, but until he faces with another version, backed by documentation, Tony is in control of his narration; he constructs himself a personal life history in which he considers himself “average at life; average at truth; morally average” (Barnes, 2012:100). However, he is also aware of the fact that memories may be deformed in time. Before Tony turns into an unreliable narrator, he warns the reader in a way: “If I can’t be sure of the actual events any more, I can at least be true to the impressions those facts left. That’s best I can manage” (Barnes, 2012:4).

Tony tells the story of his schooldays with the impressions of the facts left, but as he emphasizes “some approximate memories which time has deformed into certainty”, it causes suspicion for the reader and distances the reader from Tony as an unreliable narrator. Linda Hutcheon points to the same problem: “representations of the past are selected to signify whatever the historian intends” (Hutcheon, 2004: 122). So, the problem of history to represent past events is depicted by Barnes in the novel to question the intentions or motives of Tony Webster’s purpose. Tony keeps telling himself, and to the reader, that he lived a life without complexity, but he loses his reliability as his memory lets him down. Therefore, Barnes skilfully questions the reliability and accuracy of history through the agency of Tony Webster, a retired historian. Moreover, Barnes throws doubt and scepticism to the representation of both history and fiction.

The problem with history and the definition of the term is expressed several times in the novel. When Tony remembers his days at school and the thought-provoking question that Old Joe Hunt asks in the final history lesson of the year, everyone answers

from a different viewpoint of what history means for them. Paul Cartledge asserts in *Companion to Historiography* that:

But only in our 'natural history' is that etymological connection at all closely maintained, and 'history' itself—whether the past, or the study of it, or of some of it—is and must remain a radically ambiguous term. (Cartledge quoted in Bentley, 2006: 2)

Like Cartledge's depiction, the answers vary because Barnes highlights the subjectivity of history and historiography by exposing different points of view. When asked, Tony quickly defines history as "the lies of the victors" but Old Joe Hunt reminds Tony that history is "also the self-delusions of the defeated." (Barnes, 2012: 16)

Both the victor and the defeated interpret the events based on their experience and perception so, history is a construct rather than a truth for Barnes as discussed in the novel. Tony feels inferior to Adrian and lame against Veronica; hence, he changes his narration according to his personal experience: "I successfully put Veronica out of my mind, out of my history" (Barnes, 2012: 64). Therefore it can be said that history is a personal memory or a personal experience for Barnes. After reminding Tony the far side, Old Joe Hunt continues with Colin which replies as "History is a raw onion sandwich, sir", and he goes on to explain:

It just repeats, sir. It burps. We've seen it again and again this year. Same old story, same old oscillation between tyranny and rebellion, war and peace, prosperity and impoverishment. (Barnes, 2012: 17)

In parallel with Tony's cliché, Colin's reply signifies the repetitive and subjective aspect of history, which poses methodological and epistemological problems. Colin highlights the repetitive nature of history in which the methodology of historiography goes through with Tony's cliché as Keith Jenkins discusses:

[...]the choice of subject matter and the methodological approach was made from a black, Marxist, feminist perspective. Yet I doubt if any such course could be found. Why not? Not because it would not be history, for it would, but because black Marxist-feminists don't really have the power to put such a course into this sort of public circulation. (Jenkins, 2004: 25)

The lies of victors and the repetition signify the elective problems and the constructed nature of history. Therefore, Old Joe Hunt's question may be changed as 'who is history for?' because the same incidents or evidence from the past can be interpreted differently using various methodologies.

Barnes puts the contentious aspects of history forward by way of Tony and Colin's answers to pave the way for Finn's answer. Adrian Finn, the sharp-witted of the group, explains his understanding of history by quoting a fictional French historian, Patrick Langrage: "History is that certainty produced at the point where the imperfections of memory meet the inadequacies of documentation" (Barnes, 2012: 17). This definition reminds us of Linda Hutcheon's remark, "We cannot know the past except through its texts: its documents, its evidence, even its eye-witness accounts are texts" (Hutcheon, 2004: 16). Adrian Finn emphasizes the importance of documentation, but he is also aware of the relationship between memory and history. To Finn's way of thinking, since the memory is imperfect, history becomes a certainty when the imperfections meet with inadequate documentation. Like Langrage and Hutcheon, Adrian also emphasizes the importance of documentation and direct evidence rather than third-party remarks because the past is influenced by various factors such as time, memory, and the human factor.

Epistemological issue of history surfaces with Adrian's definition because historians are the ones who produce the certainty of history in defiance of adequate documentation. Therefore, the problem of accuracy emerges. Jenkins identifies this problem as "[...]the historian's viewpoint and predilections still shape the choice of historical materials, and our personal constructs determine what we make of them" (Jenkins, 2004: 22). Adrian also uses Robson's suicide as an example to elaborate his thoughts on the question:

It's a historical event, sir, a minor one. But recent. So it ought to be easily understood as history. We know that he's dead, we know that he had a girlfriend, we know that she's pregnant – or was. What else do we have? A single piece of documentation, a suicide note reading "Sorry, Mum" – at least, according to Brown. Does that note still exist? Was it destroyed? Did Robson have any other motives or reasons beyond the obvious ones? What was his state of mind? Can we be sure the child was his? We can't know, sir, not even this soon afterwards. So how might anyone write Robson's story in fifty years' time, when his parents are dead and his girlfriend has disappeared and doesn't want to remember him anyway? You see the problem, sir? (Barnes, 2012: 17-18)

Adrian underlines the importance of direct evidence and the primary source in constructing the past to form a history. Adrian's remarks above appear to correspond with Tony's contemplations about time, especially with time's malleability. In reply to Adrian's example, Old Joe Hunt starts a conversation, telling him that:

‘I see the problem, Finn. But I think you underestimate history. And for that matter historians. Let us assume for the sake of argument that poor Robson were to prove of historical interest.

Historians have always been faced with the lack of direct evidence for things. That’s what they’re used to. And don’t forget that in the present case there would have been an inquest, and therefore a coroner’s report. Robson may well have kept a diary, or written letters, made phone calls whose contents are remembered. His parents would have replied to the letters of condolence they received. And fifty years from now, given the current life expectancy, quite a few of his schoolfellows would still be available for interview. The problem might be less daunting than you imagine.’ ‘But nothing can make up for the absence of Robson’s testimony, sir.’ ‘In one way, no. But equally, historians need to treat a participant’s own explanation of events with a certain scepticism. It is often the statement made with an eye to the future that is the most suspect.’ ‘If you say so, sir.’ ‘And mental states may often be inferred from actions. The tyrant rarely sends a handwritten note requesting the elimination of an enemy.’ ‘If you say so, sir.’ ‘Well, I do.’ (Barnes, 2012: 18-19)

The dialogue between Adrian and Old Joe Hunt expands the issues about history and historiography, epistemologically indeed. Alan Robinson gives an example about the topic in *Narrating the Past: Historiography, Memory, and the Contemporary Novel* (2011), likening historians effort to illuminate a cave in the dark with a torch; one can highlight specific details but inevitably overlooks the vast majority of the details (Robinson, 2011: 5). The problem with the documentation, as Adrian suggests, meets with the imperfections of memory when the historian tries to highlight specific details and, for that matter, as Alan Robinson indicates, overlooking the vast majority of the details seems inevitable.

Following Adrian’s definition and remarks on the epistemological problems of history, Barnes problematizes the foundation of knowledge and truth. The primary source of knowledge or sphere of interest, for history, resides in the past. Historians have limited capabilities and resources to access the past as Finn enounces the memory and the documentation. Nevertheless, as presented in contemporary studies, memory may be deficient and tend to be fallacious or imperfect. In defiance of perfect memory, documentation lends a hand to the historian, but this time methodological issues deny the objectivity of truth or knowledge. There may be other versions or interpretations of the same historical document from various historians. Historians are not immune to the preoccupations or filters that cause them to be eliminative, no matter how they position themselves. Alan Robinson’s comments on the issue:

It is a commonplace that we view the past through the filtering lens of our present interests; the range of what we see is accordingly restricted by this viewfinder, which focuses selectively on only part of the much larger potential field of vision. (Robinson, 2011: 20)

Barnes intentionally uses these thought-provoking depictions and confuting history he highlights Peter Child's observations on his fiction "The versions and details that inhabit memories are mutable and changeable" (Childs, 2011: 6). Therefore, history and memory are at the core of the tumultuous issues portrayed by Barnes in *The Sense of an Ending*. Following the final history lesson of the year, Tony tells that their crew went their separate ways where Adrian wins a scholarship to Cambridge and Tony reads history at Bristol; as Colin goes to Sussex and Alex continues his father's business.

Adrian studies philosophy at Cambridge, but back in school, he was the one who shines out in the history classes, yet ironically, Tony is the one who studies history instead. Before his salient remarks on the question in the final history lesson, Old Joe Hunt and Adrian discuss the issues circle history in which Old Joe Hunt smilingly but earnestly tells Adrian, "Finn, I retire in five years. And I shall be happy to give you a reference if you care to take over" (Barnes, 2012: 12). In that instance, Tony knew Old Joe Hunt was not joking around because of the discussion about the cause of the First World War and the gunman killing Archduke Franz Ferdinand; for why Adrian demonstrates his salience once again. In this incident, Barnes creates an apparent distinction between Tony's crew and Adrian's approaches to history. Tony remembers that they were mostly absolutists:

We liked Yes v No, Praise V Blame, Guilt v Innocence – or, in Marshall's case, Unrest v Great Unrest. We liked a game that ended in a win and loss, not a draw. And for some, the Serbian gunman, whose name is long gone from my memory, had one hundred percent individual responsibility: take him out of the equation, and the war would never have happened. Others preferred the one hundred responsibility of historical forces, which had placed the antagonistic nations on an inevitable collision course: 'Europe was a powder keg waiting to blow', and so on. The more anarchic, like Colin, argued that everything was down to chance, that the world existed in a state of perpetual chaos, and only some primitive storytelling instinct, itself doubtless a hangover from religion, retrospectively imposed meaning on what might or might not have happened. (Barnes, 2012: 10-11)

Old Joe Hunt gives a brief nod to Colin, implying disbelief that Colin's approach was on the ground of his adolescence as Tony reminisces. Tony remembers this moment because Hunt's disbelief reminds him of the adults' irritating arrogance. This distaste

Tony remembers is associated with his frustration that ambitions or ambitious thoughts of the youth are overlooked, but it is celebrated when young men like Adrian think and act mature. Old Joe Hunt, seemingly unsatisfied with the avid responses to the question, directs his attention to Adrian referring to him as “our Serbian gunman” and starts off a new conversation with him:

‘Would you care to give us the benefit of your thoughts?’ ‘I don’t know, sir.’
 ‘What you don’t know?’ ‘Well, in one sense, I can’t know what it is that I don’t know. That’s philosophically self-evident.’ (Barnes, 2012: 11)

Tony is undecided about whether Adrian mocks or thoughtfully expresses his views on the subject since Adrian’s reference is peculiar to them. Firstly, Adrian refuses to join the group to wear his watch on the inside of his wrist and remains distant to them, but his reference to their parlance confuses Tony. After all, Adrian was Old Joe Hunt’s favourite student, distant from others, and stepped forth with his deep interest or ability in history. Yet, Adrian goes on to elucidate his opinion:

‘Indeed, isn’t the whole business of ascribing responsibility a kind of cop-out? We want to blame an individual so that everyone else is exculpated. Or we blame a historical process as a way of exonerating individuals. Or it’s all anarchic chaos, with the same consequence. It seems to me that there is – was – a chain of individual responsibilities, all of which were necessary, but not so long a chain that everybody can simply blame everyone else. But of course, my desire to ascribe responsibility might be more a reflection of my own cast of mind than a fair analysis of what happened. That’s one of the central problems of history, isn’t it, sir? The question of subjective versus objective interpretation, the fact that we need to know the history of the historian in order to understand the version that is being put in front of us.’ (Barnes, 2012: 12)

Adrian seems explanatory on the subject; he astonishes and tells of his seriousness to Tony and others along with Old Joe Hunt. After a moment of silence, Tony feels sure about Adrian was not mocking, or “wasn’t taking the piss, not in the slightest” (Barnes, 2012: 12). By considering Adrian’s interest in Camus and Nietzsche, his connotations about responsibility and interpretation make sense. Afterward, Barnes touches upon Adrian’s elucidations and details his thoughts about responsibility from existentialism. Adrian steps forth in almost every history lesson Tony remembers, discusses serious issues about history and the nature of truth and knowledge from a different and mature viewpoint. Regarding postmodernism, Adrian’s comment echoes Linda Hutcheon’s remarks upon historiography as well. Hutcheon, in a similar manner, suggests that:

Historiography too is no longer considered the objective and disinterested recording of the past; it is more an attempt to comprehend and master it by means of some working (narrative/explanatory) model that, in fact, is precisely what grants a particular meaning to the past. (Hutcheon, 1989: 64)

As Hutcheon states here, the postmodern reading and scepticism towards history and historiography lie behind the impossibility of an entirely objective and precise representation of the past. Barnes, at the same time, problematizes almost every leak in history and historiography and offers a different perspective in which Tony, the narrator, becomes a historian of his personal history, but he is also objected to the same limitations that Adrian propounds: “The question of subjective versus objective interpretation” and therefore we need to know the history of the historian “in order to understand the version that is being put in front of us” (Barnes, 2012: 12).

The imperfections of memory, the inadequacies of documentation, and the problem of history about objective representation are projected by Adrian in history lessons foreshadowing Tony’s condition in the novel as a historian and the novel’s narrator. Barnes’s specialty in throwing history into question through memory as a source of information and foundation is observed and asserted by Childs as:

The versions and details that inhabit memories are mutable and changeable. Recollections fashion a current sense of identity and arguably vice versa, but for Barnes, the most important aspect to memory is that it is imaginative. (Childs, 2011: 6)

Highlighting the imaginative nature of memory as a foundation and a source of knowledge to history in fiction, Barnes puts forward the problem of authenticity and epistemological issues surrounding history in *The Sense of an Ending*. Philosophically self-evident problems discussed by Adrian and Old Joe Hunt in the lessons get into Tony’s mind that even after a long time, he reminisces word by word and ponders his version; personal history. The importance of being conscious of the history of the historian as Adrian brings forward, seems to perplex Tony because he is aware of the distinction in constructing a personal history: “Whereas in the private life, I think the converse is true: that you can infer past actions from current mental states” (Barnes, 2012: 44). Tony uses the past to interpret his current state and to give meaning to the present, but he is also aware that his current mental states may shape his interpretations. When Tony also admits that “I must stress that this is my reading now of what happened then. Or rather, my memory now of my reading then of what was happening at the time”

(Barnes, 2012: 41). The imperfections of Tony's memory meet the inadequacy of documentation once more and he repeats "Again, I cannot know. I have no evidence, anecdotal or documentary" (Barnes, 2012:44).

The fluctuation of Tony's definition of history is also remarkable because, after Adrian's suicide, Tony feels incompetent to grasp the meaning of life. Adrian, on the other hand, sees life as "a gift bestowed without anyone asking for it" (Barnes, 2012: 48) and renounces the gift by committing suicide. Tony seemingly eschews deeply thinking about anything, especially about life, and as a gift of standing clear, he survives. Tony's survival, in a sense, alters his history definition. At the end of the first part, Tony closes his days in school by commenting on how he feels about them now:

I survived. 'He survived to tell the tale' – that's what people say, don't they? History isn't the lies of the victors, as I once glibly assured Old Joe Hunt; I know that now. It's more the memories of the survivors, most of whom are neither victorious nor defeated. (Barnes, 2012: 56)

Tony wants to isolate himself from any victory or defeat in his personal history, and he tells himself and the reader that he stays on the sidelines and is content with his trouble-proof and average life. However, continuing to learn about the history of historians, Tony's reliability dies out when his imperfect memories meet adequate and exceptive documentation. Tony is a survivor, he survives to narrate his life and experiences as the narrator of his own story, but his version should not be trusted as any historical text written or constructed by a historian. Barnes reminds the reader that "representations of the past are selected to signify whatever the historian intends" (Hutcheon, 2004: 122). So, Tony's intentions come into collision with other versions, and he becomes an unreliable narrator. Fragmentation in his narration and self-perception parallel postmodern scepticism towards history.

When Mrs. Ford's bequest reminds him of Tony's memories in his history, he begins to feel uncomfortable coming up against them: "I successfully put Veronica out of my mind, out of my history" (Barnes, 2012: 64). Tony determines the construction of his history by excluding Veronica until he is caught unprepared. Alan Robinson similarly comments on the constructed nature of history at the mercy of historians as "our own personal constructs determine what we make of them" (Jenkins, 2004: 22). In the light of these, Tony's self-preservation results in his personal construct in the novel. Like other

histories, Tony's is subject to the same epistemological, methodological, and ideological concerns. Julian Barnes discusses the nature of history and its relation with memory in *The Sense of an Ending* by suggesting various definitions and variations. The transformation of Tony as a narrator emphasizes the subjectivity of his narration. Even Tony himself admits several times that his history is personally constructed with statements like "The odder part was that it was easy to give this version of my history because that's what I'd been telling myself anyway" (Barnes, 2012: 69).

As Adrian's description addresses, the connection between history and memory is not precise and complicated. The certainty is a conclusion, a consequence of what we make of them and that certainty is only one version among many possible others. The problem of representation and the issues mentioned above about history signal an uncertainty of truth in history which Barnes typically works through.

The Sense of an Ending addedly includes the problem of time as a variable to the equation of historicity. Tony refers to the "time's malleability" (Barnes, 2012: 3) and throughout the novel, his personally constructed history displays the subjective, imaginative, and fictive characteristics of postmodern history. At the end of the novel, the cumulative aspect of history and memory is highlighted by Tony as he refers to Marshall, who identifies the reign of Henry VIII with unrest, may be the most prosaic answer in the history lessons of Old Joe Hunt, combining with Adrian's emphasis on the responsibility that Tony avoids at all cost: "There is accumulation. There is responsibility. And beyond these, there is unrest. There is great unrest" (Barnes, 2012: 150). Adrian's equation in his diary influences Tony to think about the accumulation and responsibility questions, but like Adrian, Tony fails to solve it at the end of the novel.

2.3.1. Historiography in *The Sense of An Ending*

Historiography combines the theory of history and historical writing, and from ancient Greece on, it has been a polemical discipline. Beginning with Herodotus and Thucydides, different approaches have emerged concerning historiography. Unlike Herodotus, Thucydides highlights an evident-based approach, reflected in Adrian's thoughts and he problematizes Tony's version in the novel. The evolution and differentiation in historiography, as well as the theory of history, constitute Barnes's presentations through Tony's changing remarks on the subject of historiography.

As a historian of his personal history, Tony is aware of his power and limitations. He self-reflexively casts doubt on his narration with statements such as: "I must stress that this is my reading now of what happened then. Or rather, my memory now of my reading then of what was happening at the time" (Barnes, 2012: 41) The gap between the past and Tony's recollections exurgent in his narration problematizes the authenticity of his version. He is aware of the problem and warns the reader in a way, whereas Adrian stresses the importance of documentation and notices the subjectivity problem of historiography, unlike Tony. Adrian and Tony resemble the difference between Herodotus and Thucydides as Michael Bentley describes:

Whereas Herodotus was prepared to give credence to stories concerning events as much as two generations before his birth, Thucydides was from choice the contemporary historian par excellence. (Bentley, 2006: 40)

Adrian uses Robson's suicide as an example when Old Joe Hunt asks the definition of history, similar to Thucydides, who writes contemporary history rather than older subjects like Herodotus does. The evident-based approach shared by Adrian and Thucydides also highlights the role of inescapable subjectivity in historiography. Barnes depicts different methods of historiography and crystallizes the problem of authenticity through the agency of Tony as an unreliable narrator. Tony's unreliability and self-reflexive awareness about partiality in constructing his personal history make the reader suspicious about the factuality of his version.

Factuality versus fictionality is also at the centre of historiography, and the past interpretations may vary according to who commentates. C. Behan McCullagh discusses the problem of authenticity as "Every culture views the world differently, through the

lenses of its cots and interests, so how can any account of the world be thought true?” (McCullagh, 1997:1). From a broader perspective, the authenticity of historiography is called into question by McCullagh and represented through different approaches and views by Barnes in the novel. Various descriptions made by the characters in the novel and different approaches are reflected from Tony’s cliché to Adrian’s extensive views.

The influence of French culture and orthography is evident in Barnes’s writings and François Guizot, for instance, who implemented a new surgical approach similar to the *autopsy* towards historical understanding can echo Adrian’s scepticism towards historiography. Michael Bentley exemplifies Guizot’s approach as:

He taught that historical science ought to assume the categories of autopsy. One must study anatomy (the collecting of the facts) and physiognomy (the individual features of events) with a view to constructing a physiology (the laws that govern historical events.) (Bentley, 2006: 44)

The similarity between Adrian’s exemplification of Robson’s suicide and Guizot’s scientific approach is striking. Adrian collects the facts: “We know that he’s dead, we know that he had a girlfriend, we know that she’s pregnant – or was. What else do we have? A single piece of documentation, a suicide note”, and the individual features of events: “What was his state of mind? Can we be sure the child was his?”, and the laws that govern historical events “So how might anyone write Robson’s story in fifty years’ time, when his parents are dead and his girlfriend has disappeared and doesn’t want to remember him anyway?” (Barnes 2012: 17-18). To understand why Adrian stands out in history classes, his distinctive approach towards history and his readings of French thinkers, mainly existentialists, come forward. He problematizes genuine historical knowledge, and as he mentions the lack of documentation and the fallacies of memory, he points out the constructed nature of history by thoroughly examining the past.

Barnes uses the problems surrounding history and historiography in his writings and presents them with fabulation “underlining the processes of construction and reconstruction in shaping the past, whether individual or collective” (Childs, 2011: 6) The fictionality of historiography that Linda Hutcheon defines as historiographic metafiction, is one of the key features of Barnes’s fiction. The problem of factuality versus fictionality in historiography is examined by Hutcheon and through a postmodern point of view she asserts:

[...]it is more an attempt to comprehend and master it by means of some working (narrative/explanatory) model that, in fact, is precisely what grants a particular meaning to the past. (Hutcheon 1989: 64)

Tony's historiography in the novel generates scepticism towards his objectivity. Tony is a retired historian whose self-preservation and avoidance keep him out of any equation from his past but make him feel alone and uneasy in his personal history in the novel. Tony needs relief and releasement from every trouble to come from his past and his efforts echo Barnes's remarks on history in *A History of the World in 10½ Chapters* (1989):

We make up a story to cover the facts we don't know or can't accept; we keep a few true facts and spin a new story round them. Our panic and our pain are only eased by soothing fabulation; we call it history. (Barnes, 2009: 242)

The postmodern approach to historiography emphasizes the presentism and textual importance as Keith Jenkins asserts in *On What is History* (2005) that history is "only accessible to us through texts and thus as a 'reading'" (Jenkins, 2004: 29). Therefore, Adrian gives importance to the documentation and problematizes presentism, whereas Tony consciously prefers to construct a history for himself to protect his version.

Official history, for instance, is shaped and designated by the prevalent ideologies of beneficiaries, like governments, and they decide what to include or exclude on behalf of their interests. Tony resembles an official history maker by using historiography in the novel with specific adding and extracting. However, as Adrian asserts, the imperfection of memory denies Tony's control over the novel, even though he has control over the historiography. Tony notices the differentiation between adding up and adding on to life when he compares his life against Adrian's.

We muddle along, we let life happen to us, we gradually build up a store of memories. There is the question of accumulation, but not in the sense that Adrian meant, just the simple adding up and adding on of life. And as the poet pointed out, there is a difference between addition and increase.

Had my life increased, or merely added to itself? This was the question Adrian's fragment set off in me. There had been addition – and subtraction – in my life, but how much multiplication? And this gave me a sense of unease, of unrest. (Barnes, 2012: 88)

It is self-evident that Tony both admires and envies Adrian in more ways than one. Adrian's salient finesse, mostly his courage and intelligence, apparently make Tony feel inferior even after Adrian's death because he is "now dead but still more intelligent, for

all my extra decades of life” (Barnes, 2012: 87). This inferiority Tony feels against Adrian keeps some of his undesired memories in his mind and changes Tony’s narration. Tony’s historiography goes through the changes when Mrs. Ford reminds Adrian and sparks the “memento of long ago” (Barnes, 2012: 65) that Tony tries to avoid for such a long time.

Linda Hutcheon identifies postmodern historiography as something that “does not deny the existence of the past; it does question whether we can ever know that past other than through its textualized remains” (Hutcheon 2004: 20). Barnes does the same in *The Sense of an Ending* through textual remains such as Mrs. Ford’s bequest, or Tony’s actual letter to Adrian. Tony gets along with the exclusions of such textual remnants but he inevitably comes to terms with them and acknowledges his responsibility. For this reason, Tony feels unease and unrest throughout the novel because he ignores and avoids much. The sense of an ending that Tony feels echoes the famous namesake book of Frank Kermode, *The Sense of an Ending* (2000). In the book, Kermode talks about an apocalypse that “depends on a concord of imaginatively recorded past and imaginatively predicted future, achieved on behalf of us, who remain ‘in the midst.’” (Kermode 2000: 8), and Tony is seemingly dependant on the imaginatively textual remnants of his past as well.

2.4. Memory in *The Sense of an Ending*

Memory is one of the primary sources of Barnes’s fiction that he typically problematizes the accessibility of the past and the validity of the achieved cognizance from the past. He uses memory as a mediator to make sense of the present from a broader scope to the personal past. He also ponders various possible conclusions and versions of the same facts arising from the different interpretations not only from a different individual but also from a different standpoint or time frame. In *The Sense of an Ending*, Barnes’s field of play is composed of time and memory, especially the relationship between the two. For the relationship that constitutes and gives shape to Tony’s identity and his self-perception, he points out at the beginning of the novel as: “time holds and moulds us” (Barnes, 2012: 3). Barnes broadly deals with the themes such as history, memory, and the relationship between the two in his writings. By contemplating history and memory, Barnes often presents the challenges of the accessibility of the past and its

unavoidable influence on his characters. Cornelia Stott also remarks on Barnes's interest in memory as:

He is also very interested in answering questions concerning memory, finding ways of making the past accessible, and dealing with the tendency of wanting to change the view of the past to fit the present. (Stott 2011: 12)

Tony's attempts to make sense of his life through his memories and the actual or other versions of his past mirrors Stott's remarks. Tony deceives himself and the reader to shape his past because his version is the only one that fits in the late years of life. Siobhan Kattago, cites Angelica Nuzzo in *The Ashgate Research Companion to Memory Studies* on memory as: "...it constitutes one's identity as much as it changes and distorts such identity" (Kattago, 2015: 49) Thus, Tony's struggle with his memory underpins his intentions of moulding his narrative, but eventually, he ends up being estranged and distorted; he turns into an unreliable narrator due to the unreliability of his memory. As a primary source in an attempt to conceive the present, memory can be deceptive, and "the imperfections of memory" (Barnes, 2012: 17) may misguide its followers. The strength and dominance of memory locate it as a sole abuttal in access channel of the past, and therefore the mechanisms behind the processes of forgetting and remembering are of importance making sense of Tony's narrative.

The definition of memory may be helpful to see into its practices and deficiencies since more than one field deal with the concept, from philosophy to neurology. The relationship between memory and the past or memory's function in excavating and deciphering the past gives memory multiple meanings. Fundamentally, memory is where information or knowledge is stored and restored through the process of remembering, and the primary function of memory is to retain and recollect the information stored in our brain. So, memory is the facility that enables individuals to reach the past, but this access happens in the present, and therefore it is retrospective. Barnes examines this retrospective effort and plays through the malleability of time following the retroactive alterations. Remembering is up-front, but the process of forgetting is also influential and inseparable because as a result of these two processes, individual identity is forged by memory.

Throughout the novel, Tony thinks about the nature of memory and time and how these impact human consciousness and understanding. Tony seems aware of the tangled

connection between memory and the self, and his efforts and avoidance in organizing or reorganizing his personal past shape the novel. In Peter Child's words:

If the past is alive for us in the present because we remember it, Barnes's fiction would suggest that it is not necessarily the past that we remember. The versions and details that inhabit memories are mutable and changeable. Recollections fashion a current sense of identity and arguably vice versa, but for Barnes, the most important aspect to memory is that it is imaginative. (Childs, 2011: 6)

Tony's awareness and the imaginative aspect of memory disturb and distort his perception and reliability. The novel begins with particular imageries from his past and right after these reminiscences, Tony tells us that "what you end up remembering isn't always the same as what you have witnessed" (Barnes 2012: 3). This kind of a beginning, foreshadowing the influential images from Tony's past and his remark, signifies the problematic interference of his memory, and Tony as a narrator, becomes suspicious about the reliability of his memory. Over and over again, Tony is misled by his memory and the remnants of his past. For this reason, Tony tries to understand the imperfections of his memory and works through the mechanisms of remembering and forgetting. Commenting on memory, Robin L. Kaplan argues: "Memories may include errors concerning what happened, when an event happened, where it happened, and who was involved, or memories may be entirely fabricated" (Kaplan, 2015: 2). Barnes is also aware of the fabrication as he terms generic fabulation when he writes about the past, visible in Tony's situation. He plumbs the authenticity of his impressions and interpretations and attempts to justify his version, but his autobiographical memory is *sui generis*, just like Veronica's, Adrian's, or Mrs. Ford's. Having spent his life avoiding any confrontation with his past, Tony is visibly distressed by his fragmented memories when he is reminded of them. That is why Tony repeatedly puzzles his brain about the nature of his memory and his past.

In parallel with Egyptian mythology, as the god Theuth bestows writing to the king Thamus, Tony's predicament with remembering and writing his recollections exposes the same problem. Anne Whitehead comments on the reliance on writing as "Writing could act as a prompt for recollection, but not as an aid for true remembering" (Whitehead, 2008: 20). Tony narrates his story, yet the problem of remembering truly is what makes Tony feels unease. As a matter of course, the written documents such as Mrs. Ford's bequest or Tony's letter to Adrian forces Tony to confront the past he avoided up to that

point but eventually, Tony is the narrator, and he chooses what to include or exclude in his narration. This situation is perpetually designated by Tony as:

So, I need to return briefly to a few incidents that have grown into anecdotes, to some approximate memories which time has deformed into certainty. If I can't be sure of the actual events anymore, I can at least be true to the impressions of those facts left. That's the best I can manage. (Barnes, 2012: 4)

Tony warns the reader as the narrator of the novel that he cannot be sure of the actual events but what the reader will read is the impressions of those facts because his memories are modified and premeditated by him. The premeditation makes sense and becomes visible when Tony contradicts himself and reveals that: "The odder part was that it was easy to give this version of my history because that's what I'd been telling myself anyway." or "I wrote Veronica out of my life story" (Barnes, 2012: 69). The imaginative aspect of memory is manifested through Tony's admissions on how he changes his past to fit his present.

Tony also talks about time as an interwoven entity with memory and "how time holds and moulds" (Barnes, 2012: 3) the individuals. As time progresses, some memories are exposed to the deformative force of the time, and remembering is already retrospective or interpretation is subject to the moulding of it. However, the time is on Tony's side as he continually refers to the Stones' song, and admits the partiality of his narration. The relationship between time and memory confuses Tony from the beginning when he and his friends wore their watches on the inside of the wrists. How do memories dissolve in time and how remembering the long-gone and distorted memories may be fallacious? Tony asks these questions and thinks that this is the major issue of his history. Right after he reminisces particular images, Tony mentions the role of the time on the processes of remembering and forgetting and implicitly refers to the generic fabulation that Barnes constructs his writings out of it:

And yet it takes only the smallest pleasure or pain to teach us time's malleability. Some emotions speed it up, others slow it down; occasionally, it seems to go missing – until the eventual point it really does go missing, never to return. (Barnes, 2012: 3)

This expression brings to mind Henri Bergson's term 'duration', which is an alternative to chronological time. In *Matter and Memory* (1990), Bergson talks about the relationship between time and memory and how personal memories and experiences

diversify the perception of time. Comparably, Tony refers to the “ordinary, everyday time, which clocks and watches assure us passes regularly: tick-tock, click-clock” (Barnes, 2012:3) and time’s malleability. Tony's contemplations on memory resemble Bergson's concepts of habit memory and pure memory; his pure memory influences and problematizes his perception of time and memory. Dóra Vecsernyés in *Stunned into Uncertainty: Essays on Julian Barnes's Fiction* (2014) indicates that: “the past is beyond reach not only due to Tony’s unreliable memory but also as a result of his self-editing” (Vecsernyes, 2014: 32)

Besides, Tony tells an extensive story from his schooldays where it all began with detailed discourses and feelings about those days, whereas he sums up his ensuing years in a few pages where he talks about his marriage, his daughter, and his retirement. Bergson’s durability concept meets the eye in this section, and Antakyalioglu describes this behaviour as: “we understand how insignificant and dull his whole life has been” (Antakyalioglu, 2015: 328) compared to his schooldays. Tony tells the reader that he does not feel any nostalgia for them, but his memory gives him away: he deliberately takes time’s malleability as a shelter for the imperfections of his memory.

Memory, coupled with time, becomes an unreliable source of information for Tony because he is also aware of the imaginative nature of retrospective evaluation. Time’s malleability and power to mould us sways memory and reveals the imperfections and fallacies caused by the deformity. Therefore, the fallacies of Tony’s memories become manipulable and changeable to fit his version or his present:

How often do we tell our life story? How often do we adjust, embellish, make sly cuts? And the longer life goes on, the fewer are those around to challenge our account, to remind us that our life is not our life, merely the story we have told about our life. Told to others, but – mainly – to ourselves. (Barnes, 2012: 95)

The recurrent use of the imaginative nature of memory or generic fabulation in Barnes’s words coalesces with the self-consciousness of Tony. As a narrator, Tony self-reflexively points at the fictionality of his narration in which he talks about some cuts he makes, and the novel is not an accurate account of his life story; it is a version he tells to himself and the reader. Similar to Paul Ricoeur’s understanding of blocked memories, Tony’s inability to remember particular events or ability to distort them can be defined as traumatic or at least a burden to him. Tony tries to elude from his memories, but he is not

in control as he thinks or tells the reader per se. Tony displays reluctance or forbearance to remember his past when he cannot have the authority to change or fit his version, and when confronted with a piece of ineluctable evidence or document, he feels considerable discomfort: “My younger self had come back to shock my older self with what that self had been, or was, or was sometimes capable of being” (Barnes, 2012: 97-98) The past and the present are diffused and they shatter Tony’s self-preservatory attitude up until that point when he feels resentment. He cannot get rid of his past, but Ricoeur believes that “sometimes it is better to let go of history, to forget the past in order to overcome the instincts of resentment and revenge” (Piatek, 2004: 31) Tony’s memory does not help him make sense of his past; it disturbs him, and the sense of unrest begins to permeate his feelings when he is forced to confront and acknowledge the possibility of other versions of his life story.

It is possible to categorize Tony’s reluctance of remembering his past as traumatic, but his approach and portrayal of his memory evoke Nietzsche’s concept of burden or Freud’s boredom of personal memory. Past or history seems like a burden for Tony that needed to be disengaged because deficiencies and manipulations of his memory delay his escapist dealing. Even though Tony sings that time is on his side, the time is against him; it opposes and bothers Tony and his ability to conceive and construct his past. Ralph R. Greenson explains the concept of boredom in an article titled “On Boredom” as: “a state of longing and an inability to designate what is longed for; a sense of emptiness; a passive, expectant attitude with the hope that the external world will supply the satisfaction; a distorted sense of time in which time seems to stand still” (Greenson, 1953: 7). Tony seems unable to accomplish what he longs for, a personal history in which his undesired memories with Veronica and Adrian are designated as he aspires, yet he feels a distorted sense of time that complicates his aspiration. Tony wants to feel complete and satisfied, but Vescernyes discusses the concept of time and its influence in the novel, asserting:

Consequently, any attempt at representing time, reality or order in mind or the universe, history or one’s own life story is eventually depicted by Barnes as unavoidably incomplete and unsatisfactory. (Vescernyes, 2014: 40)

History and its representation are associated with memory, and Tony’s history or his life story is no exception. Tony tries to construct himself a story and narrates it, but his memory lets him down because no matter what he tells to relieve himself, he is

confronted with an opponent after Mrs. Ford's bequeath. He cannot get away with the lies he tells to himself, and he must come to terms with his memory. He thinks the time was on his side until a point where an unlooked-for trigger attacks his fictional and one-sided narrative from Mrs. Ford. Antakyalıoğlu comments on this problem and refers to the temporal problem of memory and history as follows:

First of all, memory does not operate according to the rules of chronicity. Although we associate memory with the past, the past of memory is always about the present of the rememberer. As Saint Augustine puts it, time is only present time, and we can only talk about the presence of the past, the presence of the present and the presence of the future. A remembering person is always and only active in the present. (Antakyalıoğlu, 2015: 330)

Tony is only active in the present, and his retrospective considerations are also subject to forgetting, consciously or unconsciously, because forgetting is also a function of memory. The problems of remembering, namely selectivity, also apply to forgetting mechanisms such as undesirable or damaging memories. Vescernyes combines the problem of Tony's positioning and temporal distortion and sums up the main theme of the novel regarding memory and time as:

While attempting to create a coherent life story out of these events, Tony Webster encounters problems like the imperfection of his memory and the complicated relationship between past and present, which also govern the temporal and thematic structure of the narrative. (Vescernyes, 2014: 31)

Tony's narrative loses credibility as the coherence of his version comes across other versions of a shared past, and in the light of these variations, Tony enounces the failure of his memory. He articulates the same limits and inaccessibility of memory and his remembering the whole time with his expressions such as "what you end up remembering isn't always the same as what you as witnessed" (Barnes, 2012: 3), and his memory fails him to reach and to reveal the truth. As pointed out, memory functions as a mediator or a bridge between past and present, but Tony's memory, as it is seen, is moulded by his self-preservatory approach, but even so, he cannot escape the undermining versions or evidence. That is the reason why he laments the absence of his evidence, to strengthen his narrative, stating: "I wish I'd kept that letter, because it would have been proof" (Barnes, 2012:39), and loses confidence in his version.

For this reason, Tony emphasizes the importance of the subjectivity of time concerning memory and explains this as: "And this personal time, which is the true time,

is measured in your relationship to memory”(Barnes, 2012: 122). He enumerates several issues about the time, beginning with time’s malleability and subjectivity echoing Bergson. In Vescernyes’ words: “*The Sense of an Ending* offers a non-linear narrative with temporal fragmentation and frequent flashbacks and flashforwards” (Vescernyes, 2014: 35) As in the case with issues surrounding history and historiography, the memory shares similar question marks stemming from variables such as time and the processes of forgetting and remembering. Time’s malleability and subjectivity in the novel signalize the same issue with memory because Tony attributes the imperfections of his memory to time. Again, his inability to construct a coherent and trustworthy narration stands for Barnes’s concerns on the impossibility of the same representations from the past; the presence of a narrator – or a historian averts the authenticity and reliability.

Self-reflexively, Tony points to his unreliable narration when he cannot find a hiding place or his memory seemingly fails him: “But perhaps this was simply further self-deception” (Barnes, 2012: 97). For the reader, Tony argues his reliability and puts the blame on his failing memory, but it is understood that Tony intentionally changes his past to fit his present, not just because his memory hangs him out to dry. Therefore, Tony’s self-preservation turns into a self-delusion following his memory’s deficiencies and deceptions. Hossein Aliakbari Harehdasht and Ekbatāni, Zahra and deduce that the catastrophe Tony undergoes is “resulted from a psychological defense mechanism and can sabotage one’s life” (Harehdasht, et al., 2019: 278). Tony’s psychological defense mechanism can be seen as a payoff for his remembering and forgetting processes, namely the imperfections of his memory. Barnes masterfully makes Tony an unreliable narrator through the authenticity of memory’s imperfections, and Tony is obliged to come up against this problem later in his life after avoiding it the whole time. The awareness Barnes gives to Tony grows hand in hand with the reader: “The final recognition of such imperfect memory can change the entire belief system, as occurs in the case of Tony.” (Rakibe, 2017: 57)

Making sense of the past and coming to terms with it seems unattainable for Tony because the imperfections of his deceptive memory consciously or unconsciously deceive him and then the reader. Barnes’s use of the first-person narrator inserts the reader in Tony’s version but cannily bears the reader the witness to the deficiencies in memory, unreliability, and lack of authenticity of resurrecting the past. As Tony’s awareness and

unrest arising from his memory grow, the reasons for his behaviours, such as avoiding the uneasy facts or experiences, arouse interest. Tony's memory and aging make him feel the sense of an ending both literally and figuratively. The constructive nature of memory in one's identity echoes Tony's identity crisis and disillusionment from the constructed life story he tells to himself to live an average life clear of any unrest. However, Tony uneasily acknowledges the common trait of Barnes's fiction:

Existence's inability to deliver wish-willed expectations, with life marked by a sense of loss and disappointment but also of continued hope underlined by stoicism and pragmatism." (Childs, 2011: 5)

The Sense of an Ending offers an expedition on memory with the narrator to his past and his effort to build himself a reliable identity using and abusing his memory at all costs, including self-deception. Barnes manifests his thoughts and questions around the nature of retrospective, authentic representation and the likelihood of using the remnants of the past as a base for identity: "One of the words associated with narrative is memory; using one's memory, the narrative is constructed and, as the narrative progresses, identity is built" (Piqueras, 2014: 89). In addition to this constructive feature, memory can also change and distort identity. The construction of a stable identity and a life story through the mechanisms of memory in the novel will be examined in the next chapter regarding autobiographical memory and its functions. As a matter of course, common theories such as individual and collective memory are apparent in any fiction concerning memory but Barnes's tendency to autobiographical writing and private memory puts autobiographical memory forward in *The Sense of an Ending*. Tony's assertions on history, memory, and time further associate with autobiographical memory – a contemporary field of study in memory studies: "Tony Webster embarks on a journey of recounting his personal history, attempting to create a coherent autobiography" (Vescernyes, 2014: 31). Therefore, Tony's inclination is confronted with a problem of the accessibility of the past and the imperfections of memory, yet he attempts to produce certainty in his life story through autobiographical memory.

However, there is a problem in producing certainty through memories from the past, time. Similar to Adrian's descriptions about the inadequacy of documentation, temporality, as Whitehead asserts, surfaces as a problem to be faced: "Spatiality, then, is crucial to the activity of remembering and seems as important as temporality to both its

conceptualisation and its practice” (Whitehead, 2008: 11). Thus, the difficulty of memory to construct a story is due to the inaccessibility of the past. Furthermore, the act of remembering or reaching the past occurs in the present, so retrospective interpretation hinders the possibility of constructing a steady past. Antakyalioglu states that a remembering person is: “always and only active in the present” (Antakyalioglu 2015: 330), and the time interval between the experiences and the act of remembering problematizes the accurate representation of the past.

2.4.1. Autobiographical Memory in *The Sense of an Ending*

Memory studies in psychology can be traced and analyzed predominantly in post-war literary works. Beginning with the Holocaust commemorations and mourning, memory has always been an integral part of postmodern literature, from the collective to the individual. In his writings, Julian Barnes deals with the relationship between history and truth with irony and problematizes the representation of historical truth, including personal history. Consequently, personal history in Barnes’s writings is comprised of memory and its mechanisms, including remembering and forgetting. However, Barnes utilizes memory not only as a means of a facility in which the past is buried; but he also tries to include the reader in his narrative journey. The journey Barnes places the reader as a witness can be seen as autobiographical in some ways:

Barnes produced a debut that inclined towards the autobiographical and focused upon the evolution of one suburban schoolboy’s artistic temperament alongside his significant life-experiences, from adolescence through to young adulthood and parenthood. (Childs, 2011: 19)

Like his debut novel *Metroland* (1980), several novels of Barnes follow the same focus; memoirs from young adulthood to parenthood, but in *The Sense of an Ending*, the author advances his focus on making sense and coming to terms with life and existence with its pros and cons. In the novel, Tony Webster, a retired man who lives a peaceful life up to a point, is disturbed after receiving a letter and a small bequest from a person from his past. This evocative incident makes Tony remember his school days, and the novel begins with the fragments he still remembers, but Tony warns the reader about the nature of remembering: “what you end up remembering isn’t always the same as what you have witnessed” (Barnes, 2012:3) After this remark, Tony talks about the concept of time: “how time holds and moulds us” and “time’s malleability” (Barnes 2012:3) to

elaborate his opinion about the problem of revitalizing the long-gone memories of the past. Subsequently, the reader discovers that Tony's account of the events or his autobiography is not to be trusted because his memory and remembrances are considerably edited as a text, and he is an unreliable narrator. Therefore, Tony's autobiography can be analyzed best with the concept of autobiographical memory.

The definition and importance of autobiographical memory are described by Soljana Cili and Lusia Stopa in the preface of their book named *Autobiographical Memory and the Self* (2019):

Autobiographical memory shapes our understanding of ourselves, guides our behaviour, and helps us to develop and maintain relationships with others. The ways in which we interpret and narrate our memories have important implications for our psychological well-being, and can sometimes contribute to the onset and maintenance of a variety of psychological disorders. (Cili & Stopa, 2019)

Starting from this point of view, it is possible to trace Tony's first-person narrative in autobiographical memory, considering the fact that his narration explicitly shapes his understanding. Tony's behaviours and relationships with others seem problematic, such as his avoidance of any confrontation and self-preservation. He reinterprets his memories in the novel, and his eschewal gains meaning because he tries to maintain his psychological well-being, but he cannot entirely shape his narrative; his memories shape and, in his words, mould him. Tony cannot ignore his past, especially when he is confronted with it and "the past does not stay in the past. It shapes our personality, colours our views of ourselves and the world around us, and affects our emotions and how we behave or interact with our environment" (Cili & Stopa, 2019: xi). Tony self-reflexively touches upon the imperfections of memory or malleability of time, but as a whole, the functions of Tony's autobiographical memory shape and determines the course of the novel and his narration. Thus, *The Sense of an Ending*, in a way, is an autobiographical narrative in which Tony and his repressed memories conflict, but in the end, he has to come to terms with them and acknowledge the evaded truth about the unrest.

There are three key functions of autobiographical memory: directive, self, and social, and several additional features are attributed to these functions. Prominent examples of these functions and features of autobiographical memory are noticeable in the novel. It is autobiographical because Tony narrates his life story from his school days to a point when he is a retired man who has time to consider and reinterpret his life and

his autobiographical memory. Tony tries to understand and make sense of his memories throughout the novel and often undermines his narrative version because the problems of history, memory, and representation as Barnes typically do and the implications of these ventures match with autobiographical memory.

The first function of autobiographical memory is directive; it directs daily individual behaviour under personal experiences and perception. The directive function serves as a prevention mechanism that individuals have a piece of knowledge upon the problems faced before. It may be conscious or unconscious, but the primary importance of the directive function is to avoid known or recognized damaging situations: “using AMs for directive purposes has evolutionary value: by guiding behaviour, AMs can facilitate survival” (Cili & Stopa, 2019: 2). As the term implies, this function directs Tony’s behaviours and clarifies his self-preservative disposition throughout the novel. We see Tony stays back and keeps himself away from the probable deviations and become “average at life; average at truth; morally average” (Barnes, 2012: 100)

Tony tells us that he is average at life, but every remark on his behaviours should be approached with suspicion since his accounts are not trustworthy. Nevertheless, his accounts give away his abstention and avoidance of a confrontation and exposure to his repressed memories related to Veronica and Adrian. That is why Tony’s interpretations of his memories are different from what happened because his autobiographical memory directs his behaviours to maintain psychological well-being and provide him with peace in his old age. The directive function prevents individuals from behaviours that may result in a traumatic or undesired outcome, so Tony avoids at all costs. When Tony rereads the letter he had sent to Adrian years ago about Adrian and Veronica, he faces off against his older self, the self that his autobiographical memory directed to behave on the contrary. “Now I had some all too unwelcome corroboration of what I was, or had been. If only this had been the document Veronica had set light to” (Barnes, 2012: 98)

The directive function of autobiographical memory “guides behaviour, cognition, and emotion” (Cili & Stopa, 2019:2). Therefore, Tony’s behaviour, cognition, and emotion are guided by his autobiographical memory. The avoidance that Tony maintains until the end of the novel is also affected by his cognition and emotion. The examples of his relationships with others and why he stays behind are also a sign or a result of his

cognition and emotion. Tony contemplates the concepts of time, history, memory, so his cognition is also affected by the directive function of his autobiographical memory. Time's malleability, the imperfections of memory, or the inadequacies of documentation prepossess Tony's cognition, and he awakes to the cause and effect relation of his inaccurate reminiscence. Barnes deliberately employs self-reflexivity and an unreliable narrator to accentuate the impotence of the individual against inquisitions on authenticity. Tony reinterprets his experiences, his past through the agency of the directive function of his autobiographical memory. His autobiographical memory prevents him from further damages from possible confrontations and makes him a self-preservative eschewer or an unreliable narrator since he changes his autobiography and makes sly cuts.

Individuals may use past experiences and the lessons learnt from them to solve problems, make decisions, plan future behaviour, motivate themselves, manage their emotions, make sense of their experiences, and update their view of themselves or their life. (Cili & Stopa, 2019: 2)

Tony solves the problems of his relationships back in his school days and makes decisions by writing them out of his life story. "I did a slightly odd thing when I first met Margaret. I wrote Veronica out of my life story" (Barnes, 2012: 69). He feels inferior about the time he spent with Veronica because she left him and kept company with Adrian, a close friend or more of an idol to Tony. Therefore, Tony repressed his memories with Veronica and edited the parts she gets involved in because he wants to make sense of the story he tells himself. Tony's repressive response illustrates the directive function of autobiographical memory because Tony's avoiding behaviour, tangled cognition, and complicated emotions are guided or directed by his memory to prevent potential damage he is dismayed for. Tony is aware of what he does; why he excludes certain parts of his life from his narration:

The odder part was that it was easy to give this version of my history because that's what I'd been telling myself anyway. I viewed my time with Veronica as a failure – her contempt, my humiliation – and expunged it from the record. I had kept no letters, and only a single photograph, which I hadn't looked at in ages. (Barnes, 2012:69)

The primary factors Tony eludes through the directive function of his memory are Veronica and Adrian. For this reason, Tony tells himself that he expunged her necessarily. He tells a story to Margaret and himself to prevent or avoid the undesirable outcomes he had faced back then. Tony refers to his time with Veronica as a failure, and his behaviour is not to keep any document or evidence that may remind him of his failure: "Tony has

been able to repress his memories of Veronica which is indicative of the significance and depth of his repression and his psychic or neurotic status” (Harehdasht et al., 2019: 277). Tony’s cognition, here, directs his behaviours and helps him control his emotion. These directive function instances are prevalent in many ways where Tony consciously or unconsciously avoids his past.

The second function of autobiographical memory is the self function that “concerns the role of AM in the development and maintenance of a continuous, coherent, and ideally positive sense of self” (Bluck et al., cited in Cili & Stopa, 2019). The self function enables individuals to compose and enhance a steady identity consisting of past, present, and future projections. Making sense of one’s life and psychological well-being are the central objectives of the self function. The constructed identity is also called narrative identity that matches perfectly with Tony’s narration in the novel because he tries to construct himself a coherent life story and the self in which he feels better off with some exclusions. In this respect, the self function allows individuals to rethink their past experiences and memories to correspond with their formed narrative identity. Consciously or unconsciously, the self function prevents individuals from undesired encounters and helps to maintain the constructed identity. One way or another, every individual defines himself/herself with their narration, their version of themselves. That is what we tell about ourselves; the self function is essential to maintaining balance. For this purpose, the directive function may sometimes distort, redefine or even mould personal experiences to maintain the balance in narrative identity:

How often do we tell our own life story? How often do we adjust, embellish, make sly cuts? And the longer life goes on, the fewer are those around to challenge our account, to remind us that our life is not our life, merely the story we have told about our life. Told to others, but – mainly – to ourselves. (Barnes, 2012:95)

In the above-mentioned passage, Tony’s autobiographical memory exhibits its self function clearly and his awareness of this situation and these topics reveal his efforts to maintain his narrative identity. Tony has constructed himself a narrative identity in which he made some additions and droppings such as writing Veronica out of his life story and realizes the fact that his life is not his life: it is the story that he tells about his life. The constructed nature of historiography and the problem of representations echoes the constructed narrative identity of Tony as well. Tony’s attitude can also be categorized as self-deception since the reader learns the other way; that his version cannot be trusted:

“The act of deceiving not only occurs by telling lie, but also by evading or exaggerating the truth or casting doubt on it” (Heidarzadegan & Tum, 2019:154). Years after rediscovering the malignant letter that he had sent to Adrian and Veronica, Tony confesses himself that: “I didn’t recognize that part of myself from which the letter came. But perhaps this was simply further self-deception” (Barnes, 2012: 97). On the conscious level, Tony admits that he changed his narrative identity, he made some adjustments, and on the unconscious level, as far as Tony narrates, he is taken aback by the letter written years ago but deceived himself, believing he did not.

The self function of autobiographical memory may be the most prominent function of Tony since he has awareness and realization of the concepts such as time and memory and how they shape his understanding of himself. Tony’s self-preservation and avoidance of confronting the unwanted parts and people from his past is a defense mechanism; he legitimates and explains the meanings behind his reinterpretations: “If I can’t be sure of the actual events any more, I can at least be true to the impressions those facts left” (Barnes, 2012: 4). The impressions Tony talks about at the beginning of his narration are caused by the imperfections of his memory, as Adrian asserted in history class and the inadequacies of documentation that Tony also avoided on purpose. Tony wants to maintain his narrative identity, he tells lies to the reader, but at first, he tells the same lies to himself. Then, he makes himself believe that he succeeded to authenticate his version as the correct one, but as an older adult approaching the end of his life, he is interrupted by the bequeathing and the remembrances.

The third and last function of autobiographical memory is the social function that “is related to the use of AM in developing and nurturing interpersonal relationships” (Cili & Stopa, 2019: 23). The previous two functions prevent individuals from potential harm and damage and construct a narrative identity, and the social function conveys the narrative identity with others. Unlike self-deception, social function is not responsible for telling lies or deceiving others, but it is a function that makes way for understanding others because the constructed narrative identity necessitates feeling authentic and reliable. The most prominent example in the novel is that the three friends in school days wore their watches on the inside of their wrist. Tony remembers that Colin, Alex, and he “as a symbol of our bond, used to wear our watches with the face on the inside of the wrist. It was an affectation, of course, but perhaps something more” (Barnes, 2012: 6).

They share the concept of personal time or even considered this action as a secret thing, but Adrian did not participate in this. The social function of the three friends made them feel like one, they understood each other, but Adrian spoiled the treaty, making them realize his differentiation. However, they nourished their bond and affinity with this act, using the social function of autobiographical memory.

Another example of the social function is that Tony chooses not to mention Veronica to Margaret at first, because he wanted to sustain his narrative identity and repress certain fragments of his past. He shares his narrative identity with others, Margaret in particular, in the instance with certain alterations: “The odder part was that it was easy to give this version of my history because that’s what I’d been telling myself anyway” (Barnes, 2012: 69). Tony’s version of his history seems easy to give because the two functions, as mentioned earlier of autobiographical memory, helped him construct a cautious (directive function) and imaginative (self function) narrative identity that needs backing up with the social function.

Additionally, Tony’s relationship with Veronica and Adrian is the most effective and determinant among all, but the social function does not help him enhance his connection with them. Veronica was his first girlfriend, and Adrian was the one Tony admires and envies the most, but Veronica and Adrian knew when Tony faked. Veronica accused Tony with, “You just don’t get it, do you? You never did, and you never will” (Barnes, 2012: 126). That is why the most significant impact and the consequent alterations in his version are Veronica and Adrian. Tony fails to utilize his social function with them and feels a necessity to mould Veronica and Adrian’s parts. Thus, the directive and the self function of Tony’s autobiographical memory outweigh his social function towards Veronica and Adrian.

Apart from the three functions of autobiographical memory, several variables affect these functions, such as culture, age, gender, personality attributes, and psychological well-being. At first, cultural factors shape the individual’s self, perception, and course of life. The environment in which an individual grows has a significant influence on designating and dictating the constitution of identity. Tony and his friends grew in England with middle-class families and a conservative atmosphere almost oppresses the youth. Tony describes time as:

Back then, things were plainer: less money, no electronic devices, little fashion tyranny, no girlfriends. There was nothing to distract us from our human and filial duty which was to study, pass exams, use those qualifications to find a job, and then put together a way of life unthreateningly fuller than that of our parents, who would approve, while privately comparing it to their own earlier lives, which had been simpler, and therefore superior. None of this, of course, was ever stated: the genteel social Darwinism of the English middle classes always remained implicit. (Barnes, 2012: 7-8)

Tony's upbringing causes him to be rebellious and anxious so much that he wants to get away from the predetermined life he is granted. As an adolescent, Tony wanted to interact with the opposite sex, and when Robson hanged himself, he envied that Robson at least managed to get a girlfriend. Tony resents and asks the question: "Why had none of us even had the experience of failing to get a girlfriend?" (Barnes, 2012: 14). Along with the deficiency in communicating with girls, Tony and his friends were all irritated from their environment, especially their families. The school was a symbol of oppression, and they had to study and live the life predetermined by England for them. That is why they wore their watches on the inside of their wrists. They wanted to live and believe in their "own things, rather than what had been decided for us. Hence what we thought of as our cleansing scepticism" (Barnes, 2012: 7). So, the cultural factors that affect Tony's autobiographical memory guide him to be cautious and average after his passion and urge fail with Veronica and Adrian. Nevertheless, Tony owes much of his frame of mind and approach to concepts such as history, time, and memory to his cultural upbringing, even though he fails to pursue a bold way of life.

Age is another important factor in autobiographical memory functions because "Older adults use AM for self-related purposes just like young adults, they may do so for different reasons, for example for death preparation rather than identity construction" (Cili & Stopa, 2019: 9). Tony displays both purposes at once; the identity construction is evident in his self functions such as altering and reinterpreting his personal history, and a kind of death preparation can be seen in his attempts to make sense of his life and coming to terms with his past. Tony's attempts to construct a stable narrative identity happen retrospectively. He wants to continue his version because he wants to feel peace at the latter stages of his life, a death preparation in a sense: "You get towards the end of life – no, not life itself, but of something else: the end of any likelihood of change in that life" (Barnes, 2012: 149). As Tony finishes his narration and ends the novel, he reaches a point

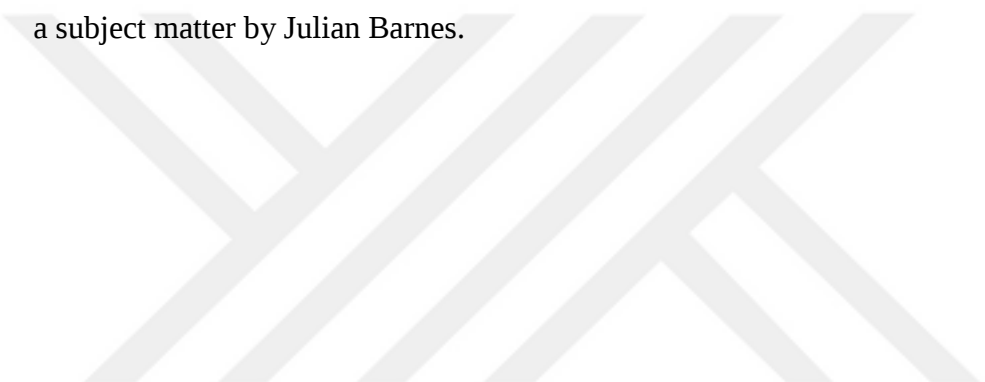
where he cannot change anything at the end of his life but acknowledge life as it is, different from what he tells himself and the others, including the reader.

Other factors such as gender, personal characteristics, and psychological well-being play a role in Tony's utilizing his autobiographical memory functions. Tony is an intellectual and educated person, he is not paternalistic, but his gender plays a role in his behaviours and cognition together with his cultural upbringing. That is why he fails to understand Veronica and her behaviours, and he lacks the understanding and experience required to maintain a balanced relationship with her; instead, he deems the time with her as a failure. Besides, Tony's personality characteristics help him construct and maintain an integrated narrative identity and the self. Tony avoids confrontation, accepts being average, and wishes to retain his psychological well-being through his personal traits that determine his directive, self, and social functions of autobiographical memory: "Individuals with higher levels of depressive symptoms were less likely to find talking about their past experiences useful or beneficial" (Cili & Stopa, 2019: 10). Tony does not display a visible depression, but he has an issue with his past appears, and his past experiences do not seem beneficial for him to talk about. Instead, Tony prefers to place them aside. The self function becomes clear in this situation for Tony; he reinterprets and redefines his past experiences to maintain the integrity of his version of his narrative identity.

In brief, memory plays a significant role in how individuals construct narrative identities and shape their selves. Memory and past experiences affect how individuals behave and interact with each other and how they conceive themselves. The construction of an integrated identity then is dependent on memory, the primary source of perception and identity construction. Apart from individual and collective memory, autobiographical memory is more associated with personal behaviours and the patterns behind these behaviours. The three functions of autobiographical memory determine the construction of self through memory and its operation and Tony's behaviours, cognition, and emotion fit these functions. Tony, for instance, displays the features of the directive function when he tries to avoid confrontations with his past and stays behind. As a result, Tony deems himself an average person, and he is content with it. However, the self function of autobiographical memory, the development, and maintenance of a positive self give meaning to the alterations in Tony's narration. With the help of the factors affecting the

three main functions, Tony constructs himself a narrative identity and designates how he interacts with others.

Towards the end of his life, Tony wants to maintain the narrative identity he constructed himself to be average and clear of any disruption. However, Mrs. Ford's bequeath triggers the repressed and undesired memories from Tony's past. Thence, Tony embarks on a journey with the reader to where it all began, to his school days and his reminiscences consist of explicit images at the opening of the novel Tony's self-preservation, avoidance, and self-deception arising out of his memory can be described with autobiographical functions since *The Sense of an Ending* is also an autobiographical novel in which history and memory are approached as primary human concern rather than a subject matter by Julian Barnes.



CONCLUSION

The Sense of an Ending by Julian Barnes is a 2011 Booker Prize-winning novel about a retired man named Tony Webster who approaches the end of his life. Expectedly, Tony wants peace and contentedness at this stage of his life, but when he gets a bequeath from a person from his past, he feels discomfort because that bequeath prompts him to reconsider and relive his memories again. Tony narrates the novel in the first-person point of view and problematizes the possibility of remembering the past under the lights of history and memory and its representation. Tony tells his life story, his autobiography in a sense, but he is aware of the challenges about the accurate representation of the past because memory is not a reliable source and history is also problematical due to retrospective construction. History and memory are utilized as groundwork for Tony's narration, considering he frequently contemplates the deficiencies of history and memory to revitalize the past. The insufficiencies and defects Tony is conscious of making him able to have a voice in reconstructing his past, for he is the one who narrates it. Therefore, Tony distorts and modifies specific instances and decorates his account as the one to the reader, but the endowment spoils him, urging him to come to terms with the past Tony repressed and avoided until then.

The novel is a personal history in which the historiographer self-reflexively constructs and enounces the fictionality of his version, contradicts himself when faced with opposite accounts and documentation, yet goes on to justify his unilateral interpretations. In Tony's words, *The Sense of an Ending* may be the lies of the victor Tony, the self-delusions of the defeated Tony, or it is more the memories of the survivor Tony who is neither victorious nor defeated. From his school days, Tony reminisces about his group of friends and a newcomer named Adrian whose specific interests and personality traits inspire interest among Tony and his friends. As a narrator, Tony accounts for Adrian's participation and his impact on the group of friends, and they all want to be the best friend with him. Adrian's influence impresses the boys and fascinates the teachers, such that history teacher Old Joe Hunt advises Adrian to take his place after retirement in contrast with Tony and other boys' stereotypical remarks in history classes. Apart from Adrian, Tony meets a girl named Veronica and begins a toxic relationship

with her in which Tony feels inferior and lame due to lack of experience and understanding about the opposite sex, a usual situation for the 'lads' back then.

Those days, England was a pretty overbearing country, and parental pressure made young adults rebel against the conventional way of life and predetermined destiny adopted by grown-ups. Tony and his friends find their getaway in philosophy and literature and modern music. Their protest attitude and common frustration with the life compelled by their milieu stick them together except Adrian, who was compatible, sympathetic, and quick of comprehension. After graduation, the friends leave for graduate education to various cities and departments but continue to exchange letters. Tony once visits Veronica's family and spends time with them, but the stay is odd because Veronica's mother, Mrs. Ford, acts Tony in an unnecessary friendly way, even warns and hints at Tony about her daughter Veronica. As Tony departs Fords' house, Mrs. Ford waves Tony not the way people usually do and makes Tony want to talk more with her. This moment is vital in the novel because it indicates to the reader that something unusual has happened between Tony and Mrs. Ford. The reliability of Tony springs a leak, and subsequently, Tony becomes an unreliable narrator when he is faced with a letter he wrote to Adrian and Veronica after Adrian asks for permission to date Veronica. As in the novel, Tony's personal history is also constructed and fictionalized while problematizing history, memory, and representation.

Tony talks partly about Veronica and their break up because of the lack of 'full sex' they didn't have instead they have 'infra-sex' a limited physical intimacy. After they break up, Tony meets Veronica again and sleeps with her, but he is startled that Veronica is not a virgin, although Tony believed her to be. This situation perplexes Tony, and he asks Veronica whether she slept with him to get him back, but Veronica, disappointed with Tony's selfish behaviours, leaves him and begins a new relationship with Adrian. Veronica dumps Tony up for Adrian, and this is not easy for him to admit, so Tony decides that the two of them were out of his life forever. By doing so, Tony exempts them from his narration, but when Mrs. Ford induces him to think about Adrian and Veronica again, Tony feels going back to school days is necessary -to where it all began. After that, Tony remembers certain images from his past at the beginning of the book, in which he foreshadows the forthcoming events in his life from his past. In respect to this, temporal disorder and fragmentation are stationed in a widespread manner by Barnes, who often

presents postmodernist elements in his writings, including historiographic metafiction, experimentality, intertextuality, and irony.

To exemplify postmodern elements in *The Sense of an Ending*, fragmentation in Tony's narrative and personality step forth with temporal disorder throughout the novel. Barnes uses intertextuality and refers to several thinkers, philosophers, and music from then England to portray and criticize the overbearing background. Self-reflexivity and the use of unreliable narrator techniques provide uncertainty in the novel he wishes for, and with his explicit and cynical expression, he succeeds to tease the reader with a fluent and absorbing novel. Julian Barnes is internationally regarded as a pioneer in postmodern fiction with his distinctive writing style, and he portrays a postmodern approach towards the themes such as history, memory, and time with various techniques of postmodernist literature.

History and historiography are represented in the novel by Barnes with Tony's venture to construct himself a past in which he is a historiographer. While he adjusts, Tony meets obstacles constructing himself a personal history when he contemplates concepts such as time and memory. Like the official history constructed by governments to maintain a sustainable nation and hold people together, Tony wants to maintain his identity and the story he tells himself as the true history of the novel. However, Tony is prompted to remember and reconsider the discarded parts of his past by external factors such as Mrs. Sarah Ford's bequest or the old and forgotten letter he wrote to Adrian. History classes with Old Joe Hunt help Barnes propound various approaches towards history, and by doing so, he explores the optimal method to discuss history throughout the novel. Furthermore, Tony studies history and ponders his personal history, including how he constructs himself a soothing narration about his past, just as historians choose what to include or exclude when writing about the past.

Tony's personal history narrated by himself for himself to be content with his life, but the adding and removal of the parts about Adrian, Veronica, and Mrs. Ford give the impression of repression, regret, and abstention. Tony's personal history and memories lie at the heart of this fictional autobiography. In addition, however, Barnes uses postmodern literary techniques such as fragmentation, self-reflexivity, and irony to deal with serious subjects and issues such as history and memory in a postmodern perspective.

The postmodern sceptical approach towards history and its representation is presented by Tony, the narrator, in a self-reflexive narration in which the inadequacies of documentation refer to the impracticality of producing authentic historical knowledge. In contrast, the imperfections of memory refer to the elusive aspect of memory. The elusive aspect of Tony's memory is discussed under the contemporary memory approach autobiographical memory in this study.

Tony represses, expunges, and reinvents himself a past and constructs a personal history with which he is content, especially without people and experiences that pester him. His self-deception can be explained with autobiographical memory functions that prevent individuals from unwanted outcomes, constructs a narrative identity, and maintains the constructed identity as an integrated whole to attain psychological well-being or avoid prospective damages. The malleability of time, according to Tony, also problematizes the narrative identity and representation of his past as he is conscious of the influence of time -especially elapsed time after particular experiences are competent of moulding perception. Therefore, deceptive aspects such as time and memory influence historical facts or the remnants, which are the impressions of those facts left in Tony's case. Tony's autobiography's fragmented and seemingly complicated narrative grows out of the autobiographical memory functions concerning construct, legitimize, and perpetuate himself a sense of integrity exempt from confronting alternate versions may distort or disarrange Tony's version.

One of the more significant findings to emerge from this study is that Julian Barnes consciously problematizes the narrative through the medium of unreliable narrator whereas querying the nature of history and memory by way of postmodern literary devices and his idiosyncratic wording laden with irony. History designates certainties whether it is personal or official, and wherewithal the lack of documentation, history is conducive to manipulation considering the person in charge yet the human factor and retrospectively imposed meaning on past. Therewithal, temporality comes in view with time's disruptive impact, moulding power, and malleability regarding memory which conducts the remembering and forgetting processes. Personal memory consisting of personal experiences and perception identifies personal identity and the self, but it may be deceptive since the imperfections of memory may lead individuals astray. Addedly, autobiographical memory accounts for constructing a personal narrative identity, and the

self with particular adding and cuts -as in Tony's instance- helps individuals prevent traumatic encounters from their past by repressing and reshaping in conjunction with remembering and forgetting.

In conclusion, in *The Sense of an Ending*, Julian Barnes poses a question on history as the probability of alternative versions and interpretations and on memory as a subjective, personal, and consequently prejudiced notion. Tony's quiet reflection on those notions and his awareness of the challenges in constructing a personal history constitutes the novel's fundament. A retired man who approaches the end of his life, Tony wants peace and easiness in his life story, but the beforementioned challenges incident to Barnes's writing restrain Tony to make sense of the version of his story he tells to himself. Therefore, theories and methods related to discuss history and memory study light the way for understanding Tony's unrest because there is no way out of the mind. The end of the novel and Tony's final words reminds a verse from Sylvia Plath's poem, *Apprehensions*:

A grey wall now, clawed and bloody.
Is there no way out of the mind?
Steps at my back spiral into a well.
There are no trees or birds in this world,
There is only sourness. (Plath, 1981: 195)

The melancholy and pessimism Plath describes are rooted in the everlasting tricks of the mind. She complains about being imprisoned in a mind because she overthinks just like Tony, who continuously contemplates his past. Tony's final word revolves around great unrest echoes the same despair and bitterness towards the imperfections of memory and the inevitability of the mind. The accumulation of Tony's experiences and the responsibility he avoids end up with a feeling of unrest and sourness and a sense of an ending.

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