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**TRANSLATION AND WESTERNISATION IN TURKEY  
(FROM THE 1840s TO THE 1980s)**

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## ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the role and function translations played in Turkish history, especially within the framework of its Westernisation movement from the mid-nineteenth to the late twentieth centuries. A descriptive approach is adopted, aiming to identify cultural patterns which shape and reflect translational decisions and help to a better portrayal of the socio-cultural context of translation during the time span examined. To this end, the thesis seeks to describe in detail historical, political, literary and linguistic factors which have affected the translation activity.

The main assumption of this thesis is that acculturation was used as the main strategy in translations from Western languages during the periods which were marked with an extensive translation activity, especially during the nineteenth century and the first decades of the Republican era. This acculturation strategy not only helped to enrich the target literary system, bringing new literary models (genres), new subject matter, developing the language and giving rise to a new Turkish literature, it also had an effect upon the broader socio-cultural polysystem, especially on the process of identity creation.

The analysis of the social, political and cultural conditions and policies suggests that the status given both to the source and target cultures has been the main factor for the acculturation. As examined in the last part of the thesis, a shift of power relations in the Turkish context, especially after the 1980s, marked a new kind of an acculturation strategy and a certain movement of resistance.

The thesis concludes that there is need to know more about different translation histories in order to learn more about the acculturation process and to move beyond a Eurocentric view, and an interdisciplinary approach should be taken for such research.

This thesis is dedicated to my parents  
Birsen and Vedat Berk

and to my brother  
S. Oğuz Berk

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

<b>LIST OF TABLES .....</b>	<b>vi</b>
<b>LIST OF FIGURES.....</b>	<b>vii</b>
<b>ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....</b>	<b>viii</b>
<b>DECLARATION.....</b>	<b>ix</b>
<b>INTRODUCTION.....</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>CHAPTER 1. THE BEGINNINGS OF WESTERNISATION.....</b>	<b>11</b>
<b>CHAPTER 2. TRANSLATION POLICY AND <i>TANZIMAT</i> REFORMS .....</b>	<b>20</b>
2.1 Norms.....	20
2.1.1 Preliminary Norms.....	23
2.1.2 Operational Norms.....	26
2.2 Institutions.....	28
2.2.1 Translation Chamber ( <i>Tercüme Odası</i> ) .....	29
2.2.2 The Academy of Knowledge ( <i>Encümen-i Dâniş</i> ).....	33
2.2.3 The Ottoman Scientific Society ( <i>Cemiyet-i İlmiye-i Osmaniye</i> ) .....	43
2.2.4 The Press.....	49
<b>CHAPTER 3. THE FIRST LITERARY TRANSLATIONS.....</b>	<b>57</b>
<b>CHAPTER 4. THE EMERGENCE OF A NEW TURKISH LITERATURE.....</b>	<b>81</b>
4.1 Ahmet Mithat Efendi and the Popularisation of the Novel.....	81
4.2 Ahmet Vefik Paşa and Drama Translations .....	91
4.3 The New Turkish Literature.....	101
<b>CHAPTER 5. TURKIFICATION: POLICY AND PRINCIPLES.....</b>	<b>108</b>
5.1 Language Reform.....	112
5.2 The Turkish History Thesis.....	128
5.3 People's Houses ( <i>Halkevleri</i> ).....	130
5.4 Village Institutes ( <i>Köy Enstitüleri</i> ) .....	131
5.5 European Aid in Establishing Western Institutions .....	136
<b>CHAPTER 6. THE TRANSLATION BUREAU AND <i>TERCÜME</i>.....</b>	<b>143</b>
6.1 The First Publication Congress .....	143
6.2 Translation Bureau ( <i>Tercüme Bürosu</i> ).....	153
6.3 <i>Tercüme</i> and Translation Commentaries .....	164

<b>CHAPTER 7. TRANSLATION AS TRANSFORMATION IN TURKISH WRITING OF THE 1940s</b> .....	<b>172</b>
7.1 Nurullah Ataç: Domesticating translation.....	173
7.2 Humanism, <i>Anadoluculuk</i> (Anatolianism) and Sabahattin Eyuboğlu.....	177
7.3 The Role of the <i>Élite</i> .....	185
<b>CHAPTER 8. SHIFTS AND CHANGING PATTERNS OF PUBLICATION</b> .....	<b>195</b>
8.1 The Transition Period.....	196
8.2 The 1960s.....	203
8.3 A new Westernisation Programme.....	212
8.4. Political Chaos and Escape from Reality .....	219
<b>CHAPTER 9. THE EMERGENCE OF A NEW CRITICAL APPROACH TO TRANSLATION CRITICISM</b> .....	<b>226</b>
9.1 New Approaches .....	226
9.2 Translation criticism .....	237
9.3 Norms.....	244
<b>CHAPTER 10. DEVELOPMENTS IN TRANSLATION SINCE THE 1980s</b> .....	<b>250</b>
10.1 Search for an Identity .....	250
10.2 Institutionalisation of Translation Studies .....	261
10.2.1 <i>Yazko Çeviri</i> .....	262
10.2.2 <i>Metis Çeviri</i> .....	268
<b>CONCLUSION</b> .....	<b>278</b>
<b>APPENDIX. TRANSLATION JOURNALS IN TURKEY</b> .....	<b>282</b>
<b>BIBLIOGRAPHY</b> .....	<b>283</b>

## LIST OF TABLES

<b>Table 2.1. Number of Translations until the Republic .....</b>	<b>22</b>
<b>Table 5.1. Literacy Rate (in percentage) (1935-1985) .....</b>	<b>116</b>
<b>Table 6.1. Number of Translations by the Translation Bureau (1940-1966).....</b>	<b>159</b>
<b>Table 6.2. Translation Series Published by the Translation Bureau.....</b>	<b>160</b>
<b>Table 8.1. Number of plays, performances and attendance in the State Theatre (1949/50-1971/72) .....</b>	<b>215</b>
<b>Table 8.2. Number of plays, performances and attendance in the Municipal Theatre in Istanbul (1940/41-1970/71) .....</b>	<b>215</b>
<b>Table 8.3. Number of operas, ballets and operettas in the State Theatre (1949/50-1971/72) .....</b>	<b>216</b>

## LIST OF FIGURES

<b>Figure 8.1. Books Published per Year (1940-1994) .....</b>	<b>204</b>
<b>Figure 8.2. Books Published by Subject (1940-1994) .....</b>	<b>206</b>
<b>Figure 8.3. Translated Books per Year (1960-1987) .....</b>	<b>207</b>
<b>Figure 8.4. Translated Books by Subject (1960-1987) .....</b>	<b>208</b>
<b>Figure 8.5. Main Languages of Translations (1960-1987) .....</b>	<b>209</b>
<b>Figure 10.1. Published Literature (1960-1987) .....</b>	<b>253</b>
<b>Figure 10.2. Translated Literature vs. Turkish Literature (1960-1987) .....</b>	<b>254</b>
<b>Figure 10.3. Newspaper and Periodicals by Subject (1968-1994) .....</b>	<b>259</b>



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## DECLARATION

Some of the material contained in this thesis has been previously used. An early version of the chapters on the *Tanzimat* period was used in my Master's thesis, 'Translation Activity and Translational Norms in the *Tanzimat* Period' awarded by the University of Warwick in 1995. An embryonic version of chapters 5, 6 and 7 was presented at the conference *Translation and Power* at the University of Warwick, 13-15 July 1997 under the title 'Intellectual Colonialism: Domesticating Translation in Creating a Turkish Identity'.

This thesis is based on the *MHRA Style Book*, fourth edition. In bibliographical references, the date of the first publication of the book/article has been given in brackets []. The publication details in parantheses indicate the book/article which I made use of.

In addition, modern Turkish ortography rather than standard English is used. Thus: *paşa*, instead of pasha. Modern Turkish spelling of proper names is chosen over Arabic. Thus: Mehmet Ali, not Muhammad Ali, and Mahmut, not Mahmud. Finally, modern Turkish transliteration instead of Arabic is adopted for common Islamic terms. Thus: *ulema*, *medrese*, instead of *ulama*, *madrrasah*.

## INTRODUCTION

This thesis seeks to demonstrate the role and function translations played in Turkish history, especially within the framework of its Westernisation movement. Although the thesis is structured along chronological lines, it does not intend to provide a detailed historical account, for that would take it beyond the limits of its framework. My purpose is rather to offer a descriptive account of translation in Turkey from the nineteenth to the twentieth century, with the aim of seeking out patterns which can shed light on the meanings and implications of translation policies and contribute to a fuller depiction of the socio-cultural context of translation.

By the history of translation, I do not understand only the recounting of events of the past, but an attempt to recover and analyse the discourses surrounding and constructing historical data. My main sources for this thesis have therefore been prefaces, speeches, articles in newspapers and journals, reviews, translation commentaries and statistical data on translations. On the other hand, analyses of translations and critical comparisons of target texts with their source texts are not within the objectives of this thesis. My primary concern is to reveal the agenda behind translations and their effects; the prescriptive approach to translation might indeed be useful but not sufficient to achieve this goal. However, it is hoped that further studies with prescriptive commentaries will develop, enrich and challenge the issues discussed in this thesis.

My aim is then to formulate and attempt to answer several questions on translation activity in Turkey. The Westernisation movement explains only partly *why* translations

were produced in this particular social time and place. To understand why translations happened, we have to ask more specific questions and look at the power relations that led to and governed the production of translations. What were the conditions that led to extensive translation activity? How were Western civilisation and culture perceived? Who commissioned translations and why? What was translated and why? What strategies were adopted for translations and why? What were the influences and effects of translations on Turkish culture? I will also attempt to explain the shifts in the Turkish literary system introduced by translation, and to trace the evolution of the patronage system by contextualising the literary within social, political and cultural systems. By insisting throughout the thesis on the interrelation between translation activities in Turkey and the country's Westernisation attempts, I also hope to underline factors conditioning the processes of identity creation in Turkey.

My main argument is that acculturation was used as the main strategy in translations during the periods which were marked with extensive translation activity, especially during the nineteenth century and the first decades of the Republican era. In the second half of the nineteenth century with the first translations from the West<sup>1</sup>, Western influence through the penetration of new concepts and ideas and the gradual emergence of a new Turkish literature, the dominant translation strategy was that of acculturation. This acculturation strategy not only helped to enrich the target literary system, bringing new literary models (genres), new subject matter, developing the language and giving rise to a new Turkish literature, it also had an effect upon the broader socio-cultural polysystem. The move towards the creation of Turkishness, which started during the *Tanzimat* period, was mainly imported from the West via the first translations.

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<sup>1</sup> "The West" will be used in this thesis to designate an undifferentiated idea of Europe which includes both eastern and western Europe - Russia as well as Britain, France, Germany etc. This concept of "the West" remained the general perception for the Ottomans as well as modern Turks. In the same way, "the East" will be used in a generic sense meaning mainly the (traditional, underdeveloped) Muslim world.

This is, however, not a case unique to the Ottoman target system during the nineteenth century. What is regarded as a period of cultural, economic and political revival in many small nations<sup>2</sup> in Europe especially during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century, was marked with extensive translation activity and acculturation was used widely as the main strategy in the translation activities of these nations. Particularly when there had been non-standard languages or where languages were newly emerging, there was a deliberate notion of translation as contributing to the culture, hence acculturation. In the case of such revival movements the language was emphasised as the main or the only important form of national existence. Several case studies on the small nations in Europe have looked at acculturation and early nationalism.

During the Czech national revival translations functioned, as Vladimír Macura shows, as the main means in constructing a Czech culture.<sup>3</sup> What Anna Lilova calls the period of “Bulgarianization” as ‘free interpretation and literary revision of the original to suit Bulgarian national, historical and psychological specificities’ can probably be seen as an acculturation process when new models introduced by translations during the Bulgarian renaissance were transformed into national ones.<sup>4</sup> Sirkku Aaltonen has argued that Irish plays rewritten into Finnish must be seen as products of the Finnish, not the Irish

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<sup>2</sup> Terms such as “small nations” and “minority languages/literatures” are problematic and other terms such as “limited diffusion” and “lesser used languages” have been used probably to avoid any suggestion of marginality. “Small” will be used here to indicate nations whose languages and literatures are less widely known and spoken outside their own territories.

<sup>3</sup> Vladimír Macura, ‘Culture as Translation’, in *Translation, History and Culture*, ed. by Susan Bassnett and André Lefevere (London: Pinter, 1990), pp. 64-70. See also Martin Procházka, ‘Cultural Invention and Cultural Awareness: Translational Activities and Author’s Subjectivity in the Culture of the Czech National Revival’, *New Comparison*, 8 (1989), 57-65.

<sup>4</sup> Anna Lilova, ‘Bulgarian Tradition’, in *Routledge Encyclopedia of Translation Studies*, ed. by Mona Baker (London: Routledge, 1998), pp. 347-55 (p. 351).

theatrical system due to the acculturation strategy which helped to ‘blur the borderline between the familiar and unfamiliar and to effect *vraisemblance*’.<sup>5</sup>

Attempts at constructing national cultures and identities have taken place not only via interlingual but also intralingual translations. The idea of looking back was very common in early nationalisms. In order to be a nation, particularly ‘if that nation could not be a nation in the political sense, at least not entirely in the form in which it wanted to be’ and to take its place in world literature, many small nations in Europe in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century wanted to construct a national literature ‘whose roots had to stretch back into “the mists of time”’.<sup>6</sup> Finns “discovered” their national literature by collecting Finnish oral poetry, the *Kalevala*, while the creation of a corpus of folktales based on oral narrative in the nineteenth century allowed Norwegians ‘to construct a past which gave the emerging nation continuity and legitimation’.<sup>7</sup>

Examples are extensive and continue to increase concomitant with growing research. What follows from these examples is that there is therefore strong evidence that an acculturation model was used in many emerging nations and nationalist literatures in the nineteenth century. In this aspect, the Turkish case shows strong similarities with other European examples.

The acculturation model was extended during the early Republican era due to a conscious and deliberate central government policy to follow Western models. Attempts at creating the modern Turkish nation of the new Turkish Republic, established after the

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<sup>5</sup> Sirkku Aaltonen, *Acculturation of the Other: Irish Milieux in Finnish Drama Translation* (Joensuu: Joensuu University Press, 1996), p. 203. See also by the same author, ‘Rewriting Representations of the Foreign: The Ireland of Finnish Realist Drama’, *TTR*, 9:2 (1996), 103-22.

<sup>6</sup> André Lefevere, ‘The Gates of Analogy: The Kalevala in English’, in *Constructing Cultures: Essays on Literary Translation*, ed. by Susan Bassnett and André Lefevere (Clevedon: Multilingual Matters, 1998), pp. 76-89 (p. 78).

<sup>7</sup> Mette Rudvin, ‘The Role of Norms in Text Production: Case Study of a Nineteenth-Century Norwegian Folktale Collection and its Role in the Shaping of National Identity’ (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Warwick, 1996), p. 170.

independence struggle against European powers in 1923, were not based on refusing European cultural values, but on loosening ties with Islam and the Eastern world and claiming a place within European culture and civilisation. In this respect, the very foundations of the Republic were mainly translations from the West affecting in every respect socio-cultural life in Turkey.

This period has some similarities again with other societies in that the dominant ideology was of a liberal humanism. Matthew Arnold, one of the key representatives of the liberal humanist approach claimed that

[culture] seeks to do away with classes; to make all live in an atmosphere of sweetness and light, and use ideas, as it uses them itself, freely, - to be nourished and not bound by them.

This is the *social idea*; and the men of culture are the true apostles of equality. The great men of culture are those who have had a passion for diffusing, for making prevail, for carrying from one end of society to the other, the best knowledge, the best ideas of their time; who have laboured to divest knowledge of all that was harsh, uncouth, difficult, abstract, professional, exclusive; to humanise it, to make it efficient outside the clique of the cultivated and learned, yet still remaining the *best* knowledge and thought of the time, and a true source, therefore, of sweetness and light.<sup>8</sup>

Parallel to the ideas expressed by Arnold, Turks during the 1940s turned their faces to the Greco-Roman world which they saw as the roots of Western civilisation. In effect, what all the translators and critics of that period were arguing for, was a notion of an ideal of culture, i.e. a canon, that everyone should aspire to. Translations served as a medium to make these “universal truths and values”, ‘the best which has been thought and said in the world’<sup>9</sup> accessible. The acculturation strategy helped to ‘humanise’ the selected body of literary texts, the classics, and make them intelligible to the population at large. Liberal humanism was certainly a very strong motivation for translators and writers in the early

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<sup>8</sup> Matthew Arnold, *Culture and Anarchy* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1994 [1869]), p. 48.

<sup>9</sup> Arnold, p. 5.

part of this century and in its various forms continued to be influential offering the basis for universal standards and concepts in many parts of the world until the late 1960s.<sup>10</sup>

Concomitant with the liberal humanist approach, Turks during this period, also turned to the idea of looking back and returning to indigenous sources of their culture by insisting on the development and use of “pure Turkish”, establishing historical links between their Central Asian ancestors, ancient Anatolian civilisations and modern Turks, together with conducting research into Turkish folklore.

Nevertheless, one should also bear in mind that Turkey has its own specificities that differentiate it from other European examples. Turkey, in Western eyes, has never been fully recognised as being a part of European culture and civilisation. Its geographic situation and religious differences are perhaps the main reasons for this exclusion. On the other hand, as inheritors of the Ottoman Empire, Turks have never been under any colonial rule, they themselves were an imperialistic power for more than six centuries. As a result, the “Other”, i.e. the West, in the Turkish context has been more problematic than in many other nations and acculturation, in this respect, has further meanings. For Turks, translating has meant at the same time translating the West. The West as the source culture has been generally given a higher status in the target system than the target culture. This was especially the case during the first two periods discussed in this thesis; the *Tanzimat* and the early Republican era. The degree of Turkey’s inclination for the West and its prospective role in shaping its identity often determined the translation strategies.

Entering a new era with the transition to the multi-party system after World War II, power relations started to shift. With the changed socio-political conditions there was a

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<sup>10</sup> The acculturation strategy still continues to be used widely in dominant cultures for different motives. Lawrence Venuti showed at length that acculturation is the predominant translation strategy in Anglo-American culture for these countries [United Kingdom and the United States] are ‘aggressively monolingual, unreceptive to the foreign, accustomed to fluent translations that invisibly inscribe foreign texts with English-language values and provide readers with the narcissistic experience of recognizing their own culture in a cultural other’. See Lawrence Venuti, *The Translator’s Invisibility: A History of Translation* (London & New York: Routledge, 1995), p. 15.



radical change in translation policy which marked the assertion of a new kind of, and a much more politicised Turkish identity. This is also when the liberal humanist approach started to be criticised and perceived as élitist by a new generation of intellectuals. Despite the diversity of voices raised in this period, it is nevertheless possible to detect a tendency to go against previous acculturating strategies. Especially after the 1980s, discussions on translation were once again focused on the Western question, i.e. the perception of the West, and the adoption of a policy of resistance was seen as a way of creating a Turkish identity. Many new factors, such as socio-political changes, economic constraints, international developments, and the recognition of cultures instead of the Culture of liberal humanism, challenged the old status quo in the whole target cultural system. However, it can also be argued that this phase represents a different concept of acculturation in which translators no longer sought to follow foreign authors, but rather to borrow selectively from them and to use some of their stylistic intonations as models for the enhancement of Turkish literature. This new form of acculturation after the 1980s, with a resulting increase in the number of literary translations and the institutionalisation of Translation Studies in Turkey will be explored in the last chapter of the thesis.

What follows from this is that a simple concept of acculturation is not sufficient in that it fails to account fully for the particular shift in policies and practices within this period. One of the factors that determines the acculturation strategy and the types of acculturation seems to be the status given to the source and target cultures by the translators, editors, publishers, in short by those responsible for translational decisions. As translations are never fixed and the parameters are in a constant state of negotiation and flux, these balances are also subject to change. In order to learn more about the acculturation process, we need to know more about different translation histories.

One of the shortcomings of this thesis is the fact that primary sources for the *Tanzimat* period could not be used due to my inability to read the old (Arabic) script. Anything written prior to the 1928 Alphabet reform is in the old script, so research on translations done prior to 1928 requires competence in the old script, Arabic and Persian. The history of translation, especially, from the Tulip Period (*Lale Devri*) (1718-1730) to the 1928 reform must be full of rich material which awaits its researchers to read it and make it accessible to scholars familiar only with the modern Turkish. Studies using only secondary sources are destined to repeat the same mistakes as their sources and cannot add much to Turkish translation history. Since few translation scholars can be expert in all these fields there is a need for teamwork. To reduce inaccuracies as much as possible, I have used, wherever possible, sources which made use of the primary sources. In any case, my aim was not to make an archaeological survey of the period, although a lot of archaeological work is still needed, but to underline the role of translation in creating a Turkish identity.

Another area to enrich the issues raised in this thesis, especially on the more recent history of translation, would be the collection of data, such as the number of published books, of bestsellers etc., interviews with translators and publishers. However, the time and space limits of this thesis have not allowed much expansion into such areas of research.

There have been only three books in Turkish which deal exclusively with translation issues. The first, written by Hilmi Ziya Ülken in 1935, did not perhaps gain the recognition it deserves.<sup>11</sup> This is one of the first examples and the first book by a Turkish scholar, to my knowledge, that sees translation in its socio-cultural context. The second

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<sup>11</sup> Hilmi Ziya Ülken, *Uyanış Devirlerinde Tercümenin Rolü* (The Role of Translation in the Periods of Awakening) (Istanbul: Ülken Yayınları, 1997 [1935]). The book was republished in 1947 under the title *İslam Medeniyetinde Tercüme ve Tesirleri* (Translations in Islamic Civilisation and their Influences). Both titles summarise the content of the book.

book, which has had a greater influence on Turkish scholars was written by Akşit Göktürk.<sup>12</sup> Focusing on the problems of literary translation, Göktürk, in his book, discusses major issues and concepts within translation studies. A more recent book, written by Taceddin Kayaoğlu<sup>13</sup>, focuses on translation institutions established in Turkey from the Tulip Period to the Translation Bureau of the 1940s. Kayaoğlu seems to be unaware of the great developments in the field of translation studies and does not put his work within the framework of this discipline. Despite the rich primary sources that the book is based on, it remains rather an encyclopaedic source.

With the emergence of translation studies as an independent discipline in Turkish academia in the 1980s, works on translation began to embrace a wider range of areas of the subject, including archaeological work. However, the number of studies in the field, which is conducted by a limited number of scholars, remains very small.<sup>14</sup> There is still extensive work to do and for obvious reasons, it is difficult for individual researchers working in isolation to deal with extensive studies of this kind. The establishment of groups of scholars with different skills to work on large-scale translation projects is much needed.

Nevertheless, research into the history of translation in Turkey should not be seen as a subject only for the Turkish academia. A great amount of work on histories of translation has been published over the last ten years, especially in the form of

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<sup>12</sup> Akşit Göktürk, *Çeviri: Dillerin Dili* (Translation: The Tongue of the Tongues) (Istanbul: Çağdaş Yayınları, 1986). The book was reprinted by Yapı Kredi Yayınları in 1994.

<sup>13</sup> Taceddin Kayaoğlu, *Türkiye'de Tercüme Müesseseleri* (Translation Institutions in Turkey) (Istanbul: Kitabevi, 1998).

<sup>14</sup> A comprehensive book on translation has not been written yet. The main sources for translation articles since the early 1980s have been several translation journals. Two compilations of articles have been added to the above mentioned books: Mehmet Rifat, ed., *Çeviri ve Çeviri Kuramı Üstüne Söylemler* (Istanbul: Düzlem Yayınları, 1995) and Turgay Kurultay and İlknur Birkandan, eds., *Forum: Türkiye'de Çeviri Eğitimi. Nereden Nereye?* (Istanbul: Sel Yayıncılık, n.d.) (proceedings of the conference on translation departments and teaching translation in Turkey held in Istanbul University in 1996).

anthologies. It is also to be noted that there has recently been a swing of interest to non-western texts and a recognition that normative studies might have been too Eurocentric. The best examples illustrating this shift have perhaps come from inspiring works done on the theory and practice of translation in a post-colonial context.<sup>15</sup> It is, however, unfortunate that some of the other experiences from the rest of the world have often been communicated only in the form of articles.<sup>16</sup> More research should be conducted and its publication should be made available in book form to a larger public as well as to the English speaking world.

There is still a great need for translation studies scholars, both in the West and in other parts of the world, to write about not only Western, but also non-Western experiences in translation, because ‘the more we know, the more we shall be able to relativise the practices of the present, the more we shall be able to see them as constructed and contingent, not as given, eternal, and transparent’.<sup>17</sup> I therefore hope that this thesis can make a contribution not only to Turkish translation history but also to the discipline of Translations Studies in general to move beyond a Eurocentric view.

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<sup>15</sup> There have been a large number of articles which have appeared over the years on post-colonial translation experiences. Recently, books collecting a variety of such articles in one volume, but also individual case studies which deal with a specific country/nation have been published. To name just some examples: Eric Cheyfitz, *The Poetics of Imperialism: Translation and Colonization from ‘The Tempest’, to ‘Tarzan’* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), Tejaswini Niranjana, *Siting Translation: History, Post-Structuralism, and the Colonial Context* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), Michael Cronin, *Translating Ireland: Translation, Languages, Cultures* (Cork: Cork University Press, 1996), Susan Bassnett and Harish Trivedi, eds., *Postcolonial Translation* (London: Routledge, 1998), Maria Tymoczko, *Translation in a Postcolonial Context: Early Irish Literature in English Translation* (Manchester: St. Jerome Publishing, 1999).

<sup>16</sup> Even some books published in English and/or in Europe become out of print in a very short period and remain inaccessible to a wider readership.

<sup>17</sup> Susan Bassnett and André Lefevere, ‘Introduction: Where Are We in Translation Studies?’, in *Constructing Cultures: Essays on Literary Translation*, ed. by Susan Bassnett and André Lefevere (Clevedon: Multilingual Matters, 1998), pp. 1-11 (p. 10).

## CHAPTER 1

### THE BEGINNINGS OF WESTERNISATION

During the seventeenth century the Ottomans felt the superior progress of Europe, at least in military equipment and organisation. They were also aware of the maladministration of the Empire which had started to weaken the whole structure. But until the *Tanzimat* period they did not know how to prevent this decline. The superiority of the Europeans that the Ottomans experienced on the battlefield was just an outward result of the general intellectual, economic, and political development in the West in which the Ottoman Empire did not participate and which the Ottomans for a long time did not understand.

During the reign of Sultan Selim III (1789-1807) the first reforms in military education began with the establishment of new military schools and the corollary importation of European knowledge. The French Revolution, with all its new ideas, also came during his reign to touch the Ottoman Empire. Napoleon's invasion of Egypt was further proof of the military superiority of Europe. This made the French an example and inspiration for the Westernisation process which was started soon thereafter in Egypt by Mehmet Ali.<sup>1</sup> Thanks to the Revolution and the changing events of the revolutionary period, a great number of Frenchmen came to Istanbul, primarily to provide military

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<sup>1</sup> Roderic H. Davison, *Reform in the Ottoman Empire 1856-1876* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1963), p. 23.

assistance to the Turks, but with them also new ideas of liberty entered the Empire.<sup>2</sup>

However, attempts at Westernisation caused an East/West conflict. Turkish cultural history can, therefore, be divided roughly between Islamists and Westernisers, or conservatives and modernists, and their different proposals for a Turkish society. Both sides have different names in different periods. The Turkish-Islamic Synthesis of the 1980s, as will be shown later, is another example of such a division.

The reaction of the Ottomans to the French was not all uniform, and it is understandable that some Ottoman statesmen were not very fond of the French political doctrine of the right of revolution against kings and the atmosphere of secularism and godlessness which came from eighteenth-century France. The foreign minister (*Reis-ül-Küttab*), Ahmet Atıf Efendi, in 1789 condemned events in France as the product of atheists like François Marie Arouet Voltaire and Jean-Jacques Rousseau, and defended religion and holy law as the only sound basis for state and society:

The known and famous atheists Voltaire and Rousseau, and other materialists like them, had printed and published various works, consisting, God preserve us, of insults and vilification against the pure prophets and great kings, of the removal and abolition of all religion, and of allusions to the sweetness of equality and republicanism, all expressed in easily intelligible words and phrases, in the form of mockery, in the language of common people. Finding the pleasure of novelty in these writings, most of the people, even youths and women, inclined towards them and paid close attention to them, so that heresy and wickedness spread like syphilis to the arteries of their brains and corrupted their beliefs....It is well known that the ultimate basis of the order and cohesion of every state is a firm grasp of the roots and branches of holy law, religion, and doctrine; that the tranquillity of the land and the control of the subjects cannot be encompassed by political means alone.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> For the first contact of the Turkish society with the Western world, see Fatma Müge Göçek, *East Encounters West: France and the Ottoman Empire in the Eighteenth Century* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987). For the first impact of the ideas of the French Revolution on Turkey in the period up to the deposition of Selim III in 1807, see Bernard Lewis, 'The Impact of the French Revolution on Turkey', *Cahiers d'histoire mondiale*, 1:1 (1953), 105-25. For the French influence on *Tanzimat* literature, see Cevdet Perin, *Tanzimat Edebiyatında Fransız Tesiri* (Istanbul: Pulhan Matbaası, 1946).

<sup>3</sup> B. Lewis, 'The Impact of the French Revolution on Turkey', p. 121; B. Lewis, *The Emergence of Modern Turkey* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1961), p. 66.

During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries there were different reactions to French culture. While some of the young intellectuals accepted the new and unconventional ideas with enthusiasm, some of the statesmen totally opposed French culture with all the novelty it brought. A conservative opponent of the time wrote that the French ‘were able to insinuate Frankish customs in the hearts and endear their models and shallow faith’.<sup>4</sup>

In spite of these negative reactions it was impossible not to be influenced by the French. During the nineteenth century, when the Westernisation period started, the French were seen to set an example. Even though the Imperial Rescript of Gülhane, which announced the beginning of a number of reforms in 1839, was not an Ottoman constitution, because it did not limit the powers of the sultan, the sultan promised with the decree to limit his authority by accepting the laws produced by the new legislative authorities that he was creating. The decree also formalised the new interpretation of the scope and responsibility of the state which this time included the protection of security of life, honour, and property and the provision of equal justice for all subjects, regardless of religion. In this context, the decree of Gülhane had many of the ideals contained in the French Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen of 1789.<sup>5</sup>

The *Tanzimat*, meaning “Reorganisation”, which consisted of a number of military, administrative, legal and educational reforms, was officially proclaimed on 3 November 1839 with a decree called *Hatt-ı Hümayun*, or Imperial Rescript, signed by the sultan and read by Mustafa Reşit Paşa at the square of Gülhane in Istanbul.<sup>6</sup> It continued until 1876 when the first Ottoman constitution was proclaimed and a parliamentary

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<sup>4</sup> B. Lewis, *Emergence*, p. 72.

<sup>5</sup> Stanford J. and Ezel Kural Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey: Volume II: Reform, Revolution, and Republic: The Rise of Modern Turkey, 1808-1975* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), p. 61.

<sup>6</sup> The transcription of the Rescript in Latin letters, together with its translation into today’s Turkish by Vehbi Belgil, is given in ‘Tanzimat Fermanı’, *Tarih ve Toplum*, 12:70 (1989), 10-11. Mete Tunçay, in his short introduction, gives other Turkish and foreign sources where the Edict was published.

regime was established. Reforms were undertaken to revitalise and to preserve the Ottoman Empire in a world increasingly ordered by European power and civilisation. Change was needed in every field together with the adoption or adaptation of Western ideas and institutions, and translations played in this transformation a conspicuously formative part.<sup>7</sup> The reforms were a result of a series of attempts at military, administrative and educational modernisation started in the eighteenth century as a result of European scientific and technological progress. The establishment of the first military schools, such as the School of Military Engineering in 1734 and the Military Medical School in 1827, where the learning of European languages and the translation of scientific texts were encouraged, aimed at military modernisation to prevent further defeats. However, it was only with the *Tanzimat* that a conscious Westernisation period began in Turkish history. In this context, it is impossible to isolate the cultural innovations from the social, intellectual, and political milieu of the time. The first purpose of translating during the *Tanzimat* period was political rather than literary, helping to bring Western political

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<sup>7</sup> For translation activity during the *Tanzimat* period, see Saliha Paker, 'Translated European Literature in the Late Ottoman Literary Polysystem', *New Comparison*, 1 (1986), 67-82 and 'Turkey', in *Modern Literature in the Near and Middle East 1850-1970*, ed. by Robin Ostle (London & New York: Routledge, 1991), pp. 17-32; for Turkish literature and the translations of the *Tanzimat* period, see Cevdet Kudret, *Türk Edebiyatında Hikâye ve Roman I* (Istanbul: Varlık Yayınları, 1979); Mustafa Nihat Özön, *Son Asır Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi* (Istanbul: Maarif Matbaası, 1941) and *Türkçede Roman* (Istanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1985 [1936]); İsmail Habib Sevük, *Tanzimat Devri Edebiyatı* (Istanbul: İnkilâp Kitabevi, 1951) and *Tanzimattanberi I* (Istanbul: Remzi Kitabevi, 1944); Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar, *19uncu Asır Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi* (Istanbul: Çağlayan Kitabevi, 1988 [1949]), and Hüseyin Tuncer, *Tanzimat Edebiyatı* (Izmir: Akademi Kitabevi, 1992). Metin And's book, *A History of Theatre and Popular Entertainment in Turkey* (Ankara: Forum Yayınları, 1963-64) gives information on Turkish theatre and drama translations in Turkey. Ahmet Ö. Evin, *Origins and Development of the Turkish Novel* (Minneapolis: Bibliotheca Islamica, 1983), Robert P. Finn, *The Early Turkish Novel 1872-1900* (Istanbul: İsis Yayıncılık, 1984) and Güzin Dino, *Türk Romanının Doğuşu* (Istanbul: Cem Yayınevi, 1978) examine the birth and development of Turkish novel in their books. For general information of the *Tanzimat* period and the development of language and literature in Turkey, see Niyazi Berkes, *The Development of Secularism in Turkey* (Montreal: McGill University Press, 1964); Roderic H. Davison, *Reform in the Ottoman Empire 1856-1876* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1963); Bernard Lewis, *The Emergence of Modern Turkey* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1961); Şerif Mardin, *The Genesis of Young Ottoman Thought* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1962), and Stanford J. and Ezel Kural Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey: Volume II: Reform, Revolution, and Republic: The Rise of Modern Turkey, 1808-1975* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977).



ideas into the Empire. This didactic aim of illuminating and educating the public helped the simplification and development of the Turkish language.

By the start of the nineteenth century new influences began to enter the empire. Knowledge of French started to increase, educational institutions multiplied while military and technical works were being translated. As a result of these new tendencies, Turkish had to become an all-purpose language, easy to learn and easy to understand. There was also a necessity to promulgate the reforms and disseminate new ideas to the citizens and help to create better communication between the government and the people.

Reaction against the old took several forms in literary and linguistic areas. At first, there were attempts to purify the vocabulary, to simplify the style, to clarify spelling, and to broaden the range of the subject matter for published works. These efforts were primarily sustained by increasing translation activity from the Western languages. The enrichment of the vocabulary with more Turkish words was one of the first concerns.

Finally, works started to appear, sometimes even written in the old style, with a new spirit, and a broader range of subject matter. This new interest in different subjects was the result of Western thought and new ideas which the Turkish readers had discovered through their translations.

With the increase of different types of translated texts, new genres, such as the novel and drama, were introduced into Turkish literature. The first literary translations were made from French into Turkish in 1859, each representing a new literary genre: Western poetry, philosophical dialogue and the novel are generally regarded as the first step of the literary innovations. İbrahim Şinasi's translation of French poetry *Tercüme-i Manzume* (Translations of Verse) was in the form of a collection of selected verse from the classic French poets, including Jean de La Fontaine, Alphonse de Lamartine, Nicholas Joseph Florent Gilbert, and Jean Racine. Yusuf Kâmil Paşa translated François de

Salignac de La Mothe Fénelon's *Les Aventures de Télémaque* which is considered as the first novel to be translated from a Western language into Turkish. The third book translated in 1859 was *Muhaverât-ı Hikemiye* (Philosophical Dialogues) by Münif Efendi. *Muhaverât-ı Hikemiye* consisted of some conversational pieces from Fénelon, Bernard Le Bovier de Fontenelle and François Marie Arouet Voltaire. Cultural innovation with the educational reforms in schools and institutions, a new generation of intelligentsia, and the establishment of mass media in the form of privately owned newspapers resulted in increased translation activity at every level. The new intelligentsia, trained in government service, with a good knowledge of foreign languages and culture, usually French, could follow the Western world and disseminate Western ideas through the press. They had multiple roles as intellectuals, authors, and popularisers of ideas. To give a significant example, Şinasi, one of the first publishers of the privately owned newspaper, *Tercüman-ı Ahval*, and the first Turkish writer to translate poetry from French, wrote the first Turkish domestic comedy in the Western tradition which appeared in 1860.<sup>8</sup>

Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar suggests that one of the most important reasons for the lack for any innovation in literature in the Islamic, as well as the Ottoman civilisation until the nineteenth century was the absence of literary models.<sup>9</sup> Provision of numerous models was largely due to the translations which enabled a literary transformation beginning in the *Tanzimat* period. The newly established institutions and newspapers were the main vehicles for disseminating translations. Their first newspapers played a very important role in the creation of a new, simple Turkish prose style. Translation

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<sup>8</sup> İbrahim Şinasi, *Şair Evlenmesi* (Ankara: Dün-Bugün Yayınevi, 1960 [1860]), translated into English by Edward Allworth, *The wedding of a Poet: A One-Act Comedy* (New York: Griffon House, 1981). *Şair Evlenmesi* was written between 1858-1859 and first serialised in *Tercüman-ı Ahval* between 29 Oct.-19 Nov. 1860. Immediately after its serialisation, the play was published in book form in November 1860.

<sup>9</sup> Tanpınar, *19uncu Asır*, p. 28.

activity was probably a main means in the transformation of Turkish culture which started during the *Tanzimat* period.

During the *II. Meşrutiyet* (1908-1919), the second constitutional period, while the Empire was in decline, three ideological movements, the “Westerniser”, “Islamist”, and “Turkist” were influential. Islamic groups who wanted to defend Islam against the increasing criticism of Christian missionaries and the new group of European Orientalists and thinkers, like Ernest Renan, supported Sultan Abdülhamit’s pan-Islamic policy. The new secular intelligentsia stood up as protagonists of the idea of Westernism. Additionally, stimulated by the political, economic, and literary awakening of the Turkish-speaking peoples under Russian rule in the nineteenth century, by the new interest of certain romantically inspired European writers, such as Léon Cahun (1841-1900), by the increasing effect of the movement ‘towards the people’ initiated by Şinasi, and finally by the nationalist movements of the non-Muslim and non-Turkish communities of the Ottoman Empire, a group of writers shifted the attention to the ethnic past of the Turks.<sup>10</sup> The definition of identity and civilisation and their sources - in the Western world, in Islamic or in pre-Islamic Turkish history - was the main conflict. However, they all were Ottomanists as far as political problems were concerned.

It was the Turkist movement which Ziya Gökalp (1876-1924)<sup>11</sup> transformed from a mere political concept into a cultural one that became the basis for Kemalism.<sup>12</sup> Writing

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<sup>10</sup> Niyazi Berkes, ‘Translator’s Introduction’, in Ziya Gökalp, *Turkish Nationalism and Western Civilisation: Selected Essays of Ziya Gökalp*, trans. and ed. by Niyazi Berkes (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1959), pp. 13-31 (p. 19).

<sup>11</sup> Ziya Gökalp (1876-1924), Turkish social theorist, regarding Turkish nationalism and its meaning in terms of Islam and Western civilisation. For his selected essays in English, see Ziya Gökalp, *Turkish Nationalism and Western Civilisation: Selected Essays of Ziya Gökalp*, trans. and ed. by Niyazi Berkes (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1959) and Uriel Heyd, *Foundations of Turkish Nationalism: The Life and Teachings of Ziya Gökalp* (London: Luzac and the Harvill Press, 1950). For studies on Ziya Gökalp, see Taha Parla, *The Social and Political Thought of Ziya Gökalp, 1876-1924* (Leiden: Brill, 1985) and Ziya Gökalp, *Kemalizm ve Türkiye’de Korporatizm* (Istanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1989).

prior to the establishment of the Republic, Gökbalp struggled to frame a conceptual model which would enhance Turkey's national pride and sense of self-identity. As the best intellectual formulator of the main trends of the Turkish Republic, such as Westernism, democracy, political and economical independence, and secularism, Gökbalp was perhaps the most influential of the spiritual founders of the Turkish Republic.

Being at the crossing point of the Western and Islamic worlds<sup>13</sup>, Turkey is an important case study for analysing different oppositions, such as East and West, traditional and modern, progressive and reactionary, civilised and uncivilised. Beginning with the *Tanzimat* period and the first attempts of modernisation, the question of East and West emerged. Could one borrow from the West selectively was the main question that kept Turkish intelligentsia confused for about a century. Was it possible to adopt methods instrumental to the material advancement of society only, (such as those of science) without having to compromise one's cultural values? 'Or did Western culture and civilisation constitute a coherent unity that turning to the West for advancement would necessarily entail a changed outlook, values and lifestyle?'<sup>14</sup> As a result, there appeared two main points of view on how Western influence might affect Ottoman society. The

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<sup>12</sup> The official ideology of the Turkish Republic, named after its founder Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, Kemalism was the secular, positivistic and rational ideology of the Republic determined to build a nation-state out of the multi-national Ottoman Empire, and then to modernise it on Western lines. During the early years of the Republic, the six fundamental political principles of what came to be known as Kemalism were laid down. They were reformism (or revolutionism), republicanism, secularism, popularism, statism and nationalism.

<sup>13</sup> As Talat Sait Halman rightly argues, Turkey's position is unique in many significant respects: 'It stands at Asia's westernmost edge; and, although its cultural roots are firmly imbedded in Central Asia, it dissociates itself from Asian realities. It is the northernmost part of the Middle East, but has no kinship with the Arab nations or with Iran and maintains an uneasy relationship with them. (It is also the only Moslem nation which has maintained diplomatic ties with the State of Israel from the outset). Turkey is regarded as Europe's south-eastern frontier although only a tiny portion of it is in Europe. It has been hailed as "a NATO bastion", but most NATO members seem ill-at-ease or even resentful about "the only Moslem member"'. Talat Sait Halman, 'Life of Literature and Death of Ideologies in Turkey', *Translation*, 19 (1987), 3-6 (pp. 3-4).

<sup>14</sup> Ahmet Ö. Evin, 'Novelists: New Cosmopolitanism versus Social Pluralism', in *Turkey and the West: Changing Political and Cultural Identities*, ed. by Metin Heper, Ayşe Öncü and Heinz Kramer (London & New York: I.B. Tauris, 1993), pp. 92-115 (p. 104). In his article, Evin discusses these questions in relation to the Turkish novelists and as a result, how the different constructs of the West were reflected in the Turkish novel.

first did not view Western culture and civilisation as a coherent whole and suggested that only the technical, administrative civilisation of the West should be utilised, keeping the cultural and moral heritage of Islam. The second argued that civilisation should be considered as a whole and insisted on the need to change local traditions to keep pace with civilisation.

## CHAPTER 2

### TRANSLATION POLICY AND *TANZIMAT* REFORMS

#### 2.1 Norms

This section examines the translational norms affecting the translational activity in the *Tanzimat* period. However, the limits of this period of time (1839-1876) are not definitive. During my analysis of translated literature, margins of a few years were added prior to 1839 and after 1876 not to destroy the wholeness of the study. This period is the beginning of the Westernisation movement in the Ottoman Empire. It is also the time when the first translations started to be made from Western literatures. Therefore, from a general point of view this is a transition period. At such periods translated literature tends to assume a primary position, participating ‘actively in *modelling the centre* of the polysystem’.<sup>1</sup> This can cause changes or appearance of literary and translational norms. Therefore, an analysis of such a transition period is of a particular importance for the study of norms.

Studying translational norms is important as they can provide useful insights in a number of areas. They can help us to typify the translations produced during the period under study and find out patterns which can shed light on the meanings and implications of translation policies. Norms can tell us about the preconceptions, conventions and

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<sup>1</sup> Itamar Even-Zohar, ‘The Position of Translated Literature within the Literary Polysystem’, in *Literature and Translation: New Perspectives in Literary Studies*, ed. by James S. Holmes, José Lambert and Raymond van den Broeck (Leuven: Acco, 1978), pp. 117-27 (p. 120).

preferences of individual translators, “schools” of translators and translation institutions. We can then identify the status given to the source and target cultures by these bodies and also determine the position of translated literature within the literary polysystem.

Since norms are not directly observable, they have to be reconstructed from actual texts or extratextual sources.<sup>2</sup> My sources for a reconstruction of translational norms in the *Tanzimat* period have been mainly extratextual, such as statistical data on translations, statements made by translators, publishers, and other people involved in or connected with the translation activity, translation commentaries and the activities of individual translators as well as certain institutions, which will be examined individually in the next two chapters.

According to Jale Baysal, 185 of 2900 books published between 1729-1875 were translations from European languages. The majority of these publications appeared during the *Tanzimat* period that Baysal divided in three periods: 1840-1858, from the *Tanzimat* until the first literary translations from the West, 799 books, 1859-1868, the era of the first translations from the West, 537 books, and 1869-1875, the era of theatre and novel, 1128 books. The source language of 41 of these translations could not be identified. French had the highest percentage (58.9%), followed by English with 7% and German with 4.8%.<sup>3</sup> The difficulties of identifying Turkish books published in Arabic script before the script reform in 1928 do not allow us to establish the exact numbers of the published books and translations. Furthermore, translations which appeared in journals and newspapers are not included in the above mentioned numbers. But, as will be seen

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<sup>2</sup> Gideon Toury, *Descriptive Translation Studies and beyond* (Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 1995), p. 65.

<sup>3</sup> Jale Baysal, *Müteferrika'dan Birinci Meşrutiyet'e Kadar Osmanlı Türklerinin Bastıkları Kitaplar* (Istanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Yayınları, 1968), p. 54.

below, journals and newspapers saw the publication of translations as being of great importance during the *Tanzimat* period.

Meral Alpay classified the data she compiled as follows:<sup>4</sup>

Periods	Total	Translations	Percentage
1729-1875	3,074	203	6.4
1876-1907	7,527	1,776	23
1908-1928	13,766	1,555	11.9
	<b>24,367</b>	<b>3,534</b>	

The numbers of published books and translations will show a dramatic increase after the establishment of the Republic. However, the development of the publishing sector and the first notable translation activity were seen during the *Tanzimat* period.

During the entire period under study, prose, especially the novel, was quantitatively the most prominent translated literary genre in the Ottoman literary polysystem. The foremost impact of the first translations made in this period was in the introduction of new genres, such as novels and drama, from Europe. This was part of a reformist programme by the *Tanzimat* intelligentsia, seeking to create a new society with all its institutions. The development of Turkish literature was part of this programme. The first translations helped to familiarise Turkish readers with some aspects of European manners and customs that were otherwise entirely alien to them. It was first of all prose, especially the novel, that attracted a new readership. The new intelligentsia used this vehicle to disseminate their ideas among a wider audience in popularised form. But of course, while this translation activity was serving to educate people and create public opinion, it also had an impact on the literature and language of the Ottoman polysystem.

<sup>4</sup> Meral Alpay, *Harf Devriminin Kütüphanelere Yansıması* (Istanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Kütüphanecilik Bölümü, 1976), p. 450.



In this short study, no choice has been made to prioritise any genre or source language and literature. However, as will be seen, a predominating genre and a source language and literature appear automatically.

### 2.1.1 Preliminary Norms

Toury defines the preliminary norms as operating before the stage of direct actual text analysis and formulation, and having ‘to do with two main sets of considerations which are often interconnected: those regarding the existence and actual nature of a definite translation policy, and those related to the directness of translation’.<sup>5</sup>

During the first stage, the translation policy that the new intelligentsia followed was political. They preferred to translate eighteenth century French political writings. At the same time, as a result of government policy, translations of scientific and technical books from European languages were made in the newly established institutions. The emphasis of translated literature was on prose as the best didactic medium. Until the Abdülhamit period (1876-1909), which brought censorship of the press, the great majority of the translations were serialised in newspapers and magazines. This helped the development of journalistic prose. It also helped the translations of non-canonised literature from Western sources which became ‘primary’ in the Ottoman target polysystem. On the other hand, the canonised source literature took a popularised form, as will be seen in Ahmet Mithat Efendi’s translations.

In the period under study, it would not be false to say that there was only one main source language and literature which was French. There were only few works translated

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<sup>5</sup> Toury, *Descriptive*, p. 58.

from German, English, and Italian literatures.<sup>6</sup> The quantitative dominance of French as a source language and literature continued also after the *Tanzimat* period. But at the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth translations from English and Russian literatures started to increase. Translations from the former were carried out also by women translators who had been educated in British or American girl schools.<sup>7</sup> For the latter, a possible source of interest might be the Turks from Russia.<sup>8</sup>

Since most of the translators had mastery of several foreign languages, the main reason for French dominance seems to lie in the prestige that French culture held in the Ottoman polysystem. This explains why French served also as the mediating language while translating from other source literatures. We know that Goldoni's plays were first translated by Europeans.<sup>9</sup> Schiller's *Kabale und Liebe* was translated from its French version, *Intrigue et Amour* by Alexandre Dumas père. Silvio Pellico's *Le mie prigioni*

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<sup>6</sup> From several sources we know that works of the following authors were translated during the *Tanzimat* period: from French: François de Salignac de La Mothe Fénelon, Victor Hugo, François Marie Arouet Voltaire, Bernard Le Bovier de Fontenelle, Alexandre Dumas père, Chateaubriand, René Le Sage, Bernardin de Saint-Pierre, Paul de Kock, Xavier de Montépin, Ponson du Terrail, Eugène Sue, Jean-Jacques Rousseau, Charles de Secondat, baron de Montesquieu, Jean-Baptiste Poquelin de Molière, Jean de La Fontaine, Alphonse de Lamartine, Nicholas Joseph Florent Gilbert, Jean Racine; from English: Ann Ward Radcliffe, Daniel Defoé; from Italian: Silvio Pellico, Carlo Goldoni; from German: Friedrich Schiller. The works of the authors in the list above are predominantly novels. But there are also works from other genres: poems of La Fontaine, Lamartine, Gilbert and Racine, articles of Rousseau and Montesquieu, and plays of Molière, Schiller and Goldoni were translated. This list is compiled from Ahmet Ö. Evin, *Origins and Development of the Turkish Novel* (Minneapolis: Bibliotheca Islamica, 1983), pp. 41-78; Mustafa Nihat Özön, *Son Asır Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi* (Istanbul: Maarif Matbaası, 1941), pp. 224-31, and *Türkçede Roman* (Istanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1985 [1936]), pp. 111-42; Cevdet Perin, *Tanzimat Edebiyatında Fransız Tesiri* (Istanbul: Pulhan Matbaası, 1946), pp. 209-32; Metin And, *A History of Theatre and Popular Entertainment in Turkey* (Ankara: Forum Yayınları, 1963-64), pp. 86-88; Otto Hachtmann, 'Türkische Übersetzungen aus Europäischen Literatures: Ein Bibliographischer Versuch', *Die Welt des Islams*, 6 (1918), 1-23; Şerif Mardin, *The Genesis of Young Ottoman Thought* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1962), pp. 229-46; Saliha Paker, 'Translated European Literature in the Late Ottoman Literary Polysystem', *New Comparison*, 1 (1986), 67-82, and 'Turkey', in *Modern Literature in the Near and Middle East 1850-1970*, ed. by Robin Ostle (London & New York: Routledge, 1991), pp. 17-32. However, a satisfactory compilation of translated works during this period has not been accomplished. Most of the dates of publication given in the above mentioned sources are contradictory. There are furthermore difficulties to identify the original titles of some translations, as well as their source languages.

<sup>7</sup> Among them, Halide Edip (Adivar) (1884-1964) is the most famous writer/translator. See Hachtmann, p. 9.

<sup>8</sup> Hachtmann, p. 16.

<sup>9</sup> And, p. 87.

was also translated from French. The fact that *Robinson Crusoe* was translated from the Arabic is probably coincidental. It was later retranslated from French by other translators. The only translations made from a language other than French were Ann Ward Radcliffe's works. We can suppose that the choice of French as the mediating language was a deliberate one, seeing French as the most prestigious language. The tendency of valuing languages was common at that time. Otto Hachtmann's example of such a fact is good evidence for this. He claimed that Heinrich Heine was the first German poet that was translated by a Turk, Münif Paşa, around 1860. But Münif Paşa did not translate Heine's poems into Turkish but into Persian. Probably he did not regard Turkish as capable and elegant enough to convey the poetry.<sup>10</sup>

The picture of literary systems translated into the Ottoman target system shows that the authors and texts translated during this period were both canonical and non-canonical. However, there is sufficient evidence to argue that the general tendency was for non-canonised translated literature. When we look at the number of works translated by each author we see that non-canonised novel translations, such as the works of Paul de Kock and Eugène Sue maintain the majority. But it was also very common that canonised source texts became non-canonised in the Ottoman target system. One main reason for this was the fact that these translations were first serialised in newspapers.

After 1835, many public and private presses and publishing houses were established. Nevertheless, there were few works that appeared in book form before 1876. As a logical result translations, appearing in newspapers were in popularised forms. This is one of the reasons why non-canonised literature was preferred for translating. Also canonised literature was usually translated in popularised forms, becoming non-canonised in the target Ottoman polysystem. At the end of this period, translated literature started to

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<sup>10</sup> Hachtmann, p. 12.

appear in book form. As a contradiction, in spite of the censorship of the Hamidian period on the press, the number and variety of the books that were published increased.

A major part of the books translated into Turkish during this period was carried out by a small number of translators. Another point worth noting is that most of the canonised works were translated by different translators and the “famous” translators preferred to translate canonised rather than non-canonised literature. On the other hand, specialisation in the works of certain authors occurred with translators translating non-canonised literature. As will be seen in the following chapters, translators such as Ahmet Mithat and Ahmet Vefik Paşa, whose preferences were for non-canonised literature, have been regarded as “popularisers” and “fathers of adaptation”.

### 2.1.2 Operational Norms

According to Toury, operational norms ‘may be conceived of as directing the decisions made during the act of translation itself. They affect the matrix of the text - i.e., the models of distributing linguistic material in it - as well as the textual make-up and verbal formulation as such’.<sup>11</sup>

The translated texts, according to their “fullness”, are to be examined in two separate groups: canonised and non-canonised works in the source literature. The tendency, while translating canonised literature from the source literature, is to abridge the text. On the other hand, we do not have any evidence that this happened with non-canonised literature. The omitted parts of the former consist mainly of the textual aspects regarded by the translator as non-relevant to the core of the story, since the translators’ main concern was to convey the “story”. Another reason for omissions was to leave out the aspects that were alien to the target culture.

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<sup>11</sup> Toury, *Descriptive*, p. 58.

But at the same time, as a result of the continuing struggle between the traditional ornate style of Ottoman prose and a relatively simple Turkish, this lofty style of “high” Ottoman prose was still acceptable. Some translators still translated canonised works of European literature into a “high” language as close to the original as possible. In order to create a poetic style, some additions were made to the descriptions while omitting some other parts to obtain clarity of message.

As far as manipulation of textual segmentation is concerned, there are some regulations: at the first stage of the period, punctuation was almost never used. This led to long phrases connected with conjunctives which resulted in long paragraphs. In such a text, direct speeches became indirect speeches in order not to destroy the wholeness of the paragraph. Another interesting point worth noting here is the “adaptations” of European drama, especially of Molière’s plays. In these, the translator, Ahmet Vefik Paşa, manipulated the texts in such a way that they became like an “original” in the target system. The most effective way to achieve this was to create characters that existed in the target culture. Changing the names, bringing local tastes into the text were some of the methods to acculturate the text.

This was also a transition period for the language. The first translations helped the growth of Turkish vocabulary as the main motivating force and the development of simplified prose. The main preference, while translating “high” literatures, was to use canonised Ottoman prose. In order to be close to the original, the target language ended up having a more ornate style than the source language and being more difficult to comprehend. In translations of non-canonised literature, the target language was

acceptable. But then again, “adequate” translations of canonised works had usually been retranslated into an “acceptable” target language by other translators.<sup>12</sup>

However, at the end of this period, a compromise between these two positions began to crystallise and novelistic prose started to emerge. The main problem in developing a simple Turkish style was the difficulty of inexperienced translators using this “new” language. The difficulty of finding linguistic equivalences for the new concepts and the habit of using Arabic and Persian vocabulary caused an artificial language for a while.

The common tendency, by transferring the foreign-language elements, was the transliteration of these. But the most popular translated texts were those where such elements were translated into Turkish. However, these translations were regarded as adaptations and seen as a different genre.

## 2.2 Institutions

The role and function of some institutions of the *Tanzimat* period, which were established in the capital, were enormous in introducing European ideas to the Ottoman society, in educating the most distinguished statesmen, thinkers, scholars and literary innovators of the time, but also in generating the first translations from the Western sources. In this respect, the first literary translations from the Western languages should be correlated with the aims and functions of these institutions.

By the nineteenth century, the big progress of Europe in military but also in intellectual, economic and political spheres had given rise to the recognition of the

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<sup>12</sup> According to Toury, these two terms, i.e. “adequacy” and “acceptability” denote two tendencies which can be observed in translated texts. A translation is termed “adequate” if it follows the norms of the source system, and “acceptable” if it follows those of the target system. See Gideon Toury, *In Search of a Theory in Translation* (Tel Aviv: Porter Institute for Poetic and Semiotics, 1980), and *Descriptive Translation Studies and beyond* (Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 1995).

superior position of the West by the Ottomans. As a result, the need for increasing diplomatic relations and a better communication with the Western world, as well as the conveyance of European ideas and knowledge emerged. To this end, teaching European languages, especially French, became a necessity among the Ottoman statesmen and intellectuals, along with the translation of Western scientific books which were thought to be essential for the progress of the Ottoman state and society. The didactic approach to translations ultimately gave rise to the development of a plain and simple language which was probably one of the greatest services done by these institutions.

### **2.2.1 Translation Chamber (*Tercüme Odası*)**

Increasing diplomatic relations with the West resulted in the early nineteenth century in a growing need for more and better interpreters. Over the centuries the Empire had used interpreters, mostly Christians, or Christian converts to Islam for its international affairs, since very few Turks knew any Western languages. This was because Christian states were never considered equal to Islamic states. Muslims living in Christian states for long periods were criticised, foreign ambassadors were often looked down on by Ottoman Sultans and grand viziers.<sup>13</sup> This is why until the late eighteenth century, the Ottoman Empire did not maintain any permanent diplomatic representation in Western countries. When need arose, a special mission was sent to another foreign capital, but until 1792

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<sup>13</sup> On how the foreign ambassadors were treated by the Sublime Porte, see İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Devletinin Merkez ve Bahriye Teşkilâtı* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1948), pp. 270-73.

fewer than twenty of these were recorded.<sup>14</sup> However, with the conquest of Istanbul (1453), the Venetians sent their first ambassador Bartelcini Marsello to the new Ottoman capital, followed by other foreign ambassadors.<sup>15</sup>

By the eighteenth century, there were four separate areas where dragomans were officially commissioned; in *Divan-ı Hümayun* (Foreign Office), in the administration of provinces, in educational institutions and in foreign embassies and consulates.<sup>16</sup> Dragomans had been active in *Divan-ı Hümayun* since the early sixteenth century.<sup>17</sup> From the eighteenth century until the Greek revolt in 1821, the office of the Chief Dragoman was held by the Greek Phanariots of Istanbul.<sup>18</sup> However, after the Greek revolt, Greeks were not welcome in official positions anymore. Additionally, suspicion began to dawn at the Porte that the Greeks were disloyal to the Ottoman government. Finally, in 1821,

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<sup>14</sup> Bernard Lewis, 'The Impact of the French Revolution on Turkey', *Cahiers d'histoire mondiale*, 1:1 (1953), 105-25 (p. 111). It was the period of Sultan Selim III (1761-1808) when regular and permanent Ottoman Embassies were established in the major European capitals. On Ottoman embassies and their activities, see R. Reşit Unat, *Osmanlı Sefirleri ve Sefaretnameleri* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1987); Ercüment Kuran, *Avrupa'da Osmanlı İkamet Elçiliklerinin Kuruluşu: İlk Elçiliklerin Siyasi Faaliyetleri* (Ankara: Türk Kültürünü Araştırma Enstitüsü, 1988 [1968]); Stanford J. Shaw, *Between Old and New: The Ottoman Empire under Sultan Selim III 1789-1807* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1971); and Mehmet Alaaddin Yalçın, 'The First Permanent Ottoman-Turkish Embassy in Europe: The Embassy of Yusuf Agah Efendi to London (1793-1797)' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Birmingham University, 1993), 'Mahmud Raif Efendi as the Chief Secretary of Yusuf Agah Efendi, the First Permanent Ottoman Turkish Ambassador to London', *OTAM*, 5 (1994), 385-434, 'Osmanlı Devletinin Yeniden Yapılanması Çalışmalarında İlk İkamet Elçisinin Rolü', *Toplumsal Tarih*, 32 (1996), 45-54. On the dragomans in foreign embassies and consulates, see Kemal Çiçek, 'Yabancı Konsolosluk Tercümanları', *Tarih ve Toplum*, 25:146 (1996), 17-23, on the status of these dragomans, see Kenan İnan, 'Osmanlı Döneminde Yabancı Elçilik ve Konsolosluklarda Görevli Tercümanların Statüleri', *Tarih ve Toplum*, 26:154 (1996), 4-9. For a more detailed study on an Armenian dragoman family who was commissioned in the Swedish Embassy in Istanbul in the eighteenth century, see Kevork Pamukciyan, 'Camcioğlu Ermeni Tercümanlar Ailesi', *Tarih ve Toplum*, 24:143 (1995), 23-27.

<sup>15</sup> Cahit Bilim, 'Tercüme Odası', *OTAM*, 1 (1990), 29-43 (p. 29). Poland (1475), Russia (1497), France (1525), Austria (1528), England (1583) and Holland (1612) followed the Venetian embassy established in Istanbul in 1454.

<sup>16</sup> See Cengiz Orhonlu, 'Tercüman', in *İslam Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 12 (Istanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1974), 175-81, Vedat Günyol, 'Türkiye'de Çeviri', in *Cumhuriyet Dönemi Türkiye Ansiklopedisi*, ed. by Murat Belge, vol. 2 (Istanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1983), 324-30 (pp. 324-25), and Saliha Paker, 'The Turkish Tradition', in *Routledge Encyclopedia of Translation Studies*, ed. by Mona Baker (London & New York: Routledge, 1998), pp. 571-82 (pp. 571-72).

<sup>17</sup> Uzunçarşılı, p. 71; Orhonlu, p. 176.

<sup>18</sup> On the dragomans in *Divan-ı Hümayun* (Foreign Office), see Uzunçarşılı, pp. 71-76.



when the Phanariot Chief Dragoman was executed on suspicion of being involved with Greek revolutionaries, the decision was taken to entrust the post to a Muslim.<sup>19</sup>

In that year, Yahya Efendi, a Greek convert to Islam, who taught at the Military School of Engineering, was transferred to the office of dragoman with the responsibility to organise a training programme in Greek and French. This was the establishment of the *Tercüme Odası* (Translation Chamber) at the Porte. On Yahya Efendi's death in 1823 or 1824, he was succeeded by, first, Hoca İshak Efendi, a Jewish convert, and later, by his son in law, Halil Esrar Efendi. However, until 1833, the Translation Chamber did not draw much attention. It was political developments which helped the growth of the Chamber's importance after 1833.<sup>20</sup> The defeat of Ottoman troops by the Egyptian army of Mehmet Ali Paşa, France's support for Mehmet Ali, England's neutrality and Sultan Mahmut II's request for help from Russia, resulted in the Treaty of Kütahya with Mehmet Ali and of Hünkâr İskelesi with Russia in 1833. All these developments gave rise to the need for better diplomacy with foreign powers.<sup>21</sup> Sultan Mahmut II (1785-1839) reopened the permanent embassies in the major European capitals which had been allowed to lapse after the deposition of Sultan Selim III.<sup>22</sup> He also started to give more importance to the Translation Chamber. The salaries of Esrar Efendi and his colleagues were increased. Tecelli Mehmet Efendi was appointed as the official teacher in *Divan-ı Hümayun* to train Turkish and other Muslim young men as state translators and interpreters.<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> B. Lewis, *The Emergence of Modern Turkey* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1961), p. 86.

<sup>20</sup> This is probably why some sources give the date of the foundation of the Translation Chamber as 1833. See, for example, B. Lewis, *Emergence*, p. 87 and Paker, 'Translated European Literature in the Late Ottoman Literary Polysystem', p. 68. Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar, *19uncu Asır Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi* (Istanbul: Çağlayan Kitabevi, 1988 [1949]), p. 142, and Günyol, 'Türkiye'de Çeviri', p. 325, state this date as 1832.

<sup>21</sup> *Bilim*, p. 38.

<sup>22</sup> B. Lewis, *Emergence*, p. 87.

<sup>23</sup> *Bilim*, p. 38; Uzunçarşılı, p. 74.

By the 1840s, the Chamber was already one of the most important centres preparing young bureaucrats for governmental careers. In 1841, its staff reached thirty in number, including one court dragoman, one chief dragoman, five first class dragomans, five second class dragomans, seventeen dragomans and one teacher. The routine of work was supplemented by teaching European languages, especially French, to Muslims and by training them as translators of official documents, as well as Arabic, Persian, general history and mathematics.<sup>24</sup> This was also to help to raise the educational prerequisites for admission into civil service positions. The young employees of the Translation Chamber learned or perfected their French, and most of them went to European capitals on diplomatic service.<sup>25</sup>

In the Translation Chamber itself there were also Europeans, such as the English Orientalist James W. Redhouse who was also for a time its head. In 1871, the Chamber was absorbed into the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The Translation Chamber was like a school for the young Ottoman officials from which emerged Young Ottoman writers and statesmen with a new world view and new political ideas inspired by the West through

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<sup>24</sup> Bilim, pp. 39-40.

<sup>25</sup> Many of the pioneers of reforms and the first translators of European literature, started their careers as clerks in this office. A list of the names who attended the Translation Chamber with their subsequent positions might give a better idea of the enormous importance of the Chamber in Ottoman political and cultural life during the *Tanzimat*: Âli Paşa (1815-1871): Foreign Minister, Grand Vizier; Fuat Paşa (1815-1869): Foreign Minister, Grand Vizier; Saffet Paşa (1814-1883): Minister of Education, Foreign Minister, Minister of Trade, Grand Vizier; İbrahim Sarım Paşa: Grand Vizier (Sarım Paşa served in London Embassy in 1834, became grand vizier during the reign of Abdülmecit); Namık Kemal (1840-1888): Young Ottoman writer and journalist, the first translator of Montesquieu (Namık Kemal worked in the Translation Chamber between 9 November 1857-22 March 1867); Ahmet Vefik Paşa (1823-1891): Grandson of Yahya Efendi. Writer, Minister of Education, president of Chamber of Duties and Grand Vizier, translator of Molière's plays into Turkish; Fevzi Bey: The first Turkish communications officer; M. Namık Paşa (1804-1892): Director of the Imperial Guards, *Serasker*, Minister of the Navy, Ambassador to London; M. Sadık Rifat Paşa (1807-1856): Ambassador to Vienna in 1837, Foreign Minister; Haydar Efendi: Under-secretary and chargé d'affaires to Tehran Embassy, *Şehr-emini* (City Commissioner) of Istanbul; Billurî Mehmet Efendi: The first Director of Telegraph, employee in the Foreign Office, deputy *Şehr-emini*; Agâh Efendi (1832-1885): Young Ottoman writer, publisher of newspaper *Tercüman-ı Ahval*, introduced postage stamps as Minister of Posts in 1861; Ziya Paşa (1825-1880): *Tanzimat* author; Sadullah Paşa (1838-1890): Ambassador to Berlin; Mehmet Bey (1843-1874): Young Ottoman; Münif Efendi (Paşa) (1828-1910): Founder of the *Cemiyet-i İlmiye-i Osmaniye* (Ottoman Society of Science), translator of the *philosophes* into Turkish; Ethem Pertev Paşa (d. 1837): *Tanzimat* poet; Mehmet Şekip (d. 1855): Ambassador to London, Foreign Minister, Ambassador to Vienna. See Bilim, 40-41.

foreign language knowledge.<sup>26</sup> Thanks to their posts in European cities, the young diplomats and dragomans had the opportunity to experience the Western world directly. As a result, they were the first to bring innovation to the Empire.

### 2.2.2 The Academy of Knowledge (*Encümen-i Dâniş*)

The establishment of a university, called *Darülfünûn*, was recommended as early as 1846 in a report written by the Temporary Commission of Education (*Meclis-i Maarif-i Muvakkat*) set up in 1845. The commission, in a separate report, also suggested the formation of *Encümen-i Dâniş* (The Academy of Knowledge) after completion of the building of *Darülfünûn*, for the preparation of teaching materials for the prospective university. Even though the building for the university was ready, it was not opened due to the government's reaction against the revolutionary student movements. However, *Encümen-i Dâniş* was opened on 18 July 1851 with a big ceremony including Sultan Abdülmecit and the grand vizier, Mustafa Reşit Paşa.<sup>27</sup> Following the opening speeches by Mustafa Reşit Paşa and Hayrullah Efendi<sup>28</sup>, a Turkish grammar book, *Kavaid-i Osmaniye*, written by Ahmet Cevdet and Mehmet Fuat, was presented to the Sultan and the Academy which was, then, accepted to be published and appeared in the next few months as the Academy's first publication.

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<sup>26</sup> Roderic H. Davison, *Reform in the Ottoman Empire 1856-1876* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1963), pp. 28-30.

<sup>27</sup> For *Encümen-i Dâniş*, see Kenan Akyüz, *Encümeni Dâniş* (Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi Eğitim Bilimleri Fakültesi Yayınları, 1975); Enver Behnan Şapolyo, 'Encümen-i Dâniş'in Tarihçesi', *Türk Kültürü*, 67 (1968), 439-44; Abdullah Uçman, 'Encümeni Dâniş', in *Diyanet İşleri Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 11 (Istanbul: Diyanet İşleri Vakfı, 1995), 176-78; M. Şakir Ülkütaşır, 'Encümeni Dâniş: İlk Türk Akademisi', *Türk Yurdu*, 254 (1956), 695-98; Richard L. Chambers, 'The Encümen-i Daniş and Ottoman Modernization', in *VIII. Türk Tarih Kongresi. Ankara 11-15 Ekim 1976*, vol. 2 (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1981), 1283-89.

<sup>28</sup> Hayrullah Efendi's speech was written by Ahmet Cevdet Paşa. All these documents are to be found in Akyüz.

*Encümen-i Dâniş* was probably one of the most influential institutions in the nineteenth century being the first official academy established in the Empire. One of the main achievements of this institution was in the field of language development. As will be seen below, *Encümen-i Dâniş* promoted a simple and plain language and style in translations, as was already stated in its statutes. In addition, with the two main books on language, *Kavaid-i Osmaniye* and *Lehçe-i Osmani*, *Encümen-i Dâniş* took the first step towards the Turkification of the language. The importance of the academy also lies in its promotion of economic and political theories and especially historical knowledge through translations that its members produced. But more importantly, *Encümen-i Dâniş* helped the emergence of a modern educated élite in opposition to the conservative *ulema* (learned men) and opened a new horizon by showing the importance of institutionalisation.

It is important to look at the report by *Meclis-i Muvakkat* on the establishment of *Encümen-i Dâniş*, and at its expanded version, prepared by the Council on Public Education (*Meclis-i Maarif-i Umûmiye*) set up in 1846 to understand the tasks and the role laid on this institution.

According to the report by *Meclis-i Muvakkat*<sup>29</sup>, *Encümen-i Dâniş* should have two main tasks; to write and translate textbooks for the prospective university (*Darülfünûn*) and other books necessary for general education. Translations were encouraged not only from the Arabic and Persian, but also from Western languages, since it was believed that the reason why certain sciences were spreading so easily in Western countries was the translation of foreign scientific works into their own languages. Therefore, the language and style of the translations had to be plain and simple so they could be easily understood. Other proposals in the report can be summarised as follows: *Encümen-i Dâniş* should have forty members, half of them consisting of external

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<sup>29</sup> The report was unsigned and not dated. See Akyüz, pp. 32-35.

specialists, and one director. The membership should be a title of honour and the members should not receive any payments for this duty. However, they were to receive favours from the Sultan for the books they wrote or their translations, according to the value of these works. Upon the request of *Meclis-i Maarif-i Umûmiye* to translate a work, volunteers had to produce sample translations which were then examined and selected by the Academy. The same procedure applied also for original works. Moreover, for translators lacking sufficient Turkish competency, two editors and a secretary among the internal members were to be commissioned. Finally, *Encümen-i Dâniş* was not to be an independent institution but attached to the Ministry of Education.

*Meclis-i Maarif-i Umûmiye* worked on this report and produced another version<sup>30</sup> which became the basis for the statutes of *Encümen-i Dâniş*. On the whole, the proposals in *Meclis-i Muvakkat*'s report were accepted with little changes, such as to establish the Academy without waiting for the completion of the university building; to increase the number of internal members from twenty to forty, whereas the number of external members was kept unlimited; to have two directors instead of one; but to cancel the positions for the two editors and the one secretary. When need arose, a temporary editor and two voluntary secretaries from other government offices could be commissioned.

In the core of all these attempts lay the realisation that the defeats of the Ottoman State on the battle field were a sign of a general regress. Kenan Akyüz stressed the term "civilization" used in *Meclis-i Maarif-i Umûmiye*'s report as an indication that Ottoman intellectuals perceived Westernization not only in terms of advancement in certain technical fields, but as a transformation in a wider sense, including sciences and culture. This "civilization" then, with science, technique and culture as its main components would automatically bring prosperity and wealth to nations.<sup>31</sup> The most emphasised point

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<sup>30</sup> Dated 12 January 1851, this report was written by Cevdet Paşa. See Akyüz, pp. 44-49.

<sup>31</sup> See Akyüz, pp. 19, 24.

both in these reports and in the statute of the Academy was probably the language issue. It was repeatedly noted that the Academy should guarantee a simple Turkish which aimed to be understood by common people but also ‘to serve the development of the Turkish language’.<sup>32</sup>

By the eighteenth and early nineteenth century, Ottoman Turkish was transformed from the vernacular into an extremely complex, heavy and artificial language which was used especially by the state bureaucracy and men of letters and Ottoman prose had degenerated into mere bombast, full of contorted syntax and swollen verbiage where the meaning was lost. The official style which was incomprehensible to the layman also helped the governing and religious élites to restrict access and increase prestige.<sup>33</sup> But sometimes even people of some education complained about the language, like the example of *Ceride-i Havadis* (Journal of the News), when the people complained to William Churchill, the editor of the newspaper, that they had difficulty in understanding it, even though the paper was written in “middle Turkish” rather than “eloquent Turkish”.<sup>34</sup>

Pure Turkish words that were missing from the literary vocabulary were replaced by their Persian and Arabic equivalents, and when they did not fill the needs, European imports were used. Punctuation was almost unknown. Because of the unsuitability of the Arabic alphabet to Turkish sounds, it was difficult to read and write accurately. Finally, there were nine different calligraphic systems in use at that time.<sup>35</sup>

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<sup>32</sup> Akyüz, p. 51.

<sup>33</sup> B. Lewis, *Emergence*, p. 420.

<sup>34</sup> Davison, p. 176.

<sup>35</sup> Davison, p. 176.

By the *Tanzimat* period, this mixture of Arabic, Persian and Turkish, the official and literary language, was called *Osmanlıca* (Ottoman) and not *Türkçe* (Turkish) as the pre-*Tanzimat* Turkish Empire, composite of races, nations, cultures, and religions, was called Ottoman Empire. The identity of the people was determined according to the *millet* system.<sup>36</sup> It was the Europeans who spoke of Turkey and Turks when they referred to events in the Ottoman Empire. Even *Türkiye*, the name adopted for the newly established country at the beginning of this century, was taken from the Italian *Turchia*.

Beginning with the *Tanzimat* period, the Ottoman language had been found unsuitable as an instrument of popular education and incapable of expressing modern ideas. Even the change of the name of the language from Ottoman to Turkish was suggested by several writers, whereas Turkish 'should no longer be a derogatory designation for the language of illiterate peasants but the name of a great *Kultursprache*, which is much older than the Ottoman Empire'.<sup>37</sup>

*Encümen-i Dâniş*, as has been generally argued, was modelled on the *Académie Française* (1635) in some aspects.<sup>38</sup> M. Şakir Ülkütaşır claimed that the term *Encümen-i Dâniş* was the Ottoman equivalent of the word "academy".<sup>39</sup> Also Şinasi used *Encümen-i*

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<sup>36</sup> The word *millet*, used in Turkish for nation, from the Arabic *milla* occurs in the Koran with the meaning of religion. It was later extended to mean religious community, especially the community of Islam. In the Ottoman Empire, beginning with the fifteenth century, it came to be applied to the organised and legally recognised religious communities and by extension also to the different 'nations' of the Franks. Even as applied to the Frankish nations the term was at first understood as having primarily religious sense. A *millet* was based on religious affiliation alone and included members of different ethnic groups and residents of widely separated regions of the Empire. So in the Empire, there was a Muslim *millet*, but no Turkish or Arab or Kurdish *millets*; there were Greek and Armenian and Jewish *millets*, but as religious communities, not as ethnic nations. Until the late nineteenth century, Greeks and Slavs alike formed part of the Greek Orthodox *millet*, while on the other hand Gregorian and Catholic Armenians formed separate *millets*. By the second half of the nineteenth century *millet* began to be used by a few Turks to mean 'nation' and 'people' in the modern sense, rather than to denote a specific religious group.

<sup>37</sup> Uriel Heyd, *Language Reform in Turkey* (Jerusalem: Israel Oriental Society, 1954), p. 13.

<sup>38</sup> B. Lewis, *Emergence*, p. 431; Akyüz, pp. 29-30; Uçman, p. 177.

<sup>39</sup> Ülkütaşır, p. 695, n.1. But as Şapolyo showed, *Encümen-i Dâniş* can be translated as the "commission of the scholars" (learned men). See Şapolyo, p. 440.

*Dâniş* as the equivalence of the *Académie Française* in his *Tasvir-i Efkâr*, when talking about Ernest Renan as ‘a member of *Encümen-i Dâniş* in France’.<sup>40</sup> The similarities of these institutions included government support in their establishment, the importance given to the development and purification of the language and the rewarding of meritorious works. Furthermore, like the *Académie Française*, *Encümen-i Dâniş* consisted of forty internal members.<sup>41</sup> However, according to the state almanacs (*devlet salnamesi*), this number often remained under forty.<sup>42</sup> The Academy was composed of all kinds of people; Muslim and non-Muslim teachers, young historians, scientists, statesmen, etc. Translators, such as Yusuf Kâmil Paşa and Ahmet Vefik Efendi (Paşa) and statesmen like Mustafa Reşit Paşa were among these members. According to the statutes of the Academy<sup>43</sup>, each member had to be a specialist in at least one of the new fields of knowledge as well as have command of one foreign language together with a good degree of Turkish to be able to translate works into this language. However, knowledge of Turkish was not a major requirement, as long as members were advancing learning. On the other hand, external members did not have to know any Turkish. They just had to be able to produce scientific works in any language and present them to the Academy. Some European Orientalists, such as J. de Hammer (Joseph Freiherr von Hammer-Purgstall), Thomas Xavier Bianchi (1783-1864), and James W. Redhouse were among the external members.<sup>44</sup> Furthermore, the two presidents of the Academy, chosen from the Ministry of

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<sup>40</sup> Akyüz, p. 30.

<sup>41</sup> Taceddin Kayaoğlu, *Türkiye’de Tercüme Müesseseleri* (Istanbul: Kitabevi, 1998), pp. 98-100.

<sup>42</sup> For the lists of permanent members between 1852-1863, see Kayaoğlu, pp. 335-58.

<sup>43</sup> See Akyüz, p. B/4.

<sup>44</sup> In his article, Dr. W. F. A. Behrnauer gives a list of native and foreign members as well as the statutes of the Academy. See Dr. W. F. A. Behrnauer, ‘Die Türkische Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Constantinopel’, *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, 6 (1852), 273-85.



Education, had to command different foreign languages, preferably one having Arabic and Persian and the other one, a Western language.

If the Academy was commissioned by the Ministry of Education to translate a book with the aim of multiplying scientific books in the Turkish language, or to develop the language itself, as the first statute concerning the duties of the Academy stated, the members had to choose by a majority one member to take on this mission. If several members volunteered to translate a book, they had to produce a sample translation which the Academy would examine and then choose the translator accordingly. Another statute said that members who were living abroad had to inform the Academy in writing of interesting events occurring in the place where they were living and the innovations made in scientific fields in these countries. Furthermore, it was declared that the Academy should guarantee a language and style which people could easily understand in the scientific and technological books that the Academy published. But for biographical or historical works it asked for a rather 'higher' style.

Due to several political instabilities, such as the delay of *Darülfünûn*'s opening (1869)<sup>45</sup>, the Crimean War (1853-1856)<sup>46</sup>, and the Kuleli Incident (1859)<sup>47</sup>, the Academy was closed in 1862. However, there were some other important reasons for the short life of *Encümen-i Dâniş*. As Ağâh Sırrı Levend has argued, an understanding of modern sciences had not been established in the Empire.<sup>48</sup> Besides, the variety of the members also affected the activities of the Academy negatively. Due to their actual duties, most of the members could not attend the meetings. However, *Encümen-i Dâniş* had served to

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<sup>45</sup> Akyüz, p. 28; Uçman, p. 178.

<sup>46</sup> Akyüz, p. 28; Uçman, p. 178.

<sup>47</sup> Akyüz, p. 28. Kuleli Incident was an unsuccessful attempt at a *coup d'état* where a small group of conspirators plotted to depose and if need be assassinate Sultan Abdülmecit.

<sup>48</sup> Ağâh Sırrı Levend, 'Türk Kültürünün Gelişmesinde Derneklerin ve Kurumların Rolü', *Türk Dili*, 17:198 (1968), 649-54 (p. 650).

maintain continuous cultural contact with the West and succeeded in producing a number of translated, as well as original works, mainly in Ottoman history and the Turkish language, most of which remained unpublished.

Perhaps the most important achievement of *Encümen-i Dâniş* was the creation of a modern Turkish grammar. *Kavaid-i Osmaniye* was written by Ahmet Cevdet and Mehmet Fuat to reform the Ottoman language and especially to develop its Turkish elements. Inspired by Arthur Lumley Davids' work, their authors made a distinction between the Turkish, Arabic, and Persian elements in the language.<sup>49</sup> Thirteen editions of this book appeared between 1851 and 1893-1894.<sup>50</sup> Together with *Lehçe-i Osmani*, compiled by Ahmet Vefik Paşa and published in 1876, and which was based on the living language, emphasising Turkish words, *Kavaid-i Osmaniye* was perhaps the most important move toward Turkishness in vocabulary during this period.

Not only the replacement of the Arabic and Persian words with Turkish, but also the simplification of style, was important in order to reach more people. The new generation of intellectuals were aware of this necessity and began to create their works with a simpler style. This tendency was seen also at the administrative level. After a statute in 1855 the simplification was even mandatory:

In the future, the *nizamat* laws or ordinances will no longer be written in obscure or ambiguous words, they shall be stated and explained in clear, easy and concise terms.<sup>51</sup>

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<sup>49</sup> Davids' *A Grammar of the Turkish Language* (1832) presents the first systematic study of the Turkish elements in the Ottoman language. Its introduction contained a history of Turkish people, a survey of Turkish languages or dialects still being used, and an account of the cultural and literary output of the Ottoman Turks, which had been previously ignored by Ottoman and Europeans alike. See Stanford J. Shaw and Ezel Kural Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey: Volume II: Reform, Revolution, and Republic: The Rise of Modern Turkey, 1808-1975* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), p. 263.

<sup>50</sup> Mardin, *Genesis*, p. 239, n. 182.

<sup>51</sup> Davison, p. 178.

As a result of this, the *Hatt-ı Hümayun* (Imperial Rescript) of 1856 was in a simpler style than previous documents.<sup>52</sup> However, the written language was remote from the language of ordinary people. Many bureaucrats in the government service were still using an obscure and verbose style of the past. It is very important here to mention Ziya Paşa's famous article called *Şiir ve İnşa* (Poetry and Prose), written during his exile in London in 1868. In it, Ziya Paşa attacked the classical Ottoman court literature as artificial and alien and put forth the idea that Turkish writers should turn to Turkish folk literature where they could find the language of the people. He also criticised the artificial official style:

At the present day, if the officially proclaimed orders and regulations are read aloud in the presence of the populace, is any useful purpose served? Are these documents produced only for those who are proficient in the art of writing, or are they to enable the common people to understand the orders of the government? The government has issued commercial regulations for everybody; there are orders and regulations concerning tithes and taxes and the like - but let the common people in Anatolia or Rumelia be asked about them, and it will be seen that the wretches have no idea. That is why even now, in our country, the people do not know what the *Tanzimat* are or what reforms the new order has accomplished, and in most places therefore remain in the power of self-appointed local notables and tyrannical governor and officials, and are maltreated in the old, bad ways of before the *Tanzimat*, without being able to tell anyone their trouble. In France and in England, on the other hand, if an official even partially violates an existing law the common people at once bring the claim against him, because the laws are written in a language which the people understand and are duly conveyed to everybody.<sup>53</sup>

Namık Kemal (1840-1888) also condemned the excessive use of uncommon foreign words. 'Why', he asked, 'should it be regarded as an achievement to compel everybody to consult a hundred times the *Kamus* (Arabic dictionary) or the *Burhan* (Persian dictionary) when reading a two-page article?'<sup>54</sup>

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<sup>52</sup> Davison, p. 178.

<sup>53</sup> B. Lewis, *Emergence*, p. 424.

<sup>54</sup> Quoted in Heyd, *Language*, p. 11.

One of the principles of the *Tanzimat* period was to save people from illiteracy. But due to the writing system, reading and writing were not easy and the illiteracy of the people was partly a result of the alphabet. Intellectuals felt the need to submit spelling to a definite system to make reading and writing easier.

Back to the publications of *Encümen-i Dâniş*, Sahak Ebru Efendi, an external member of the Academy, stands out with his various works. He seems to have translated a number of works on history and economy. His *Avrupada Meşhur Ministrolarm Tercüme-i Hallerine Dair Risale* was a biographical dictionary of eminent European statesmen, such as Charles-Maurice de Talleyrand-Périgord, Franz Georg von Metternich-Winneburg, Comte de Nesselrode and Camillo Benso di Cavour. From his preface we learn that he also translated the *Histoire de Charles XII* by Voltaire. Jean-Baptiste Say's *Catéchisme d'Economie Politique (İlm-i Tedbîr-i Menzil)*, which was the first work to appear on modern European economic theories, was also translated by Sahak Ebru. Finally, Louis-Philippe Comte de Ségur's *Vücûd-ı Beşerin Sûret-i Terkibi* and the first volume of *General History (Tarih-i Umumî)* by Souvanie were translated by Sahak Ebru.

*Encümen-i Dâniş* gave great importance to the study of history. In order to create an "Ottoman History", the Academy asked Cevdet Paşa to write the history of the period between 1774-1826. Known as *Tarih-i Cevdet* (History of Cevdet), this twelve-volume book was completed in 1884 after 30 years of work. The importance of this work lies perhaps, most than anything else, in its style. Following the Academy's suggestion, Cevdet Paşa used a plain and simple Turkish in his history which was probably also the reason for the popularity that this book gained.<sup>55</sup> Cevdet Paşa also completed the translation of the first volume of *Kitâbu'l İber ve divanu'l mübtedi ve'l ekber*, a history book known in short as *el-İber* written by Abdurrahman Ebu Zeyd İbn Haldun in Arabic,

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<sup>55</sup> Kayaoğlu, p. 79.

which Sâhib Molla had started to translate. This volume was printed in 1861 under the title *Mukaddime* (Preface).<sup>56</sup> An Ottoman history was written by Hayrullah Efendi in eighteen volumes following the proposal of *Encümen-i Dâniş* in 1852 to produce a detailed general history book making use of Eastern as well as Western resources.<sup>57</sup>

Several other histories were written or translated by the members of the Academy but remained in draft form and were not published. Ahmed Ağrıbozî's *History of Ancient Greece* (*Tarih-i Kudema-yı Yunan ve Makedonya*), Todoraki Efendi's translation of a *History of Europe* (*Avrupa Tarihi Tercümesi*) by Ségur, Aleko Efendi's translation on the last Napoleonic campaigns (*Beyanü'l-esfar*) are some examples.<sup>58</sup>

Finally, Mehmet Ali Fethi Efendi translated a geology book (*İlm-i Tabâkât-ı Arz*) from the Arabic which was itself a translation from the French. This was most probably the first book in natural sciences that the Academy produced and attracted much attention because nine laudatory prefaces in Turkish and Arabic were written in the book. This book was printed in 1853 and was most probably used in *Darülfünûn* as a textbook.<sup>59</sup> *Encümen-i Dâniş* also did some studies in order to clarify spelling and to prepare a dictionary. However, if such a dictionary was written it is not known.<sup>60</sup>

### 2.2.3 The Ottoman Scientific Society (*Cemiyet-i İlmiye-i Osmaniye*)

Ali and Fuat Paşas remained interested in the creation of a university. After Abdülmecit's accession in 1860, they got the permission for a new *Cemiyet-i İlmiye-i Osmaniye* (The

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<sup>56</sup> Kayaoğlu, p. 80.

<sup>57</sup> Kayaoğlu, pp. 83-87.

<sup>58</sup> Tanpınar, *19uncu Asır*, pp. 145-46.

<sup>59</sup> Kayaoğlu, pp. 87-88.

<sup>60</sup> Kayaoğlu, pp. 87-89.

Ottoman Scientific Society). In April 1861, the Society was founded. This was principally the work of the liberal and enlightened Münif Paşa (1828-1910).<sup>61</sup> Münif Paşa knew oriental languages, as well as several European tongues. He had studied in Berlin while working as secretary in the embassy there, and had broad contacts, among them American missionaries in Istanbul. Because he had translated extracts from Voltaire, as will be seen later, and helped to put the Bible into Turkish, he was accused of being an atheist.<sup>62</sup> Münif Paşa wanted to encourage knowledge of the arts and sciences in the empire through translations, book publication, and teaching.

The Society was said to be modelled on the Royal Society of England by some scholars<sup>63</sup>, probably because, like the Royal Society, *Cemiyet-i İlmiye-i Osmaniye* was founded by individuals and not by the government. The Society had three types of membership; permanent, non permanent, and correspondent. Membership was open to all who knew Turkish, Arabic and Persian plus one of the European languages, i.e. French, English, German, Italian, or Greek. There was no limit to the number of members. The permanent members had to write articles for *Mecmua-ı Fünûn*, the Society's journal, and to give courses in their area of specialisation to the public. All the members had to try to write and/or translate books in accordance with their knowledge.<sup>64</sup> According to a list of permanent and non permanent members given for the first time by Ekmeleddin İhsanoğlu, sixteen out of thirty-three permanent members were employees and translators in the Translation Chamber. Eleven of these members were non-Muslims. Although the Society

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<sup>61</sup> On Münif Paşa, see Ekrem Işın, 'Osmanlı Bilim Tarihi: Münif Paşa ve Mecmuay-ı Fünun', *Tarih ve Toplum*, 11 (1985), 62-66; Davison, p. 179-82; B. Lewis, *Emergence*, pp. 421, 431.

<sup>62</sup> Davison, p. 180.

<sup>63</sup> B. Lewis, *Emergence*, p. 431.

<sup>64</sup> Ekmeleddin İhsanoğlu, 'Cemiyet-i İlmiye-i Osmaniye'nin Kuruluş ve Faaliyetleri', in *Osmanlı İlmî ve Meslekî Cemiyetleri*, ed. by Ekmeleddin İhsanoğlu (Istanbul: Edebiyat Fakültesi Basımevi, 1987), pp. 197-220 (pp. 205-06).

was usually associated with Münif Paşa, we see that the actual director was Halil Bey, ambassador to Petersburg. Another point to note about this list is that it did not contain any members from the *ulema*, which signifies the gradual replacement of the old classes by the new generation trained in the climate of the *Tanzimat* modernisation movements.<sup>65</sup>

The most important achievement of the Society was the publication of *Mecmua-1 Fünûn*, the first Turkish “Journal of Sciences”. The first issue of *Mecmua-1 Fünûn* published the statutes of the Society where it was declared that the goal of the Society was to produce and translate books, to educate the public and to spread science in the Empire. Its Journal would devote itself to the science, commerce, and craft, as well as the discussion of religious and political questions.<sup>66</sup> The monthly *Mecmua-1 Fünûn*, most likely, due to economic difficulties, ran intermittently from 1862 to 1865 and then from 1866 to 1867. In 1883, long after the dissolution of the Society, Münif Paşa started to publish the Journal. However, after only its first issue it was closed down because of a term used in a short story.<sup>67</sup> *Mecmua-1 Fünûn* carried articles on history, geology, geography, and philosophy, as well as the natural sciences, and gave to its readers a clear and vivid picture of Western achievements in these fields. They were, however, written in a popular style ‘without any originality’.<sup>68</sup> In this respect, Bernard Lewis sees the role that the Journal played in the nineteenth-century Ottoman Empire as analogous to the role of the *Grande Encyclopédie* in the eighteenth-century France.<sup>69</sup> The language of the Journal

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<sup>65</sup> İhsanoğlu, ‘Cemiyet-i İlmiye-i Osmaniye’nin Kuruluş ve Faaliyetleri’, pp. 206-08.

<sup>66</sup> İhsanoğlu, ‘Cemiyet-i İlmiye-i Osmaniye’nin Kuruluş ve Faaliyetleri’, p. 204; Busch, ‘Schreiben des Hrn. Dr. Busch an Prof. Brockhaus’, *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, 17 (1863), 711-14 (p. 711).

<sup>67</sup> İhsanoğlu, ‘Cemiyet-i İlmiye-i Osmaniye’nin Kuruluş ve Faaliyetleri’, p. 213.

<sup>68</sup> Busch, p. 711.

<sup>69</sup> B. Lewis, *Emergence*, pp. 431-32.

was, as Münif Paşa promised in the introduction to the first issue, clear and simple 'so as to be understood by all'.<sup>70</sup>

Münif Paşa was also the first man who raised the question of reforming the script.<sup>71</sup> In 1862, during a conference of the recently-founded Ottoman Scientific Society (*Cemiyet-i İlmiye-i Osmaniye*), he outlined the problem:

According to the present custom of placing minor vowels in writing, there are at least five different ways to read every word. Even if we use the signs already existing in the Arabic alphabet it is not enough to attain the aim of overcoming the disadvantages.<sup>72</sup>

A reform of the alphabet was necessary for the advancement and dissemination of science. Ottoman orthography was difficult to teach and to learn. Because of its inaccuracy and ambiguity, it could mislead the reader instead of informing. It was also unsuited to the printing press which Münif Paşa considered as 'the most powerful instrument for the spreading of knowledge'.<sup>73</sup>

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<sup>70</sup> Davison, p. 181.

<sup>71</sup> Turkish was not always written in Arabic script. The oldest known Turkish writings, the eighth century Orhon inscriptions, which were deciphered by the Danish philologist Vilhelm Thomsen in 1893, are in a Runic script. It is also known that the Uygur alphabet, of north Semitic origin, together with the Runic alphabet had been used in Central Asia in the eighth and ninth centuries. With their conversion to Islam in the Middle Ages, the Turks adopted the Arabic script and also many Arabic words, not only theological terms but the whole vocabulary of Arab thought and civilisation. In the eleventh century, when the Turks under the Seljuk dynasty overran Persia, Persian became the language of the Turkish administration and of literary culture. Thousands of Persian words thus joined the thousands of Arabic words that formed part of the Turkish vocabulary. Although the Turkish language borrowed many words from Arabic and Persian, its structure is very different from both. The Arabic alphabet was inappropriate to the Turkish language, and unable to convey the forms and sounds that the Turkish language contained. All the Islamicised people have had a similar process of adapting the Arabic script, but the Turks, and especially the Ottoman Turks, not only adapted the script, but also a great deal of Arabic and Persian vocabulary and certain structural features. Reforms in the Turkish language and script in the nineteenth century are studied in Uriel Heyd, *Language Reform in Turkey* (Jerusalem: Israel Oriental Society, 1954), pp. 9-18; David Kushner, *The Rise of Turkish Nationalism 1876-1908* (London: Frank Cass, 1977), pp. 56-80; Agâh Sırrı Levend, *Türk Dilinde Gelişme ve Sadeleşme Safhaları* (Ankara: Türk Dil Kurumu Yayınları, 1972); B. Lewis, *Emergence*, pp. 419-30 and Fevziye Abdullah Tansel, 'Arap Harflerinin İslâhı ve Değiştirilmesi Hakkında İlk Teşebbüsler ve Neticeleri (1862-1884)', *Belleten*, 17:66 (1953), 223-49.

<sup>72</sup> William A. Edmonds, 'Language Reform in Turkey and its Relevance to Other Areas', *Muslim World*, 45 (1955), 53-60 (p. 57).

<sup>73</sup> B. Lewis, *Emergence*, p. 421.



Fourteen months later, in 1863, Ahundzade Feth Ali (1812-1878)<sup>74</sup>, an Azerbaijani Turk who was Oriental Dragoman to the Russian governor of the Caucasus came from Tiflis to Istanbul to propose an alphabet reform to the Sublime Porte. His proposal was sent to the Ottoman Scientific Society for consideration. In spite of Münif Paşa's defence regarding Feth Ali's proposal, the Society, conceding to the reality of the problem, did not accept his proposal.<sup>75</sup> A further attempt was made in 1869 by the Iranian ambassador to the Sublime Porte, Melkon Han, after an article in the newspaper *Hürriyet* (Liberty), published by the Young Ottoman exiles in London. In this article, the teaching of children in Turkish schools was criticised by claiming that Muslim children were not able to read a newspaper even after studying for many years, while other children at their parish schools were able to read newspapers and letters within six months and to write letters within a year. The author of the article put the blame not on the children, but on the prevailing system of education. Melkon Han, in a letter written in Persian to the editors of *Hürriyet*, agreed that the educational system was bad, but he primarily blamed the Arabic script which made an adequate education impossible, and prevented Muslims from attaining the level of Western civilisation.<sup>76</sup>

The question of reform of the Arabic script continued to be raised from time to time during the Ottoman Empire until the adoption of Latin characters, formalised in the law of 3 November 1928 in the newly established Turkish Republic.

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<sup>74</sup> On Ahundzade, see Mehrdad Kia, 'Mirza Fath Ali Akhundzade and the Call for Modernization of the Islamic World', *Middle Eastern Studies*, 31:3 (1995), 422-48. Also see by the same author, 'Persian Nationalism and the Campaign for Language Purification', *Middle Eastern Studies*, 34:2 (1998), 9-36.

<sup>75</sup> On Münif Paşa's and Feth Ali's attempts on a script reform, see Suavi Aydın, 'Mehmet Münif Paşa, Mirzâ Feth'ali Ahûndzâde', *Tarih ve Toplum*, 14:82 (1990), 30-33; Levend, *Türk Dilinde*, p. 169; B. Lewis, *Emergence*, p. 421; Geoffrey L. Lewis, *Modern Turkey* (London & Tonbridge: Ernest Benn, 1974 [1955]), pp. 108-09; Tansel, pp. 224-26.

<sup>76</sup> B. Lewis, *Emergence*, p. 422; Tansel, pp. 227-33.

*Cemiyet-i İlmiye-i Osmaniye* established a library which was open three days a week and also offered public classes in natural sciences, geology, history, and economics, as well as in five foreign languages. More than thirty Turkish, French, English, Greek and Armenian newspapers and journals were present in the library. Furthermore, books in natural sciences, geography, and mechanics, maps, some tools of physics and mechanics were also in the library. Readers had to pay a monthly fee of five *kuruş*, with thirty *kuruş* for six months in advance, and to be proposed by a member of the Society in order to use the library, whereas the library was free of charge to students of official schools. Being the only public library containing foreign language books in sciences with around one thousand copies, the library of *Cemiyet-i İlmiye-i Osmaniye* is note-worthy.<sup>77</sup>

*Cemiyet-i İlmiye-i Osmaniye* was closed in 1867. It served the public with its journal, its library and public classes. However, it could not produce or translate any books. Like in the case of *Encümen-i Dâniş*, several other positions held by its members prevented them from devoting themselves completely to the Society. It seems that the lack of real scientist members also hindered these societies from aiming for and pursuing more serious scientific research.<sup>78</sup>

Throughout the nineteenth century and in the early twentieth century until the establishment of the Republic, various institutions which were primarily concerned with

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<sup>77</sup> İhsanoğlu, 'Cemiyet-i İlmiye-i Osmaniye'nin Kuruluş ve Faaliyetleri', pp. 213-14.

<sup>78</sup> İhsanoğlu, 'Cemiyet-i İlmiye-i Osmaniye'nin Kuruluş ve Faaliyetleri', p. 219.

translations and translation offices were set up.<sup>79</sup> However, their achievements and influences remained rather minor. A real turning point in translation activity would start again in 1940.

#### 2.2.4 The Press<sup>80</sup>

During the *Tanzimat* period and also after, the press was the chief medium to create a public opinion for modernisation on social and political reforms. Newspapers played an important role in educating people by their simple use of language and acquainting the public with foreign news and viewpoints. Newspapers, journals and magazines, as will be seen in detail in the next chapter, functioned as the main means to publish literary as well as non-literary translations before these were printed in book form. As a result, the press helped not only the development of the language by their use of a simple journalistic prose, but also the translated literature in obtaining a primary position in the Ottoman literary polysystem.

The first newspaper in the Turkish language, *Takvim-i Vekayi* (Calendar of Events), appeared in 1831, during the time of Mahmut II. This was the Ottoman official

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<sup>79</sup> The Translation Committee of 1865, the Translation Committee promised by the Regulations on Public Education (*Maarif-i Umûmiye Nizamnamesi*) of 1869, the Translation Chamber of 1879, of 1912, of 1914 and of 1926 are some examples. Furthermore, several scientific and vocational societies set up starting with the *Tanzimat* period helped to the Turkification of the scientific language where translations played an important role. *Cemiyet-i Tıbbiyye-i Osmaniyye* (Ottoman Medical Society) founded in 1865 was probably the most significant among them. Its goal was to spread the medical science in the Empire, to Turkificate the medical education which was French and to Turkificate the medical language. The Society, in fact, Turkificated the education in the *Mekteb-i Tıbbiyye-i Şahâne* (Medical School), prepared a medical dictionary, *Lugat-ı Tıbbiye*, in 1873, and another one, *Lugat-ı Tıb*, in 1901, and translated a number of medical books. See Nil Sarı, 'Cemiyet-i Tıbbiyye-i Osmaniyye ve Tıp Dilinin Türkçeleşmesi Akımı', in *Osmanlı İlmî ve Meslekî Cemiyetleri*, ed. by Ekmeleddin İhsanoğlu (Istanbul: Edebiyat Fakültesi Basımevi, 1987), pp. 121-42.

<sup>80</sup> On the early history of the press in Turkey, see Ahmed Emin, *The Development of Modern Turkey as Measured by its Press*, Studies in History, Economics and Public Law 142:59 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1914); Selim Nüzhet Gerçek, *Türk Gazeteciliği 1831-1931* (Istanbul: Matbuat Cemiyeti, 1931); Server Rifat İskit, *Türkiye'de Matbuat Rejimleri* (Ankara: Matbuat Umum Müdürlüğü, 1939); Alpay Kabacalı, *Türk Yayın Tarihi* (Istanbul: Gazeteciler Cemiyeti Yayınları, 1987).

gazette which remained the only newspaper in Turkish until 1840 when an English journalist and correspondent, William Churchill, founded the first private paper, *Ceride-i Havadis* (Journal of News). This weekly journal was in a form and style similar to the official gazette, but had more space for international affairs. With new events in the empire, like the outbreak of the Crimean War, the journal started to publish reports about these new occurrences which attracted readers' attention. The editors of *Ceride-i Havadis*, abandoning the ornate poetic prose which was used in the Ottoman bureaucracy, began to simplify the language in which the journal was written. Another function of *Ceride-i Havadis* was the training of a generation of journalists, as well as of printers, distributors, and other necessary adjuncts of the newspaper trade. For twenty years *Ceride-i Havadis* was the only non-official newspaper in the Turkish language.<sup>81</sup>

On 22 October 1860, the first issue of *Tercüman-ı Ahval* (Interpreter of Conditions) appeared. The publisher was Agâh Efendi, a senior member of the Translation Chamber. Associated with him as editor and writer was İbrahim Şinasi who had resigned his government position to take up this new position. The establishment of *Tercüman-ı Ahval* is commonly recognised as the real beginning of Turkish journalism, partly because *Ceride-i Havadis* was following a soft policy and had also some governmental subsidies, and partly because it was founded by an Englishman.<sup>82</sup> Şinasi left *Tercüman-ı Ahval* after only twenty-five issues to start publishing his own newspaper, *Tasvir-i Efkâr* (Illustration of Ideas), which appeared on 27 June 1862.<sup>83</sup> This was a biweekly paper of four pages with bits of foreign and domestic news. But its radicalism was cultural rather than political. There were also articles on historical, literary, and social

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<sup>81</sup> B. Lewis, *Emergence*, pp. 143-44.

<sup>82</sup> Evin, *Origins*, p. 46.

<sup>83</sup> Davison, p. 185.

matters, intended for the education of the public, and it was written in a style having short sentences, punctuation, and simpler construction to make the language understandable. The paper soon became the leading forum for the expression of new literary forms and political ideas.<sup>84</sup> After a short time Namık Kemal joined the paper. With his professional background in the Translation Chamber and in *Mirat* (Mirror), a journal which appeared in 1863 and of which only three issues were published, he started to translate articles from European newspapers.<sup>85</sup> He also began discussing current problems aiming to raise the level of Ottoman culture. After Şinasi had left Istanbul for Paris in 1864, Kemal had the responsibility of editing *Tasvir-i Efkâr*. Soon the newspaper began to publish articles on the reforms, language and literature, and even foreign policy.<sup>86</sup>

Other important *Tanzimat* papers were *Ceride-i Askeriye* (The Army Newspaper), founded by the *Seraskerate* in 1863, *Muhbir* (The Informant) (1866-1868), *Hürriyet* (Liberty), published in London between 1868 and 1870, *Basiret* (Understanding) (1870-1877), and many others of shorter duration.<sup>87</sup>

The development of the press helped the popularisation of modern forms and ideas and attracted readers' interest and attention so that a growing number of public and

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<sup>84</sup> Shaw, *History*, p. 131.

<sup>85</sup> B. Lewis, *Emergence*, p. 144.

<sup>86</sup> Davison, p. 185.

<sup>87</sup> Shaw, *History*, p. 129.

private presses and publishing houses were established in Istanbul and the other major cities. Also book publication showed an increase during the *Tanzimat*.<sup>88</sup>

During the nineteenth century illiteracy among the Muslim population was very high. Most of the Turks had little or no schooling. According to the statistics, by the year 1895 there were 917,040 Muslim students in the Ottoman Empire of which 854,841 were elementary school students. The Muslim population of the Empire was 14,111,945.<sup>89</sup> On the other hand, Ziya Paşa estimated in 1868 that only about two percent of the Muslim population were literate. Ahmet Mithat thought that illiteracy ran from ninety to ninety-five per cent, and lamented that the rest were 'without pen and without tongue'. Süleyman Paşa at the same time guessed that there were only twenty thousand Muslims in the capital who could read a newspaper.<sup>90</sup> According to Alpay Kabacalı's calculation, even with an estimated number of 2,000 copies for each book published until 1844, the number of books per person would be between 0.025-0.041.<sup>91</sup> The numbers are not accurate but it seems to be clear that the reading public formed a very small portion of the population. However, the intelligentsia, being aware of the fact that they were addressing a very limited number of people, tried to illuminate the public during the entire *Tanzimat* period.

Beginning in the 1860s we see the first liberal critiques regarding governmental action in the newspapers, made first in the circle of Şinasi, Namık Kemal, and their

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<sup>88</sup> Until the nineteenth century, even educated men of the Ottoman Empire were little touched by European knowledge or example. It is generally accepted that the first press in the Empire was established in 1493 by Jews who had fled from Spain. However, according to some sources, the first book, which was a small Hebrew dictionary, printed in Istanbul goes back to 1488 (Kabacalı, *Türk Yayın Tarihi*, p. 16). In the next two centuries there were some Armenian and Greek presses. Even the first press in the Empire which printed books in Turkish was established in 1726 not by a Turk but by a Magyar captive, İbrahim Müteferrika, who turned Muslim (Davison, p. 22). The first book appeared in 1729. Jale Baysal gives statistical information on books published between the years 1729 and 1875, as well as printing houses working in the Empire. See Jale Baysal, *Müteferrika'dan Birinci Meşrutiyet'e Kadar Osmanlı Türklerinin Bastıkları Kitaplar* (Istanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Yayınları, 1968).

<sup>89</sup> Shaw, *History*, p. 113.

<sup>90</sup> Davison, p. 69.

<sup>91</sup> Kabacalı, *Türk Yayın Tarihi*, p. 77.

friends.<sup>92</sup> All the new ideas of the *Tanzimat* had European sources. The jurisprudence of Charles de Secondat, baron de Montesquieu, the politics of Jean-Jacques Rousseau, the economics of Adam Smith and David Ricardo provided the theoretical foundations. Even the specific criticisms of the *Tanzimat* policies were influenced by the comments of European observers.<sup>93</sup>

The new intelligentsia wanted to create a modern political community by spreading the notions of rights and privileges which the *Tanzimat* reforms supported through the press.<sup>94</sup> For them, journalism was the main medium of the politicisation of the *Tanzimat* ideas. But to actualise these new ideas, the first thing to do was to provide a new consciousness for the people. In this respect, newspapers complemented the educational reform started after the 1830s, and were the most effective means of educating people. In 1865 there were four dailies and four other periodicals published in Istanbul, and the circulation of one of them even reached 24,000.<sup>95</sup> In 1867 there were 7,830 students attending 108 secular intermediate schools throughout the Empire.<sup>96</sup> Concepts, such as fatherland, nation, humanity, freedom, justice reached the readers through newspapers which were for a long time the only means of spreading the new ideas.<sup>97</sup>

Newspapers, beginning with the first non-official periodical, *Ceride-i Havadis*, also formed a school of literary journalism for a number of Ottoman men of letters,

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<sup>92</sup> B. Lewis, *Emergence*, p. 149.

<sup>93</sup> B. Lewis, *Emergence*, p. 169.

<sup>94</sup> Evin, *Origins*, p. 46.

<sup>95</sup> Kemal Karpat, 'The Mass Media: Turkey', in *The Political Modernization in Japan and Turkey*, ed. by R. E. Ward and Dankwart Rustow (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1964), pp. 255-82 (p. 259).

<sup>96</sup> Shaw, *History*, p. 112.

<sup>97</sup> Tanpinar, *19uncu Asır*, pp. 249-50.

including Şinasi. The opening paragraphs of the first leader by Şinasi in *Tercüman-ı Ahval*

show the opinions and expectations of the first journalist and liberals about the press:

Since people living in a given social community are circumscribed in their actions by multifarious legal obligations, it is quite natural that they should consider the expression of ideas aimed at the protection of the interests of the fatherland part of the totality of their vested rights. If tangible proof of this assertion is sought, it is sufficient to point at the political gazettes of those people the limits of whose understanding have been enlarged by the power of knowledge.<sup>98</sup>

After *Tercüman-ı Ahval* was closed by government order for two weeks because of an article probably written by Ziya Paşa, Şinasi, finding his freedom of expression restricted, left *Tercüman-ı Ahval*.<sup>99</sup> This was the first example of government suppression of a newspaper. There were numerous other examples of the same kind of suppressions, and especially during the period of Abdülhamit there was strict censorship of the press.

On 1 January 1865 the first press law entered into force, bringing strict rules for the conduct of the press. A Press Commission was established to enforcement the law. A 'notification' of 12 March 1867 made the intentions of the government clear:

A part of the local press, not recognising the spirit by which journalism should be inspired in the East, has made itself the passionate organ of all the extreme parties and of tendencies essentially hostile to the general interests of the country... the Sublime Porte therefore reserves the right, whenever the general interest of the country may require it, to act through administrative channels and independently of the law of the press, against those newspapers which do not recognise the above-stated principles, whose observance is an essential condition of a national press....<sup>100</sup>

The development of the press, as well as the great increase in Ottoman publications, also had positive effects on the simplification of the literary language. The new generation of

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<sup>98</sup> Mardin, *Genesis*, p. 263.

<sup>99</sup> Evin, *Origins*, p. 47.

<sup>100</sup> B. Lewis, *Emergence*, p. 146.



journalists and writers were aware of their role in society as teachers and reformers, and they were 'concerned not only with the realities and needs of the state, but with the aspirations and ideas of the common people'.<sup>101</sup> They did not want to be the representatives of a small élite group, as the previous generation had been, but wanted to address the masses. These didactic intentions of the journalists and writers brought the need for a language appropriate for the clear expression of ideas, as well as comprehensible for the new readership. In the same introduction as quoted earlier, Şinasi wrote:

Just as speech is a gift of nature intended to enable communication, so too composition, the best discovery of the human intellect, consists of the art of describing speech in writing. In consideration of this truth, therefore, a warning is now entered, in connection with [the editorial responsibility of] this office concerning the necessity of deploying increasingly in this paper an order of language comprehensible to all people.<sup>102</sup>

The language problem was not only Şinasi's, but of all the men involved with the press. They knew that they had to simplify the written language in order to express their ideas clearly. The 1860s were times of vehement polemics on the language of the press. Such discussions increased during the time of Abdülhamit. Language, as well as literature was attacked because of its inability to address the common people. By 1871, a radical solution to earlier proposals made by Şinasi and Namık Kemal came from Ahmet Mithat by declaring that the language of the people ought to be used in writing. This was the basic principle around which the Turkish language reform movement has been organised in the twentieth century.<sup>103</sup>

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<sup>101</sup> Evin, *Origins*, pp. 57-58.

<sup>102</sup> Evin, *Origins*, p. 48.

<sup>103</sup> Evin, *Origins*, p. 49.

The newspapers served as ateliers in which the first writers were shaped during their apprenticeship as journalists, and developed a 'journalistic prose' that enabled them to address large audiences. As will be seen later in the discussion regarding the first literary translations, it was this 'journalistic prose' which made possible the movement of translated literature from the periphery towards the centre of the polysystem.

## CHAPTER 3

### THE FIRST LITERARY TRANSLATIONS

According to Itamar Even-Zohar there are three major conditions which determine high translation activity in a culture:

(a) when a polysystem has not yet been crystallised, that is to say, when a literature is “young”, in the process of being established; (b) when a literature is either “peripheral” or “weak”, or both; and (c) when there are turning points, crises, or literary vacuums in a literature.<sup>1</sup>

The *Tanzimat* was one of the turning points in Turkish history. This was a time when the old established models were considered outdated and rejected by the younger generation. The innovations introduced during the Westernisation period into which the Ottoman Empire entered during the eighteenth century, and more conspicuously in the first half of the nineteenth century changed the very foundations upon which the Ottoman State was built. New concepts, taken from Europe began to influence first the Ottoman élite by means of contacts that were now established through Ottoman embassies abroad, student missions to Europe, and foreign instructors and teachers invited to the Empire to manage and staff new schools. The new intellectual generation, formed in this atmosphere, took on the task of educating the public and disseminating new ideas through their writings and translations. Not only in the literary polysystem but in the broader socio-cultural

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<sup>1</sup> Itamar Even-Zohar, ‘The Position of Translated Literature within the Literary Polysystem’, in *Literature and Translation: New Perspectives in Literary Studies*, ed. by James S. Holmes, José Lambert and Raymond van den Broeck (Leuven: Acco, 1978), pp. 117-27 (p. 121).

polysystem there was a need for new models which the Ottoman Empire found in Europe, especially in France. With the reforms undertaken, a new period of reorganisation and Westernisation started.

This is also when hierarchies operating within the Ottoman literary polysystem, which prior to the *Tanzimat* period had been closed to contact with European literatures, started to change, enabling translated literature to move from the periphery towards the centre of the polysystem, obtaining a primary position and representing the principle of innovation. In order to observe this shift, a brief look at the Ottoman literary polysystem is necessary.

Ottoman literature is generally formulated in terms of a dichotomy: *Divan* (Court) and popular/folk literature which had a hierarchical relationship between canonised or “high”, and non-canonised or “low” strata.<sup>2</sup> *Divan* literature, poetry in particular, produced largely by and for the ruling class, occupied the central position in the Ottoman literary polysystem, while popular/folk literature remained on the periphery. The term “Ottoman literature” in literary histories usually refers to *Divan* literature because the ruling classes identified themselves as Ottomans, a term to show status rather than ethnicity. The word “Turk” had a derogatory connotation until the nineteenth century and was used by the urban élite to refer to the peasantry.

*Divan* literature, especially the poetry, had long been under the influence of Persian literature not only in form, but in subject matter, imagery, vocabulary, and construction.<sup>3</sup> Since the subjects in poetry were restricted, originality in Ottoman literature rested on novelty of expression. The language of *Divan* poetry was full of Persian and Arabic words, the *aruz* metre, taken from the Arabs and the Persians was

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<sup>2</sup> Even-Zohar, ‘Polysystem Theory’, *Poetics Today*, 11:1 (1990), 9-26 (pp. 15-17).

<sup>3</sup> Roderic H. Davison, *Reform in the Ottoman Empire 1856-1876* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1963), p. 175.

unsuited to the particular structure of Turkish, which made no distinction between long and short vowels.<sup>4</sup>

Prose in *Divan* literature from the sixteenth century onward became increasingly florid. A highly ornate “poetic” prose, *inşa* was the canonised prose style. The style was the most important concern and sense was subordinated to sound. Writers tried to rhyme words without taking into consideration if they were making any sense.<sup>5</sup> With Arabic and Persian vocabulary, the language was far removed from the language of the ordinary Turk.

In *Divan* literature prose narrative maintained a ‘secondary position’. According to Ahmet Ö. Evin, there were three reasons for the lack of interest in prose fiction of Ottoman literature. Firstly, because the Ottoman writers identified literature with poetry, writing verse was the normal convention of the ruling classes, including a great number of the sultans, aspiring to become poets. Another reason was that most of the stories were derived from *mesnevis*<sup>6</sup> which rendered them unoriginal. The ambiguity between the earthly and the mystical which was one of the most important aspects of *mesnevis*, could not be sustained within prose, so the stories ended up either as being explicit or didactic. Finally, the language, as shown above, was not able to express ideas clearly, which condemned the prose narrative to decline.<sup>7</sup>

Folk narrative, on the other hand, which was mostly oral and whose roots went back to the pre-Islamic epics of Central Asia, was transmitted by minstrels. During the Ottoman period, it was enriched with mystic elements of Islam and elements from the

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<sup>4</sup> David Kushner, *The Rise of Turkish Nationalism 1876-1908* (London: Frank Cass, 1977), p. 83.

<sup>5</sup> Ahmet Ö. Evin, *Origins and Development of the Turkish Novel* (Minneapolis: Bibliotheca Islamica, 1983), p. 27.

<sup>6</sup> Narrative in verse of *Divan* literature also constitutes a genre called the *mesnevi* which was borrowed from Persian literature. *Mesnevis* in Turkish had a prescribed rhyme scheme, a particular set of metres derived from the Arabic and an inflexible system of tropes. Each *mesnevi* was a retelling of one of several known stories, where the tribulations of a lover in search of the beloved were described, which were in fact allegorical renditions, expressing the desire of man to be unified with God. See Evin, *Origins*, p. 25.

<sup>7</sup> Evin, *Origins*, pp. 25-27.

ancient cultures. Unlike *Divan* literature, the language used by the minstrels was pure, spoken Turkish.<sup>8</sup> But despite the original Turkish syllabic metre (*hece* or *parmak*) used in folk poetry or the ‘simple prose’ used in the folk stories, popular literature could not generate innovation or replace the canonised style.

At this point it is useful to refer to Even-Zohar’s hypothesis on the conditions of change or stagnation within a polysystem:

When the top position is maintained by a literary type whose pertinent nature is innovatory, the more we move down the scale of strata the more conservatory the types prove to be, but when the top position is maintained by an ossified type, it is the lower strata which tend to initiate renewals. When, in the second situation, the holders of positions do not change places in spite of this, the entire literature enters a state of stagnation.<sup>9</sup>

Entering the *Tanzimat* period, Ottoman literature was in a state of stagnation. The position of *Divan* literature during the nineteenth century which maintained the top position in the Ottoman literary polysystem was ossified and, as previously mentioned, folk literature which was in a lower stratum could not generate any innovation. As a result, a literary ‘vacuum’ was created. There was also a lack of some genres in the Ottoman literary polysystem which, as will be seen below, were to be found in Western, especially in French, literatures.

As in the case of ‘peripheral’ or ‘weak’ literatures, *Divan* literature could not ‘produce all systems “required” by the polysystemic structure’<sup>10</sup>, such as non-canonised written works, whereas translated literature could fill this deficiency. Translated literature could also offer models for imitating French literature, in this case, which was considered

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<sup>8</sup> Evin, *Origins*, p. 24.

<sup>9</sup> Even-Zohar, ‘The Position of Translated Literature within the Literary Polysystem’, p. 120.

<sup>10</sup> Even-Zohar, ‘The Position of Translated Literature within the Literary Polysystem’, p. 121.

as a 'rich' or 'strong' literature by the Ottomans was one where Ottoman translators found new models.

Finally, as in the case of 'young' literatures, there was not only a lack of new literary models but also of a 'renewed' language.<sup>11</sup> The language used in *Divan* literature and in governmental offices was remote from that of ordinary people. While new models of poetry or new genres, such as the novel and drama, had been produced, writers and translators tried to use a simpler language to make these new types functional and useful to the public.

From about the middle of the nineteenth century the spread of Western ideas and the acceptance of Western social and political attitudes among the Ottomans was achieved largely as a result of the translations made from Western languages. A new Turkish literature arose due to this translation activity. The new Turkish literature differed both in form and in content from classical Ottoman writings. Its source of inspiration and the model for imitation were not the classics of Persia anymore, but French literature. Because of attacks on the classical tradition, the transformation of Turkish literature from the 1860s onward has been seen as a period of literary Westernization. Turkish literature was formally divided into three historical periods: pre-Islamic, Islamic and modern Turkish literature. However, most of the literary histories designated this last stage simply as "Turkish literature under Western influence".<sup>12</sup>

The first translations from Western languages into Turkish were not literary but political works. Writings by François de Salignac de La Mothe Fénelon and Jean-Jacques

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<sup>11</sup> Even-Zohar, 'The Position of Translated Literature within the Literary Polysystem', p. 121.

<sup>12</sup> See Cevdet Kudret, *Türk Edebiyatında Hikâye ve Roman I* (Istanbul: Varlık Yayınları, 1979); Mustafa Nihat Özön, *Son Asır Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi* (Istanbul: Maarif Matbaası, 1941) and *Türkçede Roman* (Istanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1985 [1936]); İsmail Habib Sevük, *Tanzimat Devri Edebiyatı* (Istanbul: İnkılâp Kitabevi, 1951) and *Tanzimattanberi I* (Istanbul: Remzi Kitabevi, 1944); Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar, *19uncu Asır Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi* (Istanbul: Çağlayan Kitabevi, 1988 [1949]).

Rousseau were translated several times around the mid-nineteenth century.<sup>13</sup> The selection of their works to be translated was determined by political rather than literary criteria. While the younger generation of intellectuals were educating themselves on the political writings of the French philosophers they preferred first to publish the translations of such writings not because they lacked inspiration or artistic ability to produce such works themselves, but because they believed that these would carry more weight than their own writings. French political writings were particularly necessary because the parliamentary system could not be based on Oriental principles. So the emergence of a national consciousness in the Ottoman Empire developed under the influence of a foreign nationality which was the French.<sup>14</sup>

Fénelon's *Les Aventures de Télémaque* is considered to be the first novel translated from a Western language into Turkish according to all literary histories. But this is problematic. The book was translated by Yusuf Kâmil Paşa in 1859. The manuscript, which had been widely circulated, was published three years later with a long preface by Kemal Efendi, the Minister of Education at that time. A second edition appeared six months later, in 1863. Şinasi published it in his *Tasvir-i Efkâr* press during the period when Yusuf Kâmil Paşa was Grand Vizier. In this second edition there was an additional preface by Sami Paşa, who had been Minister of Education, served Mehmet Ali in Egypt together with Yusuf Kâmil Paşa and returned with him to Istanbul in 1848.<sup>15</sup>

Although it would not be right to consider *Télémaque* as being representative of the

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<sup>13</sup> Jean-Jacques Rousseau's *Emile*, *The Confessions* and *Deft-i âmal* (by Ziya Paşa), *Nouvelle Héloïse* (by Namık Kemal), *Contrat Social* (by Ahmet Mithat), *Beka-yı Şahsi* and *Bakay-i Ruh* under the title *Jan Jak Ruso'dan Bir Kit'anın Tercümesi* (A Translation of a Verse Stanza by Jean Jacques Rousseau by Ethem Pertev Paşa), and Fénelon's *Télémaque* (by Yusuf Kâmil Paşa, Ahmet Vefik Paşa, Ziya Paşa, Sadık Efendi, Asım Bey and the first three parts of *Télémaque* by an unidentified translator) were translated in the second half of the nineteenth century.

<sup>14</sup> Otto Hachtmann, 'Türkische Übersetzungen aus Europäischen Literaturen: Ein Bibliographischer Versuch', *Die Welt des Islams*, 6 (1918), 1-23 (pp. 3-4).

<sup>15</sup> Özön, *Türkçede*, pp. 115-16.



European novel, it nevertheless was the first translation into Turkish of an example of Western fiction. Yusuf Kâmil Paşa's version of *Télémaque* was written in the ornate poetic prose style *inşa* which was the dominant model of *Divan* literature from the sixteenth to the mid-nineteenth centuries.<sup>16</sup> The translation seems to have had considerable success. The moral of the book had been exaggerated and great importance as a political novel rather than fiction was attributed to it, so it achieved great success in the empire at that time.<sup>17</sup> The book was reprinted in 1863, 1867 and 1870, and was used in high schools for prose composition.<sup>18</sup> The story was narrated with an eye for ordinary details of everyday life which was in contrast to the tradition of fantasy and fable of Ottoman literature.<sup>19</sup> Yusuf Kâmil Paşa, worried that his translation would be regarded only as fiction, and that its deeper implications would not be understood, explained that 'a vizir [*sic*] of such a high standing as himself would translate a work such as this one, despite its deceiving resemblance to a story because of the value of the moral contained therein'.<sup>20</sup> This may also be the reason why he chose such a difficult style of high Ottoman prose.

Mustafa Nihat Özön relates its success to the style used by Yusuf Kâmil Paşa.<sup>21</sup> Münif Paşa praised the translation in an early volume of his *Mecmua-ı Fünûn*. Ahmet Vefik Paşa, immensely irritated at Yusuf Kâmil Paşa's ornate prose, put *Télémaque* into a simpler Turkish in 1881, twenty years later. Ahmet Vefik Paşa claimed that his version

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<sup>16</sup> Saliha Paker, 'Translated European Literature in the Late Ottoman Literary Polysystem', *New Comparison*, 1 (1986), 67-82 (p. 73).

<sup>17</sup> Özön, *Türkçede*, p. 117.

<sup>18</sup> Paker, 'Translated European Literature in the Late Ottoman Literary Polysystem', p. 73.

<sup>19</sup> Evin, *Origins*, p. 42.

<sup>20</sup> Evin, *Origins*, p. 44.

<sup>21</sup> Özön, *Son*, p. 225.

was a 'literal and accurate' translation where 'every word would produce pleasure'.<sup>22</sup> This meant that Ahmet Vefik Paşa wanted to produce a translation more "faithful" to its original to be both "adequate" and readable. But still, this translation did not enjoy the popularity of the previous one.<sup>23</sup> This shows the continuing struggle between canonised Ottoman and simple Turkish prose which was to be seen during the entire *Tanzimat* period. It also shows the 'secondary' position of translated literature. While some translations maintain a 'primary' position in the polysystem, introducing innovations, others constitute a peripheral system within the polysystem. They serve to preserve the canonised established forms, becoming a major factor of conservatism.<sup>24</sup>

Şinasi pointed out another reason for the translation's popularity in a review when the work was first printed:

While on the surface, the work of the famous French author, Fénelon, entitled the *Adventures of Télémaque*, conveys the impression of being a romance, its true meaning is in the nature of a philosophical law which includes all the arts of government that have as purpose the fulfilment of justice and happiness for the individual. A superior work concerning such an exalted craft was in need of being translated into Turkish by an author possessing poetic talent and lofty style.<sup>25</sup>

Şinasi, stingy with his eulogies, praised Yusuf Kâmil Paşa's style due to the second edition of the translation by describing it as the "vizierate style" (*üslûb-u vezirâne*).<sup>26</sup> What this "philosophical law" was, for the Ottoman readers, was not difficult to understand. 'Fénelon was the tutor of the Duke of Burgundy, the son of Louis XV. His *Télémaque* was a means of indicating the path that he felt should be followed by a just

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<sup>22</sup> Özön, *Türkçede*, p. 117.

<sup>23</sup> Hikmet Dizdaroğlu, 'İlk Roman Çevirisi Üzerine', *Türk Dili*, 31:282 (1975), 199-203 (p. 202).

<sup>24</sup> Even-Zohar, 'The Position of Translated Literature within the Literary Polysystem', pp. 122-23.

<sup>25</sup> Şerif Mardin, *The Genesis of Young Ottoman Thought* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1962), pp. 241-42.

<sup>26</sup> Tanpınar, *19uncu Asır*, p. 185.

ruler.’<sup>27</sup> The reason why Yusuf Kâmil Paşa chose to translate the book was that it expressed so well the ideas of the Enlightenment by which the new intelligentsia was influenced. The book played an important role in the development of modern Turkish literature by being more than pure fiction.

By describing the rights and privileges of the rulers and the subjects, by discussing education and commerce, and by showing the evils of corruption and intemperance *Télémaque* not only took up the three great themes of post-*Tanzimat* reformism - the maintenance of political order, the curing of the economic malaise and the criticism of moral disintegration in the society - but also showed for the first time how these themes could be effectively treated in fiction.<sup>28</sup>

In his introduction to the second edition, Sami Paşa said that even though it was impossible to understand the language that the foreign works were written in, meaning was universal.<sup>29</sup>

During this period, the content of a text was seen as more important than its style or its literary value to the translators. Even in translations of pure literary works such as the novel, as will be seen, Ottoman thinkers often insisted on the didactic value of literature. In an article published in 1866, Namık Kemal pointed out that ‘meaning ought not be sacrificed for art’, because ‘a great utility of discourse...is its service in the proper education of a nation’.<sup>30</sup> Beginning to discuss the etymology of the word *edebiyat* (literature) he continues, ‘just as the source from which the word ‘literature’ is derived is literally ‘learning’ [manners, morals], so too it could be said that the spiritual [aesthetic] source from which learning is disseminated is literature’.<sup>31</sup> On another occasion Namık

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<sup>27</sup> Mardin, *Genesis*, p. 242.

<sup>28</sup> Evin, *Origins*, pp. 43-44.

<sup>29</sup> Özön, *Türkçede*, p. 116.

<sup>30</sup> Evin, *Origins*, p.11.

<sup>31</sup> Turkish “edebiyat” (literature) from Arabic “edebiyât” derived from “âdap”: culture, breeding, good manners, refinement. The “spiritual” means of transmitting learning is to be construed as meaning the opposite of formal education.

Kemal wrote: 'Literature does not have any particular country. If an idea is clear, it would have the same impact in one language as it would in another.'<sup>32</sup>

Going back to *Télémaque*, the acceptability of the translation lay also in the fact that Eastern literatures had works written in the same manner. Even those who were still attached to Eastern culture accepted the translation as a book of ethics. They liked the fact that a grand vizier had translated a European novel in a language they used, also because Yusuf Kâmil Paşa, while translating the novel excluded some parts which would have demonstrated the Frenchness of the book. On the other hand, the progressives whose number was not yet large, and who were proponents of Western ideas approved of this translation. *Télémaque* had been put forward against the claims about the novel and the people who did not want to accept this genre. Now the traditionalists could only criticise *Télémaque* questioning the need for translation from a Western language while Arabic and Persian literatures were full of such works. They argued that these works should have been translated in the first instance.<sup>33</sup>

Finally, some sources claim that there were other translations of *Télémaque* by Ziya Paşa, Sadık Efendi, Asım Bey and the first three parts of *Télémaque* by an unidentified translator published in Erzurum.<sup>34</sup> Although it is not certain if these translations were really accomplished (Asım Bey's translation was incomplete and remained unpublished), it is important to stress once again the popularity that *Télémaque* gained during the late nineteenth century.

The second work translated in the same year as *Télémaque* was *Muhaverât-1 Hikemiye* (Philosophical Dialogues) by Münif Efendi (Paşa). *Muhaverât-1 Hikemiye*

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<sup>32</sup> Evin, *Origins*, p. 15.

<sup>33</sup> Özön, *Türkçede*, p. 118.

<sup>34</sup> Dizdaroğlu, p. 202.

consisted of some conversational pieces from Fénelon, Fontenelle and Voltaire. With this book, themes, such as the nature of human being, the evaluation of fame, personal ambition, love of the fatherland, the moral of the society, and the education of women were introduced to readers in a different way which must have influenced especially the young readers.<sup>35</sup>

Voltaire's dialogues were selected from his *Dialogues et Entretiens Philosophiques*, Fénelon's were from his *Dialogues*, and Fontenelle's dialogue was from his *Dialogue des Morts*. Dündar Akünel noted that the translation consisted of eleven dialogues. He names three dialogues by Voltaire that Mardin did not include in his collection, the numbers of XIII, XIV, and XV from *Dialogues et Anecdotes Philosophiques*.<sup>36</sup>

We do not know whether the choice of Münif Paşa, regarding translations of these dialogues, was deliberate. The order of the dialogues was the same as it was in the complete edition of Voltaire's work. He simply omitted one dialogue, concerning a Jesuit which would not have meant much to the Ottoman audience.<sup>37</sup> *Muhaverât-ı Hikemiye*

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<sup>35</sup> Mardin gives us the number of the dialogues as eight with the following information: 1) Dialogue between the Greek Philosopher Democritus and Heraclitus. (*Démocrite et Héraclite* by Fénelon); 2) Dialogue between a Philosopher and a Gardener Regarding the City of Cashmere. (*Les Embellissements de la Ville de Cachemire* by Voltaire); 3) Dialogue between the King of Athens, Demetrius, and Erostratus. (*Erostrate et Démétrius de Phalere* by Fontenelle); 4) Dialogue between Bayard and the High Constable on the Bearing of Arms Against One's Country. (*Le Connétable de Bourbon et Bayard* by Fénelon); 5) Dialogue between two philosophers by the name of Posidonus and Lucretius on the Proof of Predestination. (*Lucrece et Posidonus* by Voltaire); 6) Dialogue between the Wife of Louis XV, Madame de Maintenon, and Mlle. de l'Enclos, her Old Friend. (*Madame de Maintenon et Mademoiselle de l'Enclos* by Voltaire); 7) Dialogue between a Philosopher and a Minister of Finance Regarding Public Administration. (*Un Philosophe et un Contôleur Général de Finances* by Voltaire); 8) Dialogue between a French Savage and a French Educator on the Subject of Man (*Un Sauvage et un Bachelier* by Voltaire). See Mardin, *Genesis*, pp. 234-35.

<sup>36</sup> Dündar Akünel, 'Çeviri ve Batılılaşma', in *Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyete Türkiye Ansiklopedisi*, ed. by Murat Belge (Istanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1986), pp. 452-54 (p. 454). Also İsmail Habib Sevük gives the number of the dialogues as eleven. See İsmail Habib Sevük, *Tanzimattanberi I* (Istanbul: Remzi Kitabevi, 1944), p. 121 and *Tanzimat Devri Edebiyatı* (Istanbul: İnkılâp Kitabevi, 1953), p. 78.

<sup>37</sup> Mardin, *Genesis*, p. 235.

conveys the eighteenth century French thought and these dialogues as a whole must have been very expressive for the Ottoman audience. As Tanpınar argued:

It is impossible that this little book did not raise a rebellion, especially in the minds of those who read it at a younger age. Anyway, the author who chose these dialogues wanted such an influence. *Muhaverât-ı Hikemiye* resemblances a hero in our history of innovation whose name was forgotten. We will see that these ideas will be reproduced with the pens of Turkish authors more or less in the same frame-work in the plays of Hâmid, but also Namık Kemal. Almost one generation will be budged with these ideas. It can be said that it was Münif Paşa who started the debate on the moral principles underlying the *Tanzimat* movements.<sup>38</sup>

Some motives dealt with in the dialogues must have appealed to Ottoman readers. As Mardin suggests, the first dialogue by Voltaire which begins by painting a picture of Kashmir reminds one of the stagnation of the Ottoman Empire:

Le Royaume de Cachemire avait subsisté plus de treize cent ans, sans avoir eu ni de vrais philosophes, ni de vrais poètes, ni d'architectes passables, ni de peintres, ni de sculpteurs. Ils manquèrent longtemps de manufactures et de commerce, au point que, pendant plus de mille ans, quand un marquis Cachemirien voulait avoir du linge et un beau pourpoint, il était obligé d'avoir recours à un juif ou un Banian.<sup>39</sup>

According to Voltaire's philosopher, there was nothing to exploit natural and human resources in Kashmir. As he states, 'Pour exécuter les plus grandes entreprises il ne faut qu'une tête et des mains'.<sup>40</sup>

Again, in the advice given by the philosopher to the minister of finance, the general idea is the same: 'La richesse d'un état consiste dans le nombre de ses habitants at dans le travail. ... Le vraie richesse d'un royaume ... est... dans l'industrie et le travail.'<sup>41</sup> It

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<sup>38</sup> Tanpınar, *19uncu Asır*, p. 180 (my translation).

<sup>39</sup> Mardin, *Genesis*, p. 236.

<sup>40</sup> Mardin, *Genesis*, p. 236.

<sup>41</sup> Mardin, *Genesis*, p. 236.

is highly probable that by choosing and translating these dialogues, Münif Paşa wanted to convey his ideas on the conditions of the Empire and the sultanate.

Other dialogues, such as the one between Mme de Maintenon and her friend which gives a hint of the benefits that could be derived from the education of women, the second dialogue by Fénelon with “patriotism” as its subject, and the final dialogue which stated that the best laws were made by consulting the interest of the greatest number, influenced immensely the Young Ottomans who treated similar themes at great length in their writings.<sup>42</sup>

True, that by comparison with nineteenth-century European thought, that had just begun to consider man in terms of biological evolution (Darwin’s *Origin of Species* appeared in 1859), these dialogues were quite mild. But, in an environment where ‘philosophical speculation divorced from theology was considered heretical’<sup>43</sup>, Münif Paşa was exposing himself to censure by publishing this translation. Later he was highly criticised for his work by the *ulema*, and accused of being an atheist.<sup>44</sup> This reaction of the *ulema* continued for a longer period. Two decades later, Ahmet Mithat, using the term “Islamic philosophy” was also denounced by the *ulema* who pointed out that the term “Islamic philosophy” was a contradiction of terms.<sup>45</sup>

Like his articles in *Mecmua-ı Fünûn*, Münif Paşa’s prose was clear. The translation of the dialogues reflects stylistic norms of the time, in that the text did not have any punctuation. However, there were some paragraph indentations, parentheses and footnotes that were not at the bottom of the page, but at the sides and therefore can be

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<sup>42</sup> Mardin, *Genesis*, p. 237.

<sup>43</sup> Mardin, *Genesis*, p. 234.

<sup>44</sup> Mardin, *Genesis*, p. 238.

<sup>45</sup> Mardin, *Genesis*, p. 238.

called as sidenotes.<sup>46</sup> Tanpınar describes Münif Paşa's prose in his translations as the 'most advanced' of its time.<sup>47</sup>

Following the first translations, other translations of political, scientific, and technical writings were published one after another in newspapers and journals. It is very important to stress that it was Münif Paşa, the translator of the above mentioned dialogues, who founded the Ottoman Scientific Society (*Cemiyet-i İlmiye-i Osmaniye*) and its journal *Mecmua-ı Fünûn*, as was shown above, shortly after the publication of the *Dialogues*. *Mecmua-ı Fünûn* became the main means to disseminate European ideas in its pages.

Between 1862-1865 articles appeared in *Mecmua-ı Fünûn* on such topics as learning and ignorance, the science of geology, history of the telegraph, history of the sages of Greece, the importance of thrift, the necessity to work, the unity of theory and practice, the praise of work and criticism of inactivity.<sup>48</sup> *Mecmua-ı Fünûn*, with all these topics new to the reading public, was a great step towards Westernisation and very influential on the Young Ottomans.

As the first serial to appear in *Tasvir-i Efkâr*, Şinasi chose a translation of Emmer de Vattel's *Droit des Gens* (*Hukuk-u Milet*). In this way Vattel's conviction that natural law was the ultimate basis of all legal institutions was introduced to an Ottoman audience. Şinasi also published a series of historical writings. His purpose in publishing these writings might have been, on the one hand, to discover the causes of decline of the Ottoman Empire, and, on the other hand, to show the reader that history, as the classical Islamic conception says, was not a process guided by the hand of God. It was Ahmet

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<sup>46</sup> Akünal, p. 453.

<sup>47</sup> Tanpınar, *19uncu Asır*, pp. 180-81.

<sup>48</sup> Mardin, *Genesis*, pp. 239-40.



Vefik Paşa who for the first time called history a “science” in the columns of *Tasvir-i Efkâr*. Şinasi also included contemporary European scientific writings in his paper. Mustafa Behçet Efendi’s translation of Georges Louis Leclerc Buffon’s *Histoire Naturelle (Tarih-i Tabii)* was such an attempt.<sup>49</sup>

The authorities who decided on the first translations of political, scientific, and technical writings were not sultans or viziers but the translators themselves or the institutions founded by the government to produce translations. The decision whether to translate a book or not depended only indirectly on the governmental authorities. The first statute regarding the duties of *Encümen-i Daniş* laid down, for example, that the Ministry of Education may commission the Academy to translate a scientific book that the Ministry finds necessary, or if the Academy itself decides on the need for translating a book it should have the permission of the Ministry of Education.<sup>50</sup> The first purpose of such translation activity was to bring European knowledge to the Empire. The translators as the new intellectual generation, wanted to disseminate their political ideas such as freedom, fatherland, or equality through translations. A second purpose is to be found in Cicero’s words:

I decided to take speeches written in Greek by great orators and to translate them freely, and I obtained the following results: by giving a Latin form to the text I had read I could not only make use of the best expressions in common usage with us, but I could also coin new expressions, analogous to those used in Greek, and they were no less well received by our people as long as they seemed appropriate.<sup>51</sup>

The case of “coining new expressions” was especially valid in scientific and technical translations. While borrowing advanced European technology and science, the reformers

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<sup>49</sup> Mardin, *Genesis*, pp. 261-62.

<sup>50</sup> Dr. W. F. A. Behrnauer, ‘Die Türkische Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Constantinopel’, *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, 6 (1852), 273-85 (p. 278).

<sup>51</sup> André Lefevere, ed., *Translation, History, Culture: A Sourcebook* (London: Routledge, 1992), pp. 46-47.

hoped to bring the Ottoman Empire up to the level of a strong state. Much attention was given to the establishment of educational institutions. Students were sent to various European countries, at the same time foreign teachers were coming to instruct in the new established schools. Soon a new problem emerged: the lack of suitable scientific terminology in Turkish. Societies, such as the Ottoman Medical Society (*Cemiyet-i Tibbiyye-i Osmaniyye*) which was set up in 1865 with the purpose of preparing the way for the introduction of Turkish in the medical school<sup>52</sup>, and the Ottoman Scientific Society with its journal *Mecmua-ı Fünûn*, undertook the task of building Turkish scientific and technical vocabulary by translating European scientific and technical books into Turkish. At the same time schools, where the teaching language was mostly French, served the same purpose. In his speech to the students of the medical school at the inauguration of the new building in 1838, Sultan Mahmut II said:

You will study scientific medicine in French ... my purpose in having you taught French is not to educate you in the French language, it is to teach you scientific medicine and little by little to take it into our language ... work to acquire a knowledge of medicine from your teachers, and strive gradually to take it into Turkish and give it currency in our language...<sup>53</sup>

It is important to stress Mahmut's position who, while admitting the necessity of a foreign language instruction, had as a goal to make Turkish the scientific language of the future. Teaching in French would be only a temporary expedient.

While scientific and technical translations were forcing the Turkish language to expand, literary translations helped it by simplifying and developing an all-purpose widely comprehensible language.

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<sup>52</sup> See Chapter 2, n. 79.

<sup>53</sup> B. Lewis, *Emergence*, pp. 83-84.

Translations of verse started in 1859 with Şinasi's translation of French poetry, *Tercüme-i Manzume* (Translations of Verse) that he published with its French title, *Extraits de poésies et de prose, traduits en vers du français en turc, Constantinople, Imprimerie de la Presse d'Orient, 1859* on the facing page. The first publication of the book in 1859 was in the form of a lithography. It was republished in 1860, 1870, 1885 and 1893.<sup>54</sup> The book was in the form of a collection of selected verse from La Fontaine, Lamartine, Gilbert and Racine, in which the French texts appeared on the page opposite the Turkish rendition which was probably to help the young with their French studies.

The organisation of this book reflected an Ottoman attitude toward poetry in its disregard of the wholeness of a poem. The only poems translated as a whole were *Méditations-Souvenirs* by Lamartine and *Le Loup et l'Agneau* by La Fontaine, whereas the rest were translated extracts. However, these selections were the first poems from Western literature into Turkish introducing a new understanding of poetry, in contrast to the *Divan* tradition. In this book Şinasi translated 46 lines by Racine (8 from *Esther*, 36 from *Athalie*, 1 from *Andeomaque* and 1 line entitled *A Laudes*), 23 lines by Lamartine (16 from *Méditations-Souvenirs*, 7 from *Recueils Poétiques*), 29 lines which constitute *Le Loup et l'Agneau* by La Fontaine, 4 lines entitled *Sur Sa Mort* by Gilbert and 2 paragraphs from Fénelon's *Télémaque* in verse. Şinasi's use of the *aruz* verse for his translations was to make them acceptable in poetic form as well as in content according to the norms of the home system. On the other hand, his attempt at adequacy in translation, insofar as textual (literary and linguistic) norms were concerned, served to promote his use of a new and relatively simple lexis and style.<sup>55</sup> Already on the first page of *Tercüme-i*

<sup>54</sup> Akünel, p. 453. Süheyl Beken, in his preface of the book he edited in 1960, gave the dates as 1859, 1870, 1885 and 1894 saying that his was the fifth edition which I have made use of. See Süheyl Beken, 'Preface', in *Terceme-i Manzûme*, trans. by İbrahim Şinasi (Ankara: Dün-Bugün Yayınevi, 1960), n. pag.

<sup>55</sup> Paker, 'Translated European Literature in the Late Ottoman Literary Polysystem', p. 72.

*Manzume* he declared that the words marked in the poems were added by himself. He also admitted that he made a couplet out of *A Laudes* by Racine which consisted of one line. Finally, he changed the order of the lines in Racine's *Athalie* and *Le Loup et l'Agneau* by La Fontaine, producing 7 more lines in the translation of the latter. These indications of Şinasi show, on the one hand, that he considered any derivation from word for word rendition not acceptable and therefore had to be marked. On the other hand, the fact that he added most of the words to keep the *aruz* verse demonstrates that he wanted to produce an acceptable translation.

The selection of the verses that Şinasi translated was not accidental, as it was not for other translators of his time. Şerif Mardin showed that the passage which Şinasi placed at the beginning of *Tercüme-i Manzume*, a selection from Racine's *Esther*, reflected Şinasi's conception of law:

Ce Dieu, maître absolu de la terre et des cieux,  
N'est point tel que l'erreur le figure à nos yeux.  
L'Éternel est son nom; le monde est son ouvrage:  
Il entend les soupirs de l'humble qu'on outrage.  
Juge tous les mortels avec d'égaies lois,  
Et du haut de son trône interroge les rois:  
Des plus fermes États la chute épouvantable,  
Quand il veut, n'est qu'un jeu de sa main redoutable.<sup>56</sup>

As Mardin noted, Şinasi's conception of law differed from the traditional Islamic conception in that he believed rulers to be responsible for their actions in this world as well as in the next.<sup>57</sup> As in Münif Paşa's case, Şinasi's action of translating these verses, by putting the sultanate into question, was courageous at that time.

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<sup>56</sup> İbrahim Şinasi, trans., *Terceme-i Manzûme* (Ankara: Dün-Bugün Yayınevi, 1960), p. 2.

<sup>57</sup> Mardin, *Genesis*, p. 271.

As Tanpınar stated, Şinasi's translation of four stanzas from Lamartine's *Souvenirs* with its rhyme system and its framework that is born and developed from a single sentiment was the only translation which was new for Ottoman poetry.<sup>58</sup> Even though the new rhyme pattern that Şinasi used in this translation did not attract any attention at the time when the booklet was published, it influenced, as Tanpınar argued, other poets, such as Abdülhak Hâmid (1852-1937). However, the biggest impact of these translations was on Şinasi's own poetry, giving rise to his own forms of poetry.<sup>59</sup> He translated Racine's tragedies as "*trajedyâ manzumesi*", "act" as "*fasıl*", and "fable" as "*hikâyat-ı manzume*". When he wrote the first Turkish drama *Şair Evlenmesi* (Marriage of the Poet) in the same year and this was serialised in *Tercüman-ı Ahval* in the following year, he used the terms "*fıkra*" for "scene" and "*fasıl*" for "act" in his text. This is the beginning of the birth of some theatrical terms in the Turkish language.<sup>60</sup>

Ethem Pertev Paşa's *Tıfl-ı Nâim* from Victor Hugo's *Les feuilles d'automne* is the second translation of verse in Turkish. He also translated *Bakay-ı Ruh* from Rousseau. For the first translation Ethem Pertev Paşa used a new rhyme structure and language which became influential in the next generation.<sup>61</sup> The latter was published by Ebüzziya Tevfik on the last page of the first issue of the journal *Cüzdân* under the title *Jan Jak Ruso'dan Bir Kıt'anın Tercümesi* (A Translation of a Verse Stanza by Jean Jacques Rousseau) in 1873. The main problem of poetry translations was the difficulty in deciding between the *aruz* metre and the syllabic (*hece*) metre. Recâizade Ekrem Bey who decided to translate poems from La Fontaine also had this dilemma. Finally he wrote an article, in verse,

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<sup>58</sup> Tanpınar, *19uncu Asır*, p. 195.

<sup>59</sup> Tanpınar argued that Şinasi's translation of Racine's *Athalie* gave rise to his poems *Münâcât* and *İlâhi*, and La Fontaine's *Le Loup et l'Agneau* to his story *Eşek ile Tilki*. See Tanpınar, *19uncu Asır*, p. 195.

<sup>60</sup> Akünal, p. 453.

<sup>61</sup> Tanpınar, *19uncu Asır*, pp. 264-65.

explaining his difficulty. This article appeared in *Hazine-i Evrak*, a journal published by Celâlettin Paşa in 1879.<sup>62</sup>

In 1862, the same year as the publication of the first translation of *Télémaque*, an abridged translation of Victor Hugo's *Les Misérables* began to be serialised in the newspaper *Ruzname-i Ceride-i Havadis* (the daily version of the first unofficial weekly newspaper *Ceride-i Havadis* of 1860) under the title *Mağdurîn Hikâyesi*.<sup>63</sup> The narrative style of the translation was the same as that of standard police reports of the time and with abridgements, the novel was reduced to a simple crime story.<sup>64</sup> The translator of this novel has been recently identified as Münif Paşa, the translator of *Muhaverât-ı Hikemiye* (Philosophical Dialogues).<sup>65</sup> Münif Paşa's version of *Les Misérables* was written in a very simple and vulgarised language which was not in the same style as the original text. If we take into consideration the didactic value of literature that the Young Ottoman thinkers insisted on, it is not difficult to see that clarity of style was linked with ideas of clarity of message. This concern about clarity resulted in the usage of a simple language, but it also gave rise to some cases where certain parts of the source text was omitted in the translation, such as the abridged translation of *Les Misérables*.

The first eight chapters of *Les Misérables* were retranslated by Şemsettin Sami in 1879 under the title *Sefiller* and the novel was completed by Hasan Bedreddin after 1908. This new version was bitterly attacked because of its style which, it was claimed, was too close to the original and too literal.<sup>66</sup> Sâmi defended himself in his preface to his translation of *Robinson Crusoe*.

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<sup>62</sup> Sevük, *Tanzimattanberi I*, p. 97.

<sup>63</sup> Paker, 'Translated European Literature in the Late Ottoman Literary Polysystem', p. 74.

<sup>64</sup> Özön, *Türkçede*, p. 122.

<sup>65</sup> Özön, *Türkçede*, p. 122.

<sup>66</sup> Paker, 'Translated European Literature in the Late Ottoman Literary Polysystem', p. 75.

Daniel Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe* was translated from its Arabic version by Ahmet Lûtfi, an imperial chronicler, under the title *Hikâye-i Robenson* and was published as a book in 1864. The novel was republished during the next years, some of them with different illustrations. Although the book was translated from Arabic, the language of Ahmet Lûtfi was very simple as he had promised in his preface.<sup>67</sup> Şemsettin Sami retranslated it in 1885 from a French version made for children. In his preface, Sâmi said that it was impossible to convey new ideas in the existing Ottoman prose and that he forced all the possibilities of the Turkish language by trying to stay closer to the original and write in simpler prose.<sup>68</sup> As Paker has suggested, that this translation was reprinted in 1934 and read by the republican generation, might be an indication of the extent of his innovation.<sup>69</sup>

At the end of the 1860s, translation activity was steered by young writers who had come together in newly established newspapers and journals. One of these young writers, Recâizade Mahmut Ekrem translated Silvio Pellico's *Le mie prigioni* from its French version *Mes Prisons* under the title *Mahbeslerim* which had been serialised in the *Terakki* newspaper in 1869. In his first translation, Mahmut Ekrem used a very ornate prose that was close to *inşa* style which Namık Kemal criticised. The serialisation of François René Chateaubriand's *Atala* in *Hakayiku'l-Vekayi* in 1869, also translated by Recâizade Ekrem; Bernardin de Saint-Pierre's *Paul et Virginie* in *Mümeyyiz* in 1870; Voltaire's *Micromégas* in 1871 and Alexandre Dumas père's *Le Comte de Monte Cristo* in *Diyojen*, the first Turkish humorous magazine in the same year, show the importance of the media for

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<sup>67</sup> Özön, *Türkçede*, p. 126.

<sup>68</sup> Paker, 'Translated European Literature in the Late Ottoman Literary Polysystem', p. 75.

<sup>69</sup> Paker, 'Translated European Literature in the Late Ottoman Literary Polysystem', p. 76.

translated literature. According to accounts, about thirty translators contributed to the translation of *Le Comte de Monte Cristo*, which was eventually completed in book form.<sup>70</sup>

Another example is Bernardin de Saint-Pierre's *Paul et Virginie*. The only relation of the translation with its original is the story told in the novel. The translator regarded detailed explanations related to circumstances concerning the backdrop as a waste of time and omitted these.<sup>71</sup> But one should also bear in mind that most of the first translations of novels appeared not in book form but were serialised in journals and magazines. A natural outcome of this was a prose suitable to the journalistic language. Paker has argued that the serialised translations functioned as 'the main motivating force behind the growth of Turkish vocabulary and the development of simplified prose, in serving to introduce new concepts, terms and styles.'<sup>72</sup> They also focused attention on the difficulties of finding linguistic equivalents for these new concepts. This problem had been discussed by several translators. Recâizade Ekrem, the translator of *Mes Prisons* and *Atala* complained, in his preface to *Atala* in book form in 1874, that the existing linguistic resources of the Turkish language could not meet the needs of the original text. All the linguistic difficulties, the requirement of a journalistic prose for the translations and the concern to attract the reader's attention encouraged "acceptable" rather than "adequate" translation.<sup>73</sup>

After 1870, more emphasis was placed on publishing books. Between 1870-1875 translations of Western novels were published in book form, such as Dumas père's *Pauline* (1871), René LeSage's *Le Diable Boiteux* (1872), Charles Paul de Kock's *Monsieur Chaublanc à la recherche de sa femme* (1873), Ann Ward Radcliffe's *The*

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<sup>70</sup> Özön, *Türkçede*, p. 141; Tanpınar, *19uncu Asır*, p. 282.

<sup>71</sup> Özön, *Türkçede*, p. 136.

<sup>72</sup> Paker, 'Translated European Literature in the Late Ottoman Literary Polysystem', p. 75.

<sup>73</sup> Paker, 'Translated European Literature in the Late Ottoman Literary Polysystem', p. 75.



*Castles of Athlin and Dunbayne* (1873), Eugène Sue's *Les Mystères de Paris* (1875) and Xavier de Montépin's *Les Mystères de l'Inde* (1875).<sup>74</sup>

As can be seen from the above mentioned translated works, prose, especially the novel, was the most translated genre during the *Tanzimat* period. This is not surprising if we remember the hierarchies operating within the Ottoman literary system. In that sense, the real innovations in the Ottoman literary polysystem took place in prose narration and it was through the medium of prose that translated literature was able to move from the periphery towards the centre of the polysystem and gain a primary position within the system.

The reformist intelligentsia, in order to spread new ideas and educate people, used literature as their main medium. By doing this, they began introducing changes in literature by giving priority to content over rhetoric. Prose could serve to attract the attention of the public to current issues and disseminate the ideas of the *Tanzimat* among a wider audience. This didactic aim led translators firstly to use a simple prose. It also gave rise to a general tendency to produce acceptable translations by using the old canonised styles like the ornate poetic prose *inşa* and the *aruz* metre in poetry. Publishing fiction in popularised forms was one of the methods to attract new readership. Non-canonised works were translated widely, but also, many canonised works were translated in popularised forms, becoming non-canonised in the target Ottoman polysystem. Changes were also made in translated texts, such as omissions and abridgements in order not to demonstrate the foreignness of the source text, and also additions to tone down the foreignness of the original and make the target text acceptable in the target system.

This target oriented approach resulted in the acculturation of these translations with all the new ideas, concepts and genres they introduced to the Ottoman polysystem. The extent of this acculturation process is best observed when the translation strategies by

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<sup>74</sup> Evin, *Origins*, p. 45.

Ahmet Mithat Efendi and Ahmet Vefik Paşa, two of the leading and most influential translators during the *Tanzimat* period, and the emergence of a new Turkish literature are examined. This will be the subject of the following chapter.

## CHAPTER 4

### THE EMERGENCE OF A NEW TURKISH LITERATURE

#### 4.1 Ahmet Mithat Efendi and the Popularisation of the Novel

Ahmet Mithat Efendi (1844-1912) deserves closer consideration among the translators of the *Tanzimat*.<sup>1</sup> He was probably the most productive writer of his time, publishing an enormous number of stories, novels, articles, plays, various works of history, geography, science, politics, economics, military matters, pedagogy, family law, biography, memoirs and religion (in translation or original); in addition he edited five newspapers and two journals. The range of his translations are from Xenophons's *Cyropaedia*, Ann Radcliffe's *The Mysteries of Udolpho*, Hugo's *Les Burgraves*, Alexandre Dumas fils' *La dame aux Camélias*, to the detective stories of Xavier de Montépin, and popular novels of Paul de Kock, all translated from or via French. He had learnt French during the early years of his life and we know that, in his youth, he learnt by heart the fables by La Fontaine and read *Robinson Crusoe*, poems by Alfred de Musset, *Le Contrat Social* and *Les Confessions* by Jean-Jacques Rousseau whose philosophical ideas he considered equal to the ones of

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<sup>1</sup> For Ahmet Mithat Efendi, see M. Orhan Okay, 'Ahmed Mithat Efendi', in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 2 (Istanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 1989), 100-03; Sabri Esat Siyavuşgil, 'Ahmed Midhat Efendi', in *İslam Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 1 (Ankara: Maarif Matbaası, 1940), 184-87; Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar, *19uncu Asır Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi* (Istanbul: Çağlayan Kitabevi, 1988 [1949]), pp. 445-74; Mustafa Nihat Özön, *Türkçede Roman* (Istanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1985 [1936]), pp. 145-238.

Voltaire.<sup>2</sup> His first translations appeared in a booklet, *Kıssadan Hisse*, consisting of 18 extracts by Aesop, 11 by Fénelon, 1 by Voltaire and 15 passages written by him.

With his translations and later his novels, Ahmet Mithat was the one who most helped to popularise literature. Tanpınar, who did not have a high opinion of Ahmet Mithat, criticised him for his choice of translated novels, for regarding Xavier de Montépin and Eugène Sue as equal to Cervantes, Hugo and Zola, and for sacrificing Emile Zola for Paul de Kock.<sup>3</sup> However, Ahmet Mithat followed a certain translational policy and pursued different rewriting strategies in his texts.

In the preface to his translation of *L'Aventurière (Nedamet mi? Heyhat!..)* by Emile Augier, Ahmet Mithat defines his conception of the novel:

The novel is not composed only of a story of a pleasant and strange event. This event certainly is about one of the sciences, some of the industries, some rules of philosophy, a country that forms a part of geography, or a passage of history, so the explanations about them broaden the range of knowledge of the readers.<sup>4</sup>

This is an interesting preface in that it shows Ahmet Mithat's views on the novel and Western novelists. Here, he criticises, for example, *Le Comte de Monte Cristo*, although he wrote a novel modelled on this translation, as will be seen below, arguing that this story seemed like a fairytale for the new society. On the other hand, he praised Alexandre Dumas fils' works, especially *La Dame aux camélias*. He also applauded Paul de Kock because his stories which were on general human conditions and some civilisations, as Ahmet Mithat claimed, were both entertaining, and informative and enlightening. Furthermore, he blamed Emile Zola for changing the main purpose of the novel by filling

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<sup>2</sup> Fevziye Abdullah, 'Ahmet Mithat Efendi'nin Garp Dillerinden Tercüme Roman ve Küçük Hikayeleri', *Tercüme*, 11:60 (1955), 109-21 (pp. 109-10).

<sup>3</sup> Tanpınar, *19uncu Asır*, p. 462.

<sup>4</sup> Quoted in Özön, *Türkçede*, p. 217 (my translation).

it with dissipation of poverty, misery, abasement, and disgrace limited to a group of people.<sup>5</sup> It is interesting to see the changing attitude of Ahmet Mithat towards didacticist-realism in less than two decades since the appearance of *Monte Cristo*'s translation. But, as he admitted in the same account, the Ottoman circles underwent the developments of the literary movements that Europe experienced over 50-60 years in only 15-20 years. Moreover, as Evin has shown, 'the first generation of Turkish literary innovators insisted on inscribing all modern European fiction, including the great novels of the French romantic tradition, as realistic - so much so that "novel" and "realism" appeared to be synonymous'.<sup>6</sup>

In the past, Turkish intellectuals had always been one or sometimes two centuries behind developments of European thought. The ideas of classicism and romanticism came only with the translations and writings of intellectuals such as Şinasi and Namık Kemal and, as shown above, during the second half of the nineteenth century the Turkish intellectuals were still reading Fénelon's *Télémaque*. As Niyazi Berkes argues:

Turkish readers were not yet ready to comprehend the late nineteenth-century European movements of thought such as realism, naturalism, utopian socialism, evolutionism, or scientific socialism. Under the overpowering authority of Ahmet Midhat, all these were anathematized. To speak of naturalism, especially as represented by Zola, meant in those days arriving at an intellectual position equal to anarchism or nihilism. The Turkish intellectuals produced neither a genuine materialism in philosophy, realism or naturalism in literature, nor socialism in politics.<sup>7</sup>

Another criticism of Tanpınar concerning Ahmet Mithat's translations is related to his translation policy. Tanpınar finds Mithat's approach to translation superficial and

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<sup>5</sup> Özön, *Türkçede*, pp. 216-17.

<sup>6</sup> Ahmet Ö. Evin, *Origins and Development of the Turkish Novel* (Minneapolis: Bibliotheca Islamica, 1983), p. 19.

<sup>7</sup> Niyazi Berkes, *The Development of Secularism in Turkey* (Montreal: McGill University Press, 1964), p. 295.

criticised him for giving more importance to quantity than quality.<sup>8</sup> However, Mithat had a very clear idea of what a translation should be.

While he was in prison in Rhodes, Mithat translated Paul de Kock's *La fille aux trois jupons* (*Üç yüzlü karı*) with Ebüzziya Tevfik in 1875. In the preface to his translation he outlines his conception of translating:

This story is not a literary translation of the author's story with the same title. Those who are familiar with the language will admit that there is no allegiance in a literary translation. We did not even translate it freely, because those who have not lived in Paris cannot appreciate the delicacy and the connotations in Paul de Kock's work. Therefore, we rewrote the story in Turkish.<sup>9</sup>

In the same preface, Mithat declares that he will not limit himself by introducing only this story by Paul de Kock. He promises to continue giving other versions of Paul de Kock's stories in the form of translation or in the form of interpretation and appropriation.<sup>10</sup> It is clear that Ahmet Mithat recognised the cultural elements that each language contains and that every text is anchored in a specific culture. He chose a target text-oriented approach and wanted to produce a text which could be intelligible in the target, namely, Ottoman culture.

He did not change this policy in his other translations, presenting his opinions on every occasion:

We are not for literary translation. We read a phrase, a word, even a page in French; and write what we understand separately - that is we rewrite it in Turkish. That is why our translations appear as though they were originally written in Turkish.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> Tanpınar, *19uncu Asır*, p. 462.

<sup>9</sup> Quoted in Özön, *Türkçede*, p. 223 (my translation).

<sup>10</sup> Abdullah, pp. 112-113.

<sup>11</sup> Quoted in Özön, *Türkçede*, p. 223 (my translation).

As Özön noted, Ahmet Mithat's versions followed the basic structure and line of action of the original, but the stylistic features remained his own.<sup>12</sup> It is also worth emphasising the wider definition that Ahmet Mithat gave to translation. He saw himself a rewriter as he declared that he rewrote the source texts, a process which allowed him to manipulate the original texts by adjusting them to fit in the target literary system.<sup>13</sup>

Parallel to his recognition of the differences between cultures, as mentioned above, Ahmet Mithat believed that every national novel was created according to its own national aptitude. But he also held the view that a national novel should not be secluded from the superior elements of the century to which it belongs. Ahmet Mithat therefore thought that the works to be translated from European literature had to be selected accordingly and advocated alterations in the translation for the same reason.<sup>14</sup> The tendency to borrow selectively from the West and the question of East versus West arose among Ottoman intellectuals in the late nineteenth century, beginning to be discussed first in the fields of language and literature.

An article that appeared in *Hayal* in 1874 illustrates this problem that Ottoman intellectuals encountered in the field of translation. The article starts with the statement that European novels about love and relationships should not be translated in order not to inspire the public, especially the literate class, with European ideas, since every story (novel) is written according to its national norms and gains popularity accordingly. It insisted on the necessity to translate works of history, science and morals.<sup>15</sup> One point to

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<sup>12</sup> Özön, *Türkçede*, p. 224.

<sup>13</sup> It was André Lefevere who introduced the term "rewriting" to refer to a range of processes, including translations, literary histories, anthologies, criticism etc., which alters or manipulates the source text in some way. See André Lefevere, ed., *Translation, Rewriting, and the Manipulation of Literary Fame* (London: Routledge, 1992) and 'Why Waste our Time on Rewriters? The Trouble with Interpretation and the Role of Rewriting in an Alternative Paradigm', in *The Manipulation of Literature*, ed. by Theo Hermans (London: Croom Helm, 1985), pp. 215-43.

<sup>14</sup> Özön, *Türkçede*, p. 223.

<sup>15</sup> Nuri Akbayar, 'Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyet'e Çeviri', in *Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyete Türkiye Ansiklopedisi*, ed. by Murat Belge, vol. 2 (Istanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1986), 447-51 (p. 450).

be stressed here is that the writer of the article was not against translating, but afraid that translations might violate the domestic norms. Moreover, this fear was not only for Europe and European norms but generally for any foreign values that might enter and change the status quo. So in the last paragraph of the article, the writer admits that before this “fashion”, i.e. translating, all the narrative was full of Persian details which, in fact, had worst effects. However, he concluded that the Persian which had done so much harm to the Ottoman culture, was now replaced by the French.

Another factor which influenced Ahmet Mithat’s translational policy and the style of his translations as well as his novels is his strong trend of didacticism. He once denied having written anything ‘which may be called literary’ and explained the reasons:

This is because at the period I wrote my works, the part of our population uninterested in literature consisted, without exaggeration, of ninety-nine percent. My goal was to speak with the majority, to try to illuminate them, to be an interpreter of their problems.<sup>16</sup>

Mithat, in his novels, dealt with social issues, such as slavery and the slave trade, the status and rights of women and arranged Muslim marriage. Such issues were new for readers and Mithat’s narrative technique of the *meddah* (story teller) tradition from folk literature kept him in touch with his readers and enabled him to popularise his novels as well as his ideas. In this way, he was probably more successful than any of his contemporaries by reaching ordinary people and inculcating reading.

His first novel, *Hasan Mellâh*, written in 1874, was inspired by the success that the translation of *Le Comte de Monte Cristo* achieved. However, the structure, the theme and the characters of the novel were taken from folk stories. Hasan and Cuzella’s love

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<sup>16</sup> Quoted in Robert P. Finn, *The Early Turkish Novel 1872-1900* (Istanbul: İsis Yayıncılık, 1984), p. 13.



story resembled very much *Kerem and Aslı* or *Emrah and Selvi*. In the preface of his novel Ahmet Mithat wrote:

I wrote and produced this story entitled *Hasan Mellah* or *Sır İçinde Esrar* in order to be an example in the vacuum of our national intellectual power. It is not a translation, not even an imitation. Albeit it is a depiction and compilation, my soul which always forces and directs me to the limits of my power directed me to assimilate the story of *Monte Cristo* in this story.

But my work would scarcely reach the level of Alexandre Dumas' work. It doesn't matter whether it reaches it or not. I believe that I should not be criticised because of this enforcement of my soul taking into consideration the difference of a writer who emerged among more than three thousand skilful writers belonging to a nation occupied with literature and philosophy for more than three hundred years and a writer who does not have any other fame than his zeal among not even thirty, skilful writers of a nation which has started to think about literature and philosophy for three years.

Even if I may be criticised, even if I destroy my existence in the world of literature and philosophy in this way: what does it matter? That which is called progress can be achieved by craving to attain to the level of those ahead as one observes them. It is best if the desired level is achieved. If not, at least one will have failed while endeavouring to accomplish a desired end. Activity is better than remaining idle as if nailed to a place even if it entails a loss.<sup>17</sup>

Ahmet Mithat wrote other novels which were modelled on works of French literature, such as *Haydut Montari* from *Simon et Marie* by Xavier de Montépin, *Nedamet mi Heyhat* from *L'Aventurière* by Emile Augier and *Alexandre Stradella* from the opera *Stradella* by Adolphe de Flotow.

Another example of Mithat's rewritings is *Amiral Bing*. Originally a play written by Octave Feuillet<sup>18</sup>, it was translated by Mithat as a novel. In the above mentioned preface to his translation of *L'Aventurière* (*Nedamet mi? Heyhat!..*), Mithat wrote that in order to enjoy the play, it had to be staged by skilful actors and the historical background of the play had to be known. Because of the lack of these, he rewrote the play in the form of a novel.<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> Quoted in Özön, *Türkçede*, p. 193 (my translation).

<sup>18</sup> The original title of the play could not be identified.

<sup>19</sup> Abdullah, p. 115.

As a result of this, his translations have been just as widely read as his novels. His policy helped to diminish differences between his translations and his original works. At the same time it gave the impression to the reader that his original works had the same literary value as the European literary models.<sup>20</sup> No distinction was made between original and translation; they were all rewritings. Content, as well as style and language were appropriated according to domestic norms. As seen above, he even translated texts in a different genre in order to conform the translations to the target system norms. Ahmet Mithat's translations were among the first examples of prose narrative, so even the fact that they were translated, rewritten, and read was an innovation for the Ottoman culture.

Ahmet Mithat was the first significant author of novels in Ottoman society. His importance lies more in the influence he exercised upon the society and later generations of writers than the merit of his works. Among his contemporaries, he was probably the one who established the novel as a valid genre in the Ottoman literary system. His greatest importance, according to Tanpınar, is that he taught Turkish society to read novels. Thanks to his books, people started to make time to read and learn to enjoy reading.<sup>21</sup> Virtually all of the writers of the next generation grew up reading his books.<sup>22</sup>

The question of translating European classics into Turkish was also discussed during the *Tanzimat* period. It was Ahmet Mithat who started the debate, first in the preface to his translation of *Le Cid* by Corneille in 1891:

European classics! Europe which has achieved the sublime goal of progress by experimenting with everything for three, four centuries, is for us an example of every material beauty. As for literary classics, these are actually the ones to be

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<sup>20</sup> Özön, *Türkçede*, p. 223.

<sup>21</sup> The first part of a series of articles he published in *Tercüman-ı Hakikat* was entitled *Okuma Zevki* (The Pleasure of Reading). Tanpınar, *19uncu Asır*, pp. 459-560.

<sup>22</sup> See, for example, Halid Ziya Uşaklıgil, *Kırk Yıl* (Istanbul: İnkılâp ve Aka, 1969), pp. 76, 78, 150-52 and Hüseyin Cahit Yalçın, *Edebiyat Anıları* (Istanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası, 1975), pp. 16, 21, 25 where he states that his first novel, *Nadide*, was only a poor imitation of Ahmet Mithat.

taken as models for they are the successful works that Europe is proud of. Is it right that we do not know them? (...) It is a big deficiency for us not to know the classics although we are Europeans and occupy ourselves with European literature.<sup>23</sup>

In an article, *İkram-ı Aklam* that appeared in *Tercüman-ı Ahval* in 1897, Mithat pointed out the need for translating the great works by European authors into Turkish, since Ottoman writers had not been able to produce similar works.<sup>24</sup> The first objection came from Ahmet Cevdet, the publisher of *İkdam*, who said that translations of classics from one language into another was difficult, because much of the artistic quality of the works would be lost in translation. He also pointed out that classics did exist in Ottoman literature: 'The glorious works of the Süleyman Çelebis, Sinan Paşas, Nefis, Bakis, Naimas, Cevdet Paşas and Nacis are most certainly among our classics.'<sup>25</sup>

Necib Asım's reaction was more nationalistic. He proposed that the Turkish language was able to convey the artistic values of foreign classics and saw the necessity for, and the possibility of, translating them. He also pointed to the existence of Ottoman and Turkish classics. Like all other nations, the Ottomans had their classics, not in Ottoman but in Turkish. The reason for the limited number of Turkish classics was to be found in the assimilation of Turks in the Arab-Persian civilisation. He even found some classical Ottoman poets superior to European ones, claiming that 'it is impossible to find in French a work which has the charm of the famous elegies of Baki and Akif Paşa'.<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>23</sup> Quoted in Vedat Günyol, 'Türkiye'de Çeviri', in *Cumhuriyet Dönemi Türkiye Ansiklopedisi*, ed. by Murat Belge, vol. 2 (Istanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1983), 324-30 (p. 327) (my translation).

<sup>24</sup> David Kushner, *The Rise of Turkish Nationalism 1876-1908* (London: Frank Cass, 1977), p. 84. The issue of Turkish classics, or in better words, the question of the existence of such literature has been raised from time to time. Still in 1981, a literary journal devoted its "dossier of the month" to this question: 'Aydın Dosyası: Türk Klasikleri Var mıdır?', *Gösteri*, 12 (1981), 42-57.

<sup>25</sup> Kushner, p. 84. Süleyman Çelebi (1351?-1422), Nefî (1512-1635), Bakî (1526-1600) are among the greatest Ottoman classical poets. Sinan Paşa (d. 1486) was a vizier under Sultan Mehmet II and an accomplished scholar. Naima (1655-1716) as well as Cevdet Paşa are noted for their *Histories*. Muallim Naci (1850-1893) was a writer, poet and literary critic of great influence.

<sup>26</sup> Kushner, p. 84. Akif Paşa (1787-1845) was a noted Turkish statesman, writer and poet.

Finally, Ahmet Mithat answered his critics, saying that by proposing the translation of Western classics into Turkish he did not mean to imitate them. He admitted that Turks had classics of their own, but this did not detract from the value of translating Western classics. Despite all these discussions, very few classics were translated into Turkish during the *Tanzimat*. The first history of Greek philosophy, *Abrégé de la Vie des Plus Illustres Philosophes de l'Antiquité*, was translated by an Armenian, Cricor Chumarian, in 1850 and published in Izmir in 1854 in the form of parallel texts, Turkish text facing French.<sup>27</sup> Longus' *Daphnis and Chloë* (*Dafni ile Kloe'nin hikâye-i taaşukları*) translated by Kâmil in 1873, some fables by Aesop, *Ezop'un kıssadan hisse almağa mahsus misalleri*, by an anonymous translator in Armenian script in 1866, *Tercüme-i Yezepos* (Translations from Aesop) by Çelebizade Agop Lütfi in 1873 and again selected fables by the same author, *Menakıb-ı hayvan berâ-yı teşhiz-i ezhan*, translated by Osman Rasih Efendi in 1877 were among the few translations of classics accomplished during the *Tanzimat*.<sup>28</sup> Planned translation activity of Latin and Greek classics, as will be seen in the following chapters, would only begin during the 1940s. However, it has to be noted that by the second half of the nineteenth century, the need to translate the sources of Western culture was beginning to be felt. It is interesting to see that it was Ahmet Mithat who started the debate. Although he mainly translated non-canonical literature and gave a popularised form to the canonised source literature, as shown above, by the end of the century he was talking about 'the need to translate the great works by European authors into Turkish'. He probably believed that prose narrative was developed enough to convey such works in Turkish and that readers were ready to understand the classics. He might

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<sup>27</sup> Mardin, *Genesis*, p. 234.

<sup>28</sup> Saliha Paker, 'Changing Norms of the Target System: Turkish Translations of Greek Classics in Historical Perspective', in *Studies on Greek Linguistics. Proceedings of the 7th Linguistics Conference* (Thessaloniki: The Aristotelian University of Thessaloniki, 1986), 411-26 and Şerif Hulûsi, 'Tanzimattan Sonraki Tercüme Faaliyeti (1845-1918)', *Tercüme*, 1:3 (1940), 286-96.

also have thought that by translating classics Turkish authors could produce their own classical literature in a simpler language, as he had produced his novels following his translations of Western literature.

#### 4.2 Ahmet Vefik Paşa and Drama Translations

The reformist intelligentsia also maintained that the lack of theatre was one of the imperfections of Turkish literature and attempted to rectify this. Drama was the only genre which the Ottoman culture as well as any of the Islamic cultures did not possess. Even though the Ottomans did not have the novel, different forms of narrative had existed in Ottoman literature prior to the novel.<sup>29</sup> The Turks had enjoyed popular forms of drama such as the *karagöz* (shadow play), *meddah* (story teller), and *orta oyunu* (improvised comedy). There was, however, no established tradition of dramatic literature and traditional varieties were far removed from the Western drama.<sup>30</sup> Like the emergence of other genres that were absent in the Ottoman literary polysystem, theatre also entered the Empire through Western contacts and came into Turkish literature through translations of Western plays. Theatrical performances were staged at foreign embassies and theatres in *Beyoğlu*, the most Europeanised quarter of the capital, which were of interest mainly to foreign and non-Muslim residents and to a small Muslim élite group in Istanbul.<sup>31</sup> During the *Tanzimat* period other theatres were built. These produced plays mainly in foreign languages. The first Ottoman-language theatre, *Tiyatro-i Osmani* (Ottoman Theatre), was founded in 1867 at *Gedikpaşa*, in old Istanbul. The director was Agop Vartovyan, known as Güllü Agop, an Armenian ‘who in 1870 received from Âli Paşa a monopoly of the

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<sup>29</sup> Tanpınar, *19uncu Asır*, p. 178.

<sup>30</sup> Evin, *Origins*, p. 13.

<sup>31</sup> Tanpınar, *19uncu Asır*, p. 279.

right to produce Turkish-language dramas in the capital for fifteen years in return for opening similar theatres in other parts of the city'.<sup>32</sup> The theatre employed seven Muslim and nineteen Armenian actors and actresses whose accents were extremely poor.<sup>33</sup> Parallel with the establishment of new theatres, reviews and articles on theatre began to be published. *Ceride-i Havadis*, in its sixty-third issue published an article on the emergence and development of drama and gave information about tragedy, comedy, vaudeville, pantomime, opera and ballet. This was the first article on this subject in the Ottoman press. In another article of *Ceride-i Havadis* there was a description of a theatre building in London.<sup>34</sup> Even though there had been some translations of Western drama into Turkish before the nineteenth century, the translators were mostly Europeans.<sup>35</sup> The real impact of the theatre was seen around the mid-nineteenth century when the newly established theatres started to produce Western plays in the Turkish language. At the same time the press showed a great interest in these productions, publishing critiques of the plays and translations and giving detailed reviews of the plays. The general view of the newspapers was that the Turks could adapt Western techniques but that they should produce plays based on the life and culture of Turkish society. One criticism was that the actors laughed at their own jokes before the audience did. They also criticised the artificial and different foreign words in the plays which made it hard for the public to understand. The language problem of the time was to be seen also in these performances. There was an additional problem regarding pronunciation, due to Armenian actors with indifferent accents who were on Turkish stage at that time, which had to be improved.<sup>36</sup>

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<sup>32</sup> Shaw, *History*, p. 129.

<sup>33</sup> Philip Mansel, *Constantinople* (London: Penguin, 1997), p. 291.

<sup>34</sup> Tanpınar, *19uncu Asır*, p. 146.

<sup>35</sup> Metin And, *A History of Theatre and Popular Entertainment in Turkey* (Ankara: Forum Yayınları, 1963-64), p. 86.

<sup>36</sup> And, *History*, p. 71.

The audience seems to have generally liked the action but did not always understand all the spoken parts.<sup>37</sup> A very important initiative was taken by the *Gedikpaşa* theatre in forming a committee in 1873 to promote and improve the new medium. Namık Kemal, Ali Bey, a dramatist, Reşit Paşa, who had had a Paris education, served in the Translation Chamber, and was destined to become Foreign Minister later that year, Halet Bey, an experienced journalist, and Agop Efendi (Güllü Agop) were in the committee which was 'to improve the acting and diction and to encourage the translation and composition of dramatic pieces'.<sup>38</sup>

Among the first translated plays were Carlo Goldoni's plays, followed by other works translated mainly from French, but also from German and other foreign literatures into Turkish.<sup>39</sup> But the greatest and most direct influence on the stage were Ahmet Vefik Paşa's Molière translations. Ahmet Vefik Paşa (1823-1891) was the grandson of Yahya Efendi, 'variously reported as having been of Bulgarian, Greek, or Jewish origin',<sup>40</sup> the first Muslim Chief Dragoman after 1821 and the son of Ruhuddin Mehmet Efendi, dragoman at the Ottoman Embassy in Paris between 1834-1888. He was educated in France, later served twice as Grand Vizier, as chairman of the first Ottoman Parliament and as governor of Bursa. When the American educator George Washburn displayed surprise at Vefik Paşa's knowledge of Western thought, the latter answered that while in France he had the occasion to become a neighbour of Ernest Renan and that they had

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<sup>37</sup> Davison, p. 297.

<sup>38</sup> Davison, pp. 297-98.

<sup>39</sup> And, *History*, p. 87.

<sup>40</sup> B. Lewis, *Emergence*, p. 86. On Ahmet Vefik, see Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar, 'Ahmed Vefik Paşa', in *İslam Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 1 (Ankara: Maarif Matbaası, 1940), 207-10. Ömer Faruk Akün, 'Ahmed Vefik Paşa', in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 2 (Istanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 1989), 143-57, gives a rich bibliography of other references on Vefik Paşa.

often discussed questions relating to religion.<sup>41</sup> Again Henry Layard, while he was a secretary of the British Embassy to Istanbul in the thirties, describes the level of conversations with young bureaucrats including Ahmet Vefik:

We read together the best English classics - amongst them the works of Gibbon, Robertson and Hume - and studied political economy in those of Adam Smith and Ricardo. My friend Longworth had strong Protectionist views. I was an ardent free-trader. We spent many an hour in fierce argument in which the effendi [Ahmet Vefik] joined in great vigour and spirit... He was a perfect store of information on all manner of subjects ... and ... a smattering of scientific knowledge, which he afterwards considerably extended.<sup>42</sup>

We can see a similar attitude to Ahmet Mithat's on selective borrowing from the West by Ahmet Vefik Paşa. Although he had close contact with and a wide knowledge of Europe and European thought, Vefik Paşa was determined to save Ottoman culture against total Westernisation. Layard describes him:

To the opponents of Reshid Pasha may be added a small body of able, enlightened, thoughtful and honest men of which Ahmet Vefyk [sic] Efendi became the type, who whilst anxious that the corrupt and incapable administration of public affairs should be reformed and purified, were of the opinion that the necessary reforms could only be safely and effectually accomplished upon Turkish and Mussulman lines, and great prudence and caution were required in putting them into execution.... They maintained at the same time, that the ancient Turkish political system and institutions and the Mussulman religion contained the elements of progress, civilization and good and just government, if they were only honestly and justly developed.<sup>43</sup>

Ahmet Vefik Paşa built a theatre in Bursa where he was provincial governor between 1878-1882. It is known that he personally supervised the production of the comedies he translated. The 1309th issue of *Tercüman-ı Hakikat* in 1882 wrote that Vefik Paşa forced the public to go to the theatre and allowed them to applaud when he did so but openly

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<sup>41</sup> Quoted in Mardin, *Genesis*, p. 209.

<sup>42</sup> Quoted in Mardin, *Genesis*, pp. 209-10.

<sup>43</sup> Mardin, *Genesis*, p. 249.



scolded them when the public applauded when he did not.<sup>44</sup> He even helped the theatre financially from his own pocket when the expenses of the theatre and the salaries of the actresses could not be paid.<sup>45</sup> It is quite clear that Ahmet Vefik Paşa wanted to establish theatres as cultural institutions and drama as a genre which he did by translating and staging a number of plays by Molière.

Ahmet Vefik Paşa translated sixteen plays by Molière into Turkish between 1869 and 1872. These translations have been subject to various classifications according to the extent of the acculturation strategy that Ahmet Vefik used in these translations. İsmail Habib Sevük divides Ahmet Vefik Paşa's Molière translations into four categories:<sup>46</sup> The first four translations are his direct or "faithful" translations in prose: *Le Dépit Amoureux* as *İnfial-i Aşk*, *Don Juan* as *Don Civani*, *Les Précieuses Ridicules* as *Dudu Kuşları*, and *Les Misanthrope* as *Adamcıl*. The other five are also "faithful" translations, but these are in *parmak vezni* (syllabic metre): *Le Tartuffe* as *Tartüf*, *L'Ecole des Maris* as *Kocalar Mektebi*, *L'Ecole des Femmes* as *Kadınlar Mektebi*, *L'Etourdi* as *Savruk*, and *Les Femmes Savantes* as *Okumuş Kadınlar*. The third category consists of two plays which were "partly adapted": *L'Avare* as *Azarya*, and *Georges Dandin* as *Yorgaki Dandini*. Finally, the ones that were "entirely adapted": *Le Mariage Forcé* as *Zor Nikâhı*, *Le Médecin Malgré Lui* as *Zoraki Tabib*, *Les Fourberies de Scapin* as *Dekbazlık*, *L'Amour Médecin* as *Tabib-i Aşk*, and *Le Malade Imaginaire* as *Merakî*. Atila Tolun's classification is similar to Sevük's. He classified Ahmet Vefik Paşa's corpus into "close translations" (Sevük's first two categories), "analogous translations" (Sevük's third

<sup>44</sup> İhsan Sungu, 'Ahmet Vefik ve Ziya Paşaların "Tartuffe" Tercümeleri I', *Tercüme*, 1:4 (1940), 372-81 (p. 372).

<sup>45</sup> Şerif Mardin, 'Tanzimat ve Aydınlar', in *Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyete Türkiye Ansiklopedisi*, ed. by Murat Belge, vol. 1 (Istanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1986), 46-54 (p. 51).

<sup>46</sup> Sevük, *Tanzimattanberi I*, p. 138.

category) and “adapted translations” (Sevük’s last category).<sup>47</sup> Metin And calls his categories “translations in verse”, “partly adapted translations” and “entirely adapted translations”.<sup>48</sup>

Ahmet Vefik used the acculturation strategy at different levels. The importance and value of Ahmet Vefik Paşa’s translations belonging to the first category lies in the fact that they were written in a simple language. While translating *Le Dépit Amoureux* he reduced the number of the acts from five to three by abridging the play. In his verse translations, Ahmet Vefik Paşa focused more on the content rather than the style. For the protagonist in *L’Avaro*, Ahmet Vefik Paşa chose a Jewish character. Georges Dandin became in his hands Yorgaki Dandini, a Greek. But the fame of Molière and his translator came through Ahmet Vefik Paşa’s rewritings of Molière where he most used the acculturation strategy by omitting, adding or domesticating parts which would demonstrate the foreignness of the source text and which, as mentioned above, were generally called “adaptations”. In these, ‘a typical Turkish family atmosphere is created by several changes, and by a judicious selection of names’.<sup>49</sup> We do not know in which order Ahmet Vefik Paşa translated, published and produced most of his plays. But we know that *Le Mariage Forcé*, *Le Médecin Malgré Lui* and *Georges Dandin* were the first to be published (in 1869) and staged, while the rest were published at the official printing press and staged in Bursa when Ahmet Vefik Paşa was governor in Bursa.

It is significant that Ahmet Vefik Paşa’s acculturation strategy was used to a greater degree in his first translations. We can assume that he deliberately wanted to translate, especially his first plays, in accordance with the domestic linguistic norms to

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<sup>47</sup> Atila Tolun, ‘Uyarlamalar ve Ahmet Vefik Paşa’nın Molière Uyarlamalarının Özellikleri’, *Türk Dili*, 38:322 (1978), 96-104 (p. 98).

<sup>48</sup> And, *History*, p. 87.

<sup>49</sup> And, *History*, p. 87.

introduce this new genre smoothly to the public. However, despite the different levels of his acculturation strategy, Ahmet Vefik Paşa in all his translations followed a target oriented policy for a Muslim audience. Proper names and foreign concepts were acculturated by being changed to domestic ones and integrated into the target texts. Consequently, all the names of the characters in the plays became Turkish. İvaz Ağa (Sganarelle) in *Le Mariage Forcé* had not been to Rome, England and Holland, but to Bursa, Damascus and Egypt. Üstad-ı Sani (Pancrace), the philosopher, asked him not if İvaz Ağa knew Italian, Spanish, German, English etc., but if he knew Persian, Hebrew, Syriac, Greek etc. In *Le Médecin Malgré Lui*, Korkut (Valère) asks İvaz (Sganarelle) to sit in the shadow, but not to wear a hat. The young boy does not fall from the top of the church tower, but just from a tower. Lucinde shuts herself in a convent rather than marry a man she does not love, whereas Nurdil throws herself into a well. Such examples where Ahmet Vefik Paşa rewrote parts according to the norms of the Muslim audience are numerous in his translations. There is not a part in any of his translations where the Muslim audience might have been offended. Accordingly, omissions and additions to the source texts were not uncommon. Even in *Le Tartuffe*, which was considered a “faithful” translation, we can see such alterations. Dorine answers Tartuffe when told to cover her bosom as follows:

Vous êtes donc bien tendre à la tentation  
 Et la chair sur vos sens fait grande impression!  
 Certes, je ne sais pas quelle chaleur vous monte,  
 Mais à convoiter, moi, je ne suis point si prompte,  
 Et je vous verrais nu du haut jusqu'en bas  
 Que toute votre peau ne me tenterait pas.

Dorine, in Ahmet Vefik Paşa's version answers as follows:

Siz öyle ise pek mailsininiz	You are very susceptible
Baştan çıkmağa pek kabilsiniz	To temptation then
Lâkin ben sizin gibi değilim	But I am not like you

Bir kız ağzına eğer yakışsa  
Ben de Molyer'in kavlini derim.

If it were proper for a girl's mouth  
I would say Molière's words.<sup>50</sup>

Here, Ahmet Vefik Paşa censors Dorine's rejoinder according to the norms of the target culture where it would be improper for a girl to speak in such an indecent way. Ahmet Vefik Paşa also acculturated the plays as a genre by using techniques from the *meddah* tradition in staging these plays, like shouting "tak, tak, tak!" (knock, knock, knock!) while knocking on the door.<sup>51</sup>

Ahmet Vefik Paşa's translations became very popular due to his acculturation strategy. The categorisation of his translations as "versions" or "adaptations" as mentioned above, did not have a pejorative connotation. On the contrary, the popularity of Molière's plays has been related to Ahmet Vefik Paşa's success in his acculturation strategy but not Molière's ingenuity. Sevük calls Ahmet Vefik Paşa the "father of adaptation" in Turkish literature, adding that nobody after him could achieve this.<sup>52</sup> Many other translators followed Ahmet Vefik Paşa's acculturation strategy by translating plays by Molière, but also by other playwrights.<sup>53</sup>

Mirza Habib translated *Le Misanthrope* in verse (1870), Ali Bey rewrote *Les Fourberies de Scapin* as *Ayyar Hamza* (1873). *Georges Dandin* was rewritten by Ali Bey as *Tosun Ağa* (1869), by Güllü Agop as *Memiş Ağa*, and by an unidentified translator as *Kıskanç Herif* (1873). Teodor Kasap rewrote *Sganarelle* as *İşkilli Memo* (1874). *Pourceaugnac* was rewritten a second time as *Yirmi Çocuklu Adam* (1881) by Mehmet Hilmi. Ziya Paşa translated *Le Tartuffe* in verse as *Riyanın Encamı* (1882). *Le Bourgeois*

<sup>50</sup> İhsan Sungu, 'Ahmet Vefik ve Ziya Paşaların Tartuffe Tercümelere', *Tercüme*, 1:6 (1941), 558-71 (p. 558) (English rendition from the Turkish translation is mine).

<sup>51</sup> Tolun, p. 103.

<sup>52</sup> Sevük, *Tanzimattanberi I*, p. 139.

<sup>53</sup> And, *History*, p. 87.

*Gentilhomme* was translated by an unidentified translator as *Kaba Bir Adam* (1875), and *Le Médecin Volant* was translated in 1883 by A. F. as *Sahte Hekim*.

In many of the translations which were acculturated in part or entirely, there were no acknowledgements or often the acknowledgements were incomplete. In some cases the translations were presented as “original works”. *Baba Himmet*, produced at the Gedikpaşa Theatre in 1873, was claimed to be written by Güllü Agop. Later, in the magazine *Hayal* it was proclaimed that this was an adaptation of a French play called *Les Crochets du Père Martin*. Another example is *İki Ahabab Çavuşlar* (The Two Friendly Sergeants) published in 1883. The play was said to be written by Mehmet Hilmi, but he probably translated it from an American source, possibly Richard Penn Smith’s *The Sentinels* or *The Two Sergeants* since the acts, scenes, characters bear close similarities.<sup>54</sup>

All these plagiarisms had their extenuating circumstances. As Metin And has claimed, the audience seemed to make no distinction between translations and original works and their preference was usually for translated works.<sup>55</sup> The audience might have also liked to see on stage plays which were reflections of their own lives. The translators’ efforts were to make the plays conform to the manners of their native land. Most of the European dramatists became popular on the Turkish stage with their translated works that had little resemblance to their originals.<sup>56</sup>

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<sup>54</sup> And, *History*, p. 88.

<sup>55</sup> And, *History*, p. 87.

<sup>56</sup> Apart from Molière’s plays that gained the most affection and popularity thanks to their translations, several other masterpieces of European drama were translated during and after the *Tanzimat* period. Here are some examples: Carlo Goldoni’s *Una delle ultime sere di carnevale* as *Venedik Apukuryası*, *Roasamunda*, *Il Burbero Benefico* as *Belâlar Mübareki*, *I Rusteghi* as *Yarabbi Şükür Sofra Kuruldu*, *Sior Todero Brontolon* as *Hürmüz Beyin Boşboğazlığı*, *Le Vedova scaltra* as *Karnaval Aşıkları*, William Shakespeare’s *Othello*, *Romeo and Juliet*, *The Merchant of Venice*, *The Comedy of Errors*, *Two Gentlemen of Verona*; Friedrich von Schiller’s *Die Räuber*, and *Kabale und Liebe*; Victor Hugo’s *Hernani*, *Angelo*, *Les Burgraves*, *Le Roi s’amuse*; Alexandre Dumas’ *Paul Jones*, *Conscience*, *Antony*. See And, *History*, p. 87.

The translators also tried other methods to make their translations popular. Teodor Kasap's prose translation of Molière's *Sganarelle* which was written in verse is an example of the efforts to make the translation popular. Kasap, on the front page of his translation defined the play as an *orta oyunu* (improvised comedy). There was a great interest in this traditional genre and discussions between intellectuals as to whether it should be brought to the stage or not. But its popularity with audiences was still great. Teodor Kasap was one of those who believed in attracting the attention of the audience by using this genre, and calling the translated plays *orta oyunu*, was one of the ways to achieve this.<sup>57</sup>

The Young Ottomans used drama to achieve their political goals. In the introduction to one of his plays, *Celâlettin Harzemşah* (1875), Namık Kemal said:

If a nation's power of expression lies in its literature, then the liveliest of the literary genres is the theatre. The theatre adds conscience to the imagination, soul to the loftiness of conscience, and expression to the life of the soul.<sup>58</sup>

During the emergence and development of this genre, translations helped to attract the attention of the audience in their popularised forms. But the first plays written by the Ottoman reformists helped to employ the theatre for social mobilisation.<sup>59</sup> It was common for dramatists such as Namık Kemal and Abdülhak Hâmid utilising theatre to convey their opinions. As a result of this, most of their plays could not be performed because of censorship or because of the difficulty to stage these plays. However, Hâmid once said that his plays were written not to be performed.<sup>60</sup>

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<sup>57</sup> Sevük, *Tanzimattanberi I*, p. 140.

<sup>58</sup> Evin, *Origins*, p. 14.

<sup>59</sup> Evin, *Origins*, p. 14. Namık Kemal's first play *Vatan yahut Silistre* (Fatherland or Silistre) (1873) is one such example. This patriotic tragedy provoked the audience, causing demonstrations, so the sultan banned the play and banished Kemal to Cyprus.

<sup>60</sup> Tanpınar, *19uncu Asır*, p. 282.

### 4.3 The New Turkish Literature

Itamar Even-Zohar's hypothesis on the position of translated literature in a polysystem seems to be in conformity with the Ottoman case in the late nineteenth century. In his analysis of translated literature assuming a primary position, i.e. participating actively 'in *modelling the centre* of the polysystem', Even-Zohar claims that translated literature is 'by and large an integral part of innovatory forces, and as such likely to be identified with major events in literary history while these are taking place'.<sup>61</sup>

This implies in fact that no clear-cut distinction is then maintained between original and translated writings, and that often it is the leading writers (or members of the avant-garde who are about to become leading writers) who produce the most important translation. Moreover, in such a state when new literary models are emerging, translation is likely to become one of the means of elaborating these new models.<sup>62</sup>

Virtually all the writers of late nineteenth century Ottoman literature started their writing careers by translating. They were the first clerks at the Translation Chamber where they established their first contact with the Western world. Most of them took other important governmental positions. They were also the first journalists who disseminated Western ideas with their articles and translations. Münif Paşa, for instance, the translator of the first philosophical dialogues, learnt French in the Translation Chamber, worked for *Ceride-i Havadis* where he learned English. He was also the principal founder of the Ottoman Scientific Society and its journal, *Mecmua-ı Fünûn*. Şinasi, the first translator of Western poetry, is regarded as the founder of modern Turkish literature. He was the founder and chief editor of *Tasvir-i Efkâr*. Namık Kemal, the first translator of Montesquieu into Turkish, was trained in the Translation Chamber. He also wrote for

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<sup>61</sup> Itamar Even-Zohar, 'The Position of Translated Literature within the Literary Polysystem', in *Literature and Translation: New Perspectives in Literary Studies*, ed. by James S. Holmes, José Lambert and Raymond van den Broeck (Leuven: Acco, 1978), pp. 117-27 (p. 120).

<sup>62</sup> Even-Zohar, 'The Position of Translated Literature within the Literary Polysystem', p. 120.

*Tasvir-i Efkâr* which he later took over from Şinasi. Ahmet Mithat, the founder of *Tercüman-ı Hakikat*<sup>63</sup> (Interpreter of the Truth), helped with his translations to popularise literature. Finally, Ahmet Vefik Paşa, the translator of Molière, was a member of *Encümen-i Daniş*. He also taught history in the Ottoman Scientific Society.<sup>64</sup> The new genres were introduced to Ottoman audiences by translation. Finally, the new Turkish literature began to take shape with the first novels they wrote. This also gave rise to the character of the first novels in the late nineteenth century which, through European influence, contained elements of eighteenth century French novels. The popularity of novels by authors such as Eugène Sue and Paul de Kock can be best examined in a sociological context. As Evin noted, like in all other fields, there was great interest and curiosity in Parisian life in Ottoman society. These two writers in their novels depicted in great detail Parisian life; Sue, the underworld and de Kock, the bourgeoisie.<sup>65</sup> It was fashionable among the upper classes in Istanbul to imitate Parisian society. On the other hand, the idealistic aspect of Eugène Sue in depicting ‘the pathetic situation of the lower classes’ had its appeal to the reformists.<sup>66</sup> Additionally, novelists like de Kock, Sue, and Le Sage had been models for the Turkish writers who through reading them, ‘began noticing the crucial technique of placing events in a well-described physical milieu’.<sup>67</sup>

Ottoman society consisted of roughly two parts; the administrative group, including the Sultan, who was subject to the unalterable provisions of the Holy Law and

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<sup>63</sup> Founded in 1878, *Tercüman-ı Hakikat* was one of the most important newspapers of the Hamidian period. For a while the paper included a literary supplement, and also a weekly supplement for schoolboys, distributed among the pupils in the *rüştiye* schools. The rest of the paper was full of translated, adopted, or original stories, articles, serials, and features by Ahmet Mithat.

<sup>64</sup> Paker, ‘Translated European Literature in the Late Ottoman Literary Polysystem’, pp. 69-70.

<sup>65</sup> Evin, *Origins*, p. 45.

<sup>66</sup> Evin, *Origins*, p. 46.

<sup>67</sup> Evin, *Origins*, p. 46.



absolute power, the government and the army as his personal slaves and the *ulema*, and the masses of peasants, artisans and merchants. This division did not only exist in terms of class, these two groups were also culturally divided. The civilians in the government mechanism were not chosen from society but usually selected as children and were raised to serve the Sultan and not the people. Furthermore, the language they learnt in *Enderun* schools was not the Turkish of the masses but Ottoman, inscribed heavily with Arabic and Persian. All these factors alienated the ruling class from the masses. In other words, the dichotomy we find in the literature was the reflection of society's condition, that Şerif Mardin defines as a composition "large" and "small" cultural traditions.<sup>68</sup>

Literature during the *Tanzimat* was, as Evin argues, to be a medium for social mobilisation.<sup>69</sup> Social mobilisation, according to Karl W. Deutsch, is the name given to 'an overall process of change, which happens to substantial parts of the population in countries which are moving from traditional to modern ways of life', where 'advance, non-traditional practices in culture, technology and economic life are introduced and accepted on a considerable scale'.<sup>70</sup> In this process of change, mass communication has a significant importance. Any form of social mobilisation, such as the growth of markets, industries, and towns 'should be expected to be accompanied or followed by a significant rise in the frequency of impersonal contacts, or in exposure to mass media of communication, or in changes of residence, or in political or quasi-political

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<sup>68</sup> In his article, Mardin defines Ottoman society during the *Tanzimat* in terms of dichotomy, such as *Divan* and folk in literature, *reaya* (governors) and *teb'a* (subjects) in the governmental system, and *alafranga* (in the European style) and *alaturka* (in the Turkish style) in the society. He, then, analyses Ottoman novels with regard to this duality. See Şerif Mardin, 'Tanzimat'tan Sonra Aşırı Batılılaşma', in Şerif Mardin, *Türk Modernleşmesi (Makaleler 4)* (Istanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1991), pp. 21-79.

<sup>69</sup> Evin, *Origins*, p. 11. For the concept of "social mobilisation" see Karl W. Deutsch, *Nationalism and Social Communication* (London: Chapman & Hall, 1953); 'Social Mobilization and Political Development', *American Political Review*, 55: 3 (1961), 493-514.

<sup>70</sup> Karl W. Deutsch, 'Social Mobilization and Political Development', *American Political Review*, 55: 3 (1961), 493-514 (p. 493).

participation'.<sup>71</sup> In that respect, the consumption of literature during the *Tanzimat* period, especially by means of newspapers and magazines, functioned as the main medium for social mobilisation, a process in which, according to Deutsch's definition, 'major clusters of old social, economic and psychological commitments are eroded or broken and people become available for new patterns of socialization and behavior'.<sup>72</sup>

The intellectuals of the *Tanzimat* used the press and literature to reach the masses. However, they could not use either *Divan* nor popular literature to achieve this goal. *Divan* literature was a Palace-centred literature. The poets and writers of the high literature could not be expected, as Berna Moran noted, to produce new ideologies in their works that would change the existing status quo.<sup>73</sup> *Mesnevis* with their Islamic philosophy and *meddah* stories aiming to draw a moral from each story could not fulfill this purpose either. The definition that the intellectuals gave to literature and the function they attributed to it was far vaster. At that point, there were the translations of Western literature which acted as a medium for social mobilisation. And because of the failure to modernise the economic structure of the Empire and create economic dependence among its citizens, the mass media and literature remained the only means to mobilise people. The main sources that the newspapers and journals nourished were the translated articles on politics, science and culture, bringing new ideas to the Ottoman public. The simplification of the language parallel to the development of prose made these writings intelligible to a wider readership and more influential than before. Especially novel translations, published first in newspapers, and later in book-form as a result of the interest shown by the vast number of readers, had the most influence on the masses.

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<sup>71</sup> Deutsch, 'Social Mobilization and Political Development', p. 494.

<sup>72</sup> Deutsch, 'Social Mobilization and Political Development', p. 494.

<sup>73</sup> Berna Moran, *Türk Romanına Eleştirel Bir Bakış*, vol. 1 (Istanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1994 [1983]), p. 15.

However, as shown above, literature was regarded as something more than pure art and its didactic value was often emphasised. Similarly, translated literature was seen to be, first of all, educational. Namık Kemal stressed the meaning (content) and the educational role (function) of the text. Yusuf Kâmil Paşa, was worried that his translation, *Télémaque*, would be regarded only as fiction, and that its deeper implications would not be understood. Şinasi also pointed out *Télémaque*'s true meaning that he found in the nature of a philosophical law. Ahmet Mithat maintained that the novel had to broaden the range of knowledge of the readers.

The birth of the Turkish novel was not accomplished as a result of historical and social factors, but as an import from the West. As a result of this vast translation activity and the introduction of new genres from Europe, the new Turkish literature started to take shape. Ahmet Mithat's *Kıssadan Hisse* (The Moral of the Story) and *Letaif-i Rivâyat* (Finest Stories) (1870) and Emin Nihat's *Müsâmeretnâme* (Night Entertainment) (1873-1875) are the first examples of short stories in Western form. The Turkish novel emerged with Şemsettin Sami's *Taaşşuk-ı Talât ve Fitnat* (The Romance of Talat and Fitnat) in 1872. Namık Kemal's *İntibah* (Awakening) (1876) and *Cezmi* (1880), Recâizade Mahmut Ekrem's *Araba Sevdası* (Obsession with a Carriage) (1889), Sâmipaşazade Sezâî's *Sergüzeşt* (Adventure) (1887) and Halit Ziya's *Nemide* (1889) are some examples which followed.

Ahmet Mithat's *Yeniçeriler* (The Janissaries) (1871) is the first example of the historical novel. Şinasi's *Şair Evlenmesi* (Marriage of the Poet) (1860) was the first representative of Turkish drama in Western forms. Finally, there was a great number of essays and critiques about a vast range of subject matter during the *Tanzimat* period.

The subjects that the first Turkish novels dealt with were problems of Westernisation: the status of women in society and the "extreme Westernisation" of upper

class men.<sup>74</sup> The main opposition of East and West was seen in the novels until the 1950s in the form of idealist and materialist, traditionalist and Westernist, *hoca* and teacher, nationalist and cosmopolite, Istanbul and Pera (the Westernised side of Istanbul), *mahalle* (neighbourhood) and apartment, *alaturka* gatherings and balls.<sup>75</sup>

All the literary products of these new genres had different forms, themes, and styles. At first, the new literature was largely derivative and imitative, mainly of French models.<sup>76</sup> There are many resemblances between the first novels and stories in Turkish and some of the European narratives. *Müsâmeretnâme* by Emin Nihat was conceived as a frame story consisting of ten parts, seven of which were published between 1872 and 1875. In the introduction and the end note to the first volume it was said that a group of ten friends would get together in winter evenings to pass time and each would tell an interesting story based on his own experience. Even though we do not exactly know the range of Emin Nihat's knowledge of Western literature, it is highly possible that he patterned his work after Giovanni Boccaccio's *Il Decamerone*.<sup>77</sup> As has been pointed out by several critics, the story of *İntibah* by Namık Kemal, which tells of the love of a prostitute for a young man, comes from Alexandre Dumas fils' *La Dame aux Camélias*.<sup>78</sup> A detailed analysis of the impact of translated literature on the new Turkish literature would therefore be an interesting subject of a separate study.

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<sup>74</sup> These first novels were extensively discussed in Güzin Dino, *Türk Romanının Doğuşu* (Istanbul: Cem Yayınevi, 1978), Ahmet Ö. Evin, *Origins and Development of the Turkish Novel* (Minneapolis: Bibliotheca Islamica, 1983), Robert P. Finn, *The Early Turkish Novel 1872-1900* (Istanbul: İsis Yayıncılık, 1984), Berna Moran, *Türk Romanına Eleştirel Bir Bakış*, vol. 1 (Istanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1994 [1983]), Mustafa Nihat Özön, *Türkçede Roman* (Istanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1985 [1936]), Taner Timur, *Osmanlı-Türk Romanında Tarih, Toplum ve Kimlik* (Istanbul: Afa Yayınları, 1991).

<sup>75</sup> Moran, p. 244.

<sup>76</sup> B. Lewis, *Emergence*, p. 433.

<sup>77</sup> Evin, *Origins*, p. 50.

<sup>78</sup> Finn, p. 29.

The next generation, taking for granted the newly established genres, tried to adapt them into the Turkish cultural context. They tried to connect the 'traditional' with Western elements. In the changed political climate of the post-*Tanzimat* period they started to write concerning not only political but also social aspects of Turkish life. Modern Turkish literature that owes its birth to the translations made in the second half of the nineteenth century, found its own way after several stages.

The increasing number of newspapers and publications, including translations and new Turkish novels, had a twofold effect. On the one hand, the new literature helped to break the borders of the high and low strata. But on the other hand, the westernised élite via these writings, separated itself more and more from the masses. During the decline of the Empire, the two cultures could not be unified and as a result, social mobilisation could not be achieved. Furthermore, neither the Western world nor the Westernisation movement could be understood by most of the writers because of their inclination for selective borrowing. Finally, the reforms of the *Tanzimat* and efforts for modernisation could not save the Empire from collapsing. However, all these ideas, together with Westernisation, were inherited by the new generation of the Republic and carried further on.

## CHAPTER 5

### TURKIFICATION: POLICY AND PRINCIPLES

Several translation initiatives were taken from the *Tanzimat* period to the Republican era. However, a new, planned and extensive translation activity after the *Tanzimat* could only take shape after the founding of the new Turkish Republic. The official Translation Bureau established in 1940 conducted perhaps the most productive and influential translation activity in Turkish history, affecting the socio-cultural system, being shaped, at the same time, by political, historical and social developments.

Translation, as in the nineteenth century, was be instrumental in initiating a cultural revolution during the Republican regime with a planned Westernising programme. Similarly, the aims, ideologies and policies of the new secular Republic determined the direction of translation. Therefore, before starting to analyse the translation activity during this period, a brief look at the main ideologies and policies which constituted the foundations of the new Republic will be necessary. In accordance to the aims of this thesis, emphasise will be given to the westernising attempts of the country, and to the effects of the West on Turkish culture and society. This era which can be described as a period of, among others, Turkification and westernisation, marked primarily issues such as language and history. These movements were also influential in certain cultural institutions established during the early decades of the Republic.

In order to have a better understanding of the translation phenomena during the early Republican era which will be examined more in detail in the following two chapters,

it is essential to examine first the policies which became determinant in translation activities.

29 October 1923 is the date of the founding of the Turkish Republic, but this date stands also for the beginning of the transformation of Turkish society, a transformation from a multilingual and multinational Islamic regime under the Sultan-Caliph to a monolingual and a one-national secular state.<sup>1</sup> This transformation also meant the death of the former and the birth of the latter. In Atatürk's words: 'The new Turkey has no resemblance to the old Turkey. The Ottoman government is history. Now a new Turkey is born.'<sup>2</sup> From the beginning of the Republic until his death in 1938, Atatürk set himself the task of creating a new identity for Turkey and its people and he also made very clear what this identity should be: a modern, Europe-oriented (Westernised) and secular society whose members would feel themselves to be primarily Turks.

For this purpose, the authoritarian regime of Atatürk embarked on an extensive programme of reforms.<sup>3</sup> Reforms undertaken during the first years of the Republic served, on the one hand, towards the secularisation<sup>4</sup> of the state and its citizens, on the other, to develop "Turkishness". Efforts were made to establish a Turkish nation. Thus proclaiming oneself as a Turk, regardless of his/her ethnic and religious origin, was

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<sup>1</sup> For a general history of Republican Turkey, see Feroz Ahmad, *The Making of Modern Turkey* (London & New York: Routledge, 1993), Murat Belge, ed., *Cumhuriyet Dönemi Türkiye Ansiklopedisi*, 10 vols. (Istanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1983), Bernard Lewis, *The Emergence of Modern Turkey* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1961), Geoffrey Lewis, *Modern Turkey* (London & Tonbridge: Ernest Benn, 1974 [1955]), Stanford J. Shaw and Ezel Kural Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey: Volume II: Reform, Revolution, and Republic: The Rise of Modern Turkey, 1808-1975* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977) and Erik J. Zürcher, *Turkey: A Modern History* (London: I. B. Tauris, 1993).

<sup>2</sup> *Atatürk'ün Söylev ve Demeçleri*, vol. 3 (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 1954), p. 50 (my translation).

<sup>3</sup> On the reforms of the 1920s and 1930s, see Henry Elisha Allen, *The Turkish Transformation* (New York: Greenwood, 1935) and Donald Everett Webster, *The Turkey of Atatürk* (Philadelphia: American Academy of Political and Social Science, 1939).

<sup>4</sup> The secularisation of Turkey is discussed extensively in Niyazi Berkes, *The Development of Secularism in Turkey* (Montreal: McGill University Press, 1964) who begins by discussing the role of Islam from earlier times and goes on to discuss secular trends from 1718 to 1939.

enough for full membership of the state. In the 1924 Constitution it was specified that ‘the People of Turkey, regardless of religion and race, are Turks as regards citizenship’ (article 88). ‘All Turks are equal before the law and are expected to conscientiously abide by it. Every kind of group, class, family, and individual special privilege is abolished and prohibited’ (article 69). And every Turk, regardless of origin, was given the same right to practice ‘the philosophical creed, religion, or doctrine to which he may adhere’ (article 75).<sup>5</sup> Again in Atatürk’s famous maxim: ‘Happy is the one who calls him/herself a Turk.’

The most characteristic element of the reforms was the secularisation of the state, education, law and social life. With the proclamation of the Republic and the new constitution the sultanate and caliphate were abolished. In 1928, the second article of the 1924 constitution which made Islam the state religion was annulled. The principle of secularism was inserted into the constitution of 1937.

In 1924 the *medreses* (theological seminaries) were abolished, and their place was taken by schools for imams and preachers and by a theological faculty established at the University of Istanbul, so the control of religious education passed to the Ministry of Education. However, the number of students in both schools declined during the following years. The faculty of divinity had 284 students in 1925, in 1967 only 20 were left. Similarly, in number, schools for imams and preachers dropped from 29 in 1924 to 2 in 1930. Finally, both schools were closed in 1932. It was not until 1949 that religious education was reintroduced to Turkish schools and the faculty of divinity was restored.<sup>6</sup>

In September 1925 the dervish orders (*tarikats*) were suppressed by closing down religious shrines (*türbe*) and the dervish convents (*tekke*) and in November the wearing of turbans and fezzes in public was prohibited and replaced by the Western-style hat or cap.

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<sup>5</sup> Quoted in Shaw, *History*, p. 378.

<sup>6</sup> Kemal H. Karpat, *Türk Demokrasi Tarihi: Sosyal, Ekonomik, Kültürel Temeller* (Istanbul: Afa Yayınlar, 1996 [1967]), p. 67. See also B. Lewis, *Emergence*, pp. 409, 412-13.



The use of the veil was discouraged. The wearing of distinctive dress by clerics of any religion outside their places of worship was forbidden.

In the first half of 1926 the Swiss civil code and the penal code from Mussolini's Italy and a commercial code based largely on the German and Italian codes were adopted. With the promulgation of the new civil code, religious marriages and polygamy were abolished which enabled women to liberate themselves from the disabilities that the Islamic law imposed on them. The right of women to serve as judges was acknowledged by the Ministry of Justice in 1924 and the first woman judge was appointed in 1932. The Municipalities Act of 16 April 1930 gave women the right to vote and to be elected at municipal elections and a law of 5 December 1934 entitling them to vote in national elections for the Grand National Assembly. In the general election of February 1935 seventeen women were elected to the GNA out of a total membership of 339.

The adoption of European time and the calendar in 1925, of Western numerals in 1928 and of Western weights and measures (the metric system) in 1931 gave the society a more Westernised image. It also made communication with the Western world easier.

A number of laws restructuring the banking sector were passed and on 2 July 1934, the Surname Law came into effect. On 29 October 1934, except in the army, all courtesy titles (like *Bey*, *Efendi* or *Pa a*) were abolished. In June 1935 Sunday was made the weekly holiday instead of Friday.

The bases of these reforms were formulated under six principles as republicanism, nationalism, populism, statism, secularism, and reformism (or revolutionism) at the 1931 Congress of the Republican People's Party (*Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi*) and were written into the Turkish constitution in 1937. These six principles are symbolised in the badge of the Party as a fan composed of six arrows.

In the core of all these reforms lies the shift of religion (Islam) from its central position as the unifying factor in society. Instead, a shared language and history were chosen to replace its position. Language and history had special importance in the production and dissemination of ideologies and the construction of “Turkism”. The Republic was established, “the Turk” was defined, shown as above, and reforms for the modernisation of the new nation were made. The next step was to establish these innovations within society, stressing the authenticity, purity and nobility of the beliefs, values, and behaviour of the new nation. The mother tongue and history, as the glorious past, were two tools used to achieve this goal.<sup>7</sup> The new Turkey was to be European *and* Turkish.

### 5.1 Language Reform<sup>8</sup>

An ambitious reform seeking to effect an extensive break with the Islamic past took place in the area of language and its use. Government-sponsored language planning moved to attain script reform, purification of the language of foreign loan words and vernacularisation or simplification of vocabulary, grammar and phraseology for everyday conversational use. Language planning and language change in Turkey has attracted the attention of several linguists and has been analysed as a case in numerous studies.<sup>9</sup> There

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<sup>7</sup> Joshua A. Fishman stressed the relationship between nationalism, language and language planning. Among his numerous writings on this issue, see Joshua A. Fishman, *Language and Nationalism: Two Integrative Essays* (Rowley, MA: Newbury House, 1972) and ‘The Impact of Nationalism on Language Planning’, in *Can Language Be Planned? Sociolinguistic Theory and Practice for Developing Nations*, ed. by Joan Rubin and Björn H. Jernudd (Honolulu: The University Press of Hawaii, 1971), pp. 3-20.

<sup>8</sup> Reforms in the Turkish language and script after the foundation of the Republic are studied in Uriel Heyd, *Language Reform in Turkey* (Jerusalem: Israel Oriental Society, 1954), Ağâh S r r Levend, *Türk Dilinde Geli me ve Sadele me Safhalar* (Ankara: Türk Dil Kurumu Yay nlar , 1972); B. Lewis, *Emergence*, pp. 419-30.

<sup>9</sup> Uriel Heyd’s work, *Language Reform in Turkey* (Jerusalem: Israel Oriental Society, 1954) is the most detailed one. See also: Charles F. Gallagher, ‘Language Reform and Social Modernization in Turkey’, in *Can Language Be Planned?*, pp. 159-78; Erika H. Gilson, ‘Introduction of New Writing Systems: The Turkish Case’, in *Languages in the International Perspective*, ed. by Nancy Schweda-Nicholson (Norwood, NJ: Ablex, 1986), pp. 23-40.

is no single, universally accepted definition of language planning. According to Michael Clyne the term language planning 'generally denotes a deliberate response to language problems - systematic, future-oriented, and based on a theoretical framework'.<sup>10</sup> Joan Rubin argues that 'language planning focuses upon the solutions to language problems through decisions about alternative goals, means, and outcomes to solve these problems'.<sup>11</sup> In the light of several definitions Robert L. Cooper offers his own as follows: 'Language planning refers to deliberate efforts to influence the behaviour of others with respect to the acquisition, structure, or functional allocation of their language codes.'<sup>12</sup> It was Heinz Kloss who first distinguished between corpus planning and status planning<sup>13</sup>, the former referring to changes in structure, vocabulary, morphology, or spelling, or even to the adoption of a new script, while the latter is concerned with standing of the language with respect to other languages or to the language needs of a national government.<sup>14</sup> Status planning is usually the domain of politicians and bureaucrats and involves developing a national identity and language spread at national and international levels. Corpus planning, on the other hand, is usually the agenda of linguists, lexicographers and experts alike who intend '(i) to give the language a terminology for scientific and technical purposes; (ii) to resolve normative/structural questions of correctness, efficiency, and stylistic levels; and/or (iii) to support an ideological cause by eliminating

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<sup>10</sup> Michael Clyne, 'Language Planning', in *International Encyclopedia of Linguistics*, ed. by William Bright, vol. 1 (London & New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 84-87 (p. 84).

<sup>11</sup> Joan Rubin, 'Evaluation and Language Planning', in *Can Language Be Planned?*, pp. 217-52 (p. 218).

<sup>12</sup> Robert L. Cooper, *Language Planning and Social Change* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), pp. 29-45.

<sup>13</sup> Heinz Kloss, *Research Possibilities on Group Bilingualism: A Report* (Quebec: International Center for Research on Bilingualism, 1969).

<sup>14</sup> Juan Cobarrubias, 'Ethical Issues in Status Planning', in *Progress in Language Planning: International Perspectives*, ed. by Juan Cobarrubias and Joshua A. Fishman (Berlin: Mouton, 1983), pp. 41-85 (p. 42).

sexist, racist, or militaristic elements in the language'.<sup>15</sup> According to Einar Haugen's fourfold model, stages of language planning consist of (1) selection of norm, (2) codification of norm, (3) implementation of function, and (4) elaboration of function.<sup>16</sup> Norm selection involves choosing one language or one variety over another when there are two conflicting norms. Codification involves stabilisation of the selected norm and is related to standardisation processes. Implementation involves the activities of government agencies, institutions and writers in adopting and using the selected and codified norm. This is mainly done by producing textbooks, newspapers and pamphlets in the language. Finally elaboration is 'the continued implementation of a norm to meet the functions of a modern world' which involves the expansion of language functions and the assignment of new codes.<sup>17</sup> The selected and codified language form may be spread by individuals, an institution or a government agency.

The year 1928 is the beginning of the so called "language revolution". The selection of the Turkish language and Latin alphabet over the Arabic writing system was the beginning of an official language policy. Discussions on language and the change of script, as was shown in the previous chapters, go back to the mid-nineteenth century. However, such a big programme could only be undertaken within the revolutionary secularising policy of Atatürk's regime, mirroring the nationalist spirit rampant in other academic fields, particularly that of history, and marching in step with political and social reforms. In November 1928, the Arabic script was replaced by Latin letters and the new Turkish alphabet was adopted by Parliament. The change was carried through with

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<sup>15</sup> Clyne, p. 84.

<sup>16</sup> Among others, see Einar Haugen, *Language Conflict and Language Planning* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1966); 'The Implementation of Corpus Planning: Theory and Practice', in *Progress in Language Planning*, pp. 269-89; *The Blessings of Babel: Bilingualism and Language Planning* (Berlin: Mouton, 1987).

<sup>17</sup> Haugen, 'The Implementation of Corpus Planning: Theory and Practice', p. 273.

amazing speed. The new letters were first taught in November 1928; Arabic writing was abolished from the beginning of 1929. A new spelling dictionary (*mlâ Lûgat*) was published in 1928. By the middle of 1929 all publications were being printed in the new script, while the use of Arabic and Persian even for religious books was strictly prohibited.<sup>18</sup> From September 1929 onwards, Arabic and Persian were no longer taught as foreign languages in schools. During the first months of the alphabet change, Atatürk went on field trips as “schoolmaster” around the country to communicate with people directly, to explain and teach the new writing system. He also kept himself in touch with the public via telegram or mail to thank, urge, or explain.<sup>19</sup> On 11 November 1928, the Council of Ministers decided on the establishment of National Schools (*Millet Mektepleri*) to teach people the new alphabet.<sup>20</sup> Any place suitable for this purpose, such as schools, mosques, coffee-houses and clubs, could be a classroom. The courses had two sections, one for illiterates, lasting four months, the other one, for those who knew the old alphabet, lasting two months. As a result of this mobilisation, illiteracy decreased dramatically. It is generally quoted that 89.4% of the population in Turkey was illiterate in 1927.<sup>21</sup> However, according to some other statistics the literacy rate for 1927 is under 8%.<sup>22</sup> Again, different figures show that in 1935 between 15.58% and 19.25% of the

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<sup>18</sup> Shaw, *History*, p. 386.

<sup>19</sup> Documents on the language revolution, such as Atatürk’s speeches, statements and communications, memoirs of his colleagues, decrees, press news were collected in Zeynep Korkmaz, ed., *Atatürk ve Türk Dili: Belgeler* (Ankara: Türk Dil Kurumu Yayınları, 1992).

<sup>20</sup> Korkmaz, pp. 84-102.

<sup>21</sup> See Republic of Turkey, State Institute of Statistics, *Genel Nüfus Sayımı, Nüfusun Sosyal ve Ekonomik Nitelikleri, 20.10.1985* (Ankara: DIE, 1989), p. xxvii; Frederick W. Frey, ‘Education’, in *Political Modernization in Japan and Turkey*, ed. by Robert E. Ward and Dankwart A. Rustow (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1964), pp. 205-35 (p. 218).

<sup>22</sup> See Republic of Turkey, State Institute of Statistics, *Millî Eğitimde 50 Yıl: 1923-1973* (Ankara: Government Institute for Statistics Publication, 1973). Verifying this fact, İhan Bağöz and Howard E. Wilson write that ‘not much more than five percent of the total population could write in Arabic’. See İhan Bağöz and Howard E. Wilson, *Educational Problems in Turkey 1920-1940* (The Hague: Mouton, 1968), p. 85.

population was literate. Illiteracy has continued to be a current issue also after the language reform, due to other problems of the country, such as economic difficulties and the continuing tradition of not sending girls to school in rural areas. A second literacy campaign was carried out according to the directive issued by the National Security Council after 1980.<sup>23</sup> According to the *Human Development Report* of 1997, in 1995, still 17.7% of the population in Turkey was illiterate.<sup>24</sup> The figures below show the literacy rates between the years 1935 and 1985:<sup>25</sup>

Years	Men	Women	Total
1935	29.35	9.81	19.25
1940	36.2	12.92	24.55
1945	43.67	16.84	30.22
1950	45.34	19.35	32.37
1955	55.79	25.52	40.87
1960	53.59	24.83	39.49
1965	64.04	32.83	48.72
1970	70.31	41.8	56.21
1975	76.02	50.47	63.62
1980	79.94	54.65	67.45
1985	86.35	68.02	77.29

In the second phase of language policy, the need for well co-ordinated planning for the stabilisation and the standardisation of the language was felt. On 12 July 1932 the Turkish Language Society was formed.<sup>26</sup> The Turkish History Society, as will be shown below, was founded in 1931 to promote interest and research, particularly, in the pre-Islamic

<sup>23</sup> See Barbara Flemming, 'Literatur im Zeichen des Alphabetwechsels', *Anatolica*, 8 (1981), 133-55 (p. 149).

<sup>24</sup> UNDP, *Human Development Report 1997* (New York & Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), p. 54.

<sup>25</sup> İrin Tekeli, ed., *Kadın Bakışından 1980'ler Türkiye'sinde Kadın* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1990), p. 174.

<sup>26</sup> Founded as Turkish Language Academy (*Türk Dili Akademisi*) on 22 March 1926; name changed to Turkish Language Research Society (*Türk Dili Tetkik Cemiyeti*) on 11 November 1928, and Turkish Language Society (*Türk Dil Kurumu*) on 12 July 1932.

period of Turkish history. The decision to found a language society was taken during the first Turkish Historical Congress in July 1932.<sup>27</sup> On the last day of the Congress, Atatürk suggested the establishment of a society for the study of the Turkish language and at the end of the discussion he already had a broad outline of its programme. The Society consisted of two branches: philology and linguistics, which had to deal with philological and linguistic matters, while the Turkish language section was involved in preparing dictionaries and technical terms and studying grammar and syntax and the etymology of the language.<sup>28</sup> The Turkish Language Society supervised a steady programme aimed at the formation of a practical national language. Its goals and procedures, as stated during the first Turkish Language Congress in September 1932<sup>29</sup>, may be summarised as collecting and publishing Turkish vocabulary from the popular language and old texts, defining principles of word formation and creating words from Turkish roots in conformity with them, besides proposing and propagating genuine Turkish words to replace foreign terms in the (written) language.<sup>30</sup> On 9 March 1933, the daily newspaper *Cumhuriyet* announced a public inquiry decided by the Society to find Turkish equivalents for Arabic and Persian words chosen from emsettin Sami's dictionary, *Kamusi Türkî*. From that day onwards, lists of 15-20 "old" words and Turkish equivalents collected from the public were published on the frontpages of newspapers. On the basis of all this collected material, in 1934, the Turkish Language Society issued its first dictionary, the *Osmanlı cadan-Türkçeye Söz Karşıklar Tarama Dergisi* (Collection of Turkish Equivalents of Ottoman Words), in which 30,000 suggested substitutes of some

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<sup>27</sup> See Republic of Turkey, Ministry of Education, *Birinci Türk Tarih Kongresi* (Ankara: Maarif Vekilliği Yayınları, 1932).

<sup>28</sup> Rüben Eref Ünaydın, *Türk Dili Tetkik Cemiyeti'nin Kuruluşundan İlk Kurultaya Kadar Hatıralar* (Ankara: Türk Dil Kurumu Yayınları, 1943), pp. 9-11.

<sup>29</sup> For the proceedings of the Congress, see Republic of Turkey, Ministry of Education, *Birinci Türk Dili Kurultayı: Tezler, Müzakere Zabıtları* (İstanbul: Devlet Matbaası, 1933).

<sup>30</sup> Heyd, *Language*, p. 26.

7,000 words of foreign origin were collected.<sup>31</sup> Thanks to the collections of customs, proverbs, tales etc., as well as the systematic search for Turkish words in books and manuscripts, such as ancient inscriptions and dictionaries of different Turkic languages, translations of classical Arab and Persian works, old divans, popular and dervish poetry during the first years of the 1940s works were accomplished, such as the *Türkiyede Halk A z ndan Söz Derleme Dergisi* (Collection of the Spoken Language of Turkey), Dictionary of Turkish Dialects, and Thesaurus of the Turkish Language.

The most influential form of implementation was seen in the Turkification of the *ezan* (call to prayer) and this was probably the most discussed issue of language policy in Turkey. In April 1928, Article 2 of the Constitution, stating that 'the religion of the State of Turkey is Islam, its official language is Turkish', was amended by the Turkish National Assembly by deleting all reference to religion.<sup>32</sup> In June 1928, when the committee of the Theological Faculty of the University of Istanbul was set up, its chairman, Mehmet Fuat Köprülü, suggested that the language of the ritual prayer be changed from Arabic to Turkish.<sup>33</sup> Only this recommendation of the Committee had its practical consequence. The *ezan* and the sermons (*hutbes*) came to be given in Turkish by 1931. Making the Turkish *ezan* compulsory was legalised only in 1941.<sup>34</sup> On 30 January 1932 the cry 'God is great' resounded from the minarets of Santa Sophia for the first time in Turkish. Shortly afterwards a version of the call in pure Turkish was prepared by the Language Society and published by the Presidency of Religious Affairs.<sup>35</sup> For years the *medrese* had opposed the

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<sup>31</sup> Heyd, *Language*, pp. 29-30.

<sup>32</sup> Heyd, *Language*, p. 22.

<sup>33</sup> For the programme for a reform in religion drawn up by this committee, see Lutfy Levonian, trans. and ed., *The Turkish Press: Selections from the Turkish Press Showing Events and Opinions 1925-1932* (Athens: School of Religion, 1932), pp. 123-26.

<sup>34</sup> Berkes, *Development*, p. 486.

<sup>35</sup> B. Lewis, *Emergence*, p. 410.



translation of the Koran into Turkish, but it also opposed writing in a language comprehensible to the people.<sup>36</sup>

The *medrese* was not interested in understanding even the Kur'an. To its way of thinking, the holy book was not intended to be understood; it was the highest symbol of the divine mystery which could be interpreted only by the religious institution. The *medrese* was also opposed to the Kur'an's dissemination through printing. The belief that the Kur'an in its Arabic form was the very word of God was so deeply ingrained that nobody dared to translate it. When recited with correct diction and intonation, it only produced a magical effect upon its Turkish listeners.<sup>37</sup>

On the other hand, according to Atatürk's thought: 'The Turk believes in the Book. But he does not understand what it says to him. First of all, he himself must understand directly the Book that he so seeks.'<sup>38</sup>

The first Turkish translation of the Koran in the Roman alphabet by Elmalî Mehmed Hamdi Yazır appeared in 1936. The difficulty of translating the Koran arises from the belief that it contains the Word of God, 'as revealed piecemeal to Muhammad by the Angel Gabriel between 610 and 632 AD. (...) It is therefore considered inimitable, and this has important implications for both the legitimacy and the (authorised) methods of translating it'.<sup>39</sup> The illegitimacy of translating the Koran has for centuries been strong and influential among Muslim scholars.

Any attempt at translating the Qur'an is essentially a form of exegesis, or at least is based on *an* understanding of the text and consequently projects a certain point of view; hence the preference given to Muslim as to non-Muslim translators. Terms such as 'explanation', 'interpretation' and 'paraphrase' take on exegetic

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<sup>36</sup> On the Turkish translations of the Koran after 1923, see Osman Ergin, *Türkiye Maarif Tarihi*, vol. 5 (Istanbul: Osmanbey Matbaas, 1939-43), 1611-15; Gothard Jäschke, 'Der Islam in der Neuen Türkei', *Die Welt des Islams*, n.s. 1 (1951), 1-174 (p. 80), and Berkes, *Development*, pp. 483-90.

<sup>37</sup> Berkes, *Development*, p. 193.

<sup>38</sup> Berkes, *Development*, p. 486.

<sup>39</sup> Hassan Mustapha, 'Qur'an (Koran) Translation', in *Routledge Encyclopedia of Translation Studies*, ed. by Mona Baker (London: Routledge, 1998), pp. 200-04 (p. 200).

hues in the context of translating the Qur'an, and this has implications for legitimising any such attempt.<sup>40</sup>

Similarly, the Turkish versions of the Koran have always been called *Kur'an- Kerim Meali* (the meaning of the Koran) and the word "translation" has never been used. A recent Turkish version of the Koran, completed by Ya ar Nuri Öztürk, the dean of the School of Theology in Istanbul University, is worth mentioning for it uses the expression "Turkish translation" as its subtitle.<sup>41</sup> In the Preface to his translation, Öztürk criticises all the previous Turkish versions of the Koran, which are around twenty in number, for being subjective renditions of their translators which, in the course of time, became the Koran itself. He, furthermore, condemns the heavy language, difficult for those who do not know any Arabic and Persian, and the many interpretative explanations given in brackets. He maintains that a *meal* (meaning) should be 'a translation that is produced without the smallest addition to the text of the Koran'.<sup>42</sup> According to this strategy for a word-for-word rendition, he refuses to choose only one meaning of a word or term in the Koran out of several meanings. Instead, he gives all the possible meanings one after another divided by a slash.<sup>43</sup>

Believing in the necessity of translating the Koran, Öztürk argues that 'a proper translation of the Koran can not be achieved into any language. Any translation, however excellent it might be, is not the Koran. However, reading the Koran without

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<sup>40</sup> Mustapha, p. 201.

<sup>41</sup> *Kur'an- Kerim Meali (Türkçe Çeviri)*, trans. by Ya ar Nuri Öztürk (Istanbul: Yeni Boyut, 1997).

<sup>42</sup> Öztürk, 'Preface', in *Kur'an- Kerim Meali*, pp. 9-14 (p. 10).

<sup>43</sup> For example, in the *aya* number 34 of the *sura Nisa (Al-Nisa)* the traditional translation is as follows: '(...) As for those [women] from whom you fear disobedience, admonish them and send them to beds apart and beat them (...).' However, Öztürk, in his translation, uses all three meanings of the word *fadribû* in Arabic which has usually been translated only as "to beat": 'As for those women from whom you fear infidelity and unchastity, admonish them, then leave them alone in their beds and finally, expel them from home / send them to some other place / beat them.' *Kur'an- Kerim Meali (Türkçe Çeviri)*, p. 485 (my translation).

understanding the meaning is not reading it'.<sup>44</sup> On an other occasion, Öztürk emphasised the importance he gave to understand the Koran illustrating the *aya* (verse) number 4 of the *sura* (chapter) of *brahim*: 'Each apostle We have sent has spoken in the language of his own people, so that he might make his meaning clear to them.'<sup>45</sup> He maintains that the principal goal of reading the Koran is understanding it.

The Prophet explains the message in the language of the nuclear generation he addressed. The mission of the new generations is not to hallow the language in which the message was first announced, but to understand the message by translating it into their own languages.<sup>46</sup>

He, furthermore, supports his view with *aya* number 17, 22, 32, 40 of the *sura* of *Kamer* (*Al-Qamar*): 'We have made the Koran easy to remember: but will any take heed?'<sup>47</sup> One other innovation that Öztürk made is that he followed a chronological sequence arranging the *suras* in order to 'facilitate the spotting of the divine-universal meanings'<sup>48</sup> whereas the *suras* were traditionally ordered 'by length rather than chronologically, with the longest appearing at the beginning and the shortest at the end'.<sup>49</sup>

The renown of names such as Ya ar Nuri Öztürk, of his many books and writings in newspapers and his programmes on several television channels<sup>50</sup> can be seen as evidence of the great interest that society shows, not only in religious issues, but also in coming close to their religion via their mother tongue after almost half a century. The last

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<sup>44</sup> Öztürk, 'Preface', *Kur'an- Kerim Meali*, p. 10.

<sup>45</sup> Öztürk, *Kuran'daki slam* (Istanbul: Yeni Boyut, 1997 [1992]), p. 293.

<sup>46</sup> Öztürk, *Kuran'daki slam*, p. 293 (my translation).

<sup>47</sup> Öztürk, *Kuran'daki slam*, pp. 91-93.

<sup>48</sup> Öztürk, 'Preface', *Kur'an- Kerim Meali*, p. 13.

<sup>49</sup> Mustapha, p. 200.

<sup>50</sup> Apart from his duty as the dean of the School of Theology in Istanbul University, Öztürk has written numerous books on Islam, writes articles for different newspapers and makes programmes for the television.

months of 1997 have witnessed fervent discussions in the mass media of the possibility and necessity to return to the “pure” Islam which was to be found in the Koran and inevitably the language question, the Turkification of worship, was at the core of these discussions.<sup>51</sup> A comparative study of different Turkish translations of the Koran would be of great importance also to be able to analyse the perception of Islam and the evolution of Islamic movements in Turkey.<sup>52</sup> But a similar study for the whole Muslim world would also be very interesting. It is clear that the Koran’s special character, namely the belief that it is the Word of God, makes it untouchable. It is this ‘sacramental’ quality of the Koran that no translation of it was permissible or possible. Not only did its linguistic superiority prevent such translations, but also the fear that ‘the meaning may be coloured by the personal approach or predilection of the translator even if he gives only, as Muslims say carefully, “the meaning of the glorious Koran”’.<sup>53</sup> Muslims, in that sense, had long been aware of the ‘visibility’ of translators and wanted to prevent their religion from any interference by avoiding translations. However, this created religious “authorities” which prevented Muslims from learning their religion firsthand, i.e. from the Koran. Islam, and the Koran as its main source, preaches the oneness of God and the direct relation between the individual and God. But translators and translations, as anywhere else where communication is required, are needed to bring the ‘sacred message’ to believers.

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<sup>51</sup> Perhaps, the most extensive and interesting one of all was *Siyaset Meydan*, a weekly debate programme on ATV, which devoted its programme on 20 January 1998 to the issue *Türkçe badet* (Worship in Turkish) and lasted for more than six hours. The debates appeared later in a book form: *Türkçe badet* (Istanbul: Sabah Kitaplar, 1998).

<sup>52</sup> A recent book on some “mistakes” made in different Koran translations into Turkish signals perhaps a first example for such an attempt: See Edip Yüksel, *Kuran Çevirilerindeki Hatalar* (Istanbul: Milliyet Yayınlar, 1998 [1992]).

<sup>53</sup> Annemarie Schimmel, *Deciphering the Signs of God: A Phenomenological Approach to Islam* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1991), p. 165

The new vocabulary containing pure Turkish words was propagated in several ways. Textbooks for schools and universities, chosen by the Ministry of Education, introduced new technical and scientific terms. Other publications, such as official documents, encyclopaedias, and, especially, translations by the official Translation Bureau, as will be analysed in the next two chapters, helped to spread the use of the new language with its new vocabulary, grammar and phraseology. Following a series of congresses and studies of various commissions which devoted themselves to the development of the Turkish language and to its institutionalisation in all aspects of the Turkish life, a number of dictionaries appeared.<sup>54</sup>

During the single-party regime newspapers, the official Turkish newsagency *Anadolu Ajans* and the state-owned broadcasting stations used pure Turkish.<sup>55</sup> Finally, speeches of Atatürk are the best examples to follow the language evolution. He always showed great attention to neologisms and the speeches he made in this period can be a good example to follow the direction that the language reform took.<sup>56</sup>

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<sup>54</sup> mlâ K lavuzu (Spelling Dictionary) (1941), Gramer Terimleri Sözlü ü (Dictionary of Grammar Terms) (1942), Co rafya Terimleri Sözlü ü (Dictionary of Geographical Terms) (1942), Felsefe ve Gramer Terimleri Sözlü ü (Dictionary of Philosophical and Grammar Terms) (1942), Hukuk Lûgat (Dictionary of Law) (1944), Türkçe Sözlük (Turkish Dictionary) (1944). See Mustafa Ç kar, *Hasan-Âli Yücel ve Türk Kültür Reformu* (Ankara: Türkiye Bankas Kültür Yay nlar , 1997), pp. 98-103. *Türk Dili* (Turkish Language), a bulletin published by the Turkish Language Society, which in 1951 was replaced by a monthly literary magazine *Türk Dili, Ayl k Fikir ve Edebiyat Dergisi*, still publishes lists of pure Turkish equivalents of foreign words.

<sup>55</sup> Heyd writes that during 1934-35 newspapers were ordered by the authorities to publish every day at least two articles in the new language. See Heyd, *Language*, p. 52.

<sup>56</sup> Especially his speech given on the occasion of the visit of the Swedish crown Prince Gustav Adolph in September 1934, during the extreme purificationist period of the language reform, is full of neologisms which are incomprehensible even to the most educated people today. For the text, see Korkmaz, pp. 406-07.

The *Güne -Dil Teorisi* (Sun-Language Theory) of the Third Language Congress held in 1936 claimed that all languages derived from Turkish.<sup>57</sup> The theory was originally proposed by a Viennese, Herman F. Kvergic in an unpublished volume, *La psychologie de quelques éléments des langues turques* which he sent to Atatürk in 1935. This theory maintained that all languages derived originally from one primeval language, spoken in Central Asia and that Turkish was closest of all languages to this origin and that all languages had developed from the primeval language through Turkish.<sup>58</sup> The use of this theory was twofold. Firstly, it stopped the creation of an artificial language in the name of 'pure Turkish'; if all the words were originally Turkish, there was no need to purge them. Secondly, it gave a certain pride to Turks about their language.

The symbolic triumph of the language reform occurred when the Turkish constitution of 1924 was translated into pure Turkish and promulgated in January 1945.<sup>59</sup> To show the linguistic changes Uriel Heyd quotes the text of article 26 in the Constitution in its old and new versions.<sup>60</sup> In the 1924 text the article contained 66 words of Arabic descent and only 7 originally Turkish words, whereas in the 1945 version there are 37 Turkish words, 1 French word and only 33 Arabic words remain. As a result of changing political conditions in the 1950s, in 1952 the Parliament revoked the "modern" wording of the 1945 version of the Turkish Constitution and repromulgated the text of 1924.<sup>61</sup> A similar decision was made when in 1950 two Democrat Party deputies proposed ending

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<sup>57</sup> For the Sun-Language theory, see Uriel Heyd, *Language Reform in Modern Turkey* (Jerusalem: Israel Oriental Society, 1954); Emin Özdemir, *Dil Devrimimiz* (Ankara: Türk Dil Kurumu Yayınları, 1968); Ağâh Sırrı Levend, *Türk Dilinde Gelişme ve Sadelerme Safhaları* (Ankara: Türk Dil Kurumu Yayınları, 1972) and journals *Türk Dili* and *Belleten* of the Turkish Language Society of 1937 and 1938. The official Language Theory, with diagrams, is produced in Karl Steuerwald, *Untersuchungen zur Türkischen Sprache der Gegenwart, Teil. I* (Berlin-Schöneberg: Langenscheidt, 1963).

<sup>58</sup> Zürcher, p. 198.

<sup>59</sup> B. Lewis, *Emergence*, p. 429; Heyd, *Language*, p. 42.

<sup>60</sup> For the text in both versions, together with its translation, see Heyd, *Language*, Appendix, p. 111.

<sup>61</sup> Heyd, *Language*, p. 51.

the prohibition on the call to prayer, the *ezan*, in Arabic, claiming that this prohibition prevented Muslims from worshipping in the way they wanted and therefore violated their freedom of conscience.<sup>62</sup> The percentage of Turkish words in the language of the press did not increase during the 1950s. In 1931, 35% of the words used in the language of the press were Turkish, it became 44% in 1933, 48% in 1936, and 57% in 1946.<sup>63</sup> However, it decreased to 51% in 1951 and remained at this rate also in 1956. In the 1990s it has reached 70%. As it can be seen from the above given data, the attitude of the new government, Democrat Party (*Demokrat Parti*), which defeated the Republican People's Party (*Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi*) in the 1950 election, was more conservative towards the language issue compared to the revolutionary and reformist RPP. Every government in Turkey has had its own view on the language issue and has tried to influence the usage of Turkish using the official channels such as television, radio and textbooks published by the Minister of Education. The language reform generally witnessed a fluctuation between two approaches. The first approach was both Islamic and popular, whereby Arabic and Persian words had to be retained if they were part of everyday speech, whereas the more radical approach was secular and purificationist, advocating only the use of genuine Turkish words. Despite the success of the reform which eliminated a great deal of Arabic and Persian vocabulary from the language, the goal of total purification, has not been achieved. One main reason for this is that many words of foreign origin have been actually conceived by the masses as pure Turkish words because these words have been very well established in Turkish vocabulary. On the other hand, new technical and scientific words have been incorporated into Turkish vocabulary from European

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<sup>62</sup> Feroz Ahmad, 'Politics and Islam in Modern Turkey', *Middle Eastern Studies*, 27:1 (1991), 3-21 (p. 10); Heyd, *Language*, p. 52.

<sup>63</sup> Kamile mer, 'Cumhuriyet Döneminde Türkçenin Özle tirilmesi Üzerine Dü ünceler', *Dilbilim Ara t rmalar*, (1994), 17-20.

languages, but mainly from English. Finally, as Murat Belge argued, the new Turkish words substituted for their old equivalents have not always met all the meanings that the former had. As a result, many nuances have been lost. Belge gives the verb “*dü ünme*k” as an example and asks how many Turkish concepts there can be found in Turkish vocabulary whereas in English this verb can be translated as “think”, “reflect”, “contemplate”, “cogitate”, “meditate”, “reason”, “cerebrate”, “deliberate”, “ruminate” to which can be added “ponder”, “muse”, “reckon”, “wonder” and “consider”.<sup>64</sup> It is, therefore, inevitable to use in some cases old words to catch the nuances. It is also interesting to see that during the Turkification of the language in order to get rid of the foreign elements, mostly Arabic and Persian loan words were attacked. On the other hand, transliterations of many European (especially French) words were adopted and no objections were raised regarding these loan words. This shows once again the aim of the planners which was to remove the society from the Islamic past and enter into the Western world. Do an Cücelo lu suggests that the lexical reform has been most evident in the semantic fields rich in Islamic associations, such as religion, philosophy, socio-political issues, economics and aesthetic literature. The language of personal feelings and everyday life still has a high proportion of Arabic and Persian words and Western European words are to be found heavily in areas of science and technology.<sup>65</sup>

The use of Turkish was always an indicator of political and social tendencies during the Republican period. In the 1960s the use of language reflected one’s position on the ineluctable left-right spectrum. While Islamist, conservative, right-wing and nationalistic politicians, writers had a preference for words of Arabic and Persian origin,

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<sup>64</sup> Murat Belge, ‘Türkçe Sorunu II’, *Yazko Edebiyat*, 20 (1982), 80-98 (p. 96).

<sup>65</sup> In a working paper Do an Cücelo lu carries research on Turkish university students to seek the means by which they attribute social and political attitudes and values to individuals on the basis of the style of Turkish which they use. See Do an Cücelo lu, *Effects of the Turkish Language Reform on Person Perception* (Berkeley: University of California Language Research Laboratory, 1976), p. 4.



the modernist and left-wing group of politicians and intellectuals, wishing to remove attachments to traditionalism, used *öz Türkçe* (pure Turkish) and also continued proposing new words to replace the foreign terms. Kamile mer shows the percentages of Turkish words used in the language of two newspapers, *Cumhuriyet* and *Tercüman*, the first one being left-wing and the latter known as traditional in 1977 and in 1980.<sup>66</sup> The percentages of Turkish words used in their language were 75.5% and 81% in *Cumhuriyet*, and 66.5 and 72% in *Tercüman* respectively. mer argues that the difference of the preference for “old” and “new” words in the language of the press decreased after 1985 from 9-11% to 2.4 % and percentage of the Arabic loan words in the language of the press between 1985-1990 was 16.12%, whereas only 7.6% included European loan words.

The language reform took another shape with the closure of the Turkish Language Society after the military intervention of 1980.<sup>67</sup> During the 1980s, many pure Turkish words were also declared to be “banned” by the TRT (Turkish Radio and Television).<sup>68</sup> As a result of these “uses” of “old” and “new” Turkish vocabulary, words were associated with different images. As Cücelo lu puts it:

Given the politicization of the issue of language reform, and the demonstrated differences between readers in their responses to linguistic style, it is clear that pairs of old and new terms cannot be considered synonymous in modern Turkish. Rather, choice of terminology communicates important messages about the political and social ideology of the speaker; and these messages will be interpreted differently on the basis of the speaker; and these messages will be interpreted differently on the basis of the political and social ideology of the listener.<sup>69</sup>

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<sup>66</sup> mer, p. 19.

<sup>67</sup> The Turkish Language Society was attached to the Prime Ministry with a law passed on 11 August 1983, becoming a government institution. Its name was changed to *Atatürk Kültür Dil ve Tarih Yüksek Kurumu* (Atatürk Cultural, Linguistic and Historical Institution). Turkish History Society was also included within this institution. A lot of criticism has been made on the loss of the Turkish Language Society’s autonomy and the violation of Atatürk’s will who had left both societies equal amounts of money from yearly interest of his assets. For a collection of articles on the issue, see Sevgi Özel, Haldun Özen and Ali Püsküllüo lu, eds., *Atatürk’ün Türk Dil Kurumu ve Sonras* (Ankara: Bilgi Yay nevi, 1986).

<sup>68</sup> See Özel and others, pp. 87-123.

<sup>69</sup> Cücelo lu, p. 16.

## 5.2 The Turkish History Thesis

The Turkish history thesis, which established a historical link between the Central Asian Turks and ancient Anatolian civilisation, was a typical result of the same aim, namely to establish a new Turkish nation which was proud of its past.<sup>70</sup> This theory was propounded for the first time at the first congress of the Turkish History Society, held in Ankara in 1932. According to this theory, the Turks originally lived in Central Asia. Owing to the progressive desiccation of this area, they had migrated in waves to other areas, such as China, Europe and the Near East, carrying the arts of civilisation with them. In the Near East, the Sumerians and the Hittites were really proto-Turks. As a result of this theory, the two major state banks founded in the 1930s were called *Sümerbank* (Sumerian Bank) and *Etibank* (Hittite Bank). Anatolia had thus been a Turkish land since antiquity. This movement was partly political, with the purpose of encouraging the Turks to identify themselves with the country they inhabited and thus at the same time discouraging dangerous pan-Turanian<sup>71</sup> adventures. It was also aimed at giving Turks a sense of pride in their past and in their national identity, separate from the immediate past, that is to say the Ottoman era.<sup>72</sup> During the Ottoman period the Turks thought of themselves primarily as Muslims where the word “Turk” had a derogatory connotation until the nineteenth century by the urban élite referring to the peasantry.

When Koçu Bey, in 1630, complains that the corps of Janissaries has been overrun with outsiders and interlopers, he speaks of Turks, Gypsies, Tats, Lazes, muleteers

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<sup>70</sup> The Turkish history thesis is extensively discussed in Bernard Lewis, ‘History-writing and National Revival in Turkey’, *Middle Eastern Affairs*, 4 (1953), 218-27; Ahmet Cevat Emre, *Atatürk’ün Inkılab Hedefi ve Tarih Tezi* (Istanbul: Ekin Bas mev , 1956), and in earlier publications of the Turkish History Society. See also the critical study of Turkish History Thesis by Bü ra Ersanl Behar, *ktidar ve Tarih: Türkiye’de Resmi Tarih Tezinin Olu umu* (Istanbul: Afa Yay nlar , 1992).

<sup>71</sup> A movement started after the revolution of 1908-9 at the instigation of Young Turks from Russia. For the Turkish exiles and immigrants from the Russian Empire, pan-Turanianism or pan-Turkism was indeed a political programme, which in its maximalist form implied the political unification of all the Turkish-speaking peoples, in their vast territories which stretches from the Balkans to the Chinese border and which they call *Turan*, in a single state.

<sup>72</sup> Zürcher, p. 199.

and camel-drivers, porters, footpads, and cutpurses. Even Halet Efendi, who went to Paris in 1802, seems to have been shocked to find himself called the 'Turkish ambassador', and when congratulating himself on having countered a hostile manoeuvre, remarks that this time they had not found him the 'Turkish ambassador'- i.e. the ignorant boor - that they wanted'.<sup>73</sup>

On the other hand, the emphasis on the Turkish heritage together with the secularising reforms made it easier to exchange elements from traditional Middle Eastern and Islamic civilisation for those of the West. During the late 1960s, 50.3 per cent of the workers in a textile factory in Izmir considered themselves as 'Turks' and only 37.5 per cent as Muslim, when they were asked how they defined themselves.<sup>74</sup>

The identity chosen by the new state for its citizens, can be summarised as Europe-oriented (westernised), secular and nationalist as a substitute for religion, and which the government wanted to impose on Turkish society. Reformation and Westernisation were used as state policies. Cultural policies with the same aim were reflected in artistic production. Most importantly, the centrality of Turkish identity was emphasised, regardless of ethnic or religious background. Islam was attacked in several ways, as discussed above. Language and history were selected as common unifying elements in society and much work was done to strengthen such assertions. However, the multi-national characteristic of the state continued to exist with linguistic and ethnic differences. Later, during the 1950s and 1980s, as will be discussed, governments saw a

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<sup>73</sup> B. Lewis, *Emergence*, p. 327. Similarly, a dialogue between Bekir Çavuş, an Anatolian peasant and the protagonist of Yakup Kadri's novel *Yaban* (The Stranger) goes as follows:

- We know, Sir, you are also from them, but..
- Who are they?
- You know, those who support Kemal Pa a...
- How can one be a Turk without supporting Kemal Pa a?
- But we are not Turks Sir
- So what are you then?
- We are Muslims, Thank God... The ones you refer to live in Haymana.

Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu, *Yaban* (Istanbul: Remzi Kitabevi, 1945 [1932]), p. 132 (my translation).

<sup>74</sup> Ferit Mardin, *Din ve deoloji* (Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi, 1969), p. 132.

unifying element in religion, namely Islam, and claimed that this aspect, in a society of which 99% was Muslim, had been neglected.

### 5.3 People's Houses (*Halkevleri*)

During the early nation-building era the state set up a series of institutions; People's Houses<sup>75</sup> (*Halkevleri*), the Turkish History Society<sup>76</sup> and the Turkish Language Society were established to further the aim of establishing a Turkish nation. Established in 1932 mainly in big cities, 14 People's Houses served as cultural and political centres designated to transmit the nationalist, secularist and populist ideas of the regime to larger audiences to create ideological unity between the governing élite and the masses. In 1940, People's Rooms (*Halk Odaları*) were established in small towns and villages. The Houses took on the duty of teaching the masses Republican principles, eradicating illiteracy and establishing a national culture based on Turkish folklore and an authentic Turkish life style. The Houses carried out sociological and folkloristic research, collecting poems, tales, stories and songs which were later shared with the public by means of the journals they published. As Kemal H. Karpat points out 'the survival of Turkey as a nation depended on the mass acceptance of these political principles which came to be considered synonymous with modernisation itself'.<sup>77</sup>

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<sup>75</sup> The People's Houses are described in Tefik Çavdar, 'Halkevleri', in *Cumhuriyet Dönemi Türkiye Ansiklopedisi*, ed. by Murat Belge, vol. 4 (Istanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1983), 877-84; M. Asım Karaömerlioğlu, 'The People's Houses and the Cult of the Peasant in Turkey', *Middle Eastern Studies*, 34:4 (1998), 67-91; Arzu Öztürkmen, 'The Role of People's Houses in the Making of National Culture in Turkey', *New Perspectives on Turkey*, 11 (1994), 159-81; Kemal H. Karpat, 'The People's Houses in Turkey: Establishment and Growth', *Middle East Journal*, 17 (1963), 55-67 and 'The Impact of the People's Houses on the Development of Communications in Turkey: 1931-1951', *Die Welt des Islams*, 15 (1974), 69-84 and Anıl Çeçen, *Halkevleri* (Ankara: Gündoğdu Yayınları, 1990).

<sup>76</sup> Founded as Turkish Historical Society (*Türk Tarih Encümeni*) on 29 November 1925; changed to Turkish History Research Society (*Türk Tarihi Tetkik Cemiyeti*) 15 April 1931 and to Turkish History Society (*Türk Tarih Kurumu*) in 1935.

<sup>77</sup> Karpat, 'The Impact of the People's Houses on the Development of Communications in Turkey: 1931-1951', p. 69.

The activities undertaken by the People's Houses were divided into nine categories: 1) Language, History and Literature, 2) Fine Arts, 3) Theatre, 4) Sports, 5) Social Assistance, 6) Public Classes and Courses, 7) Library and Publishing, 8) Village Development, and 9) Museums and Exhibitions. People's Houses published journals, giving space to some research in folklore, to local authors and the literary attempts of young people. *Ülkü* (Ideal), the principle journal of the Ankara People's House, was influential during the years 1933-50 as much for its pieces on research papers, folklore and ethnology as for its literary writings. In 1933 it had a circulation of 20,000. Karpas writes that he located fifty-four journals by the People's Houses between 1933-1950 saying that this number may be even higher.<sup>78</sup> Arzu Öztürkmen gives this number as seventy.<sup>79</sup> By 1951 when, with the change in the political majority in Turkey, People's Houses were closed down, their number had reached nearly 500 and there were over 4,000 People's Rooms.

#### **5.4 Village Institutes (*Köy Enstitüleri*)**

In 1935, when a literacy drive began to combat illiteracy in the Turkish countryside, only about 500 of the 40,000 Turkish villages had schools which were very primitive and most of them had only one teacher.<sup>80</sup> According to the statistics, in 1945, 83% of the population in Turkey was living in these 40,000 villages.<sup>81</sup> Because of the vast cultural differences between town and village, teachers generally were unwilling to live and teach in villages. To solve this problem, in 1940, a new type of institution was established under the

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<sup>78</sup> Karpas, 'The Impact of the People's Houses on the Development of Communications in Turkey: 1931-1951', p. 73.

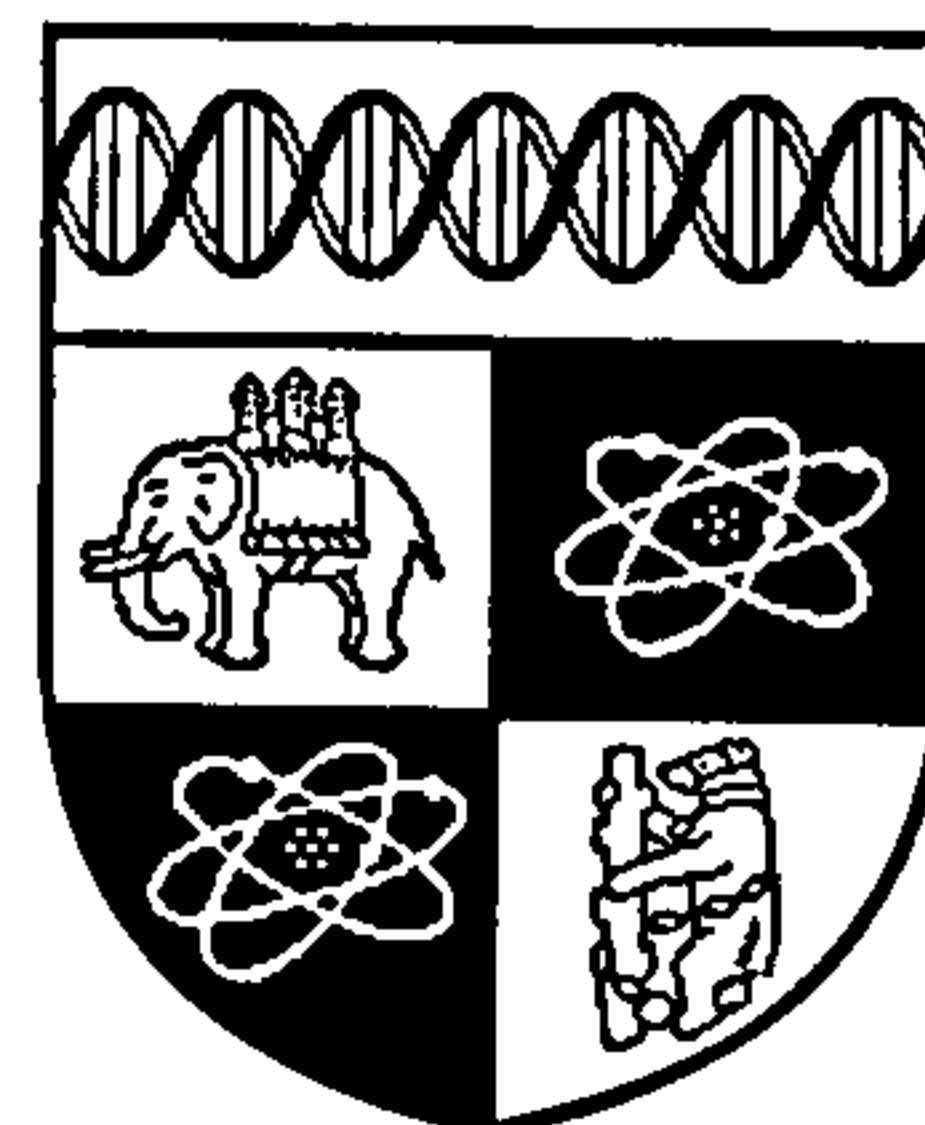
<sup>79</sup> Öztürkmen, p. 167.

<sup>80</sup> Zürcher, p. 202.

<sup>81</sup> Karpas, *Türk Demokrasi Tarihi*, pp. 98-99.

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supervision of İsmail Hakkı Tonguç (1897-1960).<sup>82</sup> The Village Institutes (*Köy Enstitüleri*) were to provide a five-year course in boarding schools, after completing five years of elementary school, to train village boys and girls as primary-school teachers, but also to equip them with modern technical and agricultural skills. Afterwards, they were sent back to their villages not only as school teachers, but also as 'general missionaries of scientific enlightenment and progress'.<sup>83</sup> The aim was to increase the educational level of the masses, in accordance with the principle of populism, creating the suitable conditions for the reforms to be established, and to ensure the masses took part actively in the political, economical and cultural life, making them at the same time conscious about their personal rights. The Village Institutes have generally been seen as examples for a modern education and a 'catalyst in the development of the country'.<sup>84</sup>

Among the goals of the Village Institutes, Azra Erhat stressed the need felt in re-establishing the relations with the cultural elements in Anatolia which, in fact, contained all the resources of Western civilisation and culture and in reproducing them. This could not be achieved only with science and research. The Village Institutes, together with the People's Houses, were established to utilise the scientific data as cultural elements.<sup>85</sup> It is known that the Village Institutes benefited from the cultural developments happening in Turkey at that time, especially from the translations achieved by the Translation Bureau. Eight plays staged between 1942-1947 in the Hasanoğlan Village Institute were

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<sup>82</sup> Among numerous books on Tonguç and the Village Institutes, see Cavit Binbaşıoğlu, *Çağdaş Eğitim ve Köy Enstitüleri: Tarihsel Bir Çerçeve* (Izmir: Dikili Belediyesi Etki Ofset, 1993); Fay Kirby, *Türkiye'de Köy Enstitüleri* (Ankara: İmece Yayınları, 1962); Engin Tonguç, *Devrim Açısından Köy Enstitüleri ve Tonguç* (Istanbul: Ant Yayınları, 1970); Pakize Türkoğlu, *Tonguç ve Enstitüleri* (Istanbul: YKY, 1997); Perihan Ügeöz, *Erziehung im Aufbruch: Die Dorfinstitute in der Türkei* (Berlin: Hitit Verlag, 1992); *Tonguç'a Kitap* (Istanbul: Ekin Basımevi, 1961); M. Asım Karaömerlioğlu, 'The Village Institutes Experience in Turkey', *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, 25:1 (1998), 47-73.

<sup>83</sup> Paul Stirling, *Turkish Village* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1965), p. 276.

<sup>84</sup> Mustafa Çıkar, *Hasan-Âli Yücel ve Türk Kültür Reformu* (Ankara: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 1997), p. 92.

<sup>85</sup> Azra Erhat, 'Atatürk'ten Köy Enstitülerine', *Yeni Ufuklar*, 12:139 (1963), 15-20 (pp. 16-17).

translations accomplished by the Bureau: *Bizim Köy (Our Village)* and *Üvey Ana (Stepmother)* written by the students, *Aulularium (Çömlek)* by Plautus, *King Oedipus (Kral Oidipus)* by Sophocles, *L'Avare (Cimri)* by Molière, *Marriage (Bir Evlenme)* and *The Government Inspector (Müfettiş)* by Nikolai Gogol, *Poil de Carotte (Horoz İbiği)* by Jules Renard, *The Proposal (Teklif)* by Anton Pavlovich Chekhov, *Our Town (Bizim Şehir)* by Thornton Wilder (performed by the National Theatre).<sup>86</sup> Erhat, furthermore, notes in her article how eager the students in the Institutes, especially in Hasanoğlan, were to read and discuss *The Republic* by Plato and how they were pushing her and her colleagues in the University to translate its new volumes.<sup>87</sup>

With the multi-party system after the Second World War, the opposition accused the institutes of spreading communist propaganda. According to Feroz Ahmad, 'the idea of awakening the peasants by teaching them to read and write, teaching them about health care and efficient agriculture, in short giving them a sense of self reliance and confidence, was dangerous in the opinion of the conservatives'.<sup>88</sup> On the other hand, the possibility of radical political ideas caught on among teachers and pupils, which, as Paul Stirling noted, was not surprising, when considering the desperate poverty of ordinary village life.<sup>89</sup> Stirling, writing as a social anthropologist who spent the winter of 1949-1950 in Central Anatolian villages, criticised the education in the institutes because the subjects were taught largely by rote. Furthermore, the pupils in Village Institutes which had a relatively remote position, arranged in order to prevent the students becoming attached to urban life, did not have any first-hand experience of what they were learning: 'They were aware of ideals and values which made them despise the village, and yet had little realistic notion

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<sup>86</sup> Erhat, 'Atatürk'ten Köy Enstitülerine', p. 18.

<sup>87</sup> Erhat, 'Atatürk'ten Köy Enstitülerine', p. 17.

<sup>88</sup> Ahmad, *Making*, p. 83.

<sup>89</sup> Stirling, p. 276.



about urban life or about the possibilities of village reform, still less about Western society.<sup>90</sup>

After Hasan-Âli Yücel's resignation from his post as the Minister of Education in 1946 and Tonguç's withdrawal, the situation of the institutes worsened. With a series of new laws the character of the institutes was changed to more conservative entities where the teachers were not allowed to teach anything other than reading and writing, boys and girls could not be trained together, and had to read books 'suitable to their levels'. Many books translated in the Translation Bureau were collected from the libraries of the village institutes and were burnt by the new Ministry of Education.<sup>91</sup> In 1948, Village Institutes were turned into ordinary teacher-training schools. When the Democrat Party came to power in 1950, they were abolished altogether.

By 1946, the institutes had trained 16,400 teachers, 7,300 health technician and 8,756 educators.<sup>92</sup> By 1948, 20 institutes had been established, with 25,000 students<sup>93</sup> to serve the people of an estimated 44,000 villages.<sup>94</sup> When they were closed down, 21 Village Institutes had influenced considerably and altered to some extent the society in rural Turkey both with their teachers and students, and with the cultural activities they carried out. As Sabahattin Eyuboğlu argued, none of the educational institutions in Turkey was as genuine, productive and constructive as the Village Institutes, for they were born out of the country's own realities and social and economic conditions.<sup>95</sup>

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<sup>90</sup> Stirling, p. 276.

<sup>91</sup> Doğan Avcıoğlu, *Türkiye'nin Düzeni* (Ankara: Bilgi, 1968), p. 239. This kind of incidence was also stressed by Vedat Günyol, see Chapter 6.2., p. 158.

<sup>92</sup> Çıkar, p. 92.

<sup>93</sup> 15,000 students according to B. Lewis, in *Emergence*, p. 471.

<sup>94</sup> Ahmad, *Making*, p. 84.

<sup>95</sup> Sabahattin Eyuboğlu, 'Köy Enstitülerini Kuran Düşünce', *Yeni Ufuklar*, 144 (1964), 1-4 (p. 2).

The institutes also produced a number of authors, such as Mehmet Başaran (b. 1926), Talip Apaydın (b. 1926), Fakir Baykurt (b. 1929) and Mahmut Makal (b. 1933) among the most famous ones. As graduates from these village institutes, these authors brought their actual experiences into the novels they wrote, altered the popular perception of village life, establishing the so called “village literature”.

The story of Mahmut Makal and his novel *Bizim Köy* is an example of the extent of the accusations against the Village Institutes. The letters and notes Makal sent from the village where he was teaching were published in *Varlık* every two issues starting in 1948. In 1950 these writings were turned into a novel, *Bizim Köy* in which the author described the village from within.<sup>96</sup> Soon after the publication of the novel, Makal was jailed on suspicion of subversion, i.e. of Communism. After forty days he was released. Meanwhile, in some circles in Ankara, İsmail Hakkı Tonguç was claimed as the possible original author, whereas in Istanbul it was said that Yaşar Nabi had actually written the book.<sup>97</sup> Makal’s attacks on the attitude of local officials and the central government towards the villages, the general failure of the literacy campaign in these areas and the persistence of the supposedly abolished dervish orders in village religious life had a shock effect on Turkish intellectuals and the literate, urban, upper class who until then had not have any direct relations with village life and therefore remained ignorant of and uninterested in the life of the peasant masses. The urban élite was interested in indoctrinating the masses with Republican ideas and ideals through mediums such as People’s Houses and Village Institutes. In this respect, the élite showed interest in the masses as long as they served their needs and the cultural advancement that the villages obtained remained rather superficial. Both in the foreword by Lewis V. Thomas and in the

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<sup>96</sup> Mahmut Makal, *Bizim Köy* (Istanbul: Varlık, 1950).

<sup>97</sup> Mahmut Makal, ‘Köye Projektör Tuttu’, in *Kültürümüzden İnsan Adaları*, ed. by Alpay Kabacalı (Istanbul: YKY, 1995), pp. 452-55 (p. 454).

introduction by Paul Stirling to the translation of Makal's book<sup>98</sup>, the reader is warned against the 'incomplete and misleading' nature of the book. It is continuously stressed that one should not seek an over-all understanding of contemporary Turkish peasant life; 'the importance and quality of this book lies (...) in the vividness and vitality of Mahmut Makal's day-to-day sketches'.<sup>99</sup> As a result of Makal's inaccuracy in some parts and his limitations as a social observer rooted from his subjective position, as well as his age which was under twenty when he started to write, it was argued, the English translation encountered some interferences 'by a little judicious cutting of the original text and through footnotes he [Stirling] has corrected or warned against the bias of the author's views and the few errors of fact of which he is guilty'.<sup>100</sup> The reception of Makal's book followed a similar line in its English translation. The real face of village life was something that the urban élite wanted to ignore, because Turkey was no longer a backward Islamic country, but a modern and secular state.

### 5.5 European Aid in Establishing Western Institutions

The establishment of educational and cultural institutions according to Western models and the role and influence of foreign, i.e. European, experts who were invited to Turkey to set up and run educational and cultural institutions is one of the most significant phenomena of Westernising policies in the cultural field.<sup>101</sup>

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<sup>98</sup> Mahmut Makal, *A Village in Anatolia*, trans. by Sir Wyndham Deedes, ed. by Paul Stirling (London: Vallentine, Mitchell, 1954).

<sup>99</sup> Lewis V. Thomas, 'Foreword', in Mahmut Makal, *A village in Anatolia*, pp. ix-xii (p. xi).

<sup>100</sup> Thomas, p. x.

<sup>101</sup> For this section I made use of the chapter written by Murat Katoğlu, 'Cumhuriyet Türkiye'sinde Eğitim, Kültür, Sanat', in *Türkiye Tarihi*, ed. by Sina Akşin, vol. 4 (Istanbul: Cem Yayınevi, 1992), 393-502.

Reform of the higher educational system had always been on the agenda of the new Republic. Already between the years 1925-29 names such as John Dewey from the United States, Prof. Alfred Kühne, Prof. Frey, Prof. Steihler from Germany, Prof. Omar Buyse, Mme Bocard (for technical schools for girls), Prof. Oldenburg (for agricultural schools) from Belgium had been invited to Turkey. Later, Professor Albert Malche was invited from Switzerland to examine the *Darülfünun* and other higher institutions of education.

*Darülfünun* was accused by the Ministry of Education for remaining behind the “revolution” and its teachers for giving the university a scholastic character. Some of these academics had also criticised some ideas and decisions of the first Turkish Historical Congress in 1932.<sup>102</sup> In a speech delivered in 1932 to the Turkish Grand National Assembly, Reşit Galip, the Minister of Education says the following:

In the eight years between 1923 and 1932, the gaze of the entire Turkish élite has been turned towards the *Darülfünun*... No other national concern attracted us as much attention as the *Darülfünun* issue. No other institution received as much criticism. Yet despite all this attention and criticism, the Istanbul *Darülfünun* has failed to show the anticipated betterment, progress or advancement. There have been momentous economic and social reforms in the country. *Darülfünun* has remained a noncommittal observer. There were important new economic trends. *Darülfünun* appeared unaware of these. There were radical changes in the legal system. *Darülfünun* contented itself with merely including the new laws in its instruction programme. There was the alphabet reform. There was the new language movement. *Darülfünun* never heeded them. A new understanding of history swept the entire country as a national movement. It took three years of waiting and effort to elicit *Darülfünun*'s interest. The Istanbul *Darülfünun* has become static; turned into itself; withdrawn from the external world in complaisant isolation.<sup>103</sup>

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<sup>102</sup> Behar, pp. 167-68.

<sup>103</sup> Ayşe Öncü, 'Academics: The West in the Discourse of University Reform', in *Turkey and the West: Changing Political and Cultural Identities*, ed. by Metin Heper, Ayşe Öncü and Heinz Kramer (London & New York: I.B. Tauris, 1993), pp. 142-76 (pp. 142-43).

In 1933 *Darülfünun* was closed down and recreated under the name of Istanbul University. The University Act of 1933 wanted to change the traditional educational system and to dismiss the representatives of this system in the university. Soon after, many members of the old staff had to leave their posts.<sup>104</sup> Malche's report on his investigations was the main source on which the 1933 reform on education was based.<sup>105</sup>

Meanwhile, the developments in Germany on the eve of the Second World War gave the Turkish government the opportunity to invite academics from German universities who were removed from their universities because of their Jewish origin and/or their anti-governmental opinions or activities, to Turkey. Between the years 1933-1945 many professors from Germany, later from Austria, came to Turkey to replace the old staff of Istanbul University. Some other refugees were commissioned to teach in the newly opened Faculty of Language and History-Geography (*Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi*) in Ankara.<sup>106</sup> Many of these professors established new departments in both universities. Among them there were also many famous names (or names which became famous after their stay in Turkey) in the Humanities departments, such as Hans Reichenbach (philosopher), Leo Spitzer (literary theorist and Romanist), Erich Auerbach (literary historian), Ernst von Aster (historian), Walther Kranz (classical philologist), Wilhelm Peters (psychologist), Helmut Ritter (Orientalist) in Istanbul, Benno Landsberger

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<sup>104</sup> Öncü says that roughly a third of the teaches cadres was dismissed whereas Katoğlu gives the number as 157 out of 240.

<sup>105</sup> See Albert Malche, 'İstanbul Üniversitesi Hakkında Rapor', in *Dünya Üniversiteleri ve Türkiye'de Üniversitelerin Gelişmesi*, ed. by Ernest E. Hirsch (Istanbul: Ankara Üniversitesi Yayınları, 1950), pp. 229-95.

<sup>106</sup> On the German refugees to Turkey, see also Horst Widmann, *Exil und Bildungshilfe: Die deutschsprachige akademische Emigration in die Türkei nach 1933* (Frankfurt: Herbert Long, 1973), trans. as *Atatürk Üniversite Reformu* by Aykut Kazancıgil and Serpil Bozkurt (Istanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi Cerrahpaşa Tıp Fakültesi Yayını, 1981); Ernst E. Hirsch, *Aus des Kaisers Zeiten durch Weimarer Republik in das Land Atatürks: Eine unzeitgemässe Autobiographie* (München: Schweizer Verlag, 1982), trans. as *Anılarım: Kayzer Dönemi. Weimar Cumhuriyeti. Atatürk Ülkesi* by Fatma Suphi (Ankara: Tübitak, 1997); Fritz Neumark, *Boğaziçine Sığınanlar: Türkiye'ye İltica Eden Alman İlim Siyaset ve Sanat Adamları 1933-1953*, trans. by Şefik Alp Bahadır (Istanbul: İÜ İktisat Fakültesi Maliye Enstitüsü Yayını, 1982).

(Assyriologist), Gustav Güterbock (Hittitologist), Wolfram Eberhard (Sinologist) and Walter Ruben (Indologist) in Ankara.

In 1935, the Faculty of Language and History-Geography was opened in Ankara University. The name summarises its aims: the comparative study of languages related to Turkish, such as Sumerian, Akkadian, Sanskrit, Chinese and Hittite; proof of the long existence of the Turks who had come from the Central Asia and their contribution to other civilisations; and the study and documentation of the land of Anatolia, seen as the 'cradle of several civilisations' containing also deep traces of Turks.<sup>107</sup>

These German academics in departments from medicine to law, from economics to natural sciences were very influential especially during the 1940s in educating the new generation of Turkish students, academics and scientists. Different Western university models have been influential since then. The German model was followed by the American starting in the 1950s with the opening of such universities, as the Middle East Technical University (1956) in Ankara and Bosphorus University (1971) in Istanbul, with English as the teaching language. The creation and recreation of Western-type institutions did not remained limited to the educational system. Other cultural institutions were rebuilt following a similar path.

In 1926 the name of *Darül Elhan* in Istanbul was changed to *Konservatuvar* and not only the name but also the structure of the municipal conservatoire was changed giving more emphasis to Western music. The department of Eastern music was closed down in 1927. For the establishment of a state conservatoire in Ankara, Halil Bedii (Yönetken)<sup>108</sup> and Nurullah Şevket (Taşkiran) were sent to Europe for education in 1926.

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<sup>107</sup> Behar, pp. 169-70.

<sup>108</sup> The names given in brackets are the family names adopted by all Turkish citizens following the law passed on 28 June 1934.

Ulvi Cemal (Erkin)<sup>109</sup>, Cezmi (Erinç), Ekrem Zeki (Ün) and Afife Hanım were in a second group of students who went to European cities for their music education. The government undertook the financial expenses of Cevat Memduh (Altar) and Necil Kâzım (Akses) who were already studying in Europe. During the 1930s Necdet Remzi (Atak), Ferhunde (Erkin), Ahmet Adnan (Saygun) joined these students. The new building for the conservatoire was built by the architect E. Egli in 1928. Composer Paul Hindemith (1895-1963) was invited as consultant for the establishment of the conservatoire and in the organisation of a musical culture in Turkey in 1935. During the following years Hindemith made other visits to Turkey and at the first entrance examination of the conservatoire in 1936 he was present together with Eduard Zuckmayer and Dr. Ernst Praetorius (1880-1946), the conductor of a newly founded orchestra.<sup>110</sup>

The same method was used for the establishment of the theatre department. Carl Ebert (1887-1980) came to Turkey in 1936 to help the founding of performing arts in the conservatoire. Among many other artists that taught in the conservatoire, perhaps the most famous name is Bela Bartok who initiated studies on collecting Turkish folk music.

During the season of 1940-41 opera performances started with extracts from *Tosca* and *Madame Butterfly* by Giacomo Puccini, followed by *Fidelio* by Ludwig van Beethoven, *The Bartered Bride (Satılmış Nişanlı)* by Bedrich Smetana and *Le Nozze di Figaro (Figaro'nun Düğünü)* by Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart. The state conservatoire was in close contact with the Translation Bureau where apart from literary works in book form, librettos and theatre plays were produced. During the years 1941-1947 19 plays

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<sup>109</sup> Erkin (1906-1972) belonged to the group called *Beşler* (The Five), together with Cemal Reşit Rey (1904-1985), Ferit Alnar (1906-1978), Ahmet Adnan Saygun (1907-1991) and Necil Kâzım Akses (1908-1999) who were the pioneering composers in Turkish polyphonic music.

<sup>110</sup> For the German musicians in Turkey, see Cornelia Zimmermann-Kalyoncu, *Deutsche Musiker in der Türkei im 20. Jahrhundert* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1985).

were performed at the National Theatre under the direction of Carl Ebert of which only one was Turkish, whereas the others were translations.<sup>111</sup>

Between the years 1923-1950 great importance was given to Western institutions of culture, such as orchestras, theatres, ballets, operas etc. Accordingly, performances were to a very large extent Western compositions or translations of Western plays. All the above mentioned arts were taken from the West and obviously it was still very early to expect Turkish artists to produce their own operas, symphonies and plays. The emphasis here lies on the fact that during the early years of the Republic (mono-party regime) Western art preoccupied cultural life in Turkey whereas local (folkloric, Turkish) artistic works were almost absent. Even Ankara Radio was ordered to broadcast Western classical music because Turkish music with its monophonic structure was considered inappropriate for the young republic. To give an example; the percentages of programmes of Ankara Radio between 1947-50 were as follows: Western classical music 34.70 %, Turkish music 28.05 %, English language course 1.80 %, history 0.97 %, religion 0.30 %.<sup>112</sup>

The outward appearance of Turkish society changed rapidly and immensely with the reforms. However, these changes did not affect the rural parts very much. Reforms, on the contrary, helped to create a new élite and a gulf between the rulers and the ruled. While only cities and towns were being nourished by innovations of the West, the countryside which made up the great mass of the Turkish population was hardly

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<sup>111</sup> They were: *Yazılan Bozulmaz* by Ahmet Kutsi Tecer, *La Locandiera (Otelci Kadın)* and *La Bottega del Caffè (Kahvehane)* by Carlo Goldoni, *Oedipus Rex (Kral Oidipus)* and *Antigone* by Sophocles, *Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme (Kibarlık Budalası)* and *Les précieuses ridicules (Gülünç Kibarlar)* by Jean Baptiste Poquelin Molière, *Julius Caesar* and *The Comedy of Errors (Yanlışlıklar Komedyası)* by William Shakespeare, *Our Town (Bizim Şehir)* by Thornton Wilder, *Pelleas and Melisande (Peleas ile Melisande)* and *Intérieur (Evin İçi)* by Maurice Maeterlinck, *Neodoros! (The Minor or The Young Hopeful) (Anasımın Kuzusu)* by Denis Ivanovich Fonvizin, *Faust* by Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, *Minna von Barnhelm* by Gotthold Ephraim Lessing, *The Government Inspector (Müfettiş)* by Nikolai Gogol, *Riders to the Sea (Denize Giden Atlılar)* by John Millington Synge, *The Proposal (Teklif)* by Anton Pavlovich Chekhov, *Bay Tunç ile Bayan Billûr (?)* by Henry Duvernois.

<sup>112</sup> Cengiz Aktar, *Türkiye'nin Batılılaştırılması*, trans. by Temel Keşoğlu (Istanbul, Ayrıntı Yayınları, 1993), p. 51, n. 10.



influenced by these. But it was the face of the cities of Turkey which attracted the attention of the West and gave the impression both to the world outside and the new Turkish élite itself that an entirely new, modern and different Turkey was appearing out of a non-western and Muslim country.<sup>113</sup>

The alienation of the villagers was aggravated by the death of Atatürk. Despite the principle of populism of the Republican People's Party, the rulers could not help creating two cultures within Turkish society: the westernised, secular culture of the élite associated with the bureaucracy, and the indigenous culture of the masses associated with Islam. The failure of the total Westernisation of Turkish society became visible by the end of the Second World War when, with the multi-party system, the Democrat Party was able to exploit this alienation, win mass support, and form a new government. This was the beginning of an Islamic reassertion whose impact is being felt even today.

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<sup>113</sup> Erik J. Zürcher notes the titles of well-known books about Turkey which appeared in the 1930s, 1940s and 1950s: *The Turkish Transformation* (Henry Elisha Allen, 1935), *The New Turks* (Eleanor Bisbee, 1951), *The Old Turkey and the New* (Sir Harry Luke, 1935), *Die Neue Türkei* (Kurt Ziemke, 1930), *Modern Turkey* (Geoffrey Lewis, 1955) and many more. See Zürcher, pp. 201-02.

## CHAPTER 6

### THE TRANSLATION BUREAU AND *TERCÜME*

#### 6.1 The First Publication Congress

The year 1940 was a turning point in the cultural history of Turkey. This was when the Translation Bureau was established, which may be seen as the moment of rebirth of literature and culture in Republican Turkey. After the proclamation of the Republic in 1923 some private publishing houses had attempted translation projects which did not last long. Vakit Kitabevi with *Dün ve Yarın Tercüme Külliyyatı* (Complete Translations of Yesterday and Tomorrow) in 1934, Hilmi Kitabevi Neşriyatı (Publications of Hilmi Kitabevi) the same year, Suhulet Kitabevi with *Dünya Klasiklerinden Tercümeler Serisi* (Translations of World Classics) in 1938, Kanaat Kitabevi with *Ankara Kütüphanesi* (Ankara Library) the same year, İnkılap Kitabevi with *Tercüme Romanlar Serisi* (Series of Translated Novels) in 1938 and Halit Kitabevi with *Şarktan-Garptan Seçme Eserler* (Selected Works of the West and East) in 1940 are examples of such initiatives. Probably the biggest initiative was taken by Remzi Kitabevi which started a series called *Dünya Muharrirlerinden Tercümeler* (Translations of World Authors) in 1937. By 1946 the series consisted of 50 translated books. The quality of these translations has generally been thought to be unsatisfactory because of the lack of competent translators, but also because of the lack of co-ordination that prevailed in translation activities.<sup>1</sup> Before 1940 it

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<sup>1</sup> İsmail Habib Sevük, *Avrupa Edebiyatı ve Biz: Garpten Tercümeler*, vol. 2. (Istanbul: Remzi Kitabevi, 1940-41), p. 607

was very difficult to know what had been translated, in 1938, for instance, four different translations of *Romeo and Juliet* were published.<sup>2</sup>

The decision to establish the Translation Bureau was made during the first Turkish Publication Congress held on 1-5 May 1939 by the Ministry of Education.<sup>3</sup> The Publication Congress was organised following *On Yıllık Neşriyat Sergisi*, an exhibition of Turkish publications of the Republican period displayed in Ankara between 1-2 May to celebrate the tenth anniversary of the Language Reform.<sup>4</sup> The programme of the Congress consisted of a wide range of topics:

1. To explore ways for co-operation of the official and private publication bodies intensifying their capital and powers in order to obtain the maximum output and to prepare a general publication programme in respect to this principal.
2. To determine the most necessary works to be translated into Turkish, including the classics, in a plan divided into years and to distribute them to those interested in publishing these works.
3. To determine the works to be written and translated for the youth of secondary school and to prepare a programme for their publication.
4. The things to be done to create a children's literature library as soon as possible.
5. To create a programme divided into years for publications necessary for the people.
6. To determine the old hand-written and printed books for republishing.
7. To prepare for the creation of encyclopaedias and reference books.

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<sup>2</sup> Sevük, *Avrupa*, vol. 1, p. v.

<sup>3</sup> For reports, proposals and proceedings of the Congress, see Republic of Turkey, Ministry of Education, *Birinci Türk Neşriyat Kongresi: Raporlar, Teklifler, Müzakere Zabıtları* (Ankara: Maarif Vekilliği Yayınları, 1939). Further references to this work will be given by mentioning the abbreviation of the title 'BTNK'.

<sup>4</sup> For a joint catalogue published by twenty-four publishing houses which attended this exhibition, see Republic of Turkey, Ministry of Education, *On Yıllık Neşriyat Sergisi Kitab Fihristi, Mayıs 1939, Sergievi-Ankara* (Ankara: Cumhuriyet Matbaası, 1939).

8. To establish prizes to encourage writing and translating in the country and to determine the bases for such prizes.
9. To rearrange the subsidy given to private publishers in a more productive and better way.
10. Propaganda to encourage reading and to advertise publications.
11. Useful measures to be taken in order to organise the sale and distribution of publications.
12. Measures to increase productivity and quality of works in the presses.
13. To determine the aspects to be revised of the laws on literary copyright according to the needs of the time.

Finally, written proposals were asked from the participants on the above mentioned topics to be delivered up to ten days before the opening of the Congress.<sup>5</sup>

The Congress also resolved a working programme where it was stated that after the opening, the Congress would be divided into the following commissions: Printing, Publishing and Sale, Requests, Literary Copyright, Youth and Children's Literature, Prizes, Subsidies and Propaganda, Publications, Translation. The topics presented to the Congress for consideration would first be discussed in the commissions and their decisions submitted to the General Assembly with a justifiable report. Finally, the discussions of the General Assembly would be on the reports prepared by the commissions.<sup>6</sup>

In his invitation letter to the participants of the Congress, Hasan-Âli Yücel said that this congress would explore ways to create a programme, divided into years, for the future publication activity of the country and to achieve, as far as possible, the most

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<sup>5</sup> Republic of Turkey, Ministry of Education, *Birinci Türk Neşriyat Kongresi Kılavuzu* (Istanbul: Devlet Basımevi, 1939), pp. 5-6.

<sup>6</sup> *Birinci Türk Neşriyat Kongresi Kılavuzu*, p. 6.

fruitful results by co-operating with all the official and private bodies working in this field.<sup>7</sup>

The programme attracted much interest. Several articles appeared in newspapers and journals concerning the above mentioned topics, arguing the need for a planned publication programme and applauding Hasan-Âli Yücel for his initiative.<sup>8</sup> The main subjects that the writers of such articles stated were the lack of a planned translation and publication programme, high prices of paper and thus, of books, the need for more books, and the need to increase the habit of reading. The latter was often illustrated with the circulation of Turkish newspapers reaching only 20,000 and were often compared to Balkan, especially Bulgarian, newspapers with a circulation exceeding 100,000. Also a book in Turkey could at best sell 3,000 copies. These numbers were criticised for being too low for a country where around four million people could read.<sup>9</sup>

Finally, the language problem was frequently emphasised. As Azra Erhat noted, this was a period when Turkish had not yet been established properly.<sup>10</sup> This insufficiency of the language was often emphasised by writers. Falih Rıfkı Atay underlined this problem and argued that translations would help Turkish to increase its capacity of expression.<sup>11</sup> Muhittin Birgen asked which language should be used in publications. He claimed that there was not any standard Turkish and that the Ministry of Education had, first of all, to take the language under discipline.<sup>12</sup> Agreeing with Birgen's concern,

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<sup>7</sup> *Birinci Türk Neşriyat Kongresi Kılavuzu*, p. 9.

<sup>8</sup> For the articles which appeared in newspapers before, during and after the Congress, see *BTNK*, pp. 137-274.

<sup>9</sup> See A. Cemaleddin Saraçoğlu, 'Millî Neşriyatın İnkişafına Doğru', *Yeni Sabah* (3.4.1939), quoted in *BTNK*, pp. 151-52; Cemal Kutay, 'Kongre ve Sergi Dolayısıyla', *Ulus* (10.4.1939), quoted in *BTNK*, pp. 158-61; and Sabiha Zekeriya Sertel, 'Neşriyat Kongresi', *Tan* (25.4.1939), quoted in *BTNK*, pp. 172-73.

<sup>10</sup> Ahmet Cemal, 'Bir Yılın Ardından', *Yazko Çeviri*, 2:7 (1982), 12-13 (p. 12).

<sup>11</sup> Falih Rıfkı Atay, 'Millî Kütüphanemiz İçin', *Ulus* (6.4.1939), quoted in *BTNK*, pp. 155-56.

<sup>12</sup> Muhittin Birgen, 'Neşriyattan Evvel Dil', *Son Posta* (5.5.1939), quoted in *BTNK*, pp. 223-25.

Peyami Safa also spoke of a language duality between the written and spoken Turkish which had to be ended.<sup>13</sup> Hüseyin Cahit Yalçın asked similarly into which Turkish the classics were to be translated.<sup>14</sup>

There were also reports and proposals from several ministries, schools and individuals suggesting solutions to publishing problems.<sup>15</sup> However, translation appears to have attracted much interest even before the opening of the Congress, as we find a number of articles dealing with this issue. Writers agreed on the poor quality of translations and this problem was often stressed. Nurullah Ataç underlined the necessity of a commission to proof-read the translations and of a translation journal that contained translated texts, translation criticism and articles on translation, and a platform for discussions on the vocabulary used in translations by translators.<sup>16</sup> Vâ-Nû went further and asked for the establishment of a discipline committee. He argued that a football player would be disqualified if he kicked on other player, whereas a translator who produced a wrong translation of a big classic for a whole generation could not even be asked about the rationale.<sup>17</sup> In another article on “bad” translations in *Tan*, it was said that ‘to give the people wrong information and wrong ideas is more harmful than to give them bad food’ and that translation activity had to be kept under control.<sup>18</sup> Stressing the role of translations of Greek classics in the Western world, Halide Edip claimed that ‘Turkish translators, translating the classics, should be faithful to the original like Gibb was and

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<sup>13</sup> Peyami Safa, ‘Lisan İkiliği’, *Cumhuriyet* (6.5.1939), quoted in *BTNK*, pp. 233-34.

<sup>14</sup> Hüseyin Cahit Yalçın, ‘Neşriyat Kongresi Münasebetile’, *Yeni Sabah* (24.5.1939), quoted in *BTNK*, pp. 264-65.

<sup>15</sup> See *BTNK*, pp. 335-405.

<sup>16</sup> Nurullah Ataç, ‘Lüzumlu Bir Karar’, *Haber* (20.3.1939), quoted in *BTNK*, pp. 137-38.

<sup>17</sup> Vâ-Nû, ‘Neşriyat Kongresinde Görüşülecek Maddelerden Dördü’, *Akşam* (2.4.1939), quoted in *BTNK*, pp. 148-50.

<sup>18</sup> ‘Tercüme Eserler Meselesi’, *Tan* (4.4.1939), quoted in *BTNK*, pp. 154-55.

produce works which would live forever like Fitzgerald's translations'.<sup>19</sup> All these articles show how eager writers, publishers, teachers, journalist were to discuss these issues.

As will be seen below, starting immediately after the Congress, the Ministry of Education was occupied almost exclusively with the production and publication of translated literature. The publication of other types of works that were discussed during the Congress, such as children's and youth literature, publications for villagers, and translations of old Turkish works into the Latin alphabet, was largely ignored.

In the opening speech of the Congress, Hasan-Âli Yücel, the Minister of Education declared:

Republican Turkey which wants to become a distinguished member of Western culture and thought is obliged to translate the old and new works of thought of the modern world into its own language and strengthen its identity with their sensitivity and thought. This obligation necessitates an extensive translation initiative. How will we do that? What do we have to translate and in which order? Through which way must we succeed in this? Do we not feel sorrow for the wasted efforts and money due to the non existence of a definite programme today, despite all the good intentions?

The generation which only uses the new Turkish letters has reached the classes of higher education. Can we afford to leave them only within the bounds of text books?<sup>20</sup>

It is significant to see the importance put on translation by the Ministry of Education even in his opening speech to a general publication congress. Yücel was very much aware of the role and functions that translations played and saw translation activity as perhaps the most effective way to reshape society. He stated his views on translation and the reasons for government support in his Preface to the first issue of *Tercüme*:

Cultural knowledge in intellectual matters has always and everywhere been gained through interchanges between language and literary works. The same is now

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<sup>19</sup> Halide Edip, 'Klâsikler ve Tercüme', *Akşam* (4.5.1939), quoted in *BTNK*, pp. 205-08 (p. 208). Here, Edip means E. J. W. Gibb's translations of Ottoman poetry; *A History of Ottoman Poetry*, 6 vols. (London: Luzac, 1900-1909), and Edward Fitzgerald's Omar Khayyam translations; *The Rubaiyat of Omar Khayyam*.

<sup>20</sup> *BTNK*, p.12 (translations throughout the chapter are mine unless stated otherwise).

happening with us. Since translation is an intellectual, mental and civilised negotiation, from day to day a more mature movement of the “transfer into the mother tongue” has also been formed by us. Our translation activity could not previously develop according to a rational order firstly because our intellectuals could not work together productively and secondly because of the lack of any opportunity for experienced initiation by publishers who in other countries have an important influence in such issues. That is why this major cultural issue, which it is highly desirable to incorporate within private initiative and institutions, needed to be transferred into the hands of the government.<sup>21</sup>

An examination of the initial choices and decisions about the modes of importation (in this case: translation) and the approach to the transfer of foreign-language texts is important in order to see what really happens during the translation process in determining prevailing norms for, as Theo Hermans has argued, ‘norms are relevant to the entire transfer operation, not just the actual process of translating, if only because this latter process is necessarily preceded by a number of other decisions’.<sup>22</sup> The norms of importing Western literature, as well as other forms of culture were set up already before the actual process of transfer by the possessors not only of political power but also of what, Pierre Bourdieu calls ‘symbolic power’.<sup>23</sup> As part of the Westernisation movement, the importation of foreign-language texts from the Western world via translations had a special importance. However, as will be seen below, the initiators and the possessors of ‘symbolic power’ played a decisive role not only in importing a foreign-language text by translating it but also, in the translation process itself by defining the norms.

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<sup>21</sup> Hasan-Âli Yücel, ‘Tercüme’nin İlk Sayısına Önsöz’, *Tercüme*, 1:1 (1940), 1-2 (p. 1).

<sup>22</sup> Theo Hermans, ‘Norms and the Determination of Translation: A Theoretical Framework’, in *Translation, Power, Subversion*, ed. by Román Álvarez and M. Carmen-Áfrika Vidal (Clevedon: Multilingual Matters, 1996), pp. 25-51 (p. 27).

<sup>23</sup> Pierre Bourdieu, *Language and Symbolic Power*, ed. and introduced by John B. Thompson, trans. by Gino Raymond and Matthew Adamson (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1991), pp. 163-70.



Seven committees were established during the Congress, one of which was the Translation Committee.<sup>24</sup> In its report of 5 May 1939, the Translation Committee claimed that translation had enormous importance for intellectual life in Turkey, bringing in ideas and increasing the sensitivity of civilisation and improving the language. For this purpose, the Committee proposed to Congress the establishment of a Translation Bureau within the Ministry of Education. It should also publish its translation journal which consisted of three sections including translated texts, some of them appearing with their originals, articles, discussions and criticism on translations and studies on their authors, and a glossary section where translators suggested equivalences for foreign words and terms. The production of dictionaries with material collected by the Translation Bureau and the financial support of private publishing houses to produce “high quality” translations by the Ministry of Education were also suggested in the report. Publishers wanting to benefit from this subsidy had to take great care over the content and quality of the books they wanted to publish. Furthermore, to prevent the translation of the same book simultaneously by different translators, publishers had to provide the Ministry of Education with a yearly programme of the translations they wanted to publish. Translations of works concerning children and the people were hoped to be accomplished also by the Translation Bureau.<sup>25</sup> However, as will be seen below, the Bureau devoted itself almost exclusively to the translations of Western works, especially of the classics.

Finally, the Committee proposed to the Congress a list of texts to be translated.<sup>26</sup> It was indicated that this was not an exhaustive list. Two comments made on the list are

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<sup>24</sup> This committee consisted of the following members: Etem Menemencioğlu (chairman), Mustafa Nihat Özön (reporter), Abdülhak Şinasi Hisar, Ali Kâmil Akyüz, Bedrettin Tuncel, Burhan Belge, Cemil Bilsel, Fazıl Ahmet Aykaç, Fikret Âdil, Galip Bahtiyar Göker, Halil Nihat Boztepe, Halit Fahri Ozansoy, İzzet Melih Devrim, Nasuhi Baydar, Nurettin Artam, Nurullah Ataç, Orhan Şaik Gökyay, Sabahattin Rahmi Eyüboğlu, Sabahattin Ali, Sabri Esat Siyavuşgil, Selâmi İzzet Sedes, Suut Kemal Yetkin, Şinasi Boran, Yusuf Şerif Kılıçer, Yaşar Nabi, Zühtü Uray.

<sup>25</sup> *BTNK*, pp. 125-27.

<sup>26</sup> The list is given in *BTNK*, pp. 277-85.

worth mentioning. First, it was said that the number of works in verse should be limited since such works were considered to be untranslatable. Secondly, it was asked 'to give more importance to works belonging to humanist culture while translating' and complete translations from the source languages were recommended.<sup>27</sup> According to Yücel and his colleagues, the goal of the cultural knowledge of the West could be achieved by creating a Turkish Renaissance, therefore, by adopting a humanist spirit.<sup>28</sup> As a result, the list consisted mainly of Latin and Greek classics which had not been of much interest before.<sup>29</sup> These texts, especially Greek classics, were seen as the primary sources of Western culture which Turkey wanted to be a part of. The goal of the period was to base cultural life in Turkey on what were perceived as the main works of art of Western civilisation, in Greek and Latin literatures. Just seven works of Eastern Literatures were in this list. English, German and Russian literatures had a greater role than in earlier times, but French still maintained its first place.

Following the report of the Committee, a Translation Commission<sup>30</sup> was set up and had its first meeting in Ankara, on 28 February 1940.<sup>31</sup> The first issue discussed at this meeting was the translation methods that had to be followed. Some of the participants argued that translations had to be published with their originals, including footnotes and explanations, where the characteristics of the original language could also be shown. On the contrary, some others stood for 'literary' rather than 'scientific' translations, where the

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<sup>27</sup> *BTNK*, p. 126.

<sup>28</sup> Vedat Günyol, 'Türkiye'de Çeviri', in *Cumhuriyet Dönemi Türkiye Ansiklopedisi*, ed. by Murat Belge, vol. 2 (Istanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1983), 324-30 (p. 329).

<sup>29</sup> For the discussion of translating the classics, see Chapter 4.1., pp. 88-91.

<sup>30</sup> Participants at the first meeting were: Halide Edip Adıvar, Saffet Pala, Dr. Adnan Adıvar, Bedri Tahir Saman, Avni Başman, Nurettin Artam, Ragıp Hulûsi Erdem, Sabahattin Eyuboğlu, Nurullah Ataç, Bedrettin Tuncel, Enver Ziya Karal, Sabahattin Ali, Cemal Köprülü, Abdülkadir İnan, Kadri Yörükoğlu.

<sup>31</sup> Bedrettin Tuncel, 'Hasan-Âli Yücel ve Tercüme', *Tercüme*, 15:75-76 (1961), 1-9 (p. 8).

translated text should become familiar to the Turkish reader, without indicating the characteristics of the original language and avoiding footnotes. Despite some opposing views, this second approach, as will be seen below, was generally adopted in translations that the Translation Bureau produced. Preparation of foreign language dictionaries, whether to create them before or as a result of translations, the control system of the translated texts, and the transcription of foreign names were also discussed at the meeting.<sup>32</sup>

Four other meetings under the chairmanship of Dr. Adnan Adıvar were made where three separate lists of books to be translated were prepared. The first two lists were to be translated and published by the Ministry of Education whereas the third list contained works recommended to private publishers for translation.<sup>33</sup> The lists were short, but like the lists proposed in the Publication Congress where only seven works were suggested to be translated from Eastern literatures, these lists also contained mainly works of Western literature. The only representative of Eastern literature was Sâdî's *Gülistan* which was put in the second list. Another resolution taken by the Commission was the publishing of a bi-monthly translation journal. Finally, the Commission set up the actual Translation Bureau which was composed of university lecturers, teachers, and writers.<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>32</sup> 'Haberler', *Tercüme*, 1:1 (1940), 112-14 (p. 112).

<sup>33</sup> These lists are given in 'Haberler', *Tercüme*, 1:1 (1940), 112-14 (pp. 113-14).

<sup>34</sup> The following names were selected as permanent members for the Bureau: Nurullah Ataç (chairman), Saffet Pala (secretary general), Sabahattin Eyuboğlu, Sabahattin Ali, Bedrettin Tuncel, Enver Ziya Karal, Nusret Hızır. After one year Nurullah Ataç left his position as chairman to Sabahattin Eyuboğlu. Names such as Orhan Burian, Saffet Korkut, Azra Erhat, İrfan Şahinbaş, Nurettin Sevin, Mehmet Karasan, Sinanoğlu brothers, Melahat Özgü, Lütfi Ay, Bedrettin Tuncel, Ziya İshan, Servet Lunel joined the Bureau in the following period. See Günyol, 'Türkiye'de Çeviri', p. 328.

## 6.2 Translation Bureau (*Tercüme Bürosu*)

The Translation Bureau operated between 1940-1967. In this section emphasis will be given to the years between 1940-1946 as the most productive period of the Bureau, when it was still under the single-party regime and thus reflected government policies.

In the above mentioned report of the Translation Committee, the tasks of the Translation Bureau were stated as 'having to do with the order of translating works in the list and their distribution to the translators, examination and printing of the translations as well as with organising and supervising translated publications of private establishments'.<sup>35</sup> In a communiqué on the occasion of the beginning of the publication of *Tercüme*, the official journal of the Bureau, Yücel declared that the Translation Bureau was established to pursue and review the translation activity conducted by the Ministry of Education and to translate old and new literary classics necessary for the national library under a planned and systematic programme.<sup>36</sup>

According to Vedat Günyol, who himself was a member of the Bureau, the aim of the Translation Bureau was to put the translation issue on a rational level which he described as the 'inevitable condition' to meet and know the West in a short way.

Until the Republic, our intellectuals could not achieve a fruitful unity with their personal efforts. As Hasan Âli Yücel stated, in other countries these activities were materialised with the experienced pioneering of publishers who had a great effect. However, we did not have such initiatives. Therefore, the transfer of this major cultural issue, which had to be conducted by private initiatives and institutions, was inevitable.

The Translation Bureau was working systematically on the translations of the world classics in accord with the statism policy of Atatürk. According to Hasan Âli, until that day, efforts were made to translate and publish very many works for a hundred years, however, the main classics of the world could not find their way into our national library. This was the heartbreaking evidence of a disorganised effort.

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<sup>35</sup> *BTNK*, p. 126.

<sup>36</sup> See Hasan-Âli Yücel, 'Art. 409', *Maarif Vekilliği Tebliğler Dergisi*, 2:73 (1940), 216.

The Translation Bureau was established in order to stop such disorganisation and haphazardness, to meet the world classics straight and directly.<sup>37</sup>

In an article in *Yücel*, Orhan Burian describes the methods and activities of the Bureau as follows:<sup>38</sup> (1) to gather and consult with people who have worked in the area of translation in theory as well as in practice; (2) to prepare a list of works known as classics in the major world languages; (3) to decide on a plan to translate these works in the next five years; (4) to submit the texts to volunteers and if the volunteer has not previously proved him/herself competent to test his/her translation ability before the submission of the translation; (5) to check translations in the Bureau with respect to their accuracy and propriety of expression; (6) to publish translations in the same form as other translated books.

Translations of some classics were undertaken by the Bureau members. Each translator who was commissioned or willing to translate a work had to give an example of 25-30 pages of his/her translation to the Bureau in order to prove his/her competence in translating. After the completion of the translation, this was again checked by one of the members of the Bureau. Both translators and proof-readers were given a fee calculated according to the number of lines of the translations.<sup>39</sup>

In 1944, a pamphlet of regulations on the standards of how to examine translated works, that was to be published or proposed to be published by the Ministry of Education, was published.<sup>40</sup> Some of these sixteen regulations are particularly important in order to indicate the authoritarian nature of the Bureau not only on the selection, but also on the

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<sup>37</sup> Günyol, 'Türkiye'de Çeviri', p. 328.

<sup>38</sup> Orhan Burian, 'Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı Klasikleri Üzerine', *Yücel*, 124 (1947), 140-42.

<sup>39</sup> Günyol, 'Vedat Günyol'la Söyleşi', *Metis Çeviri*, 2 (1988), 11-19 (p. 14).

<sup>40</sup> Republic of Turkey, Ministry of Education, *Maarif Vekilliğince Bastırılacak veya Basılması Teşvik Edilecek Tercüme Eserlerin ne Suretle İnceleceği Hakkında Talimatname* (Ankara: Maarif Matbaası, 1944).

outcome and the presentation of the translated works. According to the first four regulations on the translated works to be published by the Ministry, the Translation Bureau, when needed, was to determine the works to be translated, their source languages and translators in a list form and to submit this to the Ministry for approval. Translators in these lists were asked to accomplish the translation of the works cited again in the same lists. If the translators agreed to undertake the task, they had to send some pages of their translations as an example for approval.<sup>41</sup> After that, all the translations sent to the Translation Bureau for examination were to be forwarded to the language group to which they belonged. The Language Group had to compare the whole of works not exceeding 100 pages; or at least 100 pages selected from different parts of longer works with their original; go over the whole Turkish text (translation) and inform the Standing Committee about its conclusion with a report. After seeing the report of the language group, the Standing Committee had to read the translation partially until it came to a conclusion and decided for acceptance, refusal, or alterations. The changes could be asked from the translator as well as from a group or another competent person that the Bureau would choose.<sup>42</sup>

As can be seen from the above mentioned regulations, the Translation Bureau was particularly meticulous on the translated text, to guarantee not only its faithfulness to its original but also a correct use of Turkish. According to another regulation, the Translation Bureau could set up a special and permanent group to organise, examine, read, when needed, correct and prepare some works, such as classics or complete works of an author, for publishing in order to guarantee the unity of their translations.<sup>43</sup> From Nusret Hızır's

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<sup>41</sup> *Maarif*, pp. 5-6.

<sup>42</sup> *Maarif*, p. 6.

<sup>43</sup> *Maarif*, p. 7.

essay we learn that a special committee within the Translation Bureau was set up for translations of Plato.<sup>44</sup> This committee submitted a list of titles and the order of Plato's works to be translated as well as suggested translators to the Ministry of Education. Thirty-seven works by Plato were chosen.

Finally, the last three points were on the translated works to be published by private publishing houses. It was also stated that the translation drafts, chosen from the works suggested by the Ministry of Education, sent to the Translation Bureau by private publishing houses were to be examined according to the above mentioned regulations. The fees for the proof-reading were to be paid by these publishing houses. Finally, it was the Translation Bureau that decided on the prefaces to be written in the translations which were accepted by the Bureau.<sup>45</sup> This last point is significant to indicate another characteristic of the Translation Bureau, namely the importance given to the prefaces. A preface written by İsmet İnönü, the Minister-President, on 1 August 1941, together with the preface written by Hasan-Âli Yücel, the Minister of Education, on 23 June 1941, and later together with a second preface written by the latter on 2 March 1944 appeared in the first editions of all the translations of the Bureau. These were followed sometimes by other prefaces written by the translators, usually to introduce the work and its author, but also to comment on its translation. But the prefaces by İnönü and Yücel indicate first of all the fact that the statesmen were personally involved in creating a humanist culture via translations.

The aim of the Bureau was to produce and publish 100 books in the five years following its establishment. In 1946 this number reached almost 500. Among 109 translations accomplished in the first three years 39 were made from ancient Greek, 38

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<sup>44</sup> Nusret Hızır, 'Eflatun Tercümeleri', *Tercüme*, 3:17 (1943), 344-347 and 'Eflatun Tercümeleri', *Tercüme*, 4:19 (1943), 64-68.

<sup>45</sup> *Maarif*, p. 8.

from French, 10 from German, 8 from English, 6 from Latin, 5 from Eastern and Islamic Classics, 2 from Russian and 1 from Scandinavian literature.<sup>46</sup> Some of the most translated authors during the 1940s were Plato (34), Molière (26), Balzac (23), Shakespeare (19), Zola (17), Tolstoy (15), Goethe (14), Plautus (13), de Musset (13).<sup>47</sup> During the 1940s translations of certain classics were prepared with explanatory notes in order to be used in high schools. They included *L'Avare (Cimri)* by Molière, translated by Yaşar Nabi Nayır in 1945 (republished in 1946); *Gulliver's Travels (Gulliver'in Seyahatleri I-II)* by Jonathan Swift, translated by İrfan Şahinbaş in 1946 (republished in the same year); *Hamlet* by William Shakespeare, translated by Orhan Burian in 1945 (republished in 1946); *Michael Kohlhaas* by Heinrich von Kleist, translated by Necip Üçok in 1946; *The Apology of Socrates (Sokrates'in Müdafası)* by Plato, translated by Niyazi Berkes in 1946; *The Government Inspector (Müfettiş)* by Nikolay Vasiliyeviç Gogol, translated by Erol Güney and Melih Cevdet Anday in 1946; and *Discours de la méthode pour bien conduire sa raison et chercher la vérité dans les sciences (Aklımı İyi Kullanmak ve Bilimlerde Doğruyu Aramak İçin Metot Üzerine Konuşma)* by René Descartes, translated by Mehmet Karasan in 1947.

Vedat Günyol informs us that *Türkçe Metinler (Turkish Texts)*, a supplementary textbook was also prepared and published by a special committee in the Translation Bureau during the early 1940s. Consisting of five or six volumes this book was aimed for use in the high schools illustrating various Turkish texts written over centuries. In the preface of its fifth volume published in 1946, it was argued that this book was prepared with examples of old Turkish prose writings for the classroom, which were difficult to find, because the literary culture could be given 'by making use of the prose more than the

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<sup>46</sup> Mustafa Çıkar, *Hasan-Âli Yücel ve Türk Kültür Reformu* (Ankara: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 1997), p. 83.

<sup>47</sup> Ferit Ragıp Tuncor, ed., *Milli Eğitim Yayınları Bibliyografyası 1923-1985* (İstanbul: M.E.B., 1989).



verse' and that this deficiency was to be completed with the world's classics. However, this book later vanished by being burned.<sup>48</sup> We do not know exactly the reasons behind this decision. However, as Günyol noted elsewhere, after Hasan-Âli Yücel's resignation as the Minister of Education in 1946, the Translation Bureau took another track.<sup>49</sup> During the period of Reşat Şemsettin, the new Minister, a committee was set up to "check" books, both translated and original, and it decided to destroy some of the translated classics.<sup>50</sup> The details of such manipulations in cultural policies are difficult to trace. As will be shown in the following chapters, changes in the hierarchies of power with the transition to the multi-party system also caused the change of social and cultural hierarchies. As Hermans argued:

As social and cultural hierarchies change, new values, ideologies and structures prevail, and new forms of control, competition or patronage emerge, the models, norms and rules of translation change as well. As a social and cultural activity, translation is part of these structures and constitutes an operative force in them.<sup>51</sup>

The Translation Bureau gave priority to the translations of Greek classics. Seven of thirteen translations published in 1941 were works by Sophocles. In 1942 twelve Greek classics were translated, eleven of which were works by Plato and in 1943 twenty out of seventy-one translations published were Greek classics.

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<sup>48</sup> Günyol, 'Tercüme Bürosu Konusunda', *Gösteri*, 8 (1981), p. 65.

<sup>49</sup> Hasan-Âli Yücel was among the names in UNESCO's list to be celebrated in 1997 on the occasion of his 100th birthday. In Turkey, several conferences were organised to commemorate him and their proceedings were published subsequently. See among others Ali Ekber Danabaş and Abdülkadir Budak, eds., *Hasan-Âli Yücel Günleri* (Ankara: Edebiyatçılar Derneği, 1997) and Mustafa Coşturoğlu and Mehmet Emirlioğlu, eds., *Hasan-Âli Yücel'e Armağan* (Ankara: Birleşmiş Milletler Türk Derneği Yayınları, 1997). Yıldız University published also a collection of studies on translation, which was dedicated to Yücel: *Hasan-Âli Yücel Anma Kitabı. Çeviri: Ekinler ve Zamanlar Kavşağı* (İstanbul: Yıldız Teknik Üniversitesi Yayını, 1997). The first detailed work in book form on Hasan-Âli Yücel is the biographical study by Mustafa Çıkar, *Hasan-Âli Yücel ve Türk Kültür Reformu* (Ankara: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 1997).

<sup>50</sup> Günyol, 'Vedat Günyol'la Söyleşi', p. 13.

<sup>51</sup> Hermans, 'Norms and the Determination of Translation: A Theoretical Framework', p. 40.

The Bureau lasted until 1967. At that time more than 1000 translated books had been published. The number of translations per year between 1940 and 1966 are as follows.<sup>52</sup>

Years	Number of Volumes	First Editions	Following Editions
1940	10	10	-
1941	13	13	-
1942	27	27	-
1943	68	67	1
1944	97	97	-
1945	115	110	5
1946	152	143	9
1947	57	57	-
1948	46	46	-
1949	64	64	-
1950	42	42	-
1951	23	23	-
1952	31	31	-
1953	18	17	1
1954	26	24	2
1955	36	32	4
1956	24	21	3
1957	11	10	1
1958	36	14	22
1959	26	18	8
1960	25	9	16
1961	14	11	3
1962	45	18	27
1963	59	25	34
1964	63	17	46
1965	75	17	58
1966	44	10	34
Total	1247		

The 1120 translated works (1247 volumes) accomplished between 1940-1966 by the Translation Bureau belonged to the following series:<sup>53</sup>

<sup>52</sup> Adnan Ötüken and others, comp., *Klasikler Bibliyografyası 1940-1966* (Ankara, Milli Kütüphane Yayınları, 1967), p. vi. Statistical data on the numbers of editions until 1950 were taken from the years of publishing of the books. However, for the years 1951-1966, the numbers were given according to the years of which the books were included in the *Bibliography of Turkey*.

<sup>53</sup> Adnan Ötüken and others, comp., *Klasikler Bibliyografyası 1940-1966*, pp. viii-ix.

<b>Table 6.2. Translation Series Published by the Translation Bureau</b>	
<b>Series</b>	<b>Number of Translations</b>
German Classics	113
Supplementary Books to German Classics	1
Modern German Literature	2
New German Literature	5
Series of German Scientific Works	1
American Classics	5
New American Literature	4
American Scientific Works	1
Austrian Classics	1
Modern Austrian Literature	2
Babylonian Classics	1
Chinese Classics	7
Danish Classics	1
French Classics	308
Supplementary Books on French Classics	14
Modern French Literature	11
New French Literature	2
Series of French Scientific Works	6
Indian Classics	3
English Classics	80
Modern English Literature	3
New English Literature	4
Series of English Scientific Works	6
Supplementary Books on Persian Classics	2
Scandinavian Classics	24
Spanish Classics	2
Italian Classics	29
Modern Italian Literature	5
Latin Classics	47
Classics in Latin	4
Latin American Classics	1
Hungarian Classics	20
New Hungarian Literature	2
Series of Hungarian Scientific Works	2
Polish Classics	3
Russian Classics	88
Supplementary Books on Russian Classics	3
Series of Russian Scientific Works	3
Eastern-Islamic Classics	66
Old Turkish Texts	1
Supplementary Books on Eastern-Islamic Classics	1
Greek Classics	94
Series of Supplementary Books (on Greek Classics)	1
Series of the State Conservatoire Publications	1
Series of Modern Theatre Works	124
School Classics	10
Series of Works on Dramatic Art	6

As will be seen from the number of translations, the Translation Bureau experienced a radical change after 1946. This was when Hasan-Âli Yücel left his position as Minister of Education, and was replaced by Reşat Şemsettin Sirer. The Bureau worked under the guidance of Suut Kemal Yetkin between 1947-1950. Resolutions taken at a meeting on 19 January 1947, presided over by Sirer, included the translation and publication in the new *Series of Scientific Works* of texts on philosophy, history and the sciences, besides the literary works and also, the translation and publication in another new series of *Supplementary Books on the Literary Classics*, monographs on the lives and works of great authors in the *Translations from World Literature* series and on the literary movements to which these authors belonged, and thirdly, the preparation of new lists of books to be translated. The new lists prepared excluded works which had previously been translated from original source texts and published by private publishing companies; preference was given to works which were not financially feasible as publications by private publishers. Emphasis was put for the first time on works from Eastern-Islamic literature. Forty-seven works from Persian literature and seventy-seven old Turkish texts were suggested for translating.<sup>54</sup>

During this meeting, permission was given for translations from Chinese, Indian, Ancient Greek, Latin, Spanish, Portuguese and the Scandinavian classics via French, English, German or Italian as intermediate source languages, in order not to deprive readers of those literatures. Another important decision taken at the meeting concerned how translations were assigned to the various translators. Contrary to previous practice, successful sample translations were no longer to be taken as a basis for the assigning of translations; the Bureau henceforth would select its translators from among established translators. Finally, translators were definitely asked to write prefaces on the work they

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<sup>54</sup> This list is given in *Tercüme*, 7:41-42 (1947), 438-504.

translated and its author which could also be translations originally written by foreign writers. Prefaces, like translations, had to be reviewed by the Bureau.<sup>55</sup>

The Translation Bureau lost its initial impetus after Yücel's replacement and the dismissal of its leading members. With the changing political powers in 1950 educational and cultural policies led to a gradual decline in the activities of the Bureau. However, in 1989, the Ministry of Education started to publish the classics translated by the Translation Bureau without changing any of them. They have been printed with simple cover-pages, similar to those published by the Bureau, and sold at moderate prices.

The role of the Translation Bureau and its journal is important for providing the first examples of a definition of translation and for setting translational norms that continued to influence translational activities even after the Bureau's closure. According to Yücel, translation 'is not a mechanical transfer' and he continues:

For any work to be considered as transferred into the mother tongue, the translators must have absorbed the mentality of the author, in other words, they have to have penetrated into the cultural soul of the author's society. In this way it is obvious that they will enrich the intellectual treasure of their society with the concepts of the author's society. This is why we believe that with these systematic intellectual studies our mother tongue will find new improvement opportunities. For each understanding is a recreation, *a good translator is worthy of a great author.*<sup>56</sup>

Following Yücel's view, as fluency in Turkish translations became the prevailing strategy during the following years, translators tried to 'absorb the mentality of the author' and to domesticate the foreign text by making it easily readable, producing the illusion of authorial presence whereby the translated text could be taken for an original. A translator who was successful in this domesticating process, was seen as 'worthy of a great author',

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<sup>55</sup> Sevük, 'Haberler', *Tercüme*, 7:41-42 (1947), 435-37.

<sup>56</sup> Hasan-Âli Yücel, 'Tercüme'nin İlk Sayısına Önsöz', *Tercüme*, 1:1 (1940), 1-2 (p. 2).

especially like Nurullah Ataç and Sabahattin Eyuboğlu, as will be shown below, whose translations were usually given the same status as their originals had.

As in the second half of the nineteenth century, translation in the first decades of the Republican period was influential in the cultural revolution of the new Republic. The general aim during this era was to create a spirit of humanism, as will be discussed below, by assimilating foreign literatures through translation. This way, it was believed, the Turkish language and culture would develop and a new, modern and westernised Turkish identity could be created. As a result, the dominant translation strategy during the 1940s was that of acculturation whose bases, as has been shown in previous chapters, were already established during the *Tanzimat* period.<sup>57</sup>

Orhan Burian writes that ‘translation is not mathematics but a matter of interpretation, hence, there is not a single solution; perhaps one may say that there are as many solutions as there are translators’.<sup>58</sup>

Directness in translation was an important issue for the Bureau members. They recommended translations from original languages. This, however, was a difficult task when it came to translations from Greek and Latin literatures. At that time the University of Ankara and Istanbul University had Classics departments, but the number of people competent to translate from these languages was still limited. If the translator did not know the source language, for example, the Greek language, German translations by O. Apel, English translations by Jowett and Les Belles-Lettres and Garnier series in French

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<sup>57</sup> In this context, it should not be surprising to note that the first book written in Turkish on the *Tanzimat* was published in 1940 by the Ministry of Education on the occasion of the 100th anniversary of the edict: *Tanzimat* (Ankara: Maarif Vekaleti Yayınları, 1940). This collection of studies and surveys on various aspects of the reforms is worth mentioning because, as Zeki Arıkan has noted, the only documents existing before 1940 were Ed. Engelhardt’s *La Turquie et le Tanzimat* (1882-4) which was translated into Turkish by Ali Reşat as *Türkiye ve Tanzimat* and three essays by the historian Abdurrahman Şeref Bey which appeared in *Tarih Muhasebeleri*. It has to be remembered also that it was Hasan-Âli Yücel who pioneered this study. See Zeki Arıkan, ‘Türk Tarih Kurumunca Düzenlenen Tanzimat’ın 150. Yıldönümünün Uluslararası Sempozyumu (31 Ekim-3 Kasım 1989)’, *Tarih ve Toplum*, 12:73 (1990), 9-10.

<sup>58</sup> Orhan Burian, ‘Tercüme Mecmuası’, *Yücel*, 13: 76 (1941), 176-79 (p. 176).

were chosen as a basis for translation or to be used as reference versions by the Bureau. Usually in the prefaces of translations readers were informed of the language that the book was translated from.

The translated literature accomplished by the Translation Bureau had a creative function in modern Turkish literature starting with the 1940s, since, as Nedim Gürsel rightly argued, ‘a literature closed to the world culture and which is not nourished with translations, can not develop only with its own opportunities’.<sup>59</sup>

One other important contribution of the Translation Bureau was that many of the translators and writers who had worked there opened their own private publishing houses after 1960 and benefited from their experiences gained in the Bureau. *De Yaymları, Çan Yaymları, Ataç Kitabevi, Sol Yaymları, Sosyal Yaymlar*, are only some examples of such publishing houses.<sup>60</sup>

### 6.3 *Tercüme* and Translation Commentaries

*Tercüme* (Translation), the official journal of the Bureau, was first published on 19 May 1940 and continued until its 87<sup>th</sup> issue appeared in July-September 1966. At the beginning *Tercüme* was published bi-monthly and appeared regularly until its 19th issue. However, after that we encounter combined issues in no timely order especially after the first five years. According to a study of three translation journals, *Tercüme*, *Yazko Çeviri* and *Metis Çeviri*, the publication life of *Tercüme* can be divided into five periods.<sup>61</sup> The first two periods, the years between 1940-1945 and 1945-1951 are the subject of this chapter.

<sup>59</sup> Nedim Gürsel, ‘Çeviri Etkinliği ve Kültür’, *Türk Dili*, 38:322 (1974), 21-26 (p. 26).

<sup>60</sup> Günyol, ‘Vedat Günyol’la Söyleşi’, pp. 14-15.

<sup>61</sup> These periods, divided according to the regularity of the journal’s publication are: 1) 1940-1945 (numbers 1-30; 28 issues; 228 translations), 2) 1945-1951 (numbers 31-54; 16 issues; 318 translations), 3) 1953-1959 (numbers 55-68; 9 issues; 115 translations), 4) 1960-1961 (numbers 69-76; 4 issues; 63 translations), 5) 1964-1966 (numbers 77-87; 8 issues; 207 translations). See Özlem Ayav and others, ‘Sayısal Verilerle Türkiye’de Çeviri Dergileri’, *Metis Çeviri*, 20/21 (1992), 135-47.

Twenty-eight issues appeared during the first period and sixteen during the second. Two special issues appeared on ancient Greek literature (1945), one on poetry (1945), one on Goethe (1949), one on Schiller (1959) and one on the letter as a literary genre (1964). On average, translated texts constituted 70% of all texts in the journal; in the first period this number was 59%, in the second period it increased to 72%. The importance given to criticism in the first period (53 critiques) decreased dramatically during the following periods; to 10 in the second, and to 2, 6 and 0 in the third, fourth and fifth periods respectively. Translations of works written between the 17th century and the 1940s constituted the highest percentage in all periods (54%) and translations of ancient literatures constituted 13% on average. In the first period, translations of ancient Greek and Latin literatures had the highest percentage (26%) and 58% of all translations were of works from the 17th century to the 1940s. The percentages of the main source languages were as follows: French: 34%, German: 25%, English: 14%, Greek: 6%, Latin: 5%. In the first period they were: French: 29%, German: 19%, English: 17%, Greek: 11%, Latin: 9%. In the second period they changed to: French: 38%, German: 29%, English: 12%, Greek: 2.5%, Latin: 2.5%. We see from the percentages that French was still the predominant language. During the 1940s, French literature had a higher status with Turkish authors and translators. This may be due to the fact that the generation of the 1940s had been raised under the influence of French literature and philosophy, the prestigious culture of the previous century.

In the preface to its first issue, the aim of *Tercüme* was announced as: 'to give a direction and speed to translation activity by examining the works of other nations on what a translation is and how it should be.'<sup>62</sup> According to this statement the function of the journal was firstly, to publish texts which explain *what* a translation might be and

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<sup>62</sup> Yücel, 'Tercüme'nin İlk Sayısına Önsöz', p. 2.



secondly, to publish examples of translations to show *how* a translation might be carried out. Thus *Tercüme* consisted of two parts: in the first part translated texts were published, usually with their originals on the opposite page. Critiques and theoretical studies of translations appeared in smaller font in the second part. Activities of the Translation Bureau such as changes in membership, new or additional lists of translations to be made, decisions taken at the Bureau's weekly meetings, the works assigned to translators, the translations accepted for publication and the translations published were also announced in the pages of *Tercüme*. The higher percentage of translated texts as well as the appearance of other writings in *Tercüme* may be an indication of the importance given to the practice of translation. In the communiqué mentioned above, Yücel also recommended the journal to students who wanted to improve their foreign language skills by comparing the translations with their originals and asked teachers of literature, Turkish and foreign languages to encourage the students to work on these translations and to subscribe to the journal.<sup>63</sup>

Already in the first issues of *Tercüme* statements on *how* a translation should be carried out were made by several translators. Bedrettin Tuncel claimed that authors familiar with foreign languages had to be mobilised into translation activity because translation was a type of original writing too.<sup>64</sup> İzzet Melih Devrim argued that translators had to make sure that 'the new garb they give to the meaning and soul of the original was beautiful'.<sup>65</sup> Furthermore, a good translator should not hesitate 'to remove him/herself sometimes from the apparent shape, words and structure of the original for the beauty of style and moreover for the love of comprehensibility'. According to him, the aim was not

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<sup>63</sup> Hasan-Âli Yücel, 'Art. 409', *Maarif Vekilliği Tebliğler Dergisi*, 2:73 (1940), 216.

<sup>64</sup> Bedrettin Tuncel, 'Tercüme Meselesi', *Tercüme*, 1:1 (1940), 79-82 (p. 80).

<sup>65</sup> İzzet Melih Devrim, 'Edebi Tercüme', *Tercüme*, 1:3 (1940), 275-77 (p. 275).

to lose the pleasure and excitement that the original created and this could be achieved only when the translation could be read like an original.<sup>66</sup> Nurullah Ataç wrote:

(...) anyone who translates a book from any language into Turkish should think and follow first of all, even before the ideas in the texts that s/he is working on, about the requirements of Turkish. If s/he forces the language, what s/he says becomes incomprehensible; that way s/he would have been unfaithful to the text. (...) To translate is to think something over that has been thought in one language in another language. A book in French had been thought in French; it needs to be thought in Turkish; if you continue to think in French while you are rewriting it in Turkish, you will only be translated the words into Turkish, but you will not have it translated.<sup>67</sup>

He also maintained that long sentences in Western languages had to be divided in Turkish because keeping them would be 'unfaithful to the original'.<sup>68</sup> Because of the different structure of the Turkish language, where the predicate in a phrase always comes at the end, Ataç argued that by keeping long sentences in Turkish whatever was first said by the author would be thrown to the end and this would destroy the clarity of the text.<sup>69</sup> Finally, Sabahattin Ali defined the translator as somebody 'who gives life to the lifeless material [series of dead words] in the language he/she transfers'.<sup>70</sup>

According to these statements, a translation is considered original writing, and should therefore have literary qualities. The translated text should not contradict the target language's requirements and should be comprehensible. Most importantly it should read as an original. The fluent strategy was associated with fidelity which was also defined in terms of the successful production of a literary text in the target system. The translator should not be too faithful to the original style but follow the rules of the target language

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<sup>66</sup> Devrim, p. 275.

<sup>67</sup> Nurullah Ataç, 'Tercüme Dair', *Tercüme*, 1:6 (1941), 505-07 (p. 505).

<sup>68</sup> Ataç, 'Tercüme Dair', p. 505.

<sup>69</sup> Ataç, 'Tercüme Dair', p. 505.

<sup>70</sup> Sabahattin Ali, 'İkinci Dilden Tercüme Meselesi ve Bir Misal', *Tercüme*, 2:7 (1941), 581-85 (p. 581).

and not force them. Already in these first writings on translation, a target oriented approach was maintained. However, how such a translation could be achieved remained unclear. Expressions, such as “beauty of style”, “meaning and soul”, “pleasure and excitement of the original”, “faithfulness”, were not defined and explained and their meanings remain vague. The only practical guidance given comes from Ataç according to the phrase formation, but even he does not give any specific rules or methods for translation. In an article, written to celebrate the start of the second year of *Tercüme*'s publication, Ataç stated that a science of translation did not exist. ‘There is not a determined translation method, perhaps such a method cannot even be imagined’.<sup>71</sup> He continued saying that this was the reason why in the pages of *Tercüme* any attempt to teach or find a translation method was not to be found. However, he emphasised that it was not their aim to demonstrate the linguistic characteristics of the originals, but to think about the characteristics of their own language, i.e. Turkish: ‘We wanted to give a Turkish version of a text, rather than to reflect the original.’<sup>72</sup>

Critiques of translations of the Translation Bureau appeared in the second half of *Tercüme*. In contrast to the above mentioned statements on the definition of translation, these analyses did not comment on the success of the domestication process as favoured by the translators. On the contrary, they ended up being lists of mistakes. They usually start with information on the original text and a short, or sometimes even with a long, summary of it. In a critique written by Saffet Pala on the translation of *The Good Earth* by Pearl S. Buck, for example, the information on the author and the summary of the novel takes up half of his account.<sup>73</sup> In the second part, words and sentences that had been

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<sup>71</sup> Ataç, ‘İkinci Yıla Girerken’, *Tercüme*, 2:7 (1941), 1-3 (p. 2).

<sup>72</sup> Ataç, ‘İkinci Yıla Girerken’, p. 2.

<sup>73</sup> Saffet Pala, “‘The Good Earth’ Tercümesi Münasebetiyle’, *Tercüme*, 1:1 (1940), 95-98.

translated wrongly into Turkish and any omissions made were shown, mostly in comparison with the original texts. There was criticism when the Turkish used in the translation was not “beautiful” and fluent. But also, if the critic found a part that he thought was translated correctly and beautifully he/she would mention this as well. It was also not uncommon to finish such a critique with some lines concerning the importance of having translated such a work and translators were encouraged to continue translating and improving their skills. Some writers even indicated the above mentioned schemes at the beginning of their critiques which they, then, followed throughout their writings.

Nahid Sırrı Örik started his writing by specifying the points he was going to look at and which were going to constitute his critique, namely; if the translation was not faithful, that is, if some parts were not translated; if the meaning of the sentences were not in agreement with the original; if some words were not translated correctly and finally, if the style of the translator was not as good as the author’s and his/her use of Turkish was not good.<sup>74</sup> Perhaps one of the best examples for a list of mistakes was written by Cevdet Kudret Solok on the translation of *The Odyssey*.<sup>75</sup> Solok’s notion of faithfulness does not only comprise fidelity to the original, but more than that, to the Turkish text.

The translation by Mr Cevat Emre has perhaps not deviated from the original work, that is from the texts that we have today in hand, it is in complete accordance with it; however, the fidelity of a translation to its original is not the only condition to consider it as a good and successful translation. To be faithful to the original, fidelity is certainly a must, but fidelity to Turkish language is as necessary. To translate *The Odyssey* into our tongue is not limited by translating the words; it is necessary to find the equivalents of the sounds, images, colours and expressions, which are as important as the words, in our language, that is, to assimilate the work into the Turkish language.<sup>76</sup>

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<sup>74</sup> Nahid Sırrı Örik, “‘Le Lys Rouge’ Tercümesi”, *Tercüme*, 1:2 (1940), 202-05.

<sup>75</sup> Cevdet Kudret Solok, ‘Odyseia Tercümesi’, *Tercüme*, 2:12 (1942), 516-22.

<sup>76</sup> Solok, p. 516.

Solok, then, names seven “mistakes” made in the translation without making any comparisons with the original, but criticising the translation according to the accuracy of its Turkish. He grouped these mistakes under seven titles; words used with a wrong meaning, expressions used with a wrong meaning, grammar mistakes, syntactical mistakes, ambiguous sentences, tangled sentences, cacophonous sentences, giving examples for all of them in seven pages.

Such critiques were attacked mainly by Nusret Hızır stressing the danger of this kind of criticism becoming a canon.<sup>77</sup> One of the first things he attacked was the first part of a critique where there was usually a summary of the work and/or information on its author which Hızır considered to be out of place.<sup>78</sup> He emphasised the lack of accordance between the writings on translations and the critiques which usually were written by the same people<sup>79</sup> and argued that there were no norms behind the convictions about the translations which remained the subjective opinion of their writers.<sup>80</sup>

This simplistic approach towards translation criticism could be explained by the fact that the Turkish language was still in a process of change and development and discussions on the language issue were very much alive. There were difficulties in finding Turkish equivalents for foreign words, in the use of grammar and syntax and in the transliteration of foreign names. The main issue discussed in the critiques, then, was the language used and not other aspects of the translation. In most of these analyses, writers were looking at the translations to investigate the level of the language and, in the case of any scarcity of Turkish vocabulary, to find or make up Turkish equivalents for foreign

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<sup>77</sup> Nusret Hızır, ‘Tercüme Dair Yazılar Hakkında’, *Tercüme*, 2:9 (1941), 265-68; ‘Tercüme Tenkidlerine Dair’, *Tercüme*, 2:10 (1941), 359-60; ‘Tercüme Tenkidleri Hakkında’, *Tercüme*, 4:20-21 (1943), 177-78.

<sup>78</sup> Hızır, ‘Tercüme Tenkidlerine Dair’, p. 360; ‘Tercüme Tenkidleri Hakkında’, p. 177.

<sup>79</sup> Hızır, ‘Tercüme Tenkidlerine Dair’, p. 360.

<sup>80</sup> Hızır, ‘Tercüme Tenkidleri Hakkında’, p. 177.

words. Similarly, critics must have thought that these essays were an opportunity for them to introduce the authors and works to Turkish readers who had scant knowledge of Western literature. However, this kind of translation criticism became the canon for many years.

The importance of *Tercüme* in Turkish cultural history is enormous. *Tercüme* was highly influential not only in drawing attention to the activities of the Translation Bureau, but also in creating a critical awareness of problems of translation. The translations appearing in *Tercüme*, as Güzin Dino has argued, had a major impact on Turkish literature. By broadening horizons in philosophical and literary fields, these translations also helped to purify and direct the Turkish language.<sup>81</sup> However, as can be seen from the statistical data given above, the journal lost its initial impetus starting in the late 1940s. One of the main reasons for this was that it no longer gave much space to writings, such as discussions of translational problems, criticism and essays on translations. After *Tercüme* there were no similar attempts by the government and *Tercüme* still occupies the place of being the only translation journal that lasted so long.

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<sup>81</sup> Güzin Dino, 'Sabahattin Eyüboğlu ve Türkiye'de Çeviri Hareketleri', trans. by Özdemir İnce, *Türk Dili*, 38:322 (1974), 104-11 (p. 105).

## CHAPTER 7

### TRANSLATION AS TRANSFORMATION IN TURKISH WRITING OF THE 1940s

The Translation Bureau as a state institution makes it possible to talk about a general policy that the members of the Bureau adopted. However, this is to be seen mainly in the selection of works to be translated. Following the Westernisation programme of the young Republic, the classics, seen as the primary sources of Western culture, were chosen to be translated first. During the actual translating process, however, several policies were followed by members of the Bureau according to their perception of the West and according to their answers to the question of how to westernise Turkish society. Two figures, Nurullah Ataç and Sabahattin Eyuboğlu, are predominant in translation activities during the period under study. Apart from being the first two directors of the Bureau, they also were the most productive translators of their time. With a wide range of interests, both of them had enormous importance in the cultural history of Turkey. Their contributions to the usage and development of pure Turkish, their writings as critics and essayists and their translations were not only influential in their own time, but they influenced the next generations and intellectual life in Turkey as well. Each of these activities could be the subject of a separate study. My main concern, in this chapter, will be to analyse their approach towards translation and their views as intellectuals which were influential in their practice of translation.

## 7.1 Nurullah Ataç: Domesticating translation

Nurullah Ataç (1898-1957), perhaps the most productive translator, essayist and critic in the Turkish language during the 1940s and 1950s, was educated at the Lycée de Galatasaray and afterwards in Geneva. He taught French in several schools from 1921 until 1945 when he became a translator for the Presidency of the Republic. He also worked in the establishment of the Translation Bureau and was a member of the board of the Turkish Language Society and head of its publication division after 1951. He produced around fifty translations mainly from Greek, Latin, French and Russian classics.<sup>1</sup>

Ataç together with Eyuboğlu was among the first to establish the governing translation strategies in the early Republican era. However, the translation norms they set which privileged acculturation were already established in the late nineteenth century. In this respect, what Ataç, Eyuboğlu and all the prominent translators of the 1940s wanted to achieve can be seen as the continuation of the ideas and policies of the *Tanzimat* period, now in a broader sense.

Ataç's main concern was the use of Turkish. He wanted to use pure Turkish words. In Turkish cultural history, Ataç is identified primarily with his attempts to purify the Turkish language. He had strong influence over young writers as a result of his critiques of the usage of Turkish. Ataç tried not to use any foreign words and if he could not find a Turkish equivalent of a foreign term he made one up.<sup>2</sup> Most of his neologisms were from Turkish roots, but there were also some new words that he invented. He also used many Turkish words from old Turkish texts which had long been forgotten and were

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<sup>1</sup> For a list of his translations, see *Tercüme*, 12:63-64 (1958), 151-59.

<sup>2</sup> The Turkish Language Society published several books on Ataç such as *Ataç* (1962), a monograph of his bibliography, *Ataç'm Sözcükleri* (The Vocabulary of Ataç) (1963), *Söyleşiler* (Conversations) (1964) and *Dergilerde* (In the Journals) (1980). For other books on Ataç, see Behçet Necatigil, *Edebiyatımızda İsimler Sözlüğü* (Istanbul: Varlık, 1995 [1960]).



therefore foreign to the majority of the people. Some of his neologisms took their place in the Turkish vocabulary, whereas others did not become popular and were forgotten. Uriel Heyd argued that among the neologisms, suggested and propagated mainly by the Language Society through newspapers, textbooks, encyclopaedias etc., the ones replacing long, clumsy foreign words and Arabic words with certain non-Turkish phonetic features seemed to be accepted more easily.<sup>3</sup> Despite the success of the reform which eliminated a great deal of Arabic and Persian vocabulary from the language, the goal of total purification, has not been achieved. While pure Turkish words have been coined in Turkish vocabulary, foreign, especially European, terms have been adopted continuously. Ataç also worked on Turkish syntax and phraseology. The fact that not the word order but the suffixes determines the meaning in the Turkish language gave him the possibility of constructing phrases with different word order, as they were widely used in spoken language. Although his extensive use of inverted sentences was at first criticised, such sentence structures have broadly been used since.

On the other hand, his reason to support the use of pure Turkish lies in his admiration of the Greco-Roman world:

In my writings, in my speeches, I have always said this. It is because I believe that Turkish should be Latinised, Greekised that I do not abandon pure Turkish; and I will not leave it till the day when Latin and Greek are taught to the children of this nation, taught correctly, and in the way it should be.<sup>4</sup>

According to Ataç, the use of the word "*demokrasi*" (democracy) does not mean the adoption of Greek culture because Greeks, as well as other European cultures, inheritors of Greek culture, can understand the roots of this word, whereas the Turks without

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<sup>3</sup> Uriel Heyd, *Language Reform in Turkey* (Jerusalem: Israel Oriental Society, 1954), pp. 104-05.

<sup>4</sup> Quoted in Murat Belge, 'Türkçe Sorunu II', *Yazko Edebiyat*, 20 (1982), 80-98 (p. 89) (translations throughout the chapter are mine unless stated otherwise).

knowing the etymology of “democracy”, which comes from “demos” and “kratos”, can not understand its real meaning.<sup>5</sup> Because of that, Ataç argues that this concept has to be created with Turkish roots and suggests words such as “*budun-buyrumculuk*” or “*budun-erki*” which can be back-translated as the “rule of people” or the “power of people”, from Turkish roots *budun* (people, nation) and *buyrumculuk* (ruling, commanding), and *erk* (power, capacity). However, his equivalencies for the word “democracy” have not been popular. “*Demokrasi*”, as the transliteration of the word, has been widely used in the Turkish language.

In his article titled *Batı Kafası* (Western Mentality), Ataç claimed that Europeans achieved civilisation by learning Greek and Latin and that in order to grasp this “Western or European mentality” Turks also had to teach these languages in their schools.<sup>6</sup> Such views were popular among the Bureau members. They believed that technical and social reforms were not enough to create a strong and independent country. There was also a need for a change in intellectual understanding, a need to grasp Western mentality by going back to its sources. In 1940 some high schools opened a ‘classical branch’ where Latin was taught, but these were closed down in 1949.

For Ataç translation was ‘to think something that has been thought in one language over in another language’<sup>7</sup> or ‘to be able to express an idea, a feeling in a different language than the one in which it was initially expressed’.<sup>8</sup> According to these definitions a translation is a re-creation of a narrative form in another language within its limits. A good translation should not contradict the target language’s characteristics. His

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<sup>5</sup> Belge, ‘Türkçe Sorunu II’, p. 90.

<sup>6</sup> Nurullah Ataç, ‘Batı Kafası’, in Nurullah Ataç, *Prospero ile Caliban* (Istanbul: Can, 1988 [1961]), pp. 135-38. The articles collected in this book had previously been published in several journals and newspapers between 1953-1956.

<sup>7</sup> Ataç, ‘Tercüme Dair’, *Tercüme*, 1:6 (1941), 505-07 (p. 505).

<sup>8</sup> Ataç, ‘Tercüme Dair Notlar’, *Ulus*, 4 Oct. 1940, p. 2.

main concern, like Eyubođlu, was the use of Turkish. On another occasion he wrote that ‘the goal of the poet, the author is always to make things that are hard or thought to be hard in his/her language easier. The translator too is a poet, an author, hence his/her goal cannot be any different’.<sup>9</sup>

On the other hand, they both wanted to translate as if they were writing an original text. Use of “fluent Turkish” became the first expectation of a translation for many years. When a translation could be read like an original it was seen as a “good translation”. Anything that suggested that the text was a translation was considered a failure. The expression “to smell like translation” became widespread in reviews and in translation departments as a result of this approach. ‘The translator has to take each sentence and think: "How would I express this in my language?"; because what is called "smell of translation" always disturbs the reader’.<sup>10</sup> The point that has to be underlined here is that the domesticating process took place only at a linguistic level. The names of people and places were written without any transliteration. Their spelling as well as other supplementary information was given in footnotes. As Hakkı Calp commented on Ataç’s translation of Lucian:

Liveliness of the dialogues, wit, immediate comprehensibility, attractiveness of the narration, fluency, the same effective narration: a success so great that we would have read it without feeling or thinking that it is a translation if there were not any foreign names and some remote issues that are unacceptable to us.<sup>11</sup>

In fact, this point was Ataç’s and his followers’ aim: to appropriate those “alien remote issues” using a fluent and colloquial language.

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<sup>9</sup> Ataç, ‘Tercüme Dair’, p. 505.

<sup>10</sup> Ataç, ‘Tercüme Dair Notlar’, p. 2.

<sup>11</sup> Hakkı Calp, ‘Lukianos’tan Çeviriler’, *Tercüme*, 11:59 (1955), 74-84 (p. 76).

A reaction came from Orhan Burian to Ataç's translation of *Les Liaisons Dangereuses* by Choderlos de Laclos:<sup>12</sup>

(...) Nurullah Ataç in his translation uses Turkish in such an artistic way that we think we are reading a book talking about not the French, but the Turkish eighteenth century. Here, translation is no longer a means: the translator does not transport the phrases; he tries to find once again the expression of the feelings and thoughts of the author in Turkish. But this is a dangerous business; the translator, leaving the style of the original, can be carried away by his own style.<sup>13</sup>

The need to improve the vocabulary of the Turkish language as well as its style and at the same time to domesticate Western culture resulted in a target oriented translation approach. In his Preface to the Greek Special Issue of *Tercüme*, the official journal of the Bureau, Yücel wrote that the Turkification of Greek writers would make him happy.<sup>14</sup> Melting different poets' and authors' works in the same pot of "fluent Turkish" did not have so many supporters among translators during the following years<sup>15</sup>, however, it dominated translational norms heavily until the 1960s.

## 7.2 Humanism, *Anadoluculuk* (Anatolianism) and Sabahattin Eyuboğlu

With the establishment of the Translation Bureau, a new concept began to be discussed in relation to the Greek and Latin classics: Humanism or Turkish humanism. In his first Preface to the Series of Classics Hasan Âli Yücel wrote:

The initial understanding and sensibility stage of the Humanist spirit starts with the assimilation of works of art which are the most personal expressions of human

<sup>12</sup> Ataç, trans., *Tehlikeli Alâkalar (Les Liaisons dangereuses)* by Choderlos de Laclos (Ankara: M.E.B., 1944).

<sup>13</sup> Orhan Burian, 'Tercüme ve Bizim İçin Manâsı Üzerine', *Ülkü*, 75 (1944), 17-18 (p. 18).

<sup>14</sup> Hasan Âli Yücel, 'Yunan Özel Sayısına Önsöz', *Tercüme*, 5: 29-30 (1945), pp. i-iv.

<sup>15</sup> Can Yücel (b. 1926) (the son of Hasan Âli Yücel), a contemporary poet and translator is perhaps the extreme end of this approach. In his translations his name appears not as the "translator" but as the "rewriter in Turkish".

existence. Among art forms literature is the one which contains the most intellectual elements of these expressions. Hence, one nation's repetition of other nations' literature in its own language, in other words, in its own understanding means raising, reviving and recreating its intelligence and ability to understand accordingly.<sup>16</sup>

Hasan Âli Yücel and his colleagues were convinced that for a Turkish cultural Renaissance a return to Greek and Latin sources was essential. 'The roots of civilisation we want to be a part of are in ancient Greek' says Yücel. But he did not see ancient Greeks as aliens. On the contrary, talking about ancient Greek cities that are in Turkey he says: 'we should consider ancient Greeks perhaps not as our fellow citizens but our fellow soilmen'.<sup>17</sup> Sabahattin Eyuboğlu makes a similar statement:

Now we were the conquerors and also had been conquered. (...) We kneaded this soil, but also this soil kneaded us. Because of that, whatever exists on this soil is ours, from the oldest to the newest. Our nation's history is also the history of Anatolia. Once we worshipped idols, then we became Christians, and then Muslims. It is these peoples who built the temples as well as the churches and the mosques. It was we who filled the caravanserais as we did the snow-white theatres. Countless civilisations and states were born and vanished on our back. We spoke countless languages before we decided on Turkish.<sup>18</sup>

The same attitude, namely the appropriation of the Greek and Western cultural heritage was also seen in the area of translation in Yücel's words:

We consider the performing arts such as theatre and opera as a matter of civilisation. (...) A new era of TURKISH HUMANISM, which we hope all humanity will recognise one day, is being born in the heart of the State Conservatoire. Turkish Humanism is a free understanding and sensitivity which appreciates human work without any exception and does not limit it with time or location. Our hearts will feel nothing but only respect and admiration for any work - no matter from which nation - which brings a new thought and feeling to humanity. We do not express this respect and admiration with a theoretical approach, but by *performing, experiencing and making them our own*. The author

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<sup>16</sup> Yücel, 'Klasiklere Birinci Önsöz', (23 June 1941).

<sup>17</sup> Yücel, 'Yunan Özel Sayısına Önsöz', p. iii.

<sup>18</sup> Sabahattin Eyuboğlu, 'Bizim Anadolu', in Sabahattin Eyuboğlu *Mavi ve Kara: Denemeler (1940-1973)* (Istanbul: Çağdaş Yayınları, 1977), pp. 11-16 (pp. 11-12).

may not be one of us, the composer can be from another nation. But it is we who understand and perform the words and sounds. This is why *the plays and operas performed by the State Conservatoire are ours. They are Turkish and national.* Our authors and composers can only be trained in this way. (...) Young artists, (...) it is you who will assimilate world's renowned people into the intelligence and conscience of the Turkish nation as voice, as words and as life with your success in art.<sup>19</sup>

Here, Yücel advocates a liberal humanism which is seen as timeless and universal, transcending cultural, social and historical differences. On the other hand, by 'performing and experiencing', the foreign is to be imprinted with values specific to the target culture and become 'Turkish and national'. The difference in Turkey's religion and the West's might be another reason for Yücel and his contemporaries' advocacy of a universal humanism and for an interest in ancient Greek literature and philosophy. For centuries the adoption of Western culture for Turkey's modernisation has been a delicate issue, for this Western culture maintained Christian values whereas Turkey was a Muslim society. Although the new Republic was established upon secular principles, Turkish society to a large extent, still identified itself with its religion. Going back to the pre-Christian (pagan) period and emphasising the greatness of Western culture liberated from the tyranny of the Church during a period when 'civilised' Europe was steeped in bloodshed must have seemed to Turkish intellectuals a good way of solving this problem.

Sabahattin Eyuboğlu (1908-1973) was among the first students sent to Europe by the government for higher education. He studied in Dijon, Lyon, Paris and London. Back in Turkey he became a lecturer at the French Department in the Faculty of Humanities at Istanbul University which had been set up by Léo Spitzer in 1933 and directed by Erich Auerbach until 1947. He directed the Translation Bureau and together with Ataç he was

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<sup>19</sup> Speech delivered by Hasan Âli Yücel, Minister of Education, at the first graduation ceremony of the State Conservatoire in 1941: Hasan Âli Yücel, 'Devlet Konservatuvarı İlk Mezunlarını Verirken', *Güzel Sanatlar*, 3 (1941), 1-5 (pp. 3-5) (italics are mine).

known among the most productive translators and essayists of the time. He produced fifty-nine translations mainly from Greek, French and Russian literatures.<sup>20</sup>

Eyuboğlu has been considered, perhaps, the most important representative of the Humanist discourse in Turkey. A movement called *Anadoluculuk* (Anatolianism) created firstly by Halikarnas Balıkcısı (Fisherman of Halicarnassus; pseudonym of Cevat Şakir Kabaağaçlı) and followed later by such people as Vedat Günyol, Azra Erhat and Orhan Burian and Eyuboğlu himself, maintained a “Mediterranean culture” where different cultures and civilisations had been dissolved and spread to the rest of the world. In Eyuboğlu’s Anatolianism, poets such as Homer, Yunus Emre, Mevlana, Pir Sultan and Orhan Veli were detached from the qualities of their historical, social and cultural environments they were born to and melted in the same pot of “Anatolian humanism”.<sup>21</sup>

Humanism is for Ataç ‘a concept that emphasises the individualism of man’ whereas with Eyuboğlu it appears as ‘a belief, a world view’.<sup>22</sup> In contrast to Ataç, Eyuboğlu adopted a populist attitude. Ataç seeks the “awakening” in Western culture. Eyuboğlu looks to popular culture, ancient Anatolian culture. He also perceived the “man” not as a member of a certain class, religion or place, but only as a human. Montaigne, La Fontaine, Shakespeare, Khayyam, Mevlana, Rabelais and Thomas More from whom Eyuboğlu had widely translated, were for him major representatives of humanism sharing the same values, regardless of their original cultures. This view was based both on populism and humanism and is also reflected in his perception and language of his translations. Azra Erhat praises his translation of La Fontaine:

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<sup>20</sup> For a list of his translations, see *Milliyet Sanat Dergisi*, 17 (1973), pp. 4-5.

<sup>21</sup> Bülent Aksoy, ‘Cumhuriyet Döneminde Çeviri’, in *Çeviri ve Çeviri Kuramı Üstüne Söylemler*, ed. by Mehmet Rifat (Istanbul: Düzlem, 1996), pp. 73-92 (p. 76).

<sup>22</sup> Atilla Özkırımlı, ‘Anahatlarıyla Edebiyat’, in *Cumhuriyet Dönemi Türkiye Ansiklopedisi*, ed. by Murat Belge (Istanbul: İletişim, 1983), pp. 580-606 (p. 595).

In his translation of La Fontaine, Eyuboğlu took great care in making the innumerable animals of the tales talk with the most pithy expressions, tongue-twisters in Turkish. The bombastic language that is close to the court language of seventeenth-century France became a simple and pure vernacular which everybody could understand.<sup>23</sup>

Güzin Dino maintains a similar opinion:

One of the characteristics of his style is to transform the most developed knowledge and concepts to the most simple everyday language, to translate authors such as Montaigne, La Fontaine or Rabelais who are completely French as if they wrote in Turkish. Oktay Rifat, the great Turkish poet, while he was talking about Eyuboğlu's translation of La Fontaine, wrote that this work is a real artistic creation beyond a translation and that Eyuboğlu reached the same level of artistic creation vis-à-vis La Fontaine that La Fontaine had reached vis-à-vis Aesop.<sup>24</sup>

Azra Erhat, who followed Eyuboğlu's approach, wrote in the Preface to Plato's *Symposion* how she translated together with Eyuboğlu:

The middle ages, Christianity and Islam, which came between Plato and us, have given this philosopher different appearances, put him into an unrecognisable form, having marked his thoughts with mystic views. We translated the *Symposion* from its Greek original and tried to understand what an ancient Greek person would understand from his Greek. We avoided concepts and terms. These are unnecessary forms that Europe and European philosophy have added to Plato. Yet Plato does not think within forms, he makes Socrates talk like someone from the common people. We tried to talk like him too and when we compared our translation with the ones made into European languages we realised that Turkish has idioms that are much more suitable for Plato's language. We present the *Symposion* as a trial for our readers. If we see that it is read as easily as any other work - we can't bring ourselves to say novel - written in our time, the pleasure we have of having translated it into our language will be doubled.<sup>25</sup>

All these commentaries praised fluent translation which was easily comprehensible, the use of simple language and the effect of the translated text as "natural", "not translated".

<sup>23</sup> Azra Erhat, 'Ortak Çeviri', *Türk Dili*, 38:322 (1974), 54-58 (p. 57).

<sup>24</sup> Güzin Dino, 'Sabahattin Eyuboğlu ve Türkiye'de Çeviri Hareketleri', trans. by Özdemir İnce, *Türk Dili*, 38:322 (1974), 104-11 (pp. 109-10).

<sup>25</sup> Erhat, "'Şölen" Üstüne Birkaç Söz', in Plato, *Şölen (Symposium)*, trans. by Azra Erhat and Sabahattin Eyuboğlu (Istanbul: Remzi, 1995 [1961]), pp. 11-18 (pp. 17-18).



Eyuboğlu conceives of literature as a whole of form and content. Ahmet Oktay argues that:

He [Eyuboğlu] is aware of the form of the text but he also says that we should not neglect to investigate the social meaning of this form. He argues that literature had to defend human values and that only such words could traverse from past to future and be read. This tendency and concern directed him to reread some texts and reproduce their meanings. His work on Yunus Emre<sup>26</sup> and his translations of Khayyam<sup>27</sup> are the best examples of this attempt of his.<sup>28</sup>

In the Preface to his book *Yunus Emre*, Eyuboğlu analyses the thought of Yunus Emre:

What is the belief of our Yunus? (...) When we look for an answer to this question in what Yunus said we surprisingly see that Yunus, despite all his religiousness and Muslimness, is not a man of any religion. On the contrary, above all religions, outside mosques and churches, especially, openly against bigots and fanatics, he is a man of belief with no book, no worship, no ritual, no kiblah. The only rule, law and dogma of this belief is love, with its widest, limitless, humane meaning. According to Yunus, all the religious books had, or had to have one meaning, which is to reconcile human beings with human beings, to make a human being a real human being, to know oneself and not to separate from others. This is the essence of humanism; isn't it the desire of humanists for the human being to find all humanity in him/herself, to join and fuse with other human beings and all humanity?<sup>29</sup>

Although the starting point of Sabahattin Eyuboğlu was the West and élite culture, his intellectual evolution, as Ahmet Oktay notes, inclined from the West towards the East, from élite culture towards popular culture, the one including the other.<sup>30</sup>

<sup>26</sup> His study on Yunus Emre was first published under the title *Yunus Emre'ye Selâm* by Çan Yayınları in 1966. A revised edition of the same book appeared under the title *Yunus Emre* by Cem Yayınları in 1971.

<sup>27</sup> Sabahattin Eyuboğlu, trans., *Bütün Dörtlükler* by Omar Khayyam (Istanbul: Çan Yayınları, 1961).

<sup>28</sup> Ahmet Oktay, 'Eleştiri', in *Cumhuriyet Dönemi Türkiye Ansiklopedisi*, ed. by Murat Belge (Istanbul: İletişim, 1983), pp. 639-48 (p. 644).

<sup>29</sup> Quoted in Kemal Bek, 'Edebiyatımızda Eleştiri Anlayışları', in *Eleştiri ve Eleştiri Kuramı Üstüne Söylemler*, ed. by Mehmet Rifat (Istanbul: Düzlem, 1996), pp. 85-124 (pp. 104-05).

<sup>30</sup> Oktay, 'Eleştiri', p. 644.

The first critique of Eyuboğlu's translation approach came from Nüvit Özdoğru. In an article called *Shakespeare'e Saygı* (Respect for Shakespeare)<sup>31</sup> Özdoğru criticised Eyuboğlu for his *Macbeth* translation.<sup>32</sup> His main critique was of the language used by the characters. According to Özdoğru, Macbeth and Lady Macbeth were speaking Turkish like common people (Act I, Scene VII). There was, for example, no difference in the style of Lady Macbeth and the Porter (Act II, Scene III). He also criticised Eyuboğlu for using expressions rooted in Islam and some local slang idioms. Furthermore, he accused Eyuboğlu for not translating elements such as rhymes, puns, assonance, dissonance, alliterations and onomatopoeia. Özdoğru, finally, argues that:

The characters, magic, style which make Shakespeare the Shakespeare we know have almost completely disappeared in such an understanding of translation, and almost the only thing left is the story of Macbeth. This story which was gathered from several sources is probably the least original side of Shakespeare.<sup>33</sup>

Eyuboğlu, in his response, argues for the visibility of the translator:

Each translation is perforce an interpretation. Because it is an interpretation, it is variable and relative. A person translating a book written hundreds of years ago in a certain language into another cannot reproduce the book with its complete value and requirements, whatever s/he does. How can the human mind, which is the most mutable and evolutionary object on earth, not break into pieces what it is translating while even water breaks what it reflects. It breaks, but even the worst translation conveys something from one human to another, from one age to another, from one language to another. So much that even translations filled with the worst mistakes can help new ways of thinking and re-birth, provided that translators give themselves completely to what they are translating, and that they have priceless respect and love for their work.<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>31</sup> Nüvit Özdoğru, 'Shakespeare'e Saygı', *Oyun*, 12 (1964), 23-30 and 'Macbeth Çeviricisine Cevap', *Oyun*, 16 (1964), 15-18.

<sup>32</sup> Sabahattin Eyuboğlu, trans., *Macbeth* by William Shakespeare (Istanbul: Remzi Kitabevi, 1996 [1962]).

<sup>33</sup> Özdoğru, 'Shakespeare'e Saygı', p. 26.

<sup>34</sup> Eyuboğlu, 'Shakespeare'e Saygı', *Oyun*, 16 (1964), 11-14 (p. 11).

Eyuboğlu, then, defends himself arguing, mainly, that in his plays, Shakespeare exposed real faces of people and all the characteristics of human beings were to be found in his characters. He maintains his decision of using a vernacular language. *Macbeth* is not the only play by Shakespeare that Eyuboğlu translated. Already in 1956, he had translated together with Mîna Urgan *Troilus and Cressida* and following his *Macbeth* translation he translated *Hamlet*, *Julius Caesar*, *Antony and Cleopatra* and *Timon of Athens* for Remzi Kitabevi. In a brief note following his *Hamlet* translation, Eyuboğlu says:

My English is a broken English that I have learnt from books by myself. This is why I have worked referring to as many French and Turkish translations that I could find. The ones I have benefited from most were the translations by Yves Bonnefoy, François Victor Hugo, Orhan Burian, Halide Edip Advar-Vahit Turhan. With their help, I was trying to understand the original text and was searching for my own equivalences. In this way, I have seen that every translator had changed Shakespeare into a different form. Who knows what kind of changes I have made perforce.<sup>35</sup>

Domestication in Turkish translations during the 1940s occurred not as Lawrence Venuti has argued, 'to provide readers with the narcissistic experience of recognizing their own culture in a cultural other'<sup>36</sup>, but to create a cultural other, i.e. the West, which was experienced as a superior culture and which, in fact, did not seem so foreign to readers. The use of a vernacular language in translations was to serve towards the 'naturalisation' of the other culture. Using fluent language, translators wanted to present the West as something familiar to the target culture, something that could be learnt easily as it was read. This approach eventually would serve the final aim: the Westernisation of Turkish culture. Domesticating foreign texts, many translators also admitted their role in manipulating the text, hence their visibility in creating another original text. Translators of

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<sup>35</sup> Eyuboğlu, 'Çevirenin Sözü', in William Shakespeare, *Hamlet*, trans. by Sabahattin Eyuboğlu (Istanbul: Remzi Kitabevi, 1996 [1965]), p. 177.

<sup>36</sup> Lawrence Venuti, *The Translator's Invisibility* (London & New York: Routledge, 1995), p. 15.

the 1940s not only produced translations, they also wrote commentaries, critiques and to a lesser degree theory. They were employees in the Translation Bureau and civil servants of the government. They were conscious of their duty and considered themselves professionals. The translations they were producing were often defined as other types of original writing, a primary activity in which a good translator was seen as a great author. Faithfulness was discussed only in terms of comprehensibility. A translation was faithful not when it showed a strong resemblance to its source text, but when it was intelligible in the target culture.

However, the new generation of intellectuals and translators, beginning from the 1950s, criticised the previous one for being imitative, and wanted to create a national culture and literature by showing the differences between the source (Western) and target (Turkish) cultures in order not to get assimilated in the foreign culture, and creating, eventually, a synthesis between the two. In this context, the necessity of fidelity was emphasised more than before. Élitism, which was seen as one of the main problems of society by the next generation, did have its consequences in following decades.

### 7.3 The Role of the Élite

The political history of Turkey has been very complex. Intellectual life has generally been characterised politically. “How to rescue the state?” has always been a primary issue beginning in the nineteenth century with the decline of the Ottoman Empire.<sup>37</sup> The role of

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<sup>37</sup> The role as “rescuer” of Turkish intellectuals has been discussed and agreed on by several writers. See, for example, Fethi Naci, “Münevver”den “Entel”e’, in *Türk Aydını ve Kimlik Sorunu*, ed. by Sabahattin Şen (Istanbul: Bağlam, 1995), pp. 181-87 and Murat Belge, “Politik Roman” Üstüne’, in Murat Belge, *Edebiyat Üstüne Yazılar* (Istanbul: YKY, 1994), pp. 65-79.

intellectuals<sup>38</sup> in this question has been a vital one. Turkey has never had any revolution conducted by the masses. On the contrary change has always occurred from top to bottom. Innovations were introduced by the state and the intellectuals acted as planners and disseminators of these changes. In order to grasp Turkish cultural history, it is vital to understand the cultural formation of the intellectuals and their world view.

Although there is a definite political cut off between the *Tanzimat* and the Republic, the cultural impact of the *Tanzimat* period continued to be influential during the first three decades of the Republic. Efforts for a total Westernisation started during the last century of the Ottoman Empire, continued with the founding of the Republic in a more programmatic way. Intellectuals and artists being the leaders of this movement in the cultural field were usually civil servants both during the *Tanzimat* and of the pre-1950s. Civil servants constituted an élite group in society and were protected economically and legally by the state.<sup>39</sup> As Kemal Karpat has argued, the fact that most of the intellectuals in the first decades of the Republic were civil servants was a limitation on their freedom of thought. As a result, they saw themselves as representatives of the state which prevented them from thinking in an unbiased way and independently.<sup>40</sup> They believed that modernisation was a cultural issue and was synonymous with Westernisation.

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<sup>38</sup> There is not a common definition of the term "intellectual". In this chapter, this word will refer to a group of people who had a university education and who were involved in the activity of writing, be it literary, academical or journalistic. In the first years of the Republic there were two groups of intellectuals: The first one, who had completed their education during the last period of the Ottoman Empire, therefore attached to the old values. They usually belonged to families of high rank. The second group of intellectuals could have a higher education either by the opportunities provided by the young Republic or thanks to the wealth of their families gained by commercial and economical activities.

<sup>39</sup> Especially during World War II the Turkish government supported its civil servants both increasing their salaries but also with extra aid of food and clothing. On the contrary, the situation of the villagers and the poor population in towns became worse. This duality gave birth to a hostility towards the state and resulted in a rejection of government activities by the masses.

<sup>40</sup> Kemal H. Karpat, *Türk Demokrasi Tarihi: Sosyal, Ekonomik, Kültürel Temeller* (Istanbul: Afa Yayınları, 1996 [1967]), p. 119.

Admiration for the West by the translators and intellectuals of the time was not a surprise for they were among the ones who knew Europe first hand. Almost all the names we encounter who translated during the 1940's had been educated at European institutes through government scholarships. In return, these people had to complete their obligatory services in governmental positions.<sup>41</sup> It is, therefore, obvious that they were supporting and reproducing the dominant ideology. Bedrettin Tuncel, Suut Kemal Yetkin, İzzet Melih Devrim, Vedat Günyol had studied in France. Orhan Burian, Halikarnas Balıkcısı, Nureddin Sevin had been educated in England. Many other translators had studied in foreign schools in Turkey such as the Lycée de Galatasaray and Robert College. Not only were they educated in Western institutions, but their intellectual formation was also influenced by Western sources. The script had been recently changed, there were only a few examples of a new Turkish literature and the ones that existed were usually not suitable for the younger generation both on account of their contents and the language they were written in. While growing up, most of the above mentioned intellectuals either read translations or books in European languages they were learning.<sup>42</sup>

Some developments and social and cultural institutions established during the first decades of the Republic provide useful evidence to show the role played by intellectuals. *Kadro* (Cadre), a journal published by a group of young writers<sup>43</sup> between 1932-34 was an

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<sup>41</sup> Short biographies with references of 995 writers in Turkish literature are presented in Behçet Necatigil, *Edebiyatımızda İsimler Sözlüğü* (Istanbul: Varlık, 1995 [1960]). For detailed biographies of 26 other intellectuals, see Mehmet Seyda, *Edebiyat Dostları* (Istanbul: Kıtış Yayınları, 1970)

<sup>42</sup> In their memoirs, almost all the writers born at the beginning of this century, including Hasan Âli Ediz, Sabahattin Eyuboğlu, Vedat Günyol, Yaşar Nabi Nayır, Suut Kemal Yetkin, who worked in the Translation Bureau during the 1940s, mention that the first books they had read were translations and books in foreign languages, especially in French. See Seyda.

<sup>43</sup> Its founders were Şevket Süreyya (Aydemir), the ideologue of the *Kadro* movement, Yakup Kadri (Karaosmanoğlu), the legal licensee (franchise holder), Vedat Nedim (Tör), editor, and İsmail Hüsrev (Tökin) and Burhan Asaf (Belge), regular contributors.

attempt to form a cadre which would act as a vanguard of the reforms.<sup>44</sup> This group had to lead the masses which did not understand the problems of their country and they advocated state planning in all areas of social, economic and cultural life.<sup>45</sup> Similarly, Recep Peker, the secretary-general of the Republican People's Party, argued in his lectures that reforms could only be successful under oppression and force.<sup>46</sup> Such a view meant that reforms were to be planned and carried out by an élite group in the name of the masses. Praising the "new", the élite despised ignorance. As a result, the élite looked down on the masses who did not have the opportunity of being educated and learning the modes of modern life.<sup>47</sup> These events, together with the totalitarian single-party regime, created a duality between the élite and the masses. The Translation Bureau, despite its enormous importance and value in Turkish cultural history, was one of the institutions established in order to indoctrinate people with a culture that was considered "the Culture" by the élite. However, as will be argued at the end of this chapter, the policies followed by the Bureau also helped to create a gap between the low and high strata. Ataç's position, although the most extreme among his colleagues, might nevertheless be illuminating in illustrating the intellectual viewpoint.

A series of essays that were published under the title *Prospero ile Caliban*<sup>48</sup> in *Varlık*<sup>49</sup> between the years 1955-1956 are probably the strongest statements of Ataç's

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<sup>44</sup> *Kadro*'s possible sources of inspiration and its aims are the subject of a larger study. See among others, Mohammad Sadiq, 'The Kadro Movement in Turkey', *International Studies*, 2:4 (1986), 319-38; Ayşe Trak, 'Development Literature and Writers from Underdeveloped Countries: The Case of Turkey', *Current Anthropology*, 26:1 (1985), 89-102; and Mustafa Türkeş, 'The Ideology of the Kadro [Cadre] Movement: A Patriotic Leftist Movement in Turkey', *Middle Eastern Studies*, 34:4 (1998), 92-119.

<sup>45</sup> Şevket Süreyya Aydemir, in his book *İnkılap ve Kadro* (Ankara: Muallim Ahmet Halit Kitaphanesi, 1932), explains the political ideas of the *Kadro*.

<sup>46</sup> Recep Peker, *İnkılap Dersleri Notları* (Istanbul: Ulus Basımevi, 1936), p. 7.

<sup>47</sup> Karpat, *Türk Demokrasi Tarihi*, pp. 78-79.

<sup>48</sup> In 1961, these essays were published in a book form under the same title. The quotations I used in this chapter are from a recent edition: Nurullah Ataç, *Prospero ile Caliban* (Istanbul: Can, 1988 [1961]).

anti-populist views. These essays consist of dialogues between Ataç and his alter-ego, Allı, where he expresses his views on intellectuals as well as on the masses. In 1946, the principle of a multi-party system was recognised. The Democrat Party which won the elections of 1950 with a majority of votes ended at the same time the twenty seven-year-old rule of the Republican People's Party. The new government, with great support mainly from country landowners, peasants, the old religious class together with the new commercial class and the loss of power of Westernist intellectuals must have infuriated Ataç more than ever.

We don't have to like all those howls, tasteless yells [folk-songs] just because we are Turks. Do you have to be tolerant and tied to those aspects of the nation and the country that are unpleasant because you love the nation and the country? (...) according to me, the mission of an artist is to look for the new, to create the beauty that the time requires. But what is it to do with the majority? The majority does not understand the new. Not in the field of art nor in other fields. The majority is always reactionary.<sup>50</sup>

Ataç considered the representatives of the artists and intellectuals, and the masses as two opposite sides in William Shakespeare's *The Tempest*.<sup>51</sup> Frank Kermode, in his Introduction to the New Arden edition of the play, has argued that *The Tempest* is a pastoral drama and concerned with the opposition of Nature and Art.<sup>52</sup> Ernest Renan's

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<sup>49</sup> A literary journal founded by Yaşar Nabi (Nayır), Nahit Sırrı (Örik) and Sabri Esat (Siyavuşgil). The first issue of *Varlık* appeared on 15 July 1933 and it is the only journal being published continuously until today.

<sup>50</sup> Ataç, *Prospero ile Caliban*, pp. 20, 22. One other characteristic of Ataç's writing was that he did not use the conjunction "and". However, in my translations of his writings I followed his approach and considered the 'requirements' of English in order not to be unfaithful to his texts.

<sup>51</sup> Shakespeare's last play, *The Tempest* was first printed in the Folio of Heminge and Condell in 1623. Scholars suggest 1611 as the probable date of the composition of the play. It was first performed in November 1611 at the court of King James.

<sup>52</sup> Frank Kermode, 'Introduction', in William Shakespeare, *The Tempest*, ed. by Frank Kermode (London & New York: Routledge, 1994 [1954]) pp. xi-xciii.



version of *The Tempest* brought a new interpretation of Caliban and it is in this work that Caliban appears for the first time as a representative of the masses.<sup>53</sup>

As Ruby Cohn argues, ‘though Renan’s play has dated, his approach has not’.<sup>54</sup> In fact, Renan’s Shakespearean types ‘adaptées aux idées de notre temps’ inspired Ataç. The Nature-Art debate was transformed to the Masses-Art debate by Ataç<sup>55</sup>:

The majority is Caliban Allı, this thoughtless and shapeless Caliban that Shakespeare is portraying. Only Prospero can find and create the new, only he knows to call Ariel, only he understands the language of Ariel who teaches the way to analyse the mysteries of nature, to create supernatural creatures and values, to distinguish what is beautiful from what is not beautiful and what is good from what is not good. (...) A philosopher, an artist does not unite with Caliban, he does not pay attention to Caliban. Even if he pays attention, it is only to make Caliban respect him. If necessary, scolding or snapping the whip like Prospero does... (...) because real freedom in a country can be achieved by the group of intellectuals, by Prospero, by people wanting to become Prospero, by making themselves regarded, keeping Caliban under oppression. Caliban does not want freedom, he considers freedom an empty accessory. He is under the oppression of the past, old and dead sources and beliefs; he does not want to escape from this oppression.<sup>56</sup>

Ataç also denies the role of the intellectual as educator. His Prospero does not try to shake or awaken society but only tries to exceed himself.<sup>57</sup> He reminds us of Caliban’s words to Prospero:<sup>58</sup>

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<sup>53</sup> *Caliban, suite de La Tempête* was written by Ernest Renan in 1877 and was published in book form in May 1878.

<sup>54</sup> Ruby Cohn, *Modern Shakespeare Offshoots* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1976), p. 273.

<sup>55</sup> In an article, Orhan Koçak discusses Ataç’s and Cemil Meriç’s interpretations of Caliban. According to Koçak, despite their opposing political views, both of these authors saw the relation between Prospero and Caliban not as a debate between two different cultures, but as an internal debate of a universal culture. For Ataç, between the masses and intellectuals; for Meriç, between the bourgeois and the aristocracy. Koçak furthermore argues that it was Renan who brought them to the same interpretation of Caliban’s figure with his “philosophical drama”. See Orhan Koçak, ‘Ataç, Meriç, Caliban, Bandung: Evrensellik ve Kısmilik Üzerine Bir Taslak’, in *Türk Aydın ve Kimlik Sorunu*, ed. by Sabahattin Şen (Istanbul: Bağlam Yayıncılık, 1995), pp. 227-52.

<sup>56</sup> Ataç, *Prospero ile Caliban*, pp. 22-23.

<sup>57</sup> Ataç, *Prospero ile Caliban*, p.31.

<sup>58</sup> Ataç, *Prospero ile Caliban*, p.38.

You taught me language; and my profit on't  
Is, I know how to curse. The red plague rid you  
For learning me your language!<sup>59</sup>

Ataç's Caliban did not only learn how to curse at Prospero, he even gained political power after 1950.

Ataç might have also changed his ideas on the role of the intellectual after 1950. In his writings, Ataç had always refused to see any didactic and political/ideological value in literature and tried to analyse it mainly from an aesthetic point of view. In fact, his approach was ideological when he felt the need to grasp the Western mentality by going back to its sources, i.e. by translating Western classics. He might also have been aware of the fact that the Republican reforms and the translation activities that Ataç himself believed in sincerely and participated in actively, had not been a complete success and could not reach the majority of the population. In fact, having translated detective novels, in order to get money or because the masses expected him to do so, he did not consider himself a Prospero. But:

The majority, the real majority does not pay attention to us or know anything about us. We created ourselves a small readership, presented our lies to this readership, threw dust in their eyes with some unknown words such as "to caress the soul" and "masterpiece", trying afterwards to swagger in this fake intellectual universe.<sup>60</sup>

This negative image of the masses and a general pessimism is to be seen in Ataç's writings especially after the 1950s.

"East is East, West is West". I used to shrug my shoulders to this statement. "Why?" I used to ask, "is our flesh and bone different?" Did nature create us differently?" Why shouldn't we achieve our goal if we want to be like the Westerners, if we want to be Westerners? I still think the same. But now I feel, I

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<sup>59</sup> William Shakespeare, *The Tempest*, ed. by Frank Kermode (London & New York: Routledge, 1994 [1954]), 1.2.365.

<sup>60</sup> Ataç, *Prospero ile Caliban*, p. 30.

understand that this statement is not nonsense at all. We have a kind of Easternness, a difference from the Westerners. Is it a superiority? Or a deficiency? I don't care about this. I only know that it is because of this Easternness, of this difference that we cannot be Westerners and that we cannot understand Westerners. Do they understand us? There is no point in asking this: they don't want to be Easterners, to feel and think like Easterners! Do they really understand the Eastern universe? Can they understand it? Why should I investigate? It is we who want to be Westerners, that is why we should consider our difference a deficiency.<sup>61</sup>

Ataç, here, seems to be more realistic than a decade before. Not nature but history created the East-West distinction. He cannot escape the binary oppositions of “the other” and “us”, and “we” are to experience our difference as a deficiency. He can see no other explanation, no other alternative to this feeling of deficiency. The only answer he seems to find is in time.

To the West... We are going to the West. We have already started off, nobody can stop us any more... Yes, but to which West? To go to today's West is not enough, we cannot understand and adopt today's Western civilisation truly and from within, it needs to examine, learn, grasp its whole past. This is not easy and does not occur quickly... Did we say it does? To learn a civilisation and to adopt it, is not something to be done hastily... We are going to the West, we will go to the West.<sup>62</sup>

Claiming that the place of the new Turkey was in the Western world was a goal to be achieved, intellectuals, during the first decades of the Republic, praised the cultural values and norms of the West emphasising, at the same time, differences with the East. The West was idealised and the Western world was taken unconditionally as a model. This view caused a certain kind of imitation and adaptation of certain institutions. It has to be underlined that the Republican intellectuals were the reproducers of the official ideology. Having been educated mostly in European countries and as sincere believers of Westernisation they were representatives of the West rather than representatives of

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<sup>61</sup> Ataç, 'Batiya Doğru', in Ataç, *Prospero ile Caliban*, pp. 129-31 (p. 131).

<sup>62</sup> Ataç, 'Batiya Doğru', p. 131.

“Turkish” cultural elements. Despite the differences in their approach, many of the above mentioned intellectuals believed in the possibility of creating a new society with a new education system based on a universal culture which was Greco-Roman. Murat Belge claims that this kind of plan to create a society, despite all the humanism that its sources contain, is Jacobin, because it aims to give direction to the whole society by a specific instrument and a trained small cadre, and finally anti democratic.<sup>63</sup> A duality was created between the Westernised (modern) and the anti-Westernised (traditional) elements of the society. Hilmi Yavuz argues that, by trying to Westernise society, intellectuals actually “orientalised” it. According to Yavuz, the Orientalisation of Turkey in the 20th century was not completed by the West but by the Turkish intelligentsia.<sup>64</sup> As a result, traditions were not reviewed and reproduced in the light of new knowledge gained from the West, but were ignored if not despised altogether.

Despite the official Westernisation movement, the main questions still remained: What should the national identity be? What exactly did Westernisation mean? What kind of changes did it require? These questions were difficult to answer. However, some opinions were common among almost all intellectuals. The most important aspect is that Turkish intellectuals believed in an ultimate goal of Westernisation which inevitably brought a sense of inferiority into the society that has remained until today. This inferiority complex had also been seen by Ottoman intellectuals who, with the dissolution of the Empire and the European power felt over the Ottoman state, entered into a state of disappointment. This kind of complexity together with hostility to anything coming from the West prevented them from defining the problems of the Empire and analysing the

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<sup>63</sup> Belge, ‘Türkçe Sorunu II’, p. 90.

<sup>64</sup> Hilmi Yavuz, ‘Oryantalistleşme’, in Hilmi Yavuz, *Osmanlılık, Kültür, Kimlik* (Istanbul: Boyut, 1996), pp. 115-19.

Western world accurately. The only opposition to Westernisation was concern about the anti-religious, i.e. anti-Islam movements.<sup>65</sup>

With the extensive programme of reforms, basic changes and improvements for the Republic were made and the outlook of society changed. Busy with these radical developments, intellectuals, until the years after Mustafa Kemal Atatürk's death in 1938, did not preoccupy themselves much about cultural change and the ways to achieve such changes.

The principle of populism, which was one of the six principles together with republicanism, nationalism, statism, secularism, and reformism under which the bases of the reforms were formulated, did not give the masses the opportunity to participate in politics. On the contrary, populism wanted to create masses just to support the élite in all their decisions. As a result, the cultural life that was created was an élite culture. The gap between the low and high strata grew during the 1940s. The masses of population were not influenced by the new forms of art such as opera and theatre nor did they enjoy reading Greek classics. Illiteracy was still very high, especially in rural parts of the country. For an average literate person classical texts were probably not encouraging for further reading. This problem of society did have its consequences during the 1950s which will be the subject of the following chapter.

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<sup>65</sup> For some reactions of modernisation and secularisation movements which appeared in the press, see Lutfy Levonian, trans. and ed., *The Turkish Press: Selections from the Turkish Press Showing Events and Opinions 1925-1932* (Athens: School of Religion, 1932).

## CHAPTER 8

### SHIFTS AND CHANGING PATTERNS OF PUBLICATION

Within a few years after World War II, Turkey entered a new era with the multi-party regime. After more than two decades of a monolithic voice, different voices began to be heard openly and become influential. Turkey's political system, economic policies and foreign relations underwent significant and profound changes. Although there was not a radical change in the Westernisation policy as the official ideology, it was altered and differences were seen in the suggested ways to achieve this goal.

Entering the new era, the structure of society also altered. As shown at the end of the previous chapter, the oppressive monoparty regime<sup>1</sup> and the economic and social circumstances had created a duality in society, between the mass of the population, the peasants and the industrial workers and the military-bureaucratic élite. By the end of the war, the Republican People's Party (RPP) had become unpopular, even hated, by the majority which consisted mainly of small farmers in the countryside, who at the time made up about eighty per cent of the total population.<sup>2</sup> Both this internal situation and new external factors have determined many aspects of socio-cultural life in Turkey as well

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<sup>1</sup> I am using the term "monoparty" in preference to "one party" or "single party" following Feroz Ahmad 'in order to emphasise the coalescing of party and state in Turkey during the years 1925-1945'. See Feroz Ahmad, *The Turkish Experiment In Democracy: 1950-1975* (London: C. Hurst, 1977), p. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Kemal H. Karpat, *Türk Demokrasi Tarihi: Sosyal, Ekonomik, Kültürel Temeller* (Istanbul: Afa Yayınları, 1996 [1967]), pp. 98-99.

as literary and translation activities. Therefore, this period can also be defined as one of the turning points in Turkish history.

This is also the start of a multiplicity of voices in all the spheres of social, political and cultural life in Turkey. Regarding cultural issues, perhaps the main shift happened in the publishing sector. With the growth of a private publishing sector, an increase of translated and published books both in number and variety, especially after the 1960s, the position of the literary polysystem changed remarkably. And the increasing weight of translation was felt in all cultural activities during this period. However, the apparent liberation of publishing from the monopoly of the state did not give the private initiatives the freedom they expected. On the contrary, publishing, including translation policies were manipulated according to the changing balances of the new political powers.

All these developments affected the approaches to translation, bringing new viewpoints about translation, the West and Turkish culture and identity which will be the subject of the next chapter. That is why an examination of the changing conditions of this transition period is of great importance for further analysis of translation during this period.

### **8.1 The Transition Period**

The transition to the multi-party system in 1946 can be considered as the last step of the Westernisation reforms and the beginning of a new era.<sup>3</sup> The acceptance of Turkey into

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<sup>3</sup> The factors which affected the change of the political structure were multiple. The discontent of the majority of society with the existing political and economical conditions as well as external pressures for democratisation, especially from the United States which emerged as the dominant world power at the end of the War, forced the government, namely the RPP, to allow the establishment of an opposition party and announce that free and direct general elections would take place in 1947. Following these developments, the *Demokrat Parti* (Democrat Party) was officially registered on 7 January 1946 and the first general elections took place in June 1946 when the Democrats managed to win 62 of the 465 seats in the assembly.

European organisations, such as the United Nations that Turkey had joined in 1945<sup>4</sup>, was also seen as becoming a part of the Western world.

Changes in Turkish politics started to be seen soon after the 1946 elections. Now, the existence of a new party and its strong opposition gave rise to changes in several areas. Between the transitional years 1946-1950<sup>5</sup> both parties struggled, as Feroz Ahmad has argued, to acquire new identities so as to win over the electorate.<sup>6</sup> The Republican People's Party, in order 'to counter the way in which the Democrats played the religious card'<sup>7</sup>, decided to allow religious education in the schools, to slow down language reform by repromulgating the text of the 1924 constitution and ending the prohibition on the call to prayer, the *ezan*, in Arabic and to reform the Village Institutes, which had been the target of the Democrat Party as being the centres of communist propaganda.<sup>8</sup> In 1946, the usage of a single textbook in primary and secondary schools was ended. The publishing of textbooks, which was mainly under the monopoly of the Ministry of Education, was transferred to private publishing houses. In order to examine religious issues according to scientific bases, the Faculty of Theology at Ankara University was opened in 1949.<sup>9</sup> Finally, after the Democrat Party's triumph in the 1950 elections where it won an

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<sup>4</sup> In 1949 Turkey became a member of the Council of Europe, the entrance into the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation would come in 1952 during the Democrat Party government.

<sup>5</sup> Kemal Karpat's study of the transitional period is very illuminating: See Kemal H. Karpat, *Turkey's Politics: The Transition to a Multi-Party System* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1959). Accounts of post-war political developments can also be found in Tarık Zafer Tunaya, *Türkiye'de Siyasal Partiler 1859-1952* (Istanbul: Hürriyet Vakfı Yayınları, 1984 [1952]); Gothard Jäschke, *Die Türkei in den Jahren 1942-1951* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1955); Ahmet Emin Yalman, *Turkey in my Time* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1956). See also Bernard Lewis, *The Emergence of Modern Turkey* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1961), pp. 287-313; Feroz Ahmad, *The Making of Modern Turkey* (London & New York: Routledge, 1993), pp. 102-20, and *The Turkish Experiment In Democracy: 1950-1975* (London: C. Hurst, 1977), pp. 1-34; Erik J. Zürcher, *Turkey: A Modern History* (London: I. B. Tauris, 1993), pp. 215-28.

<sup>6</sup> Ahmad, *Making*, p. 106.

<sup>7</sup> Zürcher, p. 224.

<sup>8</sup> See Chapter 5.4.

<sup>9</sup> Arslan Kaynardağ, 'Yayın Dünyası', in *Cumhuriyet Dönemi Türkiye Ansiklopedisi*, ed. by Murat Belge (Istanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1983), pp. 2824-36 (p. 2828).



overwhelming majority (408 seats against the RPP's 69), Turkish politics witnessed a new era very different from the one of the monoparty regime. The Democrat Party won the next two elections of 1954 and 1957 and stayed in power until overthrown by the military *coup* of 1960.

Under the foreign policy of the Democrat Party, Turkey identified itself very much with the West.<sup>10</sup> In order to join the West and to be respected and treated by its Western allies Turkey was ready to serve Western interests even at the cost of alienating most of its neighbours. Especially after Turkey joined NATO in 1952 it began to participate on the side of the Western world wherever it could.<sup>11</sup> In the Balkans, signing the Treaty of Ankara with Athens and Belgrade in 1953, Turkey tried to link Yugoslavia to the West, and away from non-alignment. In the Arab world engaged in national struggles against Western imperialism, as Ahmad noted, Ankara sided with the imperialist powers. 'It supported the British in Egypt and the French in North Africa. In the struggle between Prime Minister Mossedeq and the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company, Ankara's sympathies were with the oil company'.<sup>12</sup> In April 1955, the Turkish delegation attended the Conference of Afro-Asian nations at Bandung as, in Nehru's words, the 'advocate of the West'.<sup>13</sup> Defending Western positions and preventing the conference from being a spring-board for

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<sup>10</sup> On Turkey's foreign policy after the World War II, see Kemal H. Karpat, ed., *Turkish Foreign Policy in Transition: 1950-1974* (Leiden: Brill, 1975); Ayşegül Sever, 'The Compliant Ally? Turkey and the West in the Middle East 1954-58', *Middle Eastern Studies*, 34:2 (1998), 73-90. See also works on Turkish relations with Europe and the West in recent decades like David Barchard, *Turkey and the West* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1985); George Sellers Harris, *Troubled Alliance: Turkish and American Problems in Historical Perspective, 1945-1971* (Washington: American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research, 1972); Dankwart A. Rustow, *Turkey: America's Forgotten Ally* (New York: Council on Foreign Relations, 1987); Sabri Sayari, 'Turkey: The Changing European Security Environment and the Gulf Crisis', *Middle East Journal*, 46:1 (1992), 9-21.

<sup>11</sup> Even earlier, Turkey, in order to persuade some NATO countries, such as Denmark and Norway to drop the objections for its entry to NATO, had sent troops to Korea.

<sup>12</sup> Ahmad, *Making*, p. 119.

<sup>13</sup> Orhan Koçak, 'Ataç, Meriç, Caliban, Bandung. Evrensellik ve Kısmilik Üzerine Bir Taslak', in *Türk Aydınımı ve Kimlik Sorunu*, ed. by Sabahattin Şen (Istanbul: Bağlam Yayıncılık, 1995), pp. 227-52 (p. 229).

the communists or even the neutrals, the Turkish delegation and its partners widened the rift between the pro-Western states and the non-aligned.<sup>14</sup>

During the 1950s the increasing importance of land transport, electricity services and state-operated radio broadcasting offered more modern channels for the communication of new forms and symbols of nationalism throughout Turkey. Democracy and private enterprises (economic and political liberalisation in contrast to the statist RPP government) were seen as the primary goals to achieve in order to become part of the Western world. The increasing importance of America was very much to do with the Truman doctrine<sup>15</sup> and the Marshall Plan<sup>16</sup>. It was clear that Turkey, in order to profit from American political, military and economic support, had to conform more closely to the political and economic ideals (democracy and free enterprise) cherished by the Americans. Economic and military co-operation with the West has remained the basis of Turkey's foreign policy ever since. Starting from the late 1940s both the Democrats and the Republicans shared the same aspiration: both wanted to achieve material progress that would transform Turkey into a 'little America'. Nihat Erim used the term in 1949 when he was the vice-premier of the RPP: 'If we do not run into any external calamity, I am very hopeful for the immediate future of the country. In the near future Turkey will become a little America...'. President Celal Bayar told his audience in the 1957 election campaign: 'In our country we work following the stages of American Progress. We are so

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<sup>14</sup> Ahmad, *Turkish*, p. 396.

<sup>15</sup> Launched on 12 March 1947 by President Harry S. Truman, the so-called Truman doctrine stipulated that the USA should and would help to defend 'free nations' whose existence was threatened by foreign pressure or by military minorities inside their borders. Announced after the Soviet claims for the establishments of a joint Turkish-Russian defence force in the area of the Bosphorus and Dardanelles, in order to guard the Black Sea and for a correction of the border between the two countries, returning to the Soviet Union the areas in north-eastern Anatolia and the civil war between communists and monarchists in Greece, this was the start of the American commitment to the defence of anti-Communist regimes throughout the world.

<sup>16</sup> With the Marshall Plan, announced on 5 June 1947, the USA undertook financial support on a gigantic scale to European countries to help them rebuild their economies.

hopeful that after 30 years this auspicious country will become a little America with a population of 50 million.’<sup>17</sup>

The influence of the United States increased decisively in the years 1946-1960. Ideologically, anti-communism became a state policy. Censorship was enforced on the press and leftist publications. Although the relation of Turkey with the USA and Western Europe has had its ups and downs throughout the years<sup>18</sup>, Turkey has continued to have strong ties with the Western world.<sup>19</sup>

As for Europe, Turkey became an associated member of the European Economic Community (as it then was) in 1963, which, according to the agreement, would allow Turkey to apply for full membership after a preparatory phase of 17 years. When Turkey applied for full membership for the European Community in 1987, the response was that the application could not be considered before 1993 at the earliest. Instead, the Commission suggested the realisation of a customs union which was signed (Customs Union Agreement) by Turkey and the European Union and put into effect on 1 January 1996.<sup>20</sup> However, the name of Turkey as a candidate for membership was left to the second round of enlargement some time in the twenty-first century when the applications

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<sup>17</sup> Ahmad, *Turkish*, p. 51, n. 60.

<sup>18</sup> While the Cuban missile crisis and the Cyprus crisis both in the mid-1960s and in 1974 disturbed the relations with the USA, during the 1990-91 Gulf crisis Turkish government supported the US policy.

<sup>19</sup> See Bruce R. Kuniholm, ‘Turkey and the West Since World War II’, in *Turkey Between East and West*, ed. by Vojtech Mastny and R. Craig Nation (Oxford: Westview Press, 1996), pp. 45-69.

<sup>20</sup> Meltem Müftüler-Bac, ‘The Never-Ending Story: Turkey and the European Union’, *Middle Eastern Studies*, 34:4 (1998), 240-58 (p. 241).

of Balkan countries would be discussed.<sup>21</sup> Apart from the political and economic benefits, membership in the European Community would prove to the Turks that they belonged to the Western world, as they had believed for more than seven decades.

The USA and Europe, defined as the West in a Turkish context, have always been seen as the bases to construct Turkey's political, social and cultural identity. On the other hand, Turkey's economic ties with its Middle Eastern neighbours have been increasingly developed for the last four decades.<sup>22</sup>

The position of intellectuals also changed after the 1940s. A new University Act in 1946 following the elections granted corporate autonomy to three institutions: Istanbul University, Istanbul Technical University and the newly organised Ankara University.<sup>23</sup> In the climate of the Cold War, in which Turkey began to play an important part, the Left and all those with socialist sympathies were seen as potential traitors. Under this new University Act, in 1948, a group of social scientists were dismissed from the Faculty of Arts and Letters of Ankara University for their "leftist" inclinations.<sup>24</sup> This was, as Ayşe

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<sup>21</sup> The backwardness of the Turkish economy, violations of human rights in Turkey and the disagreements with Greece over the Aegean and Cyprus have been given as the main obstacles for Turkey to join the European Union. However, more importantly than these arguments, is perhaps the problem of the integration of Turks in European civilisation. Europe, according to Wilfried Martens, the Belgian Chairman at a meeting of European People's (Christian Democrat) Parties in Brussels in March 1997, was a 'civilisational project' whereas Turkey belonged to a different civilisation: 'In our view Turkey cannot be candidate for EU membership. We are in favour of extensive cooperation with Turkey, but the European project is a civilisational project. Turkey's candidature for full membership is unacceptable.' See Andrew Mango, 'Turkey and the Enlargement of the European Mind', *Middle Eastern Studies*, 34:2 (1998), 171-92 (p. 171, n. 3). This argument, as Meltem Müftüler-Bac noted, was supported by German Chancellor Helmut Kohl who claimed that the European Union was based on Christian principles and could not accommodate countries that do not share this identity. See Müftüler-Bac, 'The Never-Ending Story: Turkey and the European Union', p. 240. On the relationship of Turkey with the European Union see, among many other works, a recent study by Müftüler-Bac, *Turkey's Relations with a Changing Europe* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997).

<sup>22</sup> Turkey's present relations with its Arab and other Middle Eastern countries are examined, among others, in Henri Barkey, ed., *Reluctant Neighbor: Turkey's Role in the Middle East* (Washington: United States Institute of Peace, 1996).

<sup>23</sup> Ayşe Öncü, 'Academics: The West in the Discourse of University Reform', in *Turkey and the West: Changing Political and Cultural Identities*, ed. by Metin Heper, Ayşe Öncü and Heinz Kramer (London & New York: I.B. Tauris, 1993), pp. 142-76 (p. 155).

<sup>24</sup> Ahmad, *Turkish*, p. 29, n. 70. The professors expelled were Pertev Naili Boratav, Niyazi Berkes, Adnan Cemgil, and Behice Boran. Boratav and Berkes emigrated to France and Canada respectively.

Öncü has showed, important 'in underlining the shifting focus of differences between Turkish academics in the coming decades', but also as an example of the redefinition of 'the opposition of reactionary versus progressive and the radical versus conservative forces during the 1950s and 1960s, in the language of "Left" versus "Right"'.<sup>25</sup> The Democrat Party's tolerant attitude towards Islam, which, for the Democrats, was not necessarily incompatible with the development of the country, was unacceptable for the educated élite. For years, the élite, including civil servants, teachers, academics and officers, had identified themselves with the ruling party, which was itself the government, representing the positivist and Western-oriented attitude that, at the same time, they were themselves reproducing. The change in policies threatened their cultural hegemony and their monopoly on the political scene. After the 1950s, academics and universities found themselves in opposition. As a result of Turkey's new linkages to international markets and the beginnings of US aid and credit, 'it was no longer the prominent professors who acted as advisors and shaped the public policy, but the officials of Chambers of Commerce whose influence prevailed in government circles'.<sup>26</sup> In the 1950s, four other universities were established, in addition to the existing three: Karadeniz Technical University in Trabzon and Ege University in Izmir in 1955, the Middle East Technical University in Ankara in 1956, and Atatürk University in Erzurum in 1957. The establishment of the Faculty of Agriculture and Veterinary Sciences of Atatürk University, which constituted the nucleus of the university, was accomplished by an American assistance programme for agricultural development.<sup>27</sup> On the other hand, the Middle East Technical University was directly patterned after the 'American model', with

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<sup>25</sup> Öncü, 'Academics: The West in the Discourse of University Reform', p. 156.

<sup>26</sup> Öncü, 'Academics: The West in the Discourse of University Reform', p. 157.

<sup>27</sup> Öncü, 'Academics: The West in the Discourse of University Reform', p. 159.

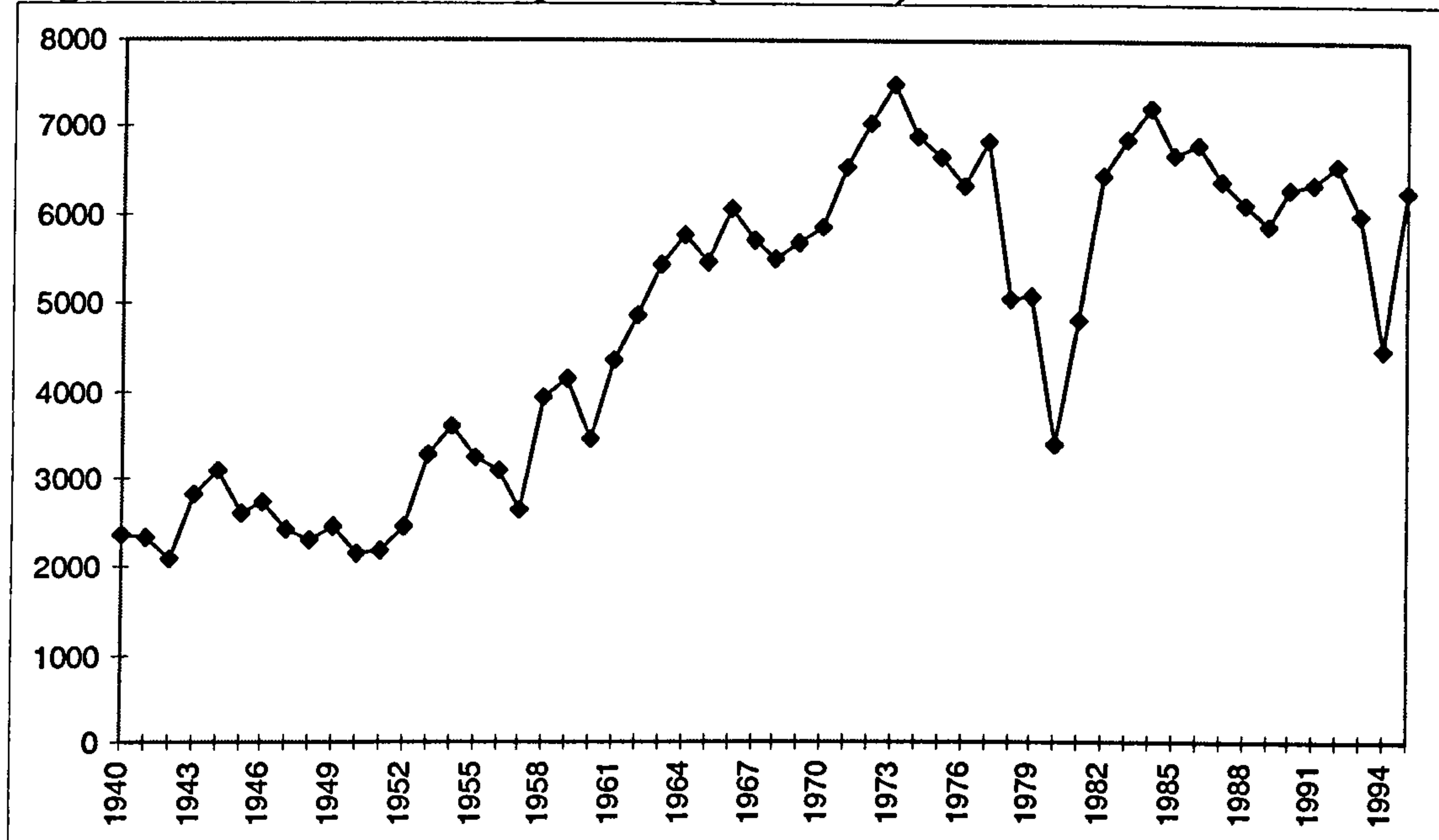
English as the teaching language. After this period, the 'American model' took the place of the 'German model' in academia.

## 8.2 The 1960s

Starting from the second half of the 1940s, some private publishing houses were established, such as *Varlık Yaymevi* in 1946, *Yeditepe Yaymevi* in 1950, *Altm Kitaplar* and *Arkm Yaymevi* in 1957, and *De Yaymevi* in 1959, while former publishing houses like *Remzi*, *Kanaat* and *Hilmi* continued to publish Turkish as well as translated literature. A new generation of Turkish authors educated in Village Institutes, such as Mahmut Makal, Fakir Baykurt and Talip Apaydın, joined the literary circles, however, the number of published books, as it can be seen in Figure 8.1<sup>28</sup>, did not show a remarkable increase until the 1960s.

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<sup>28</sup> The data for the following figures are taken from UNESCO's *Statistical Yearbooks*, Arslan Kaynardağ, 'Yayın Dünyası', in *Cumhuriyet Dönemi Türkiye Ansiklopedisi*, ed. by Murat Belge (Istanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1983), pp. 2824-36 (p. 2832) and *Statistical Pocketbooks of Turkey* published by the State Institute of Statistics where the data for some years were missing in UNESCO's yearbooks. Although the numbers in other sources, such as the table for published books between 1928-1984, given by Kaynardağ, show some differences, they do not change the general tendency. In order to be consistent (also with the numbers for translated books), I have used UNESCO's data in my graphs. It should be remembered that government publications, school textbooks, university theses, offprints, publications which form a part of a series, but which constitute separate bibliographical units, and illustrated works are included in book production statistics.

**Figure 8.1. Books Published per Year (1940-1994)**

Especially in the output of literary works, as can be seen in Figure 8.2, the first half of the 1940s remains as the most fruitful years. In the field of translation, after the 1950s, new publishing houses, inspired by the pocketbooks published in Britain and the United States, were established publishing cheap pocketbooks.<sup>29</sup> The number of translations accomplished by the Translation Bureau showed, as illustrated in Tables 6.1 and 6.2, a dramatic decrease starting in the 1950s. Children's literature and popular literature were widely translated by private publishing houses. Perhaps the most translated popular literature during the 1950s was the series of *Mike Hammer* by Frank Morrison Spillane which had great success and, as Arslan Kaynardağ notes, pseudotranslations of the same series appeared soon after.<sup>30</sup> Examining lists of translations which appeared in the 1950s, one encounters a large number of Turkish book titles without any reference to their original titles nor to their authors, and rarely with the supposed translator's name which

<sup>29</sup> Kaynardağ, 'Yayın Dünyası', p. 2828.

<sup>30</sup> According to the list of 1956 in *Index Translationum* published by UNESCO, 89 out of 936 translated books published in Turkey were by Spillane. Popular fiction by authors such as Erskine Caldwell, James Hadley Chase, Peter Cheyney, Archibald Joseph Cronin, Sir Arthur Conan Doyle, Maurice Leblanc (Arsène Lupin), Michel Zévaco were also widely translated (and rewritten) during the 1950s.

supports the presumption made by Kaynardağ. The titles suggest that these books are either detective novels or children's literature. Translated popular fiction in the form of pocketbooks were among the most sold publications.<sup>31</sup> However, as Kaynardağ showed elsewhere, repeated editions of some works of Turkish literature in the late 1950s were a relatively new phenomenon.<sup>32</sup> The novel *Sinekli Bakkal* by Halide Edip-Adıvar (1884-1964)<sup>33</sup> had twenty-three editions, followed by a volume of the poems of Karacaoğlan, 17th century folksongs, with sixteen editions. The next best-sellers were *Çalığışu* by Reşat Nuri Güntekin (1889-1956)<sup>34</sup>, Mahmut Makal's (b. 1933) *Bizim Köy*<sup>35</sup> and Yaşar Kemal's (b. 1922) *İnce Memed*<sup>36</sup>. The poems of Orhan Veli Kanık (1914-1950)<sup>37</sup> and Cahit Sıtkı Tarancı's (1910-1956) poems *Otuzbeş Yaş*<sup>38</sup> were also among the best selling books.<sup>39</sup>

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<sup>31</sup> In one of the few translation criticisms written in the 1950s, M. Necmettin Özdarendeli complained about the lack of philosophical and scientific translations, such as works by Kant, Hegel Berkley and Schopenhauer, theories of Einstein, and works on Existentialism, but the abundance of the *Mike Hammer* series. See M. Necmettin Özdarendeli, 'Çeviri Edebiyatımızın Yetersizliği', *Türk Dili*, 5:58 (1956), 626-29 (p. 628).

<sup>32</sup> Kaynardağ, 'Books in Turkey', *Middle Eastern Affairs*, 11:10 (1960), 307-11 (p. 311).

<sup>33</sup> Written originally in English (*The Clown and his Daughter*) in 1935, the book was later reproduced in Turkish by the author and won the first literary prize by the Republican People's Party ever given in Turkey in 1942.

<sup>34</sup> Reşat Nuri Güntekin, *Çalığışu* (Istanbul: Türkiye Matbaası, 1935). The book was translated into English under the title *The Autobiography of a Turkish Girl* by Sir Wyndham Deedes (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1949).

<sup>35</sup> See Chapter 5.4.

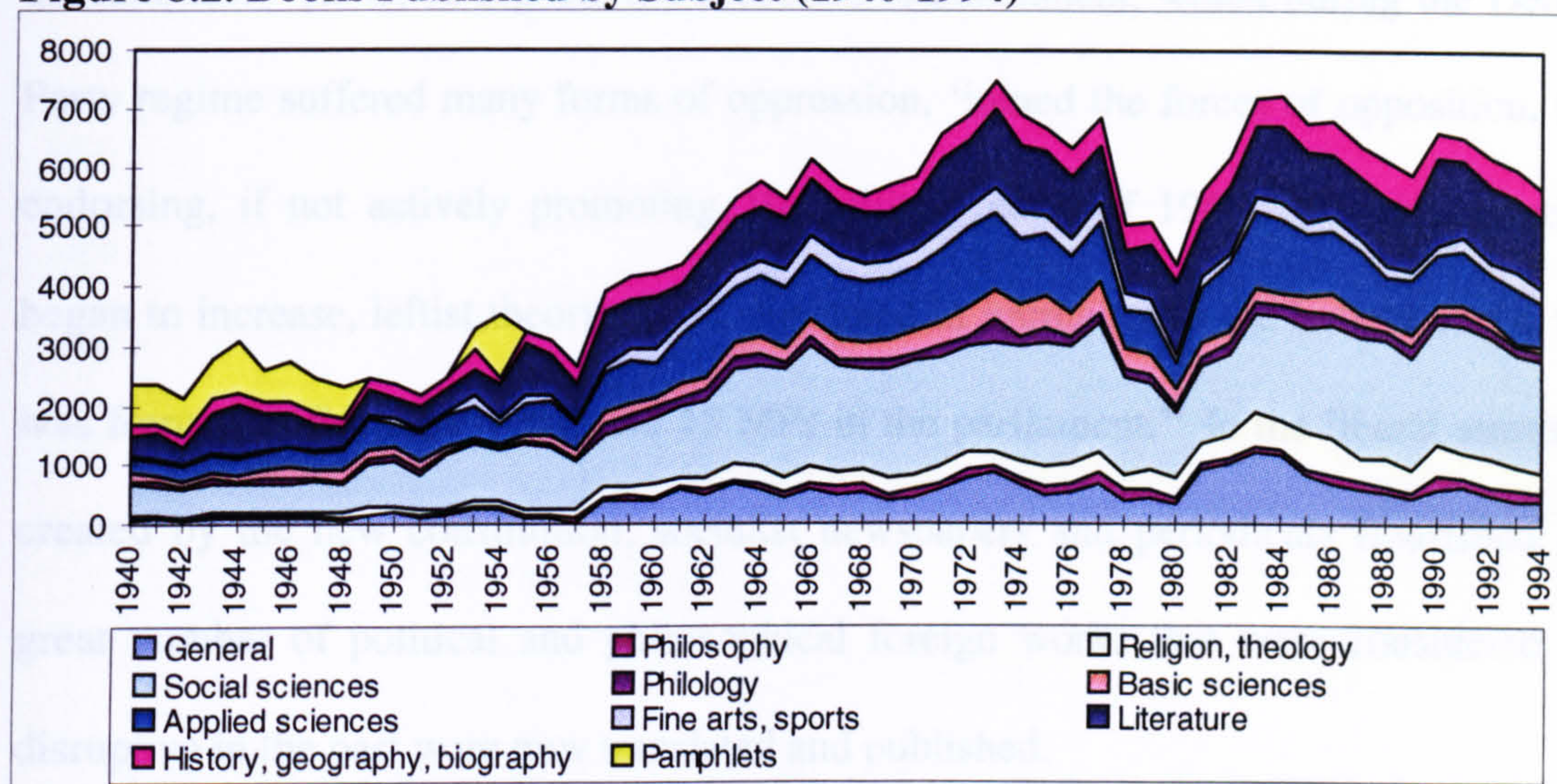
<sup>36</sup> Yaşar Kemal, *İnce Memed* (Istanbul: Remzi Kitabevi, 1955). It was translated into English under the title *Memed, my Hawk* by Eduard Roditi (London: Collins and Harvill Press, 1961).

<sup>37</sup> Three volumes of Orhan Veli's poems appeared in English: *I Am Listening to Istanbul*, trans. by Talat Sait Halman (New York: Corinth Books, 1971), *The Covered Bazaar*, trans. by Erje Ayden (New York: Geronimo Books, 1988) and *I, Orhan Veli*, trans. by Murat Nemet-Nejat (New York: Hanging Loose Press, 1989).

<sup>38</sup> Cahit Sıtkı Tarancı, *Otuzbeş Yaş* (Age Thirty-five) (Istanbul: Varlık Yayınları, 1946). *Otuzbeş Yaş* won the first prize in a poetry competition organised by the Republican People's Party in 1946.

<sup>39</sup> Kaynardağ, 'Books in Turkey', p. 311.



**Figure 8.2. Books Published by Subject (1940-1994)**

The year 1960 may be said to represent the start of another era for Turkey, namely the years of military interventions. Starting in 1960, with approximately ten-year intervals after that date, the military took over the control of the country. The dates, 1960, 1971, and 1980, are particularly important in the recent history of Turkey not only for political reasons but also in the socio-cultural context.

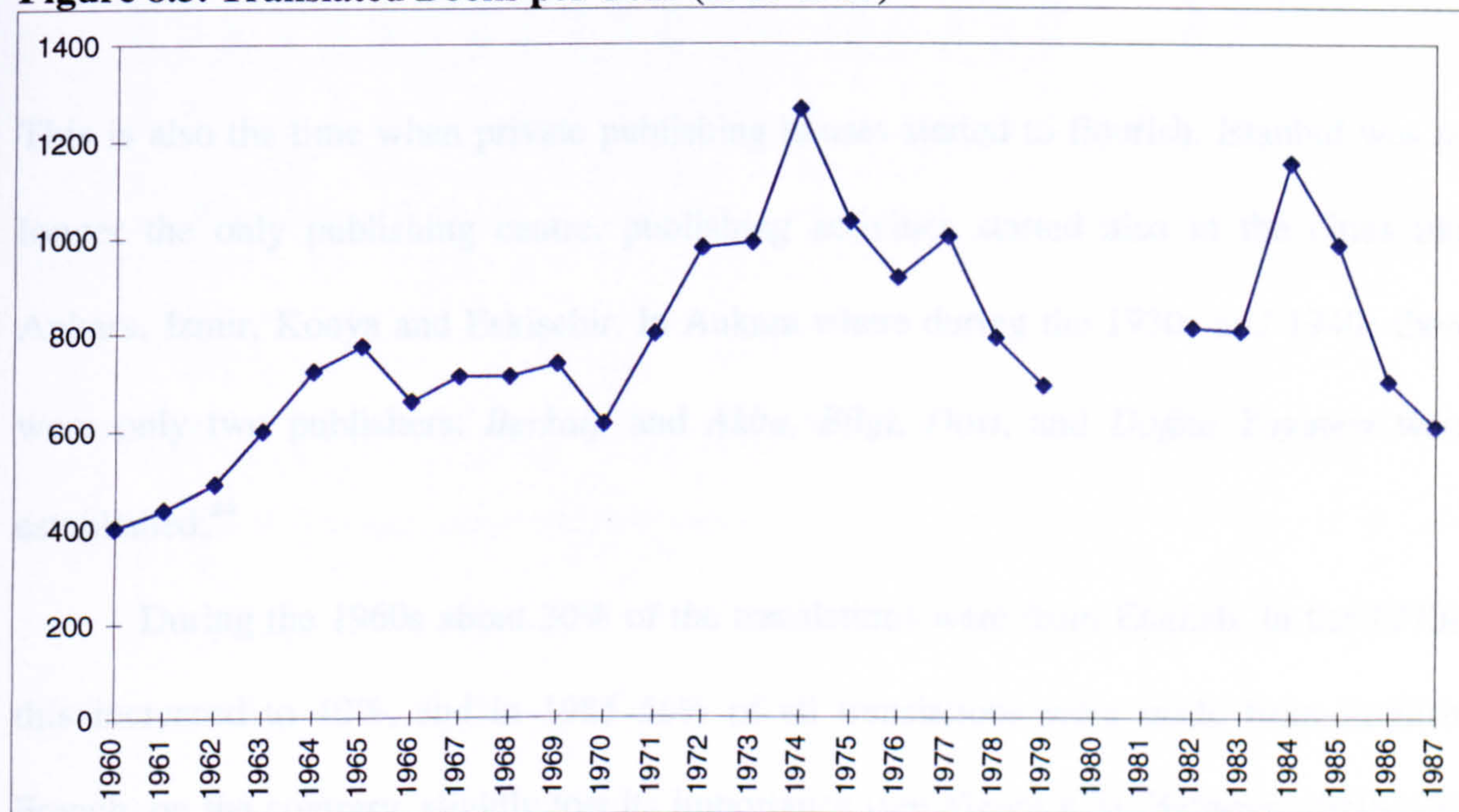
The figures on pages 207 and 208 show the number of translations between 1960 and 1987.<sup>40</sup> As can be easily seen, just by looking at the graphs the division of the recent history into three periods, 1960-1971, 1971-1980, and 1980 and onwards, can be made and the data can be analysed accordingly. It is interesting to look at the periods after each military intervention that have different characteristics depending on their “aim”.

Possibly the most stable period is the first, 1960-1971, and especially the years until 1964. The constitution of 1961 brought a number of liberties, such as freedom of the press, independence of the judiciary, rights for trade unions and autonomy for the

<sup>40</sup> The data are taken from UNESCO's *Statistical Yearbooks* and *Index Translationum* which compiles its bibliography by the Bibliographical Institute of the National Library in Ankara. The data for the years 1980 and 1981 were not available in both sources. Note the last military *coup* of 1980.

universities.<sup>41</sup> As Öncü argued, the academic establishment, which during the Democrat Party regime suffered many forms of oppression, ‘joined the forces of opposition, tacitly endorsing, if not actively promoting, the military coup of 1960’.<sup>42</sup> Socialist activities began to increase, leftist theories were discussed in journals and the Labour Party, which was formed in February 1961, had 15 MPs in the parliament.<sup>43</sup> In the liberal atmosphere created by the new constitution, socialist newspapers and periodicals flourished and a great number of political and philosophical foreign works that were considered to be disruptive in the past were now translated and published.

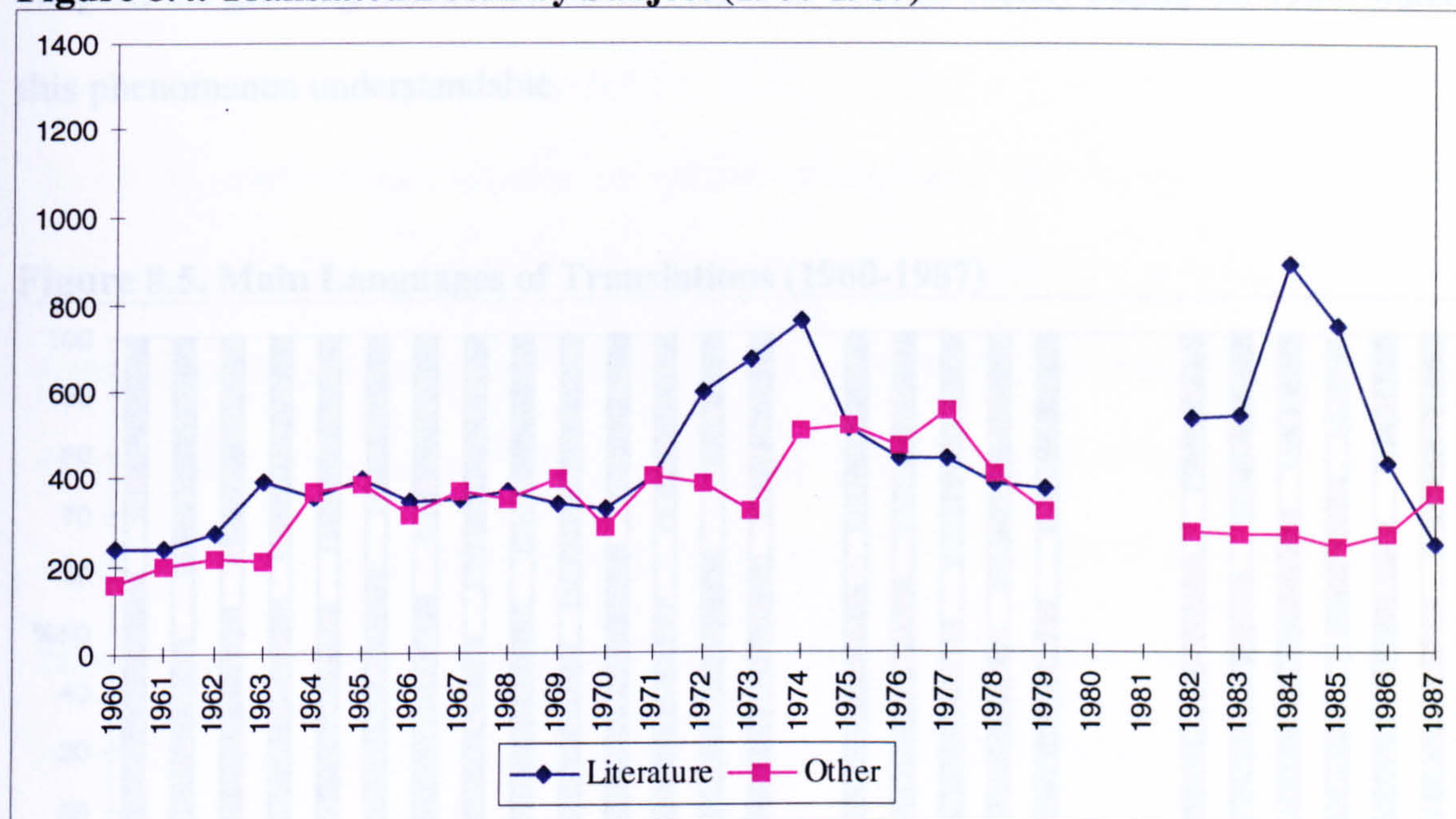
**Figure 8.3. Translated Books per Year (1960-1987)**



<sup>41</sup> For a detailed discussion of the 1961 Constitution, together with the 1921, 1924 and 1982 Constitutions, see Taha Parla, *Türkiye'nin Siyasal Rejimi 1980-1989* (Istanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1995 [1986]).

<sup>42</sup> Öncü, 'Academics: The West in the Discourse of University Reform', p. 157.

<sup>43</sup> In the parliamentary elections in October 1965 the Turkish Labour Party received three percent of the vote and gained 15 seats in the Turkish parliament. The life of the party ended with the "12th of March Memorandum" in 1971 by the military which put an end temporarily to almost all leftist activities. The Turkish Labour Party was outlawed and most of its leaders were arrested.

**Figure 8.4. Translated Books by Subject (1960-1987)**

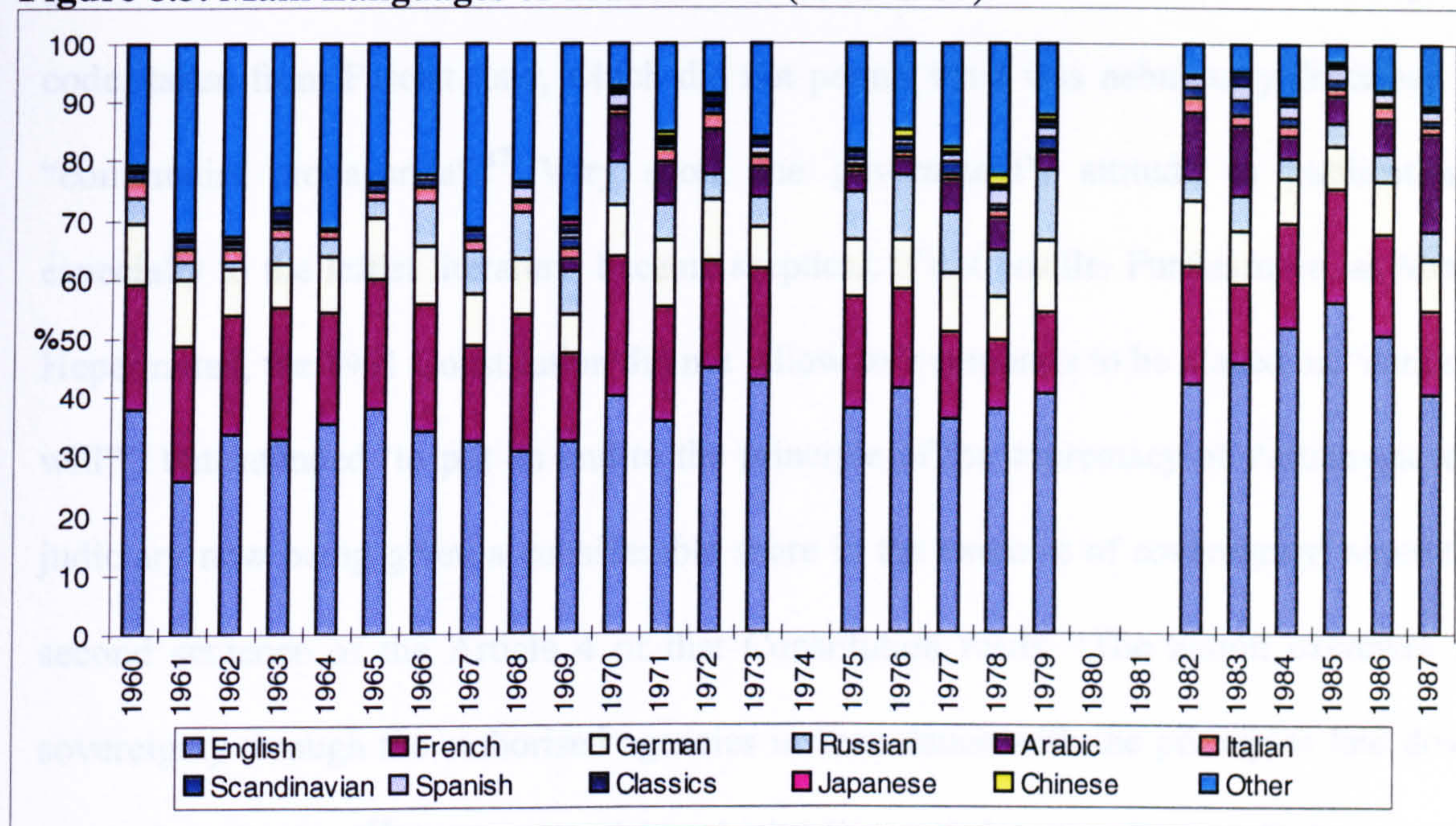
This is also the time when private publishing houses started to flourish. Istanbul was no longer the only publishing centre, publishing activities started also in the cities like Ankara, Izmir, Konya and Eskişehir. In Ankara where during the 1930s and 1940s there were only two publishers; *Berkalp* and *Akba*, *Bilgi*, *Dost*, and *Doğan Yayınevi* were established.<sup>44</sup>

During the 1960s about 30% of the translations were from English. In the 1970s, this increased to 40%, and in 1985 56% of all translations were made from English. French, on the contrary, slightly lost its importance (see Figure 8.5). Between 1960-1987 the average of French translations was 18%, and only 9% of the translations were from German. The Russian and Arabic languages show a small but significant increase in two different periods. Russian, which on average has 6% of the translations, had a growing importance during the 1970s. In 1979 12% of the translations were from Russian. Arabic, which had one of the lowest numbers in translation (4% on average), shows a big increase after 1980s. In 1987 17% of all translations were from Arabic. As will be seen in the next

<sup>44</sup> Kaynardağ, 'Yayın Dünyası', p. 2830.

chapter, the growing number of Islamist signs in Turkish society during the 1980s makes this phenomenon understandable.

**Figure 8.5. Main Languages of Translations (1960-1987)**



The formation of parties of an outspoken rightist or Islamist signature as a result of this greater political freedom under the new constitution did not occur immediately; that came later. However, there was also no turn to the strict secularist, or even anti-Islamic, policies of the years before 1945. To combat religious bigotry, as Erik J. Zürcher noted, the governments in the early 1960s tried to propagate a modern, rationalist version of Islam. The change of the curriculum of the colleges for preachers to include sociology, economy and law and the publication of 'enlightened' sermons and the Koran in Turkish translation by the Directorate for Religious Affairs were some of the measures taken to achieve this goal.<sup>45</sup> At the same time, the start of translations on Islam caused the liberation of Islamic thought from the monopoly of those who knew Arabic and were the only ones to reach the sources. The translations of fundamental books by Islamic writers and of classics by

<sup>45</sup> Zürcher, pp. 259-60.

Western Orientalists helped, as Ruşen Çakır said, to the establishment of Islam not only as a religion, but also as way of life.<sup>46</sup>

In spite of this climate of relative liberty, the 1960 coup and the coalition governments which followed continued to keep the Articles 141 and 142 of the penal code, taken from Fascist Italy, which did not permit what was nebulously described as “communist propaganda”.<sup>47</sup> Very soon, the government’s attitude to publications, especially to the leftist literature, became sceptical, if not hostile. Furthermore, as Metin Heper noted, the 1961 Constitution did not ‘allow sole emphasis to be placed on “national will”’, but intended ‘to put an end to the principle of the supremacy of Parliament, the judiciary now being given a considerable share in the exercise of sovereignty’ since the second sentence of the Article 4 of that Constitution reads: ‘The nation exercises its sovereignty through the authorised agencies in accordance with the principles laid down in the Constitution.’<sup>48</sup> As a result of this, the intelligentsia became the principal target and writers and artists were harassed, some of them being prosecuted under these articles. For translating works like Jean Paul Sartre’s *Marxism and Existentialism* intellectuals were prosecuted. One example is Vedat Günyol, who translated Graechus Babeuf’s writings jointly with Sabahattin Eyuboğlu: he was prosecuted and the translations were banned.<sup>49</sup> According to Geoffrey Lewis, in 1966 and 1967, over 200 educational administrators and teachers were transferred or dismissed for ‘socialist and communist propaganda, for

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<sup>46</sup> Ruşen Çakır, *Ayet ve Slogan* (Istanbul: Metis, 1995 [1990]), p. 252.

<sup>47</sup> The Article 142 reads as follows: All those who, in whatsoever form, would propagandise in order to assure the domination of one social class over another, or to eliminate one social class, or in order to overthrow one or more fundamental economic and social institutions existing in the country, or would aim to destroy the political and legal order of the State, are liable to five to 15 years’ imprisonment. Quoted in Doğan Özgüden, ‘Postscript on the Universities’, *Index on Censorship*, 2:1 (1973), 11-12 (p. 12).

<sup>48</sup> Metin Heper, ‘Recent Instability in Turkish Politics: End of a Monocentrist Polity’, *International Journal of Turkish Studies*, 1:1 (1979-80), 102-13 (p. 110).

<sup>49</sup> Ahmad, *Turkish*, p. 219. Vedat Günyol gave a full account of the Babeuf case in *Devrim Yazıları-Babeuf Dosyası* (Istanbul: Sosyal Yayınlar, 1974).

insulting the Justice Party, for recommending their pupils to read certain newspaper articles, arranging 'Atatürk Days' or reading the Bursa Speech, or not letting children go to mosques in school hours'.<sup>50</sup> Finally, in January 1967, thirteen members of the Translation Bureau resigned, as their chairman had done the previous month, in protest against government interference in the choice of books for translation. One example of such an interference is the translation of Tolstoy's *Anna Karenina* which had left the Bureau in October 1965 to be sent to the printer by the Ministry of Education, but had sunk without trace.<sup>51</sup> The translation of *Umut (L'espoir)* by Andre Malraux was banned, being accused with 'communist propaganda' in the very same year when the author was invited to attend the centenarian celebration of the Lycée de Galatasaray.<sup>52</sup> Can Yücel, for translating a book by Che Guevara, was brought to court in 1968, was sentenced in July 1970, receiving the usual term of seven and a half years and imprisoned in 1973 like many other journalists and translators whose trials (prosecutions) were finalised after the 1971 coup.<sup>53</sup>

With the 1960s the economy was rapidly changing its predominantly agrarian character, becoming one in which commerce and industry were dominant. A fast process of change with rapid growth and industrialisation caused great dislocation throughout the society marked by mass immigration to the cities, and even, an exodus to Western Europe, especially to Germany which started in 1957 when President Theodor Heuss invited 150 graduates of Turkish technical institutes to work in West German industry. By 1960, there were already 2,700 Turks there. On 30 October 1961 a bilateral agreement

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<sup>50</sup> Geoffrey Lewis, *Modern Turkey* (London & Tonbridge: Ernest Benn, 1974 [1955]), p. 181.

<sup>51</sup> G. Lewis, *Modern*, p. 181.

<sup>52</sup> Çetin Altan, 'Kitap Düşmanları', *Akşam*, 27 Apr. 1968, n. pag.

<sup>53</sup> On the censorship on the press and publications see Alpay Kabacalı, *Türkiye'de Basın Sansürü* (Istanbul: Gazeteciler Cemiyeti, 1990) and Bülent Habora, *Yasak Kitaplar* (Istanbul: Habora, 1969).

was signed, a German liaison office was opened in Istanbul and in Ankara in 1963 to organise the recruitment and medical and other tests. Consequently, the number of Turks immigrated to Germany increased dramatically, by 1963 the number of Turks employed in West Germany had risen to 27,500.<sup>54</sup> According to the official numbers, Turkish population in Germany had exceeded 2 millions in 1997.<sup>55</sup>

Moreover, the increasing social mobility starting in the 1960s, transportation and communication facilities, TV, international news etc. caused the encounter of high and low cultures which eventually gave rise to a class conflict.

### 8.3 A new Westernisation Programme

During the multi-party regime, Westernisation was conceived as industrialisation which would lead to economic development (and therefore greater political stability). The emphasis put on cultural Westernisation, as institutionalised during the 1940s in the Translation Bureau, People's Houses and Village Institutes, could not transfer Turkish people to a Western society, but created a gap between the élite and the masses. Starting in the 1950s, governments have given weight to economic development which they have seen as the core necessity to bring their country up to Western standards. However, after the military coup of 1960, the new regime blamed the Democrat Party of the 1950s for the lack of planning which, in their view, brought the country to a state of economic and financial chaos. This view led them to create the State Planning Office (*Devlet Planlama Teşkilâtı*) which was given extensive powers in the fields of economic, social and cultural planning. The SPO acted as an advisory body under the authority of the Prime Minister as

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<sup>54</sup> G. Lewis, *Modern*, p. 176.

<sup>55</sup> Germany, Statistisches Bundesamt, *Statistisches Jahrbuch für die Bundesrepublik Deutschland, 1998* (Stuttgart: Metzler-Poeschel, 1998).

its chairman and together with foreign consultants, started to formulate five-year development plans. It is hoped that this brief examination of the plans from the 1960s to the 1980s can provide some insight into the official policies on cultural issues and to show a shift of emphasis from the Western to the Turkish cultural values.

The Prime Minister İsmet İnönü declared in his preface to the first Five-Year Development Plan (1963-1967) the purpose and goals of the Plan:

The first Five-Year Development Plan (1963-1967) was prepared for the Turkish people who have definitely chosen the democratic way of life which makes it possible to guarantee individual rights and the welfare and prosperity of both individuals and the community.

The Plan concords with the will and resolution expressed clearly in the Constitution to direct economic and social life to the pursuit of standards of living which are compatible with human dignity on the basis of equity and full employment and, in so doing, to end once for all attempts at unplanned and arbitrary conduct.

Its object is to realize economic, social and cultural progress by democratic means, to raise national savings and to plan investment activities in the order of priority and in the directions which will assure most benefit to the community as a whole.<sup>56</sup>

Cultural development was considered, according to the Annual Programme of 1965, 'an objective per se as well as an effective means of comprehensive development'.<sup>57</sup> Traces of the official ideology on national culture and identity of the 1940s were still to be found in this programme. Emphasis was given not to differences in society but to the creation of one national culture which was compatible with the Western world. Accordingly, the main purpose of cultural planning was described as 'to integrate the various regional characteristics within a national culture, to establish the most suitable media for cultural development and to raise national culture to a high and permanent level within world

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<sup>56</sup> İsmet İnönü, 'Foreword', in Republic of Turkey, State Planning Organisation, *First Five Year Development Plan 1963-1967* (Ankara: Prime Ministry State Planning Organisation, 1964), pp. iii-iv.

<sup>57</sup> Republic of Turkey, State Planning Organisation, *Development Plan. First Five Year 1963-1967. 1965 Annual Programme* (Ankara: Prime Ministry State Planning Organisation, 1964), p. 277.



culture'.<sup>58</sup> To achieve this goal, some measures were envisaged, such as the acceleration of publications, especially translations of classics and periodicals, by the Ministry of Education which had been slow since 1954 and the re-print of publications which were out of print. The conveyance of cultural goods to the masses was stressed throughout the section on the measures to be taken; not only the increase of the number of publications was to be considered, but also the increased availability of these publications through book lending services and mobile libraries. Similarly, the State Theatre, the State Opera, the State Chorus and State Orchestra, organised in small units, were to tour the provinces during the summer months, 'avoiding expensive costumes and stage settings', so were the Bursa and Izmir State Theatres to organise tours for neighbouring provinces during the theatre season. The State Orchestra Conservatories and music groups had to increase the number and duration of their provincial tours to the benefit of a wider audience.<sup>59</sup> All these cultural activities were mainly Western.

Despite the increased number of plays written by Turkish writers, the performances in the theatres were predominantly translations. The following tables give the numbers of both original and translated works presented in the state theatres and municipal theatre in Istanbul.<sup>60</sup>

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<sup>58</sup> *Development Plan. First Five Year 1963-1967. 1965 Annual Programme*, p. 277.

<sup>59</sup> *Development Plan. First Five Year 1963-1967. 1965 Annual Programme*, pp. 277-79.

<sup>60</sup> Data are taken from Republic of Turkey, State Planning Organisation, *Türkiye'de Toplumsal ve Ekonomik Gelişmenin 50 Yılı* (Ankara: Başbakanlık Devlet İstatistik Enstitüsü, 1973), pp. 467-73. One important point to be noted is that translated plays performed in the Municipal Theatre in Istanbul were differentiated as "translated" and "adapted" until the season of 1957-58.

**Table 8.1. Number of plays, performances and attendance in the State Theatre (1949/50-1971/72)**

Years	Works Presented			Performances			Attendance		
	Original	Translated	Total	Original	Translated	Total	Original	Translated	Total
1949-50	1	10	11	36	354	390	9,772	60,501	70,273
1950-51	4	4	8	180	138	318	43,124	44,843	87,967
1951-52	3	5	8	80	206	286	16,241	73,052	89,293
1952-53	5	5	10	180	142	322	68,512	49,267	117,779
1953-54	3	6	9	88	189	277	42,298	80,570	122,868
1954-55	3	8	11	125	267	392	66,649	129,251	195,900
1955-56	5	9	14	195	273	468	101,557	104,610	206,167
1956-57	6	9	15	361	622	983	118,702	192,942	311,644
1957-58	3	12	15	320	1,206	1,526	103,852	345,785	449,637
1958-59	5	10	15	469	959	1,428	162,137	263,437	425,574
1959-60	4	10	14	485	808	1,293	97,563	258,435	355,998
1960-61	9	15	24	643	790	1,433	162,137	182,920	344,995
1961-62	11	12	23	715	709	1,424	168,099	189,409	357,508
1962-63	9	13	22	724	711	1,435	211,817	212,467	424,284
1963-64	6	16	22	444	1,058	1,502	170,099	261,937	432,036
1964-65	10	14	24	924	791	1,715	288,058	202,321	490,379
1965-66	11	11	22	163	531	1,694	314,474	136,443	450,917
1966-67	8	14	22	615	1,088	1,703	150,545	294,842	445,387
1967-68	8	14	22	645	968	1,613	184,776	195,089	379,865
1968-69	12	10	22	907	721	1,628	208,341	148,644	356,985
1969-70	11	10	21	868	625	1,493	139,065	222,606	361,671
1970-71	9	11	20	543	758	1,301	165,205	204,715	369,920
1971-72	12	13	25	878	554	1,432	249,962	139,057	389,019

**Table 8.2. Number of plays, performances and attendance in the Municipal Theatre in Istanbul (1940/41-1970/71)**

Years	Works Presented				Performances	Attendance
	Original	Translation	Adaptation	Total		
1940-41	4	5	6	15	412	217,639
1941-42	6	4	9	19	417	206,560
1942-43	2	11	5	18	476	173,426
1943-44	5	7	2	14	464	242,140
1944-45	5	8	1	14	451	214,856
1945-46	7	5	1	13	469	236,916
1946-47	5	4	5	14	469	231,274
1947-48	5	5	3	13	473	253,955
1948-49	6	5	3	14	484	224,189
1949-50	3	6	5	14	480	197,039
1950-51	8	6	3	17	475	208,904
1951-52	7	7	3	17	540	238,658
1952-53	7	9	3	19	641	220,510
1953-54	3	9	4	16	620	229,278
1954-55	3	11	2	16	641	232,964
1955-56	4	12	4	20	616	210,921
1956-57	5	5	6	16	646	248,812
1957-58	4	9	2	15	608	183,386
1958-59	4	10		14	594	224,748
1959-60	7	9		16	982	367,589
1960-61	9	19		28	1,289	304,050
1961-62	12	26		38	1,362	364,741

1962-63	11	27		38	1,407	404,014
1963-64	6	28		34	1,471	407,255
1964-65	9	25		34	1,384	366,732
1965-66	13	27		40	1,323	262,731
1966-67	7	19		26	1,088	240,901
1967-68	8	14		22	848	170,389
1968-69	13	11		24	1,035	178,787
1969-70	14	10		24	1,082	243,564
1970-71	10	12		22	1,212	334,906

Especially, in the field of opera and ballet almost all the works were Western since a handful of Turkish composers were still at the beginning of their careers.<sup>61</sup>

Years	Operas			Ballets			Operettas		
	Original	Translation	Total	Original	Translation	Total	Original	Translation	Total
1949-50		3	3						
1950-51		2	2						
1951-52		2	2					1	1
1952-53	1	2	3						
1953-54		4	4						
1954-55		5	5					2	2
1955-56		8	8					1	1
1956-57	1	6	7					1	1
1957-58		5	5					1	1
1958-59	1	5	6						
1959-60		5	5						
1960-61		4	4		1	1		2	2
1961-62	1	8	9		4	4		3	3
1962-63	1	7	8		5	5		2	2
1963-64		7	7		4	4			
1964-65	1	6	7	1	5	6		1	1
1965-66		6	6	1	7	8		2	2
1966-67		11	11	1	4	5		1	1
1967-68		11	11		7	7		1	1
1968-69		5	5	1	3	4		1	1
1969-70		4	4	1	2	3		1	1
1970-71		4	4		3	3		1	1
1971-72		5	5		3	3		1	1

<sup>61</sup> The first three Turkish operas, staged in the People's House in Ankara in 1934, were *Öz Soy* and *Taşbebek*, and *Bayönder*, composed respectively by Ahmet Adnan Saygun and Necil Kâzım Akses. A second important event was the opening ceremony of the new opera and theatre house, converted from the *Sergi Evi* (Exhibition House) by the German architect Paul Bonatz (1877-1956) on 2 April 1948 where Cemal Reşit Rey's first Symphony, Ulvi Cemal Erkin's violin concerto, Necil Kâzım Akses' *Ballade* and Ahmet Adnan Saygun's lyrical drama, *Kerem* were for the first time performed. However, Saygun's three acts' *Kerem* could only be staged in the National Theatre in 1953. For the history of Turkish classical music, see Cevat Memduh Altar, *Opera Tarihi*, 4 vols. (Ankara: Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı, 1982).

A shift of emphasis on cultural issues can be seen starting with the Second Five Year Development Plan 1968-1972. In this, promoting 'every branch of old Turkish art and Turkish folklore' and substituting 'valuable cultural work for that less worthy' and preserving 'the identity of Turkish culture in the activities undertaken' were some of the objectives in the cultural area.<sup>62</sup> Now, 'in order for cultural activities to be effective and to bring about constructive results in rural areas', it was argued that these regions had to benefit not only from Western cultural goods, but predominately from Turkish cultural works where foreign cultural works had to be integrated with Turkish cultural values.<sup>63</sup> The conservation of Turkish cultural goods was stressed throughout the policies to be implemented which included the simplification of the language of the literature of old Turkish writers to enable new generations to understand it, the establishment of folk music divisions in the conservatoires 'for the continuation, preservation and development of folk music' and the encouragement of activities by the Turkish Folklore Institute and voluntary organisations in this field. All activities which involved the dissemination of and publicity for Turkish culture inside, as well as outside Turkey, such as the organisation of and participation in international festivals, translations of Turkish literature into other languages and the distribution of loans and prizes, were supported.<sup>64</sup>

One interesting point to be noted in this Plan are the comments made about the "value" and "worth" of cultural goods and concerns that were expressed to increase the "quality" of cultural works. Following this assertion, protection of youth and children from "harmful" publications was envisaged. Traces of the control of the governments on the publications starting in the second half of the 1960s, as will be seen below, and of the

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<sup>62</sup> Republic of Turkey, State Planning Organisation, *Second Five Year Development Plan 1968-1972* (Ankara: Prime Ministry State Planning Organisation, 1969), p. 208.

<sup>63</sup> *Second Five Year Development Plan 1968-1972*, p. 208.

<sup>64</sup> *Second Five Year Development Plan 1968-1972*, pp. 210-11.

polemics on “harmful” publications are to be found in the following Five Year Plans. Discussing the state of publications in previous years in the Third Five Year Plan 1973-1977, it was stated that most of the published books were far from encouraging adults and the young to read and no method could be developed to encourage valuable books giving them their real merit. In this respect, books on history, culture and arts were published by the Ministry of Education to fill the gap, furthermore, ‘studies were carried out in order to prevent publications harmful to children’.<sup>65</sup>

Some concerns about the loss of local cultural values due to the rapid urbanisation and industrialisation of society and a shift from the oral tradition to the written were also expressed in the Third Development Plan.<sup>66</sup> Similar concerns about the “national cultural values” were shared and expressed increasingly during the following years which led to creation of ideologies such as the “Turkish-Islamic Synthesis” of the 1980s, as will be discussed below, in an attempt to “protect” and strengthen the national identity which saw religion as one of its core components. As a result, one encounters clauses in the Fifth Five Year Development Plan 1985-1989 such as the following one which says: ‘Efforts will be made to secure all the necessary administrative and financial means for translating into modern Turkish works written in Arabic letters and in other languages but which belong to our national culture’.<sup>67</sup> Finally, the translation and publication of ‘cheap, well-qualified, national, contemporary’ books which would reflect and disseminate while developing the ‘classicised cultural values’ by the state as well as by private publishers was encouraged.<sup>68</sup> However, the weight of publications by government bodies was not as

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<sup>65</sup> Republic of Turkey, State Planning Organisation, *Yeni Strateji ve Kalkınma Planı: Üçüncü Beş Yıl 1973-1977* (Ankara: T.C. Başbakanlık Devlet Planlama Teşkilatı, 1973), p. 783.

<sup>66</sup> *Yeni Strateji ve Kalkınma Planı: Üçüncü Beş Yıl 1973-1977*, p. 785.

<sup>67</sup> Republic of Turkey, State Planning Organisation, *Fifth Five Year Development Plan 1985-1989* (Ankara: T.C. Başbakanlık Devlet Planlama Teşkilatı, 1987), p. 164.

<sup>68</sup> *Yeni Strateji ve Kalkınma Planı: Üçüncü Beş Yıl 1973-1977*, p. 787.

strong as it had been in the 1940s. An investigation of such publications and translations would be interesting to see the government's cultural policies. However, the real influence on the masses was the private publishing sector which, qualitatively and quantitatively, became more influential, especially after the 1980s.

#### 8.4. Political Chaos and Escape from Reality

The ultimatum of 1971 was made mainly to stop leftist movements and to intimidate society. During the first years of the 1970s and especially during martial law between 1971-1973 there was great pressure on the press and the publishing sector. Books were confiscated and long lists of banned titles were circulated<sup>69</sup>, numerous newspapers and periodicals were closed down, many university lecturers and professors, writers, translators, publishers, artists and journalists were arrested.<sup>70</sup> The 1961 Constitution, which was to a great extent formulated by a group of professors, was soon considered to be a "luxury" for Turkish society as a cause of political violence.<sup>71</sup> During this period, 44 articles of the constitution were changed. Civil liberties were limited, the autonomy of the universities and of radio and television was ended, the freedom of the press and the powers of the constitutional court were also limited.<sup>72</sup>

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<sup>69</sup> A list of seized books during the martial law was published in *Index on Censorship*, 2:1 (1973), pp. 17-18. Almost all the books in this list are communist writings. However, the striking fact is that more than 80% of these books were translations.

<sup>70</sup> See the list in *Index on Censorship*, 2:1 (1973), pp. 19-20.

<sup>71</sup> Berna Moran, *Türk Romanına Eleştirel Bir Bakış*, vol. 3 (Istanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1994), p. 12. That is what Nihat Erim, the Prime Minister at that time, had meant when he said that the 1961 constitution was a luxury for Turkey, 'a luxury an underdeveloped country could ill afford on its progress along the road to capitalism' (Ahmad, *Turkish Experiment*, p. 295). Erim used the word 'luxury' in a statement to the foreign press. Erim's press secretary Altemur Kılıç translated this into Turkish as *lüks* and gave a press handout to Turkish journalists who made Erim's views public. See *Milliyet*, 2 May 1971.

<sup>72</sup> Zürcher, p. 273.

Many translators together with their publishers were prosecuted in these years for translating leftist literature written mainly by Marx, Lenin, Stalin and Chinese communists. Alpay Kabacalı writes that between June 1972-May 1973 139 books, including Einstein's *Theory of Relativity*, were banned.<sup>73</sup> Some translations of literary books were confiscated during martial law, such as the translations of *The Grapes of Wrath* by John Steinbeck, *For Whom the Bell Tolls* by Ernest Hemingway, *The Age of Reason* by Jean-Paul Sartre.<sup>74</sup> Sabahattin Eyuboğlu was one of the victims of this period; in December 1971 he was arrested on a charge of translating into Turkish Thomas Moore's *Utopia*.<sup>75</sup> In autumn 1972 he was charged together with a group of writers with 'forming a secret association to overthrow the lawful government'. He was acquitted but died soon after he was released. Some professors of the Department of Literature in the Faculty of Science at Hacettepe University in Ankara were denounced to the university authorities because of textbooks used in this Department including some by Montaigne, A. St Exupéry, Ernest Hemingway and John Dewey.<sup>76</sup> Another example of the ban on translated work was the theatre; on 22 April 1975 the performance of Bertolt Brecht's *Mother Courage and her Children*, which had been running at the Ankara Art Theatre since January was banned and all the actors were arrested and charged with making communist propaganda and of provoking the public to revolt.<sup>77</sup>

On 14 May 1974, the Assembly voted for an amnesty for those who were in prison for violating Articles 141 and 142 of the penal code, i.e. those who had been found guilty of carrying out 'communist propaganda and encouraging class conflict'. However, the

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<sup>73</sup> Kabacalı, *Türkiye'de Basın Sansürü*, p. 205.

<sup>74</sup> *Index on Censorship*, 2:2 (1973), p. xii.

<sup>75</sup> *Index on Censorship*, 1:1 (1972), pp. 89-90.

<sup>76</sup> Bülent Tanör, 'Turkish Universities Fall Silent', *Index on Censorship*, 3:2 (1974), 39-47 (p. 42).

<sup>77</sup> *Index on Censorship*, 4:3 (1975), p. 91.

amnesty covered every category of crime but excluded those who had been imprisoned for 'thought crimes' (*fikir suçları*) such as translating Marxist literature since this was considered communist propaganda under Articles 141 and 142. By coincidence, on the same day as the vote in the Assembly, a court sentenced translator Muzaffer Erdost to another seven and a half years for translating into Turkish Stalin's *The Problems of a Socialist Economy*. Earlier Erdost had been sentenced to a total of 30 years for translating other books on Marxism.<sup>78</sup> All these examples show a fear of the effect of translations.<sup>79</sup>

The second half of the 1970s was when Turkey experienced political chaos and terrorism. This was also when different extreme parties, such as the National Action Party and the Turkish Socialist Labour Party, had their own party presses and produced and published their own translations. The Turkish Socialist Labour Party's well organised party press published the speeches of leaders of the international communist movement and translations of Marx and Engels, as well as Lenin and other Soviet authors.<sup>80</sup> The *Millî Hareket Yayınevi* (National Action Publishing House) printed and distributed together with the writings of the party leaders and pamphlets, classics of Turkish nationalism and of Pan-Turkism (works by Ziya Gökalp, Ömer Seyfeddin, Yusuf Akçura and others), but also translations of *Mein Kampf* and Paul Joseph Goebbels's *War Diaries*.<sup>81</sup>

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<sup>78</sup> Ahmad, *Turkish*, p. 341, n. 36.

<sup>79</sup> In a report on translation problems in 1978 by the Turkish Writers Association, Aziz Çalışlar stressed the fact that it was mostly the translated books which suffered under the Articles 141 and 142 of the penal code after the 1971 ultimatum. Therefore, not only the above mentioned articles, but also their application on the translated works were attacked in this report. See Aziz Çalışlar, '1978 Yılında Çeviri Sorunları: TYS Çeviri Sorunları Rapor', *Nesin Vakfı Edebiyat Yıllığı*, 4 (1979), 284-87 (pp. 286-87).

<sup>80</sup> Igor Lipovsky, 'The Legal Socialist Parties of Turkey 1960-80', *Middle Eastern Studies*, 27:1 (1991), 94-111 (p. 107).

<sup>81</sup> Jacob M. Landau, 'The Nationalist Action Party in Turkey', *Journal of Contemporary History*, 17:4 (1982), 587-605 (p. 599).



However, as can be seen in Figure 8.1, the increasing number of published books, both in Turkish and in translation, between 1970-1973 with a record number of 7,479 published books in 1973 might seem to be a contradiction to the political situation of the period in Turkey.<sup>82</sup> Kaynardağ argues that it was the 50th anniversary of the Turkish Republic in 1973 which animated the publishing sector, the governmental, as well as private publishers' long planned publication activities for the special occasion.<sup>83</sup> Finally, in spite of all the political and economic difficulties, at the end of the period of the martial law there were around 200 publishing houses in Turkey. According to Kaynardağ, the translation of the *Godfather* by Mario Puzo published by *E Yaymevi* had eleven reprints in three years, around three hundred thousand copies being sold.<sup>84</sup> Other popular novels such as *Papillon* by Henri Charrière and the novels by Barbara Cartland together with the translations of Nobel prize winning novels had similar successes.<sup>85</sup>

On the other hand, there was a huge increase of translations between 1970-74 most of which consisted of literary translations. However, as in the 1950s, and now in greater majority, popular literature showed a significant preponderance among the literary translations. Barbara Cartland was probably one of the most translated authors of the period. Despite the increase in quantity of translations, as it was claimed, a decrease of translation quality was witnessed during the second half of the 1970s.<sup>86</sup> The general economic crisis that Turkey was suffering from, its reflection especially on the translators

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<sup>82</sup> This number could not be exceeded according to UNESCO's *Statistical Yearbooks* which have the latest data of 1995.

<sup>83</sup> Kaynardağ, 'Yayın Dünyası', p. 2831.

<sup>84</sup> Kaynardağ, 'Yayın Dünyası', p. 2831.

<sup>85</sup> Turkish translations of Nobel prize winning writers from 1901 to 1971 are listed in Baha Dürder, 'Nobel Çevirileri', *Türk Dili*, 25:242 (1972), 271-278 and 'Nobel Çevirileri II', *Türk Dili*, 25:245 (1972), 331-36.

<sup>86</sup> The concern for the low quality of translations was often stressed. See for instance, Bertan Onaran, '1975'te Çeviri Yayınları ve Sorunları', *Nesin Vakfı Edebiyat Yıllığı*, 1 (1976), 188-91 and '1976'da Çeviri Zanaatının Sorunları', *Nesin Vakfı Edebiyat Yıllığı*, 2 (1977), 147-50; Ahmet Cemal, 'Çeviri Yazınımızda 1976: Gerçekler ve Eğilimler', *Nesin Vakfı Edebiyat Yıllığı*, 2 (1977), 141-47.

as being paid poorly, unemployment, monopolisation, scarcity and costliness of paper resulted in careless choices of the works to be translated, as well as of their translators.<sup>87</sup> Furthermore, in order to put translations of award winning books, especially the ones with a Nobel prize, on the market before other publishers, publishing houses distributed such works to various translators who translated parts of the same book in extremely short periods which, again, gave the rise to poor-quality translations.<sup>88</sup>

It seems that in times of repression, as was the case especially in the 1950s and 1970s, both the publishers and the reading public turned to popular fiction. Cevat Çapan claims that during the 1950s there was a serious erosion of cultural and artistic values and that the new bourgeoisie expected from art only pure entertainment.<sup>89</sup> However, there were certainly socio-political reasons behind such an 'erosion of cultural values'. One explanation, especially for the 1970s, would be the great pressure, as illustrated above, on the writers, translators and publishers who suffered a lot from censorship.

The other reason seems to be the "escapism function" of popular fiction.<sup>90</sup> In fact, translated literature was the only means which offered such an escape when other cultural activities seemed heavily politicised. Turkish literature, until the 1980s, was very much political and ideological. Political topics, especially Westernisation, seemed to be the main source of inspiration until about the mid-forties. The duality seen as the West versus East in this period became the oppressor versus the oppressed after the 1950s.<sup>91</sup> The so-

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<sup>87</sup> Onaran, '1975'te Çeviri Yayınları ve Sorunları', p. 190.

<sup>88</sup> Cemal, 'Çeviri Yazınımızda 1976: Gerçekler ve Eğilimler', 145-146; Onaran, '1976'da Çeviri Zanaatının Sorunları', p. 148.

<sup>89</sup> Cevat Çapan, 'Turkey', in *Modern Literature in the Near and Middle East 1850-1970*, ed. by Robin Ostle (London & New York: Routledge, 1991), pp. 171-79 (p. 172).

<sup>90</sup> See D. W. Harding, 'The Notion of "Escape" in Fiction and Entertainment', *Oxford Review*, 4 (Hilary 1967), 23-32.

<sup>91</sup> See Kemal H. Karpat, 'Social Themes in Contemporary Turkish Literature: Part I', *Middle East Journal*, 14:1 (1960), 29-44 and 'Social Themes in Contemporary Turkish Literature: Part II', *Middle East Journal*, 14:2 (1960), 153-68; Berna Moran, *Türk Romanına Eleştirel Bir Bakış*, 3 vols. (Istanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1983-1994).

called “village literature” written mainly by graduates and/or teachers from village institutes, but also by other writers such as Yaşar Kemal (b. 1922), Orhan Kemal (1914-1970), Kemal Tahir (1910-1973) during this period treated the poor peasant oppressed by the landlord as the main subject matter. This theme was modified later in stories of the rural migrants to newly industrialising areas after the 1960s. Finally, following the 1971 coup and the political events discussed above, came an increased politicisation of literature.<sup>92</sup> Social realism in Turkish literature, as Evin argues, ‘introduced, nurtured, developed, and popularised the notion of class conflict for the Turkish reader at a time when an urban industrial class was barely emerging’.<sup>93</sup>

Evaluating the position of literature especially for the post-1960 period, Emre Kongar argues:

For example, in the sphere of theater, the audience witnessed some plays in which the “artistic side” of the drama was sacrificed for the sake of the “ideological message”. Although this trend was not persistent and faded away gradually, it negatively affected the aesthetic level of cultural products, whereas the very same “politicization process” also helped the development of different lines of new socio-cultural schools based on a new synthesis of traits taken from both currents within the culture. The best examples of such new development can be observed in the area of literature.<sup>94</sup>

Kemal Karpat has a similar opinion:

A good measure of Turkey’s Westernization in the last thirty years can be found in her literature, which accurately reflects society’s transformation and the various conflicts arising from it. Literature served as a safe means to state thoughts and feelings that one could not or was nor allowed to express otherwise. In this process of general transformation in Turkey, literature itself evolved from a means of

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<sup>92</sup> Atilla Özkırmı, ‘Anahatlarıyla Edebiyat’, in *Cumhuriyet Dönemi Türkiye Ansiklopedisi*, ed. by Murat Belge (Istanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1983), pp. 580-606

<sup>93</sup> Ahmet Ö. Evin, ‘Novelists: New Cosmopolitanism versus Social Pluralism’, in *Turkey and the West: Changing Political and Cultural Identities*, ed. by Metin Heper, Ayşe Öncü and Heinz Kramer (London, New York: I.B. Tauris, 1993), pp. 92-115 (p. 98).

<sup>94</sup> Emre Kongar, ‘Turkey’s Cultural Transformation’, in *The Transformation of Turkish Culture: The Atatürk Legacy*, ed. by Günsel Renda and C. Max Kortepeter (Princeton, NJ: The Kingston Press, 1986), pp. 19-68 (p. 60).

amusement and self-expression into an effective weapon for social and cultural change.<sup>95</sup>

However, the position and role of literature, as described above, changed considerably after the 1980s due to a series of changes in every aspect of Turkish life which will be discussed in the following chapters.

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<sup>95</sup> Quoted in Frank A. Stone, *The Rub of Cultures in Modern Turkey* (Bloomington: Indiana University, 1973), p. 327.

## CHAPTER 9

### THE EMERGENCE OF A NEW CRITICAL APPROACH TO TRANSLATION CRITICISM

#### 9.1 New Approaches

The Translation Bureau and *Tercüme* remained as the only examples of a platform for discussions on translations and also as a school to train translators until the 1980s. Despite the different voices within the Bureau, we can talk about a general policy and prevailing norms. After the Bureau's and its journal's experience no other governmental or private institutions were created. With the establishment of several private publishing houses after the 1950s, the number of publications as well as the number of translations increased dramatically. However, the lack of a translation journal prevented the creation of a platform for discussion and criticism of translation. As foreign language knowledge increased, many people started to translate; however, only a few did their jobs on a professional level.

After *Tercüme*, there was no other translation journal for a long time. Discussions on translation issues which started in the pages of *Tercüme* could not be developed because of the lack of other translation journals or institutions. Some literary journals during the 1950s published translated texts, but writings on translation theories and criticism remained limited and scattered. In the 1960s and 1970s, an increasing number of writings on translations appeared in journals such as *Varlık*, *Yeni Ufuklar* (1953-1976), *Yeni Dergi* (1964-1975) and *Türk Dili*. However, the publication of a journal devoted

entirely to translation had to wait until the 1980s. In 1979, the Ministry of Culture published a translation journal, *Çeviri: Dört Aylık Düşün ve Yazın Dergisi* which, however, could not publish a second issue. Similarly, *Bağlam* published by the School of Foreign Languages (Department of German) of the University of Istanbul appeared in 1979 with only three issues. A revival of discussion on translation activities in Turkey restarted with *Yazko Çeviri* which appeared between the years 1981-1984 with 18 issues and continued later with *Metis Çeviri* between 1987-1992.<sup>1</sup> Similarly, until the 1980s, translation was used only in foreign language departments as a technique in foreign language teaching or a test of foreign language acquisition.<sup>2</sup> It was only with the establishment of translation studies as an independent academic discipline in the 1980s that we witness revived discussions on translation.

However, until then, despite the increase in translated and published books, a decrease in translation criticism is to be witnessed. It is perhaps understandable that the newly established private publishing houses were more concerned about the commercial aspects of translations than the Ministry of Education had been. Furthermore, it can be said that an average readership which had reached a certain linguistic and literary awareness was not yet established to encourage better outcomes as well as further debates on the issue.<sup>3</sup>

Because of the variety of translated books, as well as the great number of translators, but the limited number of writings on translation, it is difficult to trace the prevailing policies and norms that governed translation activities. Numbers of published translations and testimonies of translators and critiques on their translations can be useful

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<sup>1</sup> For a list of translation journals in Turkey, see Appendix.

<sup>2</sup> See Ahmet Cemal, 'Öğretimde Amaç ve Araç Olarak Çeviri', *Türk Dili*, 38:322 (1978), 45-49 and 'Türkiye'de Çeviribilim ve Beklentiler', *Türk Dili*, 39:330 (1979), 184-91.

<sup>3</sup> Cemal, 'Yazımsal Çeviri Eleştirisinde Bilimsel Yaklaşım', *Türk Dili*, 41:343 (1980), 226-31 (p. 230).

for research and analysis of translation activity during this period. On the other hand, it can be said that after the end of the Translation Bureau's monopoly on translation activities, different views started to be heard. So, the intention here is not to suggest that only one view dominated all translation activities, but to show the altered opinions on translation depending on other experiences and on a different perception of the West.

Already during the 1940s, among the members of the Translation Bureau, there were different voices other than Ataç and Eyuboğlu's. Suut Kemal Yetkin (1903-1980), who served as the chairman of the Bureau between 1947-1950, was one of the first who opposed the approach of Ataç and Eyuboğlu, especially concerning the use of a fluent Turkish in different translations. In an article called *Tercüme Sanatı* (The Art of Translating) Yetkin argued, accepting the fact that the translator should follow the requirements of his/her mother tongue, that a good translator had to use not his/her own style but the author's:

The translator who gives his/her own style to the work he/she translates, especially the one who translates works with different climates with the same style, is the victim of either lack of understanding or self admiration. A good Balzac translator is the one who erases him/herself in Balzac, who feels him/herself Balzac. Translators, who become captivated by their own personalities, who are infatuated with themselves, their own styles, in reality do not have any personality. The translator finds his/her personality to the extent he/she loses it in the author's personality. In this aspect, translation is a matter of renunciation.<sup>4</sup>

Yetkin, in another article written in 1974, repeated his opinion, stressing the importance he gave to the style:

Since a literary work takes its real value from its style, the translator should, first of all, approach the author's style with the meticulousness of an artist. For example, it would be an unforgivable disrespect to translate Marcel Proust's long, sometimes intricate sentences with short sentences by cutting them off.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> Suut Kemal Yetkin, 'Tercüme Sanatı', in Suut Kemal Yetkin, *Edebiyat Konuşmaları* (Istanbul: Remzi Kitabevi, 1944), pp. 45-47 (pp. 46-47) (translations throughout the chapter are mine unless stated otherwise).

<sup>5</sup> Yetkin, 'Başarılı Çevirinin Koşulları', *Türk Dili*, 38:322 (1978), 43-45 (p. 44).

At this point, we remember Ataç's argument on phrase formation in Turkish where he argued that long sentences in Western languages had to be divided in Turkish because keeping them would be 'unfaithful to the original'.<sup>6</sup> Here, Ataç's focus is on the target language and his concern is to follow the target language's linguistic norms. He does not favour forcing the target language's norms. Since it was, for him, the meaning of a literary work which had to be translated primarily, different styles of different authors could, and indeed, had to be translated in one correct style in Turkish. Yetkin's affirmation was probably one of the first to show the shift of the emphasis towards the source language. Contrary to Ataç, Yetkin maintained the need to keep the source language's characteristics in the target language and favoured the translator's invisibility behind the author's voice. Furthermore, he argues for the source language's norms at the cost of violating the norms in the target language.

Tahsin Yücel who started translating in the early 1950s, stated that he followed Yetkin's approach:

My initial understanding was to reflect the style and language of the author in Turkish. You might also remember from the writings you read later on, the vanguard in translation, as well as in many other fields, was Nurullah Ataç. The point of view of Nurullah Ataç was to reflect all the translations, whatever their genre or author might be, in a certain fluent Turkish. Sabahattin Eyuboğlu's approach was, up to a certain level, the same. In other words, they wanted the Turkish reader to read a fluent Turkish, a Turkish that does not smell like translation. There were also some who criticised it, like Suut Kemal Yetkin. I adopted more the approach defended by Suut Kemal. When examined, it can be seen that there are big differences between my old translations, for example, between a translation from Daudet (*Tartarin de Tarascon*, this was my first translation) and a translation I made from Montherlant. This difference is the outcome of a concern to be faithful to the author's style. In my succeeding translations I have tried to remain faithful to this principle.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> See Chapter 6.3, p. 167.

<sup>7</sup> Tahsin Yücel, 'Tahsin Yücel ile Söyleşi', *Metis Çeviri*, 6 (1989), 11-18 (pp. 11-12).



A reaction to the general approach of the Translation Bureau came also from Nazım Hikmet. He was commissioned by Hasan Âli Yücel to translate *War and Peace* (*Harp ve Sulh*) by Tolstoy into Turkish while he was in prison.<sup>8</sup> Thus, in two following letters to Kemal Tahir, Hikmet explains his views on translation:

This is what I understand from translation: translation is not a hundred percent Turkification of the original text. That is, when reading a translated novel, one should not think that it was written by a Turkish author. On the contrary, one should (be able to) recognise that one is reading this certain author of this certain era of this certain nation that wrote this book. In other words, in the translation, a Russian author will talk with a French author through the language of the Turkish translator in their own languages. (...) Just as an adaptation of meaning is an ignominy, so is an adaptation of form. Besides, according to my opinion, if this principle I am suggesting is accepted, the enrichment of various languages and to open their doors to each other without remaining within their own narrow boundaries will be possible. (...) A last word: I do not want to read the Turkish of Nasuhi Baydar, Nurullah Ataç, Reşat Nuri and so forth, but the French of Anatole France, the Russian of Tolstoy in Turkish, I repeat, I want to read their languages in the Turkish language.<sup>9</sup>

Although the above mentioned translators were separating themselves from the previous group represented by Ataç and Eyuboğlu, their criticisms of them were not as strong as the following generation's.

The answers of some translators to a "questionnaire" put by the *Türk Dili* in its special issue on translation in 1978 show various approaches to translation favoured during this period.<sup>10</sup> Translators, such as Bertan Onaran, Melahat Özgü, Sevgi Sanlı, Zeyyat Selimoğlu said that they followed the policies favoured by Ataç and Eyuboğlu,

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<sup>8</sup> Orhan Şaik Gökyay, 'Dede Korkut'un Torunu', in *Kültürümüzden İnsan Adaları*, ed. by Alpay Kabacalı (Istanbul: YKY, 1995), pp. 13-17 (p. 16). In his letters (Letter 118) sent from prison to Kemal Tahir, Hikmet writes that he sent the first volume of the novel to Tahir, complaining, however, that his translation was not as good as he wanted it to be. He, then, said that he found the principle on the language of translation of the Ministry of Education wrong, but that, despite some obstinacy, he followed it. However, the translation of *War and Peace* that appeared in four volumes between 1943-1949 had the translator's name of Zeki Baştımar.

<sup>9</sup> Nazım Hikmet, *Kemal Tahir'e Mapusane'den Mektuplar* (Istanbul: Bilgi Yayınevi, 1975 [1968]), pp. 259-60.

<sup>10</sup> 'Soruşturma', *Türk Dili*, 38:322 (1978), 159-78.

giving the emphasis to the Turkish language requirements in their translations. Ahmet Cemal argued that the style of the source language text had to be kept without violating the target language norms and that one should not create an alienated Turkish in order to keep the author's style.<sup>11</sup> Bedrettin Cömert also stressed the fact that the information had to be organised and restructured according to the characteristics of the target language system while they were transferred from one language system to another one.<sup>12</sup> Cevat Çapan stressed the probable dangers of translations. Quoting Cemal Süreya who had argued that translations, especially poetry translations, might have the danger of exploiting the genuine creativity of the translator and of suppressing and eradicating his/her identity, Çapan argued that a similar danger might also be valid for societies. According to him, if a society is not aware of its creative sources, and of its culture, when in contact with another culture, if it cannot assimilate the concepts and values that it transferred from a foreign culture, an imbalance may appear which can result in this culture being oppressed by the foreign one.<sup>13</sup> Tomris Uyar stressed the creativity of the translator.<sup>14</sup> However, Burhan Arpad opposed translations that did not preserve the source language's characteristics and admitted that he came to the conclusion that 'a translator has to avoid being a creative person'.<sup>15</sup> Suut Kemal Yetkin repeated his view on his efforts of keeping the author's style in his translations. Finally, Afşar Timuçin also emphasised the importance of keeping the author's style in the translations.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> 'Soruşturma', 160-62.

<sup>12</sup> 'Soruşturma', 162-65.

<sup>13</sup> 'Soruşturma', 165-67.

<sup>14</sup> 'Soruşturma', 176-78.

<sup>15</sup> 'Soruşturma', 159-60.

<sup>16</sup> 'Soruşturma', 174-76.

The answers given by these translators are far from being comprehensive and developed. Nevertheless, the decision that each of these translators has taken in the actual translating process is subject to other analyses and can well be contradictory to their accounts. What, however, has to be underlined here is the growing concern of faithfulness defined in terms of fidelity to the author's style and the decreasing credit given to the translator as a rewriter.

In fact, translations which kept the style of their original texts were praised by the their critics later on. Translators like Eyuboğlu were criticised for using the same language while translating La Fontaine, Khayyam, Mallarmé and Supervielle.<sup>17</sup> In the same issue of *Türk Dili*, İlhan Berk starts his article *Çeviride Şiir Dili* (The Language of Poetry in Translation) by discussing the (un)translatability of poetry, referring to Ahmet Haşim and I. I. Cummings and their poetry and explains the best way to approach poetry translation in his opinion:

When we are translating a “ballade” by François Villon, we have to find in our tongue the style, namely the language, closest to that era. If this is not a Villon poem, but a poem by a contemporary poet, if it is, for example, “Le Cimetière marin” by Paul Valéry, we have to start by finding that contemporary language. The best example to this is the poems by these poets translated by Sabri Esat Siyavuşgil. Siyavuşgil distinguishes between the language he used to translate Villon and the one he used to translate Valéry. In this way, a historical task that the two poets, sharing the same language, burden the language with, appears. (...) Apart from all these, [Siyavuşgil] does not propose his own language. He thinks that he does not have the right to do this. (...) For example, Siyavuşgil does not choose, like Sabahattin Eyuboğlu, to translate Mallarmé and Supervielle with the same language he used in La Fontaine and Khayyam. He, especially, does not scatter his own language around like Eyuboğlu. Instead of saying a sentence in the best way in Turkish (Ataç, Eyuboğlu), Siyavuşgil chooses to transfer, insert, add this sentence into Turkish. In this way, he not only remains faithful to the structure of the text he translates, but also finds this structure in Turkish. If this structure does not exist in Turkish, the translator should either show its lack, or search for ways to establish, to construct it. The gains of this for the target language are,

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<sup>17</sup> İlhan Berk, ‘Çeviride Şiir Dili’, *Türk Dili*, 38:322 (1978), 71-76 (p. 74). Also remember a similar discussion between Özdoğru and Eyuboğlu on Eyuboğlu's *Macbeth* translation, see Chapter 7.2, pp. 183-84.

certainly, endless. It is clear that the opposite would not add anything to the target language, it would, moreover, not save it from monotony.<sup>18</sup>

It is true that Siyavuşgil (1907-1968) was primarily concerned with the style, i.e. the language of the translator which, as he argued, had not to be his/hers:

The first rule is to be faithful to the soul of the original text. And this is possible firstly with a correct translation. The second rule is to understand the original text both as to its meaning as well as its style. The style in the translation is not the style of the translator. Somebody who translates Plato, Molière, Gide always with his/her language cannot be considered a good translator, no matter how faithful s/he remains to the meaning.<sup>19</sup>

According to Berk, Siyavuşgil's success lies in that he renounced his own style and followed the authors' that he translated, as Yetkin had earlier suggested. Similar to Hikmet, Berk maintained that languages could be enriched only with translations following this method. It is interesting to see Berk's position, in contrast to the main approach of the Translation Bureau of the 1940s, when he claimed that 'the translator is not a creator' or that 'the task of the translator is not to rewrite a poem or to recreate it'.<sup>20</sup> According to these accounts, translation has a secondary position and a good translator is definitely not 'worthy of a great author'.<sup>21</sup> However, Berk seems to be contradicting himself when it comes to the examples he gives as "successful" translations. He admits that some translator-poets such as Ezra Pound and Robert Lowell who chose the second path created successful translations. Yet, he adds, 'one needs to consider these translations as their own poems'.<sup>22</sup> Furthermore, concluding his article, Berk quotes Can Yücel's

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<sup>18</sup> İlhan Berk, 'Çeviride Şiir Dili', pp. 73-74.

<sup>19</sup> Quoted in Fuat Pekin, 'Çeviri Üzerine', *Türk Dili*, 5:55 (1956), 429-32 (p. 429).

<sup>20</sup> İlhan Berk, 'Çeviride Şiir Dili', pp. 72, 73.

<sup>21</sup> See Hasan-Âli Yücel's account in Chapter 6.2, p. 162.

<sup>22</sup> İlhan Berk, 'Çeviride Şiir Dili', p. 74.

translation of the *66th Sonnet* by William Shakespeare as one of the best examples of sound harmony.<sup>23</sup>

Vazgeçtim bu dünyadan, tek ölüm paklar beni,  
Değmez, bu yangın yeri avuç açmağa değmez,  
Değil mi ki çignenmiş inancın en seçkini,  
Değil mi ki yoksullar mutluluktan habersiz,  
Değil mi ki ayaklar altında insan onuru

...  
Vazgeçtim bu dünyadan, dünyamdan geçtim ama,  
Seni yalnız komak var, o koyuyor adama.<sup>24</sup>

It has been generally accepted that Can Yücel in his poetry translations reaches an extraordinary level of mastery due to his own voice which he puts in the translations. Undoubtedly, the above mentioned example is one of them where Yücel proposes his own language in his translation, the very characteristic the lack of which in Siyavuşgil was admired by Berk.

However, Siyavuşgil was criticised by another translator for his excessive concern about the form of the poem which destroys, if not sacrifices the meaning at its core and its richness of images.<sup>25</sup> In his article, Hüseyin Demirhan, who won the translation award given by the Turkish Language Society with his translation of *The Republic* by Plato in 1974, proposes a middle way which combines the fidelity to the form together with the

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<sup>23</sup> İlhan Berk, 'Çeviride Şiir Dili', p. 76.

<sup>24</sup> Tired with all these, for restful death I cry:  
As to behold desert a beggar born,  
And needy nothing trimmed in jollity,  
And purest faith unhappily forsworn,  
And gilded honour shamefully misplaced,

...  
Tired with all these, from these would I be gone,  
Save that to die, I leave my love alone.

<sup>25</sup> Hüseyin Demirhan, 'Çeviri Üzerine', *Türk Dili*, 31:282 (1975), 176-79 (p. 177).

use of an acceptable target language, since only in this way can one talk about a real creation.<sup>26</sup>

Perhaps the most explicit and strongest opposition to the “old” approach came from Sait Maden. Maden, who translated poetry, attacked the domesticating policy, arguing that a foreign poet is someone who brings a different voice that has to be retained in Turkish translation:

The aim is to present a poet, who is exceptional for our sensitivity, our characteristic to perceive the world through his language in Turkish with a perfect approach, trying to keep the details he found as much as possible. There are no forms ready in our language for a foreign concept which is not yet born in our understanding. Therefore, for every new poem new opportunities have to be sought in the language. And sometimes, the language has to be forced. What I want to say is, the method to be followed is not a work of adaptation or accommodation.<sup>27</sup>

His account is probably the strongest one compared with the other accounts mentioned above, for his attacks on translators, such as Can Yücel and Sabahattin Eyuboğlu, reveal the ideological aspect lying at the basis of all translation discussions:

The explanations, such as “rewriter in Turkish: so and so”, written on the covers of translated poetry books<sup>28</sup>, cannot help but liken the poet to an appearance of Baudelaire, as I mentioned above [the poor French poet in the costume of a minstrel with a rosary in hand, sitting cross-legged on the floor, wearing a shalwar and a *saz* in his lap, his cap’s visor looking to the side. t.n.]. This mistake leads us to translate poets like Prévert who is fond of simplicity and complex poets like Mallarmé and Valéry with the same language. This is a mistake bequeathed to us from our urban, saddlebag aesthete intellectual who was educated abroad.<sup>29</sup> And this goes on.<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>26</sup> Demirhan, p. 178.

<sup>27</sup> Quoted in ‘Soruşturma’, p. 169.

<sup>28</sup> He undoubtedly refers to Can Yücel. See Chapter 7.1, n. 15.

<sup>29</sup> Meaning primarily Eyuboğlu and his followers, humiliating their movement *Anadoluculuk* (Anatolianism).

<sup>30</sup> ‘Soruşturma’, p. 169.

Similar writings, especially, on poetry and poetry translation created a lot of controversy during the 1960s and well into the 1970s. Questions of the translatability of poetry and the creative characteristics of such an activity to the more general problems of poetry translation were discussed in literary journals.<sup>31</sup> The first poetry translations from Western languages, as was shown in Chapter 3, were made during the *Tanzimat* mainly from French. Their number, however, remained very limited compared to prose translations. The 1940s witnessed a revived translation activity also concerning poetry. An anthology of translated French poems which was compiled by Orhan Veli Kanık and published in 1947 was probably one of the most influential and discussed books in this area.<sup>32</sup> The number of anthologies and “collected” or “selected poems” of individual poets followed throughout the 1940s and 1950s and in the 1960s reached its peak. Most translations from this period have been republished and translations by names such as Can Yücel<sup>33</sup>, Sabahattin Eyuboğlu<sup>34</sup>, Yetkin and Siyavuşgil<sup>35</sup>, and more recently, Cevat Çapan (b. 1933), Sait Maden (b. 1932), Ülkü Tamer (b. 1937), Özdemir İnce (b. 1936) and Ataol

<sup>31</sup> For some examples, see Bedrettin Cömert, ‘Çeviri Üstüne Düşünceler’, *Varlık*, 678 (1966), 11; Osman Türkay, ‘Şiir Çevrilebilir mi?’, *Yeditepe*, 18:132 (1967), 6, 12; Nermin Menemencioğlu, ‘Çeviri Sorunları’, *Papirüs*, 18 (1967), 7-10; Sabahattin Teoman, ‘Dilden Dile Şiir Çevrilebilir mi?’, *Varlık*, 739 (1969), 8-9 and the “questionnaire” put by the *Milliyet Sanat* on poetry translation: ‘Şiir Çevirisindeki Yöntem, Başlıca Güçlükler, Anlam ve Şiirin Yazarıyla İçli Dışlı Olmak Üzerine’, *Milliyet Sanat*, 172 (1976), 7-9.

<sup>32</sup> Orhan Veli Kanık, ed., *Fransız Şiiri Antolojisi* (Istanbul: Varlık, 1947). The anthology was reprinted in 1956 and 1963. Kanık’s translation of Jean de La Fontaine’s *Fables*, *La Fontaine’in Masalları*, which appeared in 1943 has been admired for the fables ‘read as if they were part of the poetic heritage of Turkey’. See Feyyaz Kayacan Fergar, ed., *Modern Turkish Poetry* (Ware, Herts: Rockingham Press, 1992), p. 10.

<sup>33</sup> His collection of translated world poetry, *Her Boydan: Dünya Şiirinden Seçmeler* (Ankara: Seçilmiş Hikâyeler Dergisi Yayınları, 1957) was reprinted in 1983, 1985 and 1993.

<sup>34</sup> Note his translations of poems by Jacques Prévert: *Şiirler* (Poems) (Istanbul: Çan Yayınları, 1963). Some of his poetry translations from French literature were also published in Kanık’s anthology.

<sup>35</sup> Yetkin’s collection of Baudelaire’s poetry appeared under the title: *Baudelaire ve Kötülük Çiçekleri* (Baudelaire and *Fleurs du mal*) (Istanbul: Varlık, 1967). His translations of French poetry together with Siyavuşgil’s were published individually in literary journals and anthologies. French poets of the nineteenth century that they translated, like Baudelaire, Verlaine, Rimbaud and Mallarmé whose poems have been translated widely by Turkish translators, had an important impact on modern Turkish poetry.

Behramoğlu (b. 1942) have been subject to various discussions on poetry translation, their translations being quoted as “good” or “bad” examples of this kind.

It has also to be noted that Turkish poetry which entered a new phase in the 1940s was greatly influenced by foreign poetry encountered via translations.<sup>36</sup> The efforts to imitate foreign poetry by Turkish poets are open to discussion. However, there is no doubt that poetry translation have had an important influence on modern Turkish poets.<sup>37</sup>

## 9.2 Translation criticism

In the 1960s, with the publication of new literary journals and the decreasing influence of *Tercüme*, many of literary as well as translational discussions took place in these journals. Inevitably, the nature of the critiques also changed.

A series of discussions on the translations of Franz Kafka, which appeared in *Yeni Dergi* in 1966 and 1967, is perhaps the best example of translation criticism in this period. The series started with a short article written by Demir Özlü on Kâmuran Şipal's translation of *Das Schloss* (*Şato*) and *Der Prozess* (*Dava*) by Kafka.<sup>38</sup> This article is more a presentation of Kafka and Şipal's translation than a critique of the translation. What is interesting are Özlü's views on the importance of this translation for Turkish readers,

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<sup>36</sup> In the third article of a series of articles on poetry translations bringing up the same discussions on translations by names such as Kanık, Yetkin, Eyuboğlu, Maden etc., Necati Cumalı attracts attention to the, according to him, negative influence of such translations on modern Turkish poetry. See Necati Cumalı, 'Etiler Mektupları: Çeviri Kokusu', *Türk Dili*, 44:361 (1982), 4-7; 'Etiler Mektupları: Şiir Çevirileri', *Türk Dili*, 44:362 (1982), 89-93; 'Etiler Mektupları: Şiirimizde Çeviri Akımı', *Türk Dili*, 44:363 (1982), 149-52. See also Memet Fuat's article on the same issue: Memet Fuat, 'Prevert'in Türkçesi', in Memet Fuat, *Çağmı Görebilmek* (Istanbul: Adam, 1982), pp. 82-84.

<sup>37</sup> For the development of modern Turkish poetry, see İsmet Özel, 'Şiir', in *Cumhuriyet Dönemi Türkiye Ansiklopedisi*, ed. by Murat Belge (Istanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1983), pp. 631-38 and Atilla Özkırımlı, 'Anahatlarıyla Edebiyat', in *Cumhuriyet Dönemi Türkiye Ansiklopedisi*, ed. by Murat Belge (Istanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1983), pp. 580-606. For an English account, see also Feyyaz Kayacan Fergar, 'Introduction', in *Modern Turkish Poetry*, ed. by Feyyaz Kayacan Fergar (Ware, Herts: Rockingham Press, 1992), pp. 31-43.

<sup>38</sup> Demir Özlü, 'Şato Çevirisi Üzerine Bir Çıkma', *Yeni Dergi*, 26 (1966), 402-04.



because 'the situation of the Turkish intellectual is not to be differentiated from Joseph K.'s in *Der Prozess*' and Kafka can teach the Turkish readers 'to observe themselves, to grasp their positions and to strive for overcoming this situation'.<sup>39</sup> Özlü only makes a short comment on the translation saying that he liked it and found it impressive and close to Kafka.

It was Önay Sözer who criticised Şipal's translations *Der Prozess* and *Das Schloss* by Kafka which were the first translations to appear in book form in Turkish. The main argument of Sözer was that the language in these Turkish translations did not meet the language of Kafka who, according to him, played with language from the outside, in a cold manner and did not use colourful and warm expressions.<sup>40</sup> However, he argued that Şipal had overlooked this characteristic of Kafka, using an idiomatic and everyday Turkish in his translations, and therefore accused him of translating Kafka too freely. Sözer supported his criticism only with two short paragraphs and one sentence chosen from both translations where he proposed his own translated versions after quoting Şipal's texts. It is interesting to see in the parts translated by Sözer that he rather followed a word for word translation method which was not always an acceptable usage in Turkish language. His versions give the reader definitely the feeling that the text they are reading is a foreign text.

In his response to Sözer, Şipal said that a translation cannot be judged by comparing only a small part of it with its original and argued that a translation could be considered successful even if it contained some wrongly translated or missing sentences. He described this kind of an approach in translation criticism as unscientific, deficient and therefore unable to lead to reliable conclusions.<sup>41</sup> He, furthermore, named three elements

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<sup>39</sup> Özlü, p. 403.

<sup>40</sup> Önay Sözer, 'Kafka'dan İki Roman', *Yeni Dergi*, 26 (1966), 405-12 (p. 410).

<sup>41</sup> Kâmuran Şipal, 'Dâva ve Şato Çevirileri Üzerine', *Yeni Dergi*, 30 (1967), 212-25 (pp. 214-15).

that a translation critique had to analyse; fidelity to the original, beauty of language and how the author's style, namely the formal aspect, is rendered in the translation. However, Şipal defended his translations on the basis of Turkish language norms. Discussing the same examples, he condemned Sözer for his word for word translation.

The polemic ended with Sözer's answer which did not bring anything new to the discussion but only repeated his basic thoughts on translation. On the other hand, it is clear that his choice of a word for word rendition of the text was a deliberate one, originating from the wish to be faithful: 'It does not matter if my translation here does not sound good, it is a completely correct translation.'<sup>42</sup>

What is more interesting is that Sözer's judgments on Şipal's Kafka translations were taken for granted without further analysis of these translations.<sup>43</sup> On the other hand, translations of James Joyce and William Faulkner by Murat Belge, Virginia Woolf's *Mrs. Dalloway* by Tomris Uyar and Vladimir Nabokov's *Lolita* by Fatih Özgüven were considered successful because of their translators' efforts to keep and reflect the style of the authors.<sup>44</sup> A passage quoted from Belge's translation of *Light in August* (*Ağustos*

<sup>42</sup> Sözer, 'Kafka'dan "Dâva" ve "Şato" Çevirileri', *Yeni Dergi*, 34 (1967), 61-64 (p. 63).

<sup>43</sup> See Mehmet H. Doğan, 'Serbest Çeviri Üzerine', *Türk Dili*, 38:322 (1974), 49-54 (p. 53) and Bülent Aksoy, 'Cumhuriyet Döneminde Çeviri', in *Çeviri ve Çeviri Kuramı Üstüne Söylemler*, ed. by Mehmet Rifat (Istanbul: Düzlem Yayınları, 1996), pp. 73-92 (pp. 85-86). Doğan condemns the Kafka translator who translates his long sentences in short ones, destroying Kafka's style and creating a plain text which eradicates any other association and labels this approach as 'unfaithfulness to Kafka'.

<sup>44</sup> Doğan, 53-54; Aksoy, pp. 85-86. Among many other works, Murat Belge translated *Sanatçının Bir Genç Adam Olarak Portresi* (*Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*) by James Joyce (Istanbul: De Yayınları, 1966); *Döşegimde Ölürlen* (*As I Lay Dying*) by William Faulkner (Istanbul: De Yayınları, 1965), *Ayı* by William Faulkner (Istanbul: De Yayınları, 1967), and *Ağustos Işığı* (*Light in August*) by William Faulkner (Istanbul: De Yayınları, 1968). Fatih Özgüven's translation of *Lolita* appeared in 1982: *Lolita, ya da Beyaz Irktan Dul Bir Erkeğin İtirafı* (Istanbul: Can, 1982). Tomris Uyar's translation of *Mrs. Dalloway* (Ankara: Yeni Ankara Yayınevi, 1977) received positive comments also in Cevat Çapan, '1976'da Çeviri Edebiyatı', *Nesin Vakfı Edebiyat Yıllığı*, (1977), 132-40 (pp. 133-34) and in Ahmet Cemal, 'Çeviri Yazınımızda 1976: Gerçekler ve Eğilimler', *Nesin Vakfı Edebiyat Yıllığı*, (1977), 141-47 (p. 143). Memet Fuat, who published Murat Belge's first translation *Döşegimde Ölürlen* (*As I Lay Dying*) by William Faulkner by De Yayınları in 1965, suggested that one reason for Belge's successful translations of Faulkner might have been the fact that Belge did not know Turkish well enough as he does today and consequently, was not uncomfortable by incongruity and unsuitable sentences. In this way, he could easily 'leave Turkish to the guidance of English'. Memet Fuat, 'Memet Fuat'la Söyleşi', *Metis Çeviri*, 1 (1987), 11-21 (p. 16).

*Işığ*) by Faulkner by Mehmet H. Doğan and, following him, by Bülent Aksoy, was shown as an example of a good and faithful translation:<sup>45</sup>

Bellek inanır bilmek hatırlamadan önce. Hatırlamaktan daha uzun zaman inanır, bilmekin düşünmesinden bile daha uzun zaman. Bilir, hatırlar, inanır, bir koridor, bir büyük uzun kuleli soğuk yankılanan binada koyu kırmızı tuğladan kurumladonuk kendisinininkinden fazla bacalar yüzünden, otsuz çakılserpilidöşeli bir arsada yerleşik tüten fabrika varoşlarıyla çevrili ve bir ıslahane ya da hayvanat bahçesi gibi on ayak boyunda çelik-ve-tel çitle kuşatılmış ve burada rastgele kararsız dalgalanmalarla, serçe gibi çocuk titremeleriyle, tıpkı ve eş mavi pamuklular içinde öksüzler içine ve dışına hatırlayışın ama bilmekte devamlı kasvet duvarlar gibi, kasvet pencereler gibi ki, buradan yağmurda yıldan yıla komşulayan bacalardan kurum çubuklanırdı kara gözyaşları gibi.<sup>46</sup>

Translation criticism did not show a parallel development to the large number of translations accomplished especially during the 1960s. Ender Erenel drew attention to this issue and argued that the translation critiques did not go beyond the book reviews where the translation's success was based on only a comparison of a few sentences with their originals.<sup>47</sup> One of the two examples he gave in his article was Muzaffer Uyguner's critique on one of the Şipal's Kafka translations which appeared in *Cep Dergisi*: 'The book was translated by Kâmuran Şipal, the untiring and successful translator of Kafka. Şipal's understanding of translation enables him to translate Kafka in the best way.'<sup>48</sup> But what was Şipal's understanding of translation? What kind of an approach does one need

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<sup>45</sup> Doğan, pp. 53-54; Aksoy, p. 85.

<sup>46</sup> Murat Belge, trans., *Ağustos Işığ* (*Light in August*) by William Faulkner (Istanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1990 [1968]), p. 106. The original passage in English is as follows: Memory believes before knowing remembers. Believes longer than recollects, longer than knowing even wonders. Knows remembers believes a corridor in a big long gabled cold echoing building of dark red brick sootbleakened by more chimneys than its own, set in a grassless cinderstrewnpacked compound surrounded by smoking factory purlieus and enclosed by a ten foot steel-and-wire fence like a penitentiary or a zoo, where in random erratic surges, with sparrowlike childtrebling, orphans in identical and uniform blue denim in and out of remembering but in knowing constant as the bleak walls, the bleak windows where in rain soot from the yearly adjacenting chimneys streaked like black tears. See William Faulkner, *Light in August* (London: Picador, 1993 [1932]), p. 91.

<sup>47</sup> Ender Erenel, 'Çeviri Eleştirisi Üzerine', *Yeni Dergi*, 43 (1968), 287-88 (p. 287).

<sup>48</sup> Erenel, p. 287.

to translate Kafka ‘in the best way’? These questions remain unanswered in this short “critique”. The other example is Nedim Gürsel’s essay which appeared in *Yeni Dergi*: ‘Despite some linguistic contradictions in the translation, it would be right to wish that Bertan Onaran, who could apply the author’s style in our language successfully, should translate Duras’ other novels.’<sup>49</sup> Obviously, we do not have any idea of what these ‘linguistic contradictions’ might be and also, as Erenel rightly asked, of how Onaran applied Duras’ style to Turkish.

The lack of “good” translation criticism was mainly due to the lack of a general definition of what translation really is, or in better words, due to the general acceptance of a translation policy by the critics which favoured “faithful” translations. The fidelity of the translated text to its original in terms of linguistic features was often stressed and was usually put into words like style and form. The above mentioned criticism of Şipal’s translations is an example of this. This urge for fidelity undermined, if not ignored the translator and his/her role and function completely. Erenel’s list of rules for a method in translation criticism illustrates this argument.<sup>50</sup> He argued that, in a translation critique, the whole translation or a long randomly selected section had to be examined. Wrongly translated words and sentences had to be given with the right translations and their originals. Parts and sentences, if there were any that had been omitted, had also been mentioned with the original parts that were omitted. The language in translation had to be criticised from the point of view of its suitability to current Turkish, its linguistic mistakes and any obscure and confused sentences. Finally, it should be analysed if the translator’s understanding was enough and appropriate to give the author’s style and the book’s

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<sup>49</sup> Erenel, p. 287.

<sup>50</sup> Erenel, p. 288.

atmosphere and if these could be given completely. Erenel, especially, emphasised the importance of this last issue which favours the translator's invisibility.

Similarly, Memet Fuat, who worked as the editor of *Yeni Dergi* during the 1960s, complained in 1962 that, unlike developments in translation activity, there was no progress in translation criticism.<sup>51</sup> Although he was in favour of the maintenance of the author's style in the translated text, as will be seen below, Memet Fuat admitted, unlike many other translator-critics in the 1960s, the translator's creativity and consequently his/her critic's double creativity. After explaining the four kinds of meaning - sense, feeling, tone and intention - following I.A. Richards' categorisation from his *Practical Criticism*<sup>52</sup>, Memet Fuat came to the conclusion that no translation could give exactly the meaning of the author [*sic*], it could only give the meaning of compatibility between translator and author. The critic of a translation, on the other hand, was engaged with two kinds of creativity: to grasp the meaning of the text and compare it with its translation and, in addition, to keep in mind the translator's understanding of translation and his/her aim.<sup>53</sup> Putting the translator into the question, Memet Fuat recognised the translator's role in the translation process. However, he thought that this role should not be big enough to suppress the author's voice.

Memet Fuat, more recently, stressed the importance of 'style equivalence' in translation, because the problem, according to him, was not merely to say the words said in a foreign language in Turkish, but to find a style equivalent to the author's in the foreign language.<sup>54</sup> He, furthermore illustrated his argument:

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<sup>51</sup> Memet Fuat, 'Çeviri'de Anlam', *Türk Dili*, 12:134 (1962), 104-07 (p. 104).

<sup>52</sup> Ivor Armstrong Richard, *Practical Criticism: A Study of Literary Judgement* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1929).

<sup>53</sup> Memet Fuat, 'Çeviri'de Anlam', pp. 105-06.

<sup>54</sup> Memet Fuat, 'Memet Fuat'la Söyleşi', p. 19.

Nurullah Ataç did not force his style in his translations. If he made two different translations by two different authors, one could see that these two, dissolving in his style, would very much resemble each other. Sabahattin Eyuboğlu, too, - to a lesser degree - was like this. As for Can Yücel, he is a crazy, enchantingly extreme example of this understanding.

A translator might translate searching for the answer for this question: How would the author say this word if s/he wrote in Turkish?

However, such an ease, usually, gives rise to the erasure of the author's style and the inability to reflect it in Turkish.<sup>55</sup>

The question of finding an equivalent style in translation was probably the main issue of all the writings on translation and of translation criticism. One of the best examples which demonstrates the clash between domestication and foreignising can be found in Nur Deriş's critique of Can Yücel's translation of *The Great Gatsby* by Francis Scott Fitzgerald<sup>56</sup> where Deriş distinguishes two types of methods that a translator can adopt: adopting the first method, a translator tries to remain faithful to the author's style, following the second method, the translator chooses to adopt his/her own style.<sup>57</sup> Deriş, furthermore, says that while some of the translators in the second group have a striking style, others use a style which does not have a special characteristic. However, Deriş, supports the fidelity to the author's style.

Deriş attacked translators who use their own style in their translations. According to Deriş, these translators were in favour of a populism which condemned "estrangement". However, Deriş argued, there was no connection between the translator adopting his/her style and the prevention of such an estrangement of society. Furthermore, such an attempt would fool readers and narrow their horizons whereas the best action

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<sup>55</sup> Memet Fuat, 'Memet Fuat'la Söyleşi', p. 19.

<sup>56</sup> Can Yücel, trans., *Muhteşem Gatsby (The Great Gatsby)* by Francis Scott Fitzgerald (Istanbul: Ağaoglu Yayınevi, 1964).

<sup>57</sup> Nur Deriş, 'Muhteşem Gatsby ve Bir Çeviri Anlayışı Üzerine', *Yeni Dergi*, 33 (1967), 459-64 (p. 459).

against “estrangement” would be to open out into the West and to know the West as it really is.<sup>58</sup>

For Deriş, Yücel translates with the enthusiasm of a poet which leads him to take too much freedom in his translations. But, ‘a translator has to know how control his/her own creativity’.<sup>59</sup> Deriş’s argument concluded with a comparison of Fitzgerald’s style with Yücel’s with the help of some examples, finding the latter’s too free and too *alaturka*.<sup>60</sup>

### 9.3 Norms

In the translation critiques, as shown above, we witness a shift towards the source text which is quite different from the 1940s where emphasis was given to the target text and language. Before, any “mistakes” in a translation were considered as being unfaithful to the target language requirements. Now, they were seen as a lack of fidelity to the source text and its author. One of the main concerns was to keep the author’s style in the translation.

There seems, however, to be little clarity about what the style of the author meant to the translators and critics. “Style” was often used instead of “form”. So, what was to be kept in the target text, was again not very clear. Even if they kept their concerns about the linguistic norms of target language, it is to be witnessed that they favoured a faithful translation (concerning the content and meaning) of the original text.

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<sup>58</sup> Deriş, p. 460.

<sup>59</sup> Deriş, p. 461.

<sup>60</sup> *Alaturka (alla turca)*, as opposed to *alafiranga (alla franca)*, in Turkish context has a rather derogatory connotation, meaning to be attached to the old Turkish traditions, customs, habits and life style , but also disorganised and unsystematic.

These views suggested a more source oriented way of translating. This change in the translator's view has to do with a general change of thought of Turkish intellectuals towards the West and their own culture and society. In this approach lay also the wish to emphasise the differences between the source and target texts, languages and cultures in order not to get assimilated in the foreign culture and keep one's own identity. One can furthermore argue that by insisting on keeping the style of the author, the translators did not want to lose their own voices, i.e. since their own style was not used, it would not be lost or deformed. This new viewpoint is probably best seen in the development of Turkish literature. As was shown in the previous chapter, Turkish literature had been very much political and ideological during the 1950s and 1960s, becoming even more politicised after the 1970s. At the same time discussions started to take shape about the effects of the West on Turkish literature.

Attilâ İlhan (b. 1925), who wrote a series of collected essays which were published after the 1970s, where he called several socio-political issues into question<sup>61</sup>, asked in his *Hangi Batı* (Which West) whether literary movements in Turkey were shaped by domestic social conditions and processes and wondered 'whether the directions imposed on our literature as a result of ideas plagiarized from the West had a parallel in our social development'.<sup>62</sup> Favouing a social realist approach, İlhan accused Turkish writers of 'ignoring the aesthetics of their native tradition by constructing stories to fit the requirements of popular ideologies in France'.<sup>63</sup> He also blamed expatriate Turkish

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<sup>61</sup> All his books were published by Bilgi Yayınevi in Istanbul: *Hangi Sol* (Which Left, 1970), *Hangi Batı* (Which West, 1972), *Hangi Seks* (Which Sex, 1976), *Hangi Sağ* (Which Right, 1980) and *Hangi Atatürk* (Which Atatürk, 1981). Among his other writings, including poetry, novel, essays and translations, İlhan continued this series in the 1990s with *Hangi Edebiyat* (Which Literature, 1993) and *Hangi Laiklik* (Which Secularism, 1995).

<sup>62</sup> Quoted in Ahmet Ö. Evin, 'Novelists: New Cosmopolitanism versus Social Pluralism', in *Turkey and the West: Changing Political and Cultural Identities*, ed. by Metin Heper, Ayşe Öncü and Heinz Kramer (London, New York: I.B. Tauris, 1993), pp. 92-115 (p. 100).

<sup>63</sup> Evin, 'Novelists: New Cosmopolitanism versus Social Pluralism', p. 100.



intellectuals for ‘introducing to the West only those examples of Turkish literature whose ideological content could readily be understood by the European consumer’ and complained, for instance, that ‘Paris booksellers knew of no other Turkish writer than Nazım Hikmet and could supply no other books than translations of Nazım Hikmet’s poems when asked to provide works of contemporary Turkish literature’.<sup>64</sup> İlhan might be right in his complaints about the lack of any interest in Turkish literature for its literary values. However, his suggestions to create an authentic national literature which ‘focuses on issues relevant to its particular society and hold up a mirror to the realities of that society, rather than introducing alien and irrelevant constructs’ seems to have been unsuccessful in creating universal values, as witnessed by a great number of social realist novels written during the 1970s. However, İlhan’s ultimate argument, as Evin has noted, which suggests that ‘cultural borrowing from the West ought not be imposed on Turkey in such a way as to displace one’s cultural heritage, aesthetic traditions, and social prerogatives’ seems to have evoked a response from a growing number of Turkish authors and poets over the last two decades.<sup>65</sup> This has been also an ongoing argument among Turkish intellectuals.

In a “questionnaire” put by the *Milliyet Sanat* on culture in 1976<sup>66</sup>, most writers insisted on the need for borrowing the necessary methods from the West, rather than its models. Attilâ İlhan, as one of the contributors to the questionnaire, repeated his views on the need for a national synthesis where Turks should use their cultural heritage and other contemporary cultures with a scientific method, creating a national, modern and Turkish

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<sup>64</sup> Evin, ‘Novelists: New Cosmopolitanism versus Social Pluralism’, pp. 100-01.

<sup>65</sup> Evin, ‘Novelists: New Cosmopolitanism versus Social Pluralism’, p. 103.

<sup>66</sup> ‘Türk Kültürü Kavramı, En Önemli Kültür Sorunumuz, Kültür Mirası ve Batılılaşmanın Etkileri Üzerine’, *Milliyet Sanat*, 166 (1976), 3-11.

synthesis.<sup>67</sup> It is not surprising to see İlhan among a number of poets including Turgut Uyar (1927-1985) and Hilmi Yavuz (b. 1936) who after the 1970s turned to the old poetry; taking the *Divan* and folk literature as models they have written a new range of modern poetry using contemporary topics and language. Accordingly, a new Turkish literature started to flourish which did not seek to imitate foreign authors any longer, but to borrow from them selectively.

One of the points that was emphasised frequently was the need to translate non-fiction. In a translation conference held in Istanbul in 1976 Bertan Onaran and Ahmet Cemal argued that translations of scientific and non-fiction could help the development of Turkish literature for these would help authors to keep up with the latest developments in the subjects they were writing on. Non-fiction, especially biographies, could also help translators to know and understand the authors whose works they were translating, better.<sup>68</sup> Still in 1978, Ahmet Cemal complained that there was discussion about Kant, Hegel, Heidegger and Kierkegaard in philosophy lessons in high schools and universities, but the fundamental works of these philosophers did still not exist in Turkish.<sup>69</sup>

One other issue that has remained throughout the decades until today, as will be seen below, has been a common concern: the way Turkish is used, i.e. the poor quality of the language used in translations. One reason for this, as it was claimed, was the problem of finding Turkish equivalents for foreign scientific, philosophical and more abstract terms that the Turkish language lacks. However, the translators' inadequacies in

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<sup>67</sup> 'Türk Kültürü Kavramı, En Önemli Kültür Sorunumuz, Kültür Mirası ve Batılılaşmanın Etkileri Üzerine', p. 6.

<sup>68</sup> 'Çevirinin Türk Edebiyatına İçerik Açısından Kazandırabilecekleri ve Sorunları Tartışıldı; Umut Verici Gelişmeler Saptandı', *Milliyet Sanat*, 170 (1976), 15-16.

<sup>69</sup> See 'Soruşturma', p. 161.

translating into “good” Turkish was also continuously criticised.<sup>70</sup> As a result, a similar type of translation criticism to that appeared in *Tercüme* during the 1940s where words and sentences that had been translated wrongly into Turkish were listed, mostly in comparison with the original texts, appeared in the journals.<sup>71</sup>

At the end of the 1970s a certain awareness about translation as an independent discipline had started to be established. One could note a special interest in translation already in the middle of the decade with a series of conferences<sup>72</sup> and an increasing number of writings that regarded translation as a subject on its own.<sup>73</sup> In his paper presented at the first international symposium on Translation Studies which took place in Istanbul in 1979, Ahmet Cemal argued that the required conditions for the birth of Translation Studies as an independent discipline in Turkey were finally met. According to Cemal, linguistics had reached a certain level in Turkey, one could also talk about an extensive translation activity and a rich translation history, and now this translation activity had to be put in a scientific framework.<sup>74</sup>

Not long after Cemal’s statement, translation entered academia as an independent discipline, reinforcing and, at the same time, nourished by several translation journals.

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<sup>70</sup> Among numerous writings on this issue, see İhsan Akay, ‘Türkçe Çeviri Neden Okumam’, *Varlık*, 583 (1962), 5; Emin T. Eliçin, ‘Bir “Dil Felsefesi” Üstüne’, *Yeni Ufuklar*, 12:134 (1963), 36-44; Oğuz Kâzım Atok, ‘Dilden Dile Sıkıntısı’, *Varlık*, 766 (1971), 12-13; H. Kandaz, ‘Çeviride Deviri’, *Yeni Ufuklar*, 20:232 (1973), 51-53; Orhan Aktürel, ‘Çeviri Üzerine’, *Türk Dili*, 33:295 (1976), 245.

<sup>71</sup> For some examples of this kind of criticism, see Fuat Pekin, ‘Tercüme Sanatı’, *Tercüme*, 15:75-76 (1961), 167-70 and ‘Gide’in Güncesi’, *Tercüme*, 15:75-76 (1961), 170-75; A. Teleme, ‘Bir Çeviri Rezaleti ve Düşündürdükleri’, *Yeni Ufuklar*, 13:149 (1964), 20-30.

<sup>72</sup> A series of conferences in which a number of Turkish translators were participated took place in the Austrian Cultural Office in Istanbul during the 1970s. These conferences marked also the first signs towards the establishment of Translation Studies as an independent discipline in Turkish academia. The first conference in 1974 was entitled *Çeviri Edebiyatının Genel Sorunları* (General Problems of Translated Literature), followed by *Çevirinin ve Çevirmenin Sorunları* (Problems of Translating and Translators) in 1975 and *Çevirinin Türk Edebiyatına İçerik Açısından Kazandılabilecekleri* (On the Contribution of Translations to the Turkish Literature in Respect of Subject Matter) in 1976.

<sup>73</sup> Note the special issues on translation of *Türk Dili*, 38:322 (1978) and several “questionnaires” on translation in *Milliyet Sanat Dergisi* during the 1970s.

<sup>74</sup> Cemal, ‘Türkiye’de Çeviribilim ve Beklentiler’, p. 184.

That way, we can again talk about the institutionalisation of translation in the 1980s and expect that certain approaches gained weight. This will be the subject of the next chapter.

## CHAPTER 10

### DEVELOPMENTS IN TRANSLATION SINCE THE 1980s

#### 10.1 Search for an Identity

Since the beginning of the 1980s substantial changes have occurred in all aspects of life in Turkey. The military regime which came to power on 12 September 1980 and put an end to political activity for the next three years was a milestone. Amongst the characteristic features of the 1980s were the attempts to remove fragmentation and polarisation of political parties, bureaucracy, universities and of the whole society. In this respect, as the 1961 constitution had permitted Turkish society to be politicised, the 1982 constitution reversed the process and tried to create a depoliticised society. The military intervention of 1980 and the ensuing governments brought a new world view with new values into Turkish society. Notions of idealism and equality were forgotten and materialism and individualism became the new values. Society started to depolarise. As Murat Belge pointed out, 'not intelligence but cunning; not knowledge but being informed; not sense but sentimentalism; not creativity but skill are the new values of our life'.<sup>1</sup>

One of the first indications of the depoliticisation in translation activities is the changing character of selected texts for translation. There was a notable decrease, even a cut off in translations of political texts beginning in the 1980s. In 1979, just one year before the military coup there was a considerable amount of translations of left-wing

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<sup>1</sup> Murat Belge, *Türkiye Dünyanın Neresinde?* (Istanbul: Birikim Yayınları, n.d.), p. 118 (my translation).

political texts including texts by: Fidel Castro (3), Friedrich Engels (2), Karl Marx (2), Marx and Engels (2), Ernesto “Che” Guevara (1), Enver Hoxha (8), V. I. Lenin (23), Mao Tse Tung (5), I. V. Stalin (3). However, none of the above-mentioned names are found in the translations published in 1982.

The coup-makers of 1980 and their civilian successors wanted, as Ümit Cizre Sakallıoğlu maintains, to rebuild a ‘tightly integrated, indivisible, non ideological and ‘consensual’ society, like the Turkey of the 1930s’. As Sakallıoğlu argues, believing that the failure of Turkish political pluralism was due to the influence of communist ideology, the military and its civilian allies adopted a policy of reconciliation, recognition and tolerance toward Islam, which was to act as a unifying bond against communism.<sup>2</sup> This drew on the idea of a “Turkish-Islamic Synthesis” developed by the *Aydımlar Ocağı* (Hearth of Intellectuals)<sup>3</sup> which incorporated heavy doses of ethnic nationalism, Islam and all aspects of conservatism.<sup>4</sup>

Religious instruction in primary and secondary schools became an article of the new constitution of 1982. The growth of Islamic currents as manifested in the growing activities of Islamic orders<sup>5</sup> which had been banned in the early Republic in 1925, in the

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<sup>2</sup> Ümit Cizre Sakallıoğlu, ‘Kemalism, Hyper-Nationalism and Islam in Turkey’, *History of European Ideas*, 18:2 (1994), 255-70 (p. 262).

<sup>3</sup> An organisation founded in 1970 by influential people from the business world, the universities and politics. Its aim was to break the monopoly of left-wing intellectuals within social, political and cultural debates in Turkey.

<sup>4</sup> It was brought up first as an “opinion” of the Hearth of Intellectuals in 1973. After 10 years it became a part of the ‘Five-Year Development Plan’ as the ‘Report of the Specialisation Committee on National Culture’ of the State Planning Organisation. This synthesis continuously insists on the need to develop a national culture in which national culture indirectly refers to Islam for it held a special attraction for the Turks because of a number of (supposedly) striking similarities between their pre-Islamic culture and Islamic civilization. In the late 1970s, this ideology had become very popular on the political right. After 1983, it became a guiding principle in government. For a detailed critical study on the “Turkish-Islamic Synthesis”, see Bozkurt Güvenç and others, *Türk-İslam Sentezi* (Istanbul: Sarmal Yayınları, 1994). Dagmar Zeller-Mohrlok analyses the “synthesis” within its socio-political context: *Die Türkisch-Islamische Synthese* (Bonn: Holos Verlag, 1992).

<sup>5</sup> Turkish religious orders, *tarikats*, are Islamic organisations at the community level with the goal of searching for ‘divine truth’ through mysticism and rituals.

building of new mosques, in the growing number of *imam-hatip* (preacher) schools, whose graduates were now allowed to enter university, the growing number of Islamic publications and bookshops, attacks against people smoking or drinking during the month of fasting, *Ramazan*, and in the debate on the wearing of the *türban*<sup>6</sup> in the universities during the 1980s is evidence of the tolerance that the governments after 1980 had for religion and also for a Turkish-Islamic synthesis.

However, the unraveling of the previous official culture and the re-identification of some segments of society with denominators such as religion, ethnicity and gender has been one of the hallmarks of the socio-political sphere in Turkey since the mid-1980s and current governmental policies are not enough to explain these phenomena.<sup>7</sup> New ideologies (Islam, radical nationalism etc.) challenged the early official principles, while new identities (ethnic, religious, sexual etc.) emerged. New ethnic and religious confrontations in the society replaced the political conflicts of the previous decades. Especially after the 1990s, with the changing role of the media, i.e. private TV and radio-broadcasting, talk-shows, live phone interviews, the newly established political platforms, movements and parties, new modes of identities are continually being defined, promoted and mediated.<sup>8</sup> With the boom of private and commercial television and radio stations in

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<sup>6</sup> A scarf which completely covers a woman's hair.

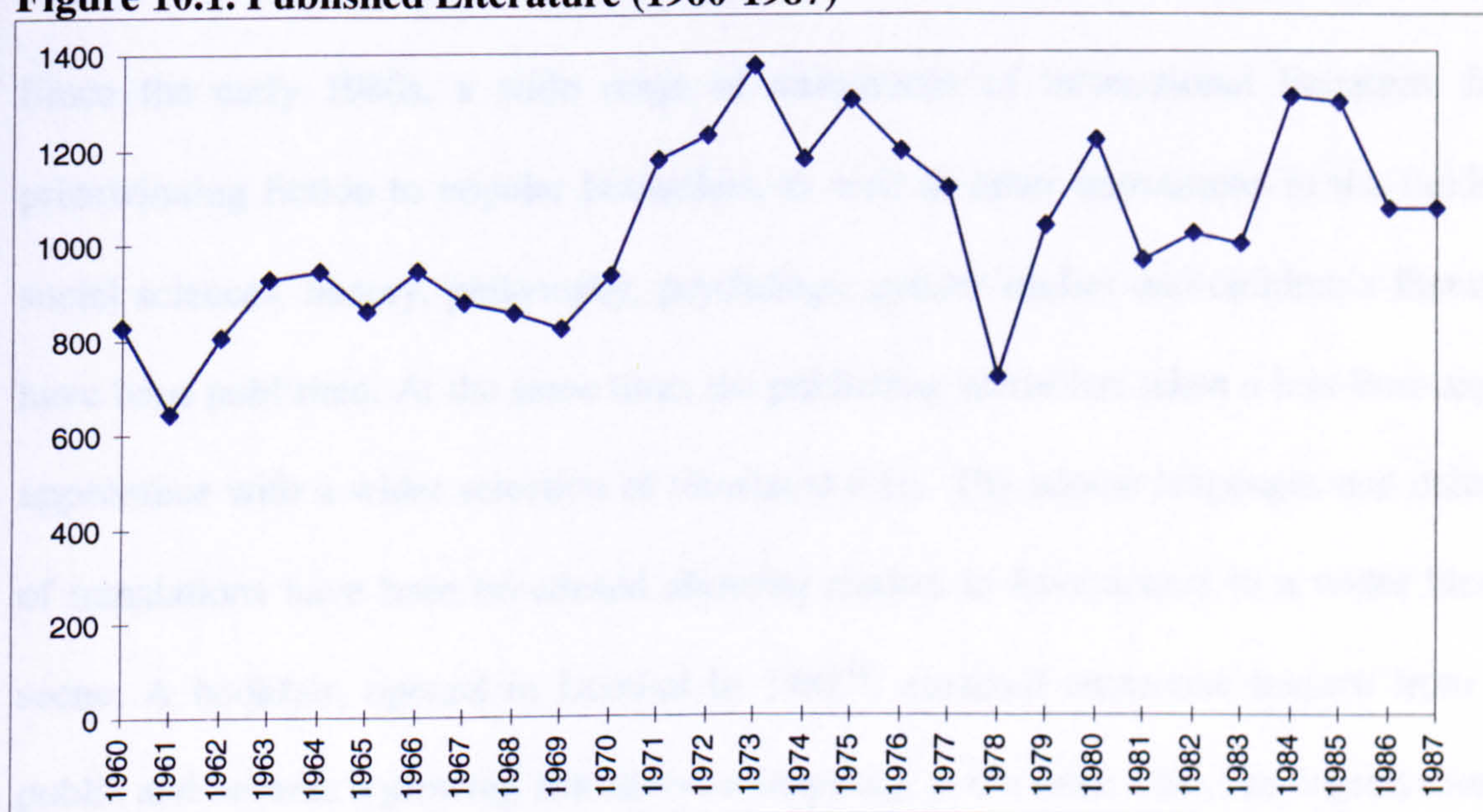
<sup>7</sup> We should also take the impact of global developments, the growth of global media and the mobility of populations into consideration.

<sup>8</sup> Ayşe Öncü showed how commercial television has served to construct a distinctive knowledge of Islam: 'Packaging Islam: Cultural Politics on the Landscape of Turkish Commercial Television', *New Perspectives on Turkey*, 10 (1994), 13-36. Focusing on the partiality in the struggle between the dominant and counter discourses of mainstream mass media, Sevda Alankuş-Kural explores how "the others" are portrayed in the TV series/serials. See Sevda Alankuş-Kural, 'Mass Media Disorder and the Representation of "the Other" in Turkey' (Paper presented to the conference *Turbulent Europe: Conflict, Identity and Culture* by BFI in 1994) and 'Türkiye'de Medya, Hegemonya ve Ötekinin Temsili', *Toplum ve Bilim*, 67 (1995), 76-110.

early 1990s these developments became visible.<sup>9</sup> The private and commercial channels brought many issues that were once considered taboo, such as the Kurdish problem, Kemalism, secularism, religious sects, gender roles, sex etc. into the realm of public discussion. This resulted in the dissolution of official dogmas as well as the relativisation of Turkish culture.

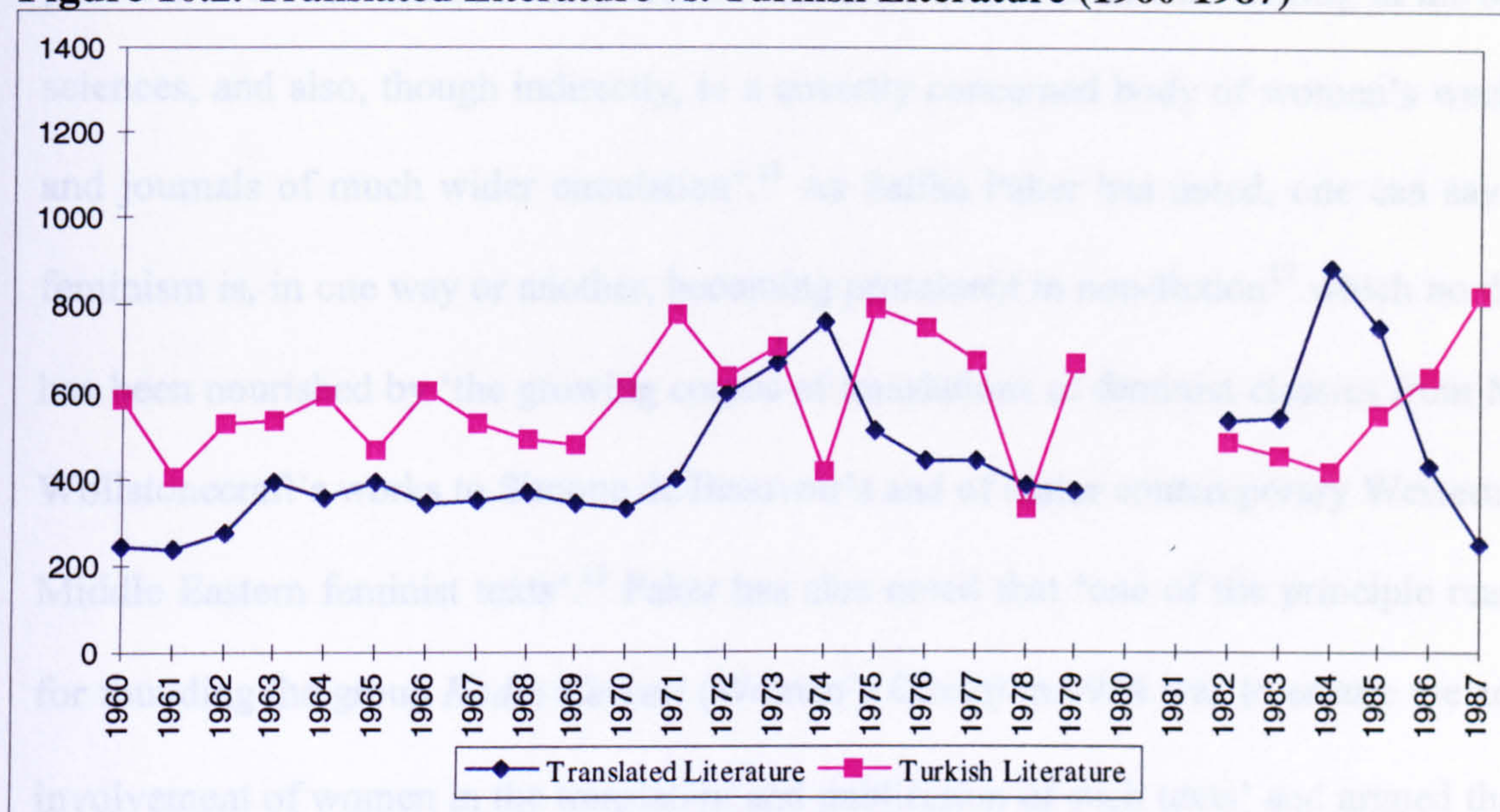
It is in this context that the translation phenomena after the 1980s should be examined. A striking phenomenon, as will be seen in Figure 9.1, is the increase of literary translations between 1980-84 both in number and in diversity.

**Figure 10.1. Published Literature (1960-1987)**



<sup>9</sup> In 1982, there was a single state-run channel, Turkish Radio and Television Corporation (TRT), broadcasting in black and white; in 1989, there were three state-run channels broadcasting in colour. At the end of 1992, there were six state channels and six private channels, all broadcasting in color, and more than a dozen commercial radio stations went on the air in Istanbul. See Haluk Şahin and Asu Aksoy, 'Global Media and Cultural Identity in Turkey', *Journal of Communication*, 43:2 (1993), 31-41.



**Figure 10.2. Translated Literature vs. Turkish Literature (1960-1987)**

Since the early 1980s, a wide range of translations of international literature, from prizewinning fiction to popular bestsellers, as well as other translations in the fields of social sciences, history, philosophy, psychology, gender studies and children's literature have been published. At the same time, the publishing sector has taken a less Eurocentric appearance with a wider selection of translated texts. The source languages and cultures of translations have been broadened allowing readers to have access to a wider literary scene. A bookfair, opened in Istanbul in 1982<sup>10</sup>, attracted enormous interest from the public and became a growing annual event inspiring, at the same time, the organisation of similar bookfairs in other cities. Following this revival in the quantity and diversity of translated literature, a similar revival of Turkish literature is to be witnessed especially after 1984.

One of the phenomena of the 1980s was the emergence of a feminist discourse which began to take shape under a growing number of 'women's statements on women's

<sup>10</sup> The only bookfair before this date had taken place in the garden of the University of Istanbul in 1932. See Arslan Kaynardağ, 'Yayın Dünyası', in *Cumhuriyet Dönemi Türkiye Ansiklopedisi*, ed. by Murat Belge (Istanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1983), pp. 2824-36 (p. 2833).

politics, to consciousness-raising articles and activities, to academic writing in the social sciences, and also, though indirectly, to a covertly concerned body of women's weeklies and journals of much wider circulation'.<sup>11</sup> As Saliha Paker has noted, one can say that feminism is, in one way or another, becoming prominent in non-fiction<sup>12</sup> which no doubt has been nourished by 'the growing corpus of translations of feminist classics from Mary Wollstonecraft's works to Simone de Beauvoir's and of major contemporary Western and Middle Eastern feminist texts'.<sup>13</sup> Paker has also noted that 'one of the principle reasons for founding the group *Kadın Çevresi* (Women's Circle) in 1984 was to ensure the active involvement of women in the translation and publication of such texts' and argued that in this respect, the Women's Circle has served 'as the main link with international women's movements and feminism (...) and has therefore been primarily responsible for creating a platform for the discussion of feminist issues'.<sup>14</sup> Parallel to these developments, literary works, especially novels and short stories<sup>15</sup>, dealing with issues centering women and

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<sup>11</sup> Saliha Paker, 'Unmuffled Voices in the Shade and beyond: Women's Writing in Turkish', in *Textual Liberation: European Feminist Writing in the Twentieth Century*, ed. by Helena Forsås-Scott (London & New York: Routledge, 1991), pp. 270-300 (p. 271).

<sup>12</sup> Zeynep Oral (b. 1946), a journalist, for instance produced a number of non-fiction about women, such as *Bir Ses* (A Voice) (Istanbul: Milliyet Yayınları, 1986), *Kadın Olmak* (Being Woman) (Istanbul: Milliyet Yayınları, 1994). *Kadın Adı Yok* (Woman Has No Name) (Istanbul: Afa Yayınları, 1987), a quasi-autobiographical account by Duygu Asena (b. 1946), another journalist, had an extraordinary success in the 1980s having its 40th reprint in September 1989.

<sup>13</sup> Paker, 'Unmuffled Voices in the Shade and beyond: Women's Writing in Turkish', p. 271.

<sup>14</sup> Paker, 'Unmuffled Voices in the Shade and beyond: Women's Writing in Turkish', pp. 271-72. Another important development has been the establishment of the first *Kadın Eserleri Kütüphanesi* in Istanbul in 1990. The library contains books and journals written by or on women.

<sup>15</sup> One should, however, mention the names of Gülten Akin (b. 1933) and Sennur Sezer (b. 1943) among contemporary Turkish poets.

produced by a new generation of Turkish women writers have increased dramatically after the 1980s.<sup>16</sup>

The depoliticisation process of the 1980s, as one can argue, may have had some positive effects on Turkish literature. As Talat Sait Halman pointed out, after years of terrorism and political chaos when communism (Kremlin-type or Maoist), neo-fascism, ultraconservative Islam and many other doctrines were in conflict with each other, the military regime between 1980-83 with its repressive martial law, while crushing rampant terrorism, suppressed intellectual activity in the universities and outside. Halman furthermore argued:

From the earliest period of Turkish cultural consciousness (as evinced by the lyrics of the fourth to sixth centuries A.D. and by the elaborate historical inscriptions of the early eighth century A.D.) well into our times, literature has played a vital role in molding aesthetic tastes, giving expression to dominant values, providing impetus for social change, and introducing a broad range of political visions. Until recent times, most of the important vehicles for intellectual activity in Turkey happened to be literary works. Interestingly, the most effective voice of Turkish Communism remains the poet Nazım Hikmet (1902-1963), who is still widely influential long after his death.<sup>17</sup>

According to Halman, despite various types of repression, literature of the 1980s is liberated from ideology and is distinguished by the freedom to explore diverse ideas, human attitudes, social phenomena, modern myths, etc. 'The reductio ad absurdum of political slogans no longer dominates.'<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>16</sup>Aysel Özakın (b. 1942) with her *Genç Kız ve Ölüm* (Istanbul: Yazko, 1980); trans. by Celia Kerslake as *The Prizegiving* (London: The Women's Press, 1988), Nazlı Eray (b. 1945) and Latife Tekin (b. 1957) with their "fantastic" or "magical" narratives, such as *Yoldan Geçen Öyküler* (Stories Strolling by) (Istanbul: Can, 1987) and *Aşk Artık Burada Oturmuyor* (Love Doesn't Live Here Anymore) (Istanbul: Can, 1989); and *Berci Kristin Çöp Masalları* (Istanbul: Adam, 1984); trans. by Ruth Christie and Saliha Parker under the title *Berji Kristin: Tales from the Garbage Hills* (London: Marion Boyars, 1993) and *Gece Dersleri* (Night Lessons) (Istanbul: Adam, 1986) respectively, have been among the main women writers who challenged mainstream fiction in the 1980s.

<sup>17</sup> Talat Sait Halman, 'Life of Literature and Death of Ideologies in Turkey', *Translation*, 19 (1987), 3-7 (pp. 4-5).

<sup>18</sup> Halman, p. 6.

Like Turkish society itself, which is in a frenetic search for identity, literature has dedicated itself to a quest for new dimensions. Some of these seek traditional roots - in the pre-Islamic experience, in Ottoman history, in Islamic values. Others strive to emulate the Judaeo-Christian heritage with its fertile classical and Biblical mythology. Contemporary writers are voraciously drawing on their own cultural legacy and the traditions of other cultures.<sup>19</sup>

The Turkish novel, and literature in general, with a range of new viewpoints, beliefs, settings, situations and ideologies, became more diversified after the 1980s. This development has been due not only to the liberation of literature from ideology, but to the increasing pluralism in Turkish society with the emergence of new political ideologies and multiple identities.

One important point to be underlined is the revival of literary translations from Turkish into Western languages. After the 1980s, the Turkish literary system started also to export its literary products to the Western world. Translations from Turkish literature into English have generally been infrequent and scattered.<sup>20</sup> Moreover, most of these translations remained known within the academic circles of Middle Eastern and Islamic Studies. Nazım Hikmet (1901-1963)<sup>21</sup> and Yaşar Kemal (b. 1922)<sup>22</sup> remained the most frequently translated Turkish authors for years. But, as has been argued by İhsan Akay,

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<sup>19</sup> Halman, p. 5.

<sup>20</sup> For a survey on English translations of Turkish literature, see Özlem Berk, 'Translations from Turkish', in *Encyclopedia of Literary Translation*, ed. by Olive Classe (London: Fitzroy Dearborn, forthcoming).

<sup>21</sup> The first volume of Hikmet's poems in English was entitled simply as *Poems*, trans. by Nilüfer Mizanoğlu-Reddy and Rosette Avigdor Coryell (New York: Mass Mainstream, 1954). Among other collections of his poems in English, see *Selected Poems* (New York: Persea Books, 1967), *The Epic of Sheikh Bedreddin and other Poems* (New York: Persea Books, 1978), *Human Landscapes* (New York: Persea Books, 1982) and *Rubaiyat* (New York: Cooper Beech, 1985); all translated by Randy Blasing and Mutlu Konuk.

<sup>22</sup> Almost all of Kemal's works were translated into English by his wife Thilda Kemal and published by Collins and Harvill in London: *The Wind from the Plain* (1963), *Anatolian Tales* (1968), *Iron Earth, Copper Sky* (1974), *The Legend of Ararat* (1975), *The Legend of the Thousand Bulls* (1976), *The Undying Grass* (1977), *The Lords of Akchasaz: Murder in the Ironsmiths Market* (1979), *The Saga of a Seagull* (1981), *The Sea-Crossed Fisherman* (1985), *The Birds Have Also Gone* (1987), *To Crush the Serpent* (1991), *Salman the Solitary* (1998). *Memed, my Hawk* was translated by Eduard Roditi (London: Collins and Harvill, 1961), and *They Burn the Thistles* was translated by Margaret E. Platon (London: Collins and Harvill, 1973).

the interest in these authors in the West has perhaps been due to their ideology more than their literary talent.<sup>23</sup> However, the outlook of Turkish literature especially after the 1960s, as has been shown at the end of Chapter 8, was heavily politicised and the same procedure, i.e. seeing the authors' works in political rather than literary eyes, was also common in the Turkish context. In this respect, one can furthermore argue that the process of liberation of Turkish literature from ideology, as well as its development towards a genuine national narrative took shape only after the 1980s. With the diversity of genres, forms and techniques, new Turkish literature could develop a synthesis of its own heritage and acquired elements. In this respect, Latife Tekin (b. 1957) and Orhan Pamuk (b. 1952) have been among the main Turkish writers who challenged the Turkish literary system during this period.

It should therefore not be surprising to see that beginning in the 1980s works, especially novels by contemporary Turkish authors like Tekin and Pamuk, have been translated into English and also other Western languages and praised for their literary values.<sup>24</sup>

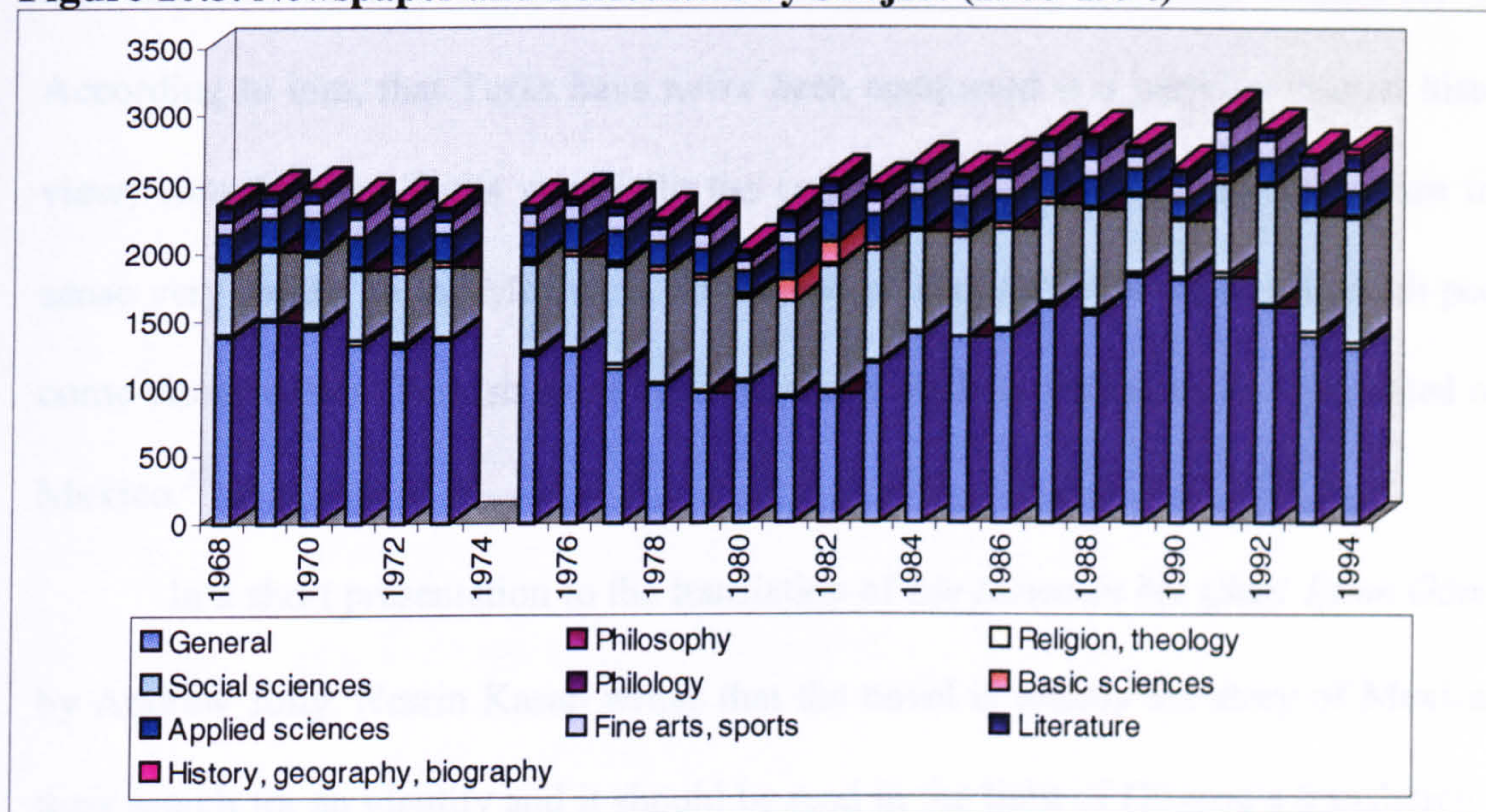
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<sup>23</sup> Akay was probably right when he argued that like in the case of Nazım Hikmet, the reasons for translating Mahmut Makal's *Bizim Köy* (*A Village in Anatolia*, see pp. 135-36) into foreign languages were mainly political rather than literary. See İhsan Akay, 'Yabancı Dile Çevrilme', *Varlık*, 431 (1956), 6.

<sup>24</sup> Among them: Bilge Karasu, *Gece* (Istanbul: Metis, 1995 [1985]); trans by Güneli Gün with the author under the title *Night: A Novel* (Baton Rouge & London: Louisiana State University Press, 1994), Aysel Özakin, *Genç Kız ve Ölüm* (Istanbul: Yazko, 1980); trans. by Celia Kerslake as *The Prizegiving* (London: The Women's Press, 1988), Latife Tekin, *Berci Kristin Çöp Masalları* (Istanbul: Adam, 1984); trans. by Ruth Christie and Saliha Paker under the title *Berji Kristin: Tales from the Garbage Hills* (London: Marion Boyars, 1993) and Orhan Pamuk, *Beyaz Kale* (Istanbul: Can, 1985); trans. by Victoria Holbrook as *The White Castle* (Manchester: Carcanet, 1990), *Kara Kitap* (Istanbul: Can, 1990); trans. by Güneli Gün as *The Black Book* (London: Faber and Faber, 1994), *Yeni Hayat* (Istanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1994); trans. by Güneli Gün as *The New Life* (London: Farrar Straus & Giroux, 1997). Furthermore, several anthologies of short stories and poetry were published after the late 1970s, such as Nermin Menemenciğlu, ed. in collaboration with Fahir İz, *The Penguin Book of Turkish Verse* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1978), Fahir İz, ed., *An Anthology of Modern Turkish Short Stories* (Minneapolis: Bibliotheca Islamica, 1978), Nilüfer Mizanoğlu-Reddy, ed., *Twenty Stories by Turkish Women Writers* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1988) and Feyyaz Kayacan Fergar, ed., *Modern Turkish Poetry* (Ware, Herts: Rockingham Press, 1992).

Likewise, the increasing number of books written by women and by authors of other ethnic and religious origins<sup>25</sup>, and the appearance of journals and newspapers published by such groups invigorated the Turkish publishing sector:

**Figure 10.3. Newspaper and Periodicals by Subject (1968-1994)**



One notable point is the continuous increase of translations of Latin American literature beginning in the 1980s. According to the publication list of *Can Yayınları*, one of the biggest publishing houses in Turkey and which specialises in literary translations, in 1995 almost 28% of its literary translations of 'contemporary' literature consisted of Latin American novels. The number may seem not very high, but there seems to have been a policy to translate Latin American literature. Bozkurt Güvenç, in the preface to his translation of *El Laberinto de la Soledad (Yalnızlık Dolambacı)*<sup>26</sup> by Octavio Paz, tells us about his particular choice of translating this book. Güvenç being a social anthropologist

<sup>25</sup> For the first time a Jewish author, Mario Levi, received one of the prestigious literary awards, the 1990 Haldun Taner Short Story Award with his volume of novellas: *Bir Şehre Gidememek* (Unable to Go to a City) (Istanbul: Apa Ofset, 1990).

<sup>26</sup> Bozkurt Güvenç, trans., *Yalnızlık Dolambacı (El Laberinto de la Soledad)* by Octavio Paz (Istanbul: Cem Yayınevi, 1978).

is very interested in culture and identity problems, in particular, in Turkish cultural problems. To show the similarities between Mexicans and Turks a friend suggested that Güvenç read Paz, especially *El Laberinto de la Soledad*. While reading the book, Güvenç also shared this view, saying that this work speaks to Turks about themselves, and if it had not been devoted to Mexico, he would think that it had been written for Turks. According to him, that Turks have never been conquered is a partially correct historical view; culturally the Turks were both the conquerors and the conquered and are in that sense very similar to the Mexicans. At the end of his preface he invites Turkish poets to come closer to the “Turkish spirit” and present a work to Turkey as Paz presented one to Mexico.<sup>27</sup>

In a short presentation to the translation of *Lie Down In Me (Seni İçime Gömdüm)* by Andrew Jolly, Nesrin Kasap writes that the novel is mainly the story of Mexicans in their search for an identity and it should be read in the light of Güvenç’s translation of *El Laberinto de la Soledad*.<sup>28</sup> It is, of course, very difficult to discover the intention that the translators may have in their choice of books to translate.

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<sup>27</sup> Bozkurt Güvenç, ‘Yalnızlık Dolambacı: Çevirmenin Önsözü’, in Bozkurt Güvenç, *Kültür ve Eğitim* (Ankara: Gündoğan Yayınları, 1995), pp. 71-79.

<sup>28</sup> Nesrin Kasap, ‘Seni İçime Gömdüm’, *Cumhuriyet Kitap*, 23 May 1996, p. 7.

The search for a Turkish cultural identity has always been a problem.<sup>29</sup> What is different in the last two decades, especially after the 1980s, is that now this problem is defined as an identity crisis and discussed more consciously. Numerous books and articles were written and surveys on “Turkishness” were published in the newspapers during the 1980s.<sup>30</sup>

## 10.2 Institutionalisation of Translation Studies

The institutionalisation of translation in Turkey took shape under these socio-cultural developments. The establishment of Translation Studies in two universities, Boğaziçi (Istanbul) and Hacettepe (Ankara) in 1983-1984 was followed by six other universities in the 1990s.<sup>31</sup> There is no doubt that other examples will follow. Obviously, for a country

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<sup>29</sup> For the identity problem and the East/West conflict, see Niyazi Berkes' books, *The Development of Secularism in Turkey* (Montreal: McGill University Press, 1964), *Türkiye'de Çağdaşlaşma* (Ankara: Bilgi, 1973) and *Türk Düşününde Batı Sorunu* (Ankara Bilgi, 1975); Hilmi Ziya Ülken, *Türkiye'de Çağdaş Düşünce Tarihi* (Istanbul: Ülken Yayınları, 1979); Şerif Mardin, 'Tanzimat'tan Sonra Aşırı Batılılaşma', in Şerif Mardin, *Türk Modernleşmesi (Makaleler 4)* (Istanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1991), pp. 21-79; Taner Timur, *Osmanlı Kimliği* (Istanbul: Hil Yayınları, 1986); Tarık Zafer Tunaya, *Türkiye'nin Siyasi Hayatında Batılılaşma Hareketleri* (Istanbul: Yedigün Matbaası, 1960); Bozkurt Güvenç, *Türk Kimliği* (Istanbul: Remzi Kitabevi, 1993). *Türk Aydını ve Kimlik Sorunu*, ed. by Sabahattin Şen (Istanbul: Bağlam, 1995) consisted of a number of articles by Turkish and foreign intellectuals on different aspects of the identity crisis of Turkish society. On the East/West problem in literature, see Berna Moran, *Türk Romanına Eleştirel Bir Bakış*, 3 vols. (Istanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1983-1994). For the same problem during the *Tanzimat* period and on the birth of Turkish novel, see Jale Parla, *Babalar ve Oğullar* (Istanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1993). The East/West problem is observed with reference to the popular phenomena “veiling” in Nilüfer Göle, *Modern Mahrem* (Istanbul: Metis Yayınları, 1991) and to the phenomena “arabesk music” in Nurdan Gürbilek, *Vitrinde Yaşamak* (Istanbul: Metis Yayınları, 1992).

<sup>30</sup> For some examples of such surveys published in the newspapers, see 'Türkümlü...Doğruyum...İşte Ben Buyum', *Milliyet*, 13-19 Oct. 1985; 'Türkiye 1989/Türkümlü, Doğruyum, Bıyıklıyım', *Hürriyet*, Sept. 1989. The results of a survey done by SIAR and released in *Milliyet* on 14 October 1985 may be illustrative to show the degree of Western attributes owned by ordinary Turkish people: Whereas 43% listens to Turkish folk (popular) music, 25.9% to Classical Turkish music and 9.4% to *Arabesk*, only 2.6% prefers Western Classical music. 70.7% of the population does not know the name of Cemal Reşit Rey (1904-1985, one of the leading Turkish composers in Turkish polyphonic music). Ömer Seyfettin (1884-1920) (44.5%) and Orhan Kemal (1914-1970) (58.1%) are also among the forgotten. Even names of some “popular” poets such as Orhan Veli Kanık (1914-1950), Tevfik Fikret (1867-1915) and Yahya Kemal Beyatlı (1884-1958) to a large extent seem to be unknown (60.3%, 58.9% and 53.1% respectively). However, we live in a media era where 96 out of 100 people have televisions in their homes and 94 watch it, but only 3.1 prefer to go to the theatre. The total circulation of national dailies reaches just over 3.5 million and only 2.7 out of 100 households buy a newspaper on a daily basis.

<sup>31</sup> Yıldız (Istanbul) in 1992-1993, İstanbul (Istanbul) in 1993-1994, Bilkent (Ankara) in 1994-1995 and Mersin (Mersin) in 1996-1997.



like Turkey which has a long translation history, this has been an important step to open ways and provide means to explore translation.

One other important development for translation studies in Turkey has been the publication of two translation journals during the 1980s and early 1990s: *Yazko Çeviri* (1981-1984) and *Metis Çeviri* (1987-1992).<sup>32</sup>

### 10.2.1 *Yazko Çeviri*

*Yazko Çeviri* was published between 1981-1984. Until its 15th issue, it was published bimonthly. After a joint special issue on Kafka, *Yazko Çeviri* ceased its publication with its 18th issue. Taking into consideration its timing, *Yazko Çeviri* can be considered as a harbinger of the start of translation departments opening in the universities beginning in 1983-1984 and the gradually increasing studies in this area.

In eight issues of *Yazko Çeviri* special sections were prepared; they were on *War and Peace* (1:2 1981), Antonin Artaud (1:4 1982), Marcel Proust (1:5 1982), Dostoyevsky (1:6 1982), translations under the title “translations for peace” (2:8 1982), Vietnamese literature (3:13 1983), science fiction as a literary genre (3:14 1983), a section entitled “a short look at short stories and fairy tales in Iranian literature” (3:15 1983). A short “dictionary of linguistics and semiotics terms” was published in the 15th issue. A list of sources on translation as promised in the preface of the second issue (1:2 1981) could only be published in *Dün ve Bugün Çeviri*.<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>32</sup> As will be seen from the list of translation journals given in Appendix, during the 1990s other translation journals started to be published. The reason of the emphasis on *Yazko* and *Metis* translation journals here is that they were the first long-lived examples after *Tercüme*, hence becoming the centre of revived discussions on translation during the period under study.

<sup>33</sup> Hasan S. Keseroğlu and Serdar Gökbalp, comp., ‘Cumhuriyet’ten Günümüze Çeviri Üzerine Yazılar Kaynakçası I’, *Dün ve Bugün Çeviri*, 2 (1985), 191-228.

531 pieces appeared in *Yazko Çeviri* of which 400 (75%) were translations.<sup>34</sup>

Translations from 28 languages appeared in the pages of *Yazko Çeviri*. However, 95% of these translations were made from European languages and French was language from which most was translated. 23% of the translations were made from a second language.

Finally, the vast majority of these writings (97%) were contemporary works.

The aim of the journal and its approach was explained by Ahmet Cemal in his introduction to the first issue:

The main function of YAZKO ÇEVİRİ can be summarised as *to keep the translation question, with its many aspects, continuously on the agenda*. Attempts to fulfil this function will naturally be shaped in the direction of the conditions of intellectual and cultural life in our country. ...

First of all, despite the existence of an apparently intense translation activity today in Turkey, the answer to the question of “what is being translated?” is not very heart-warming. (...) This situation, together with commercial motives, arises also on a large scale from *not knowing well what has to be translated*. (...) The aim of YAZKO ÇEVİRİ in presenting literary works and explanatory translations becomes automatically clarified. The aim is to provide guidance, even minimally about the translations that would contribute to our literary and cultural life. (...)

Translating, contrary to some arguments, does not result in harmful imitation, but a means of enriching national literature and culture via synthesis. The imitative attitudes that have been and will continue to be caused by foreign examples should be seen as natural and temporary phases of the assimilation process.<sup>35</sup>

According to this statement, the journal’s main goal is to play an influential role in the decisions of what to translate. Although it is not clear from this statement whom it is aimed at, we can assume that the targeted readership includes first of all those who are responsible for translational decisions, such as publishers, institutions, translators, in short, any kind of force that can commission or publish translations. Ahmet Cemal’s prefaces in other issues of *Yazko Çeviri* support this assumption. Cemal’s main subject in

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<sup>34</sup> Özlem Ayav and others, ‘Sayısal Verilerle Türkiye’de Çeviri Dergileri’, *Metis Çeviri*, 20/21 (1992), 135-47 (p. 140). Several evaluative articles on *Metis Çeviri* as well as on translation journalism in general, appeared in the last issue of *Metis*. The statistical data I am using in this chapter are taken from this study.

<sup>35</sup> Ahmet Cemal, ‘Başlarken’, *Yazko Çeviri*, 1:1 (1981), 8-11 (pp. 9, 11) (my translation).

most of these prefaces is the intellectual and questions of how to become an intellectual. As a result, we can say that he saw translation as one of the main duties of an intellectual and one of the means to illuminate the society. The last sentence of his statement quoted above also indicates that translation was seen as a way to improve and develop national culture.

When looked at in the light of this framework, one can see that the translations and original writings which appeared in *Yazko Çeviri* had a function to enlighten and educate. In fact we can divide *Yazko Çeviri* into two parts; the first part where translations of poetry (which were published with their originals after the 4th issue), short stories, essays, drama were published, and the second part consisting of writings, both in translation and in original, on authors, literatures, genres, translation criticism, interviews with translators and book reviews. Starting in the 6th issue articles on literature, linguistics and semiotics under the title *Dil Yazıları* (Writings on Language) appeared in *Yazko Çeviri*, and with a section called *Estetik Yazıları* (Writings on Aesthetics) which started in the 11th issue, one can see that the basic writings on these subjects were aimed to be included into Turkish via translations. As to translation criticism, Cemal makes a clear distinction between book reviews which were to appear at the end of every journal and the translation critiques that would be published in the section *Çeviri Üstüne* (On Translation).<sup>36</sup> This section was renamed after the 13th issue as *Çeviri Kuramı ve Çeviribilim* (Translation Theory and Translation Studies) including more articles in translation and in original with a redefined goal of guiding translation practices and new candidates in translation on a theoretical level, aiming at the same time to put forward the principles for an objective translation criticism.<sup>37</sup> Another decision taken with a similar

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<sup>36</sup> Cemal, 'Başlarken', pp. 9-10.

<sup>37</sup> Cemal, 'Bir Ödül, Yeni Girişimlerimiz ve Bir Hesaplaşma', *Yazko Çeviri*, 3:13 (1983), 8-10.

aim was to increase the number of translations published with their originals after the 14th issue to add 'new dimensions especially to critical studies'.<sup>38</sup>

Although a translation journal, *Yazko Çeviri* published a wide range of translated literary works and studies on several authors, their works and literary movements. This was, as Cemal noted in his above mentioned preface, to provide guidance on the translations that would contribute to the Turkish literary and cultural life.<sup>39</sup> However, it is also to be noted that translation criticism in the section "On Translation" consisted mainly of translated critiques. We can see this as an attempt to present examples of good translation criticism to Turkish readers (scholars, translators). Especially with the new section on language after the 6th issue, the main schools and movements such as the Prague School and structuralism were introduced to Turkish scholarship. As Cemal explained elsewhere, the articles in this section, translated into Turkish with a consistent use of terminology, would become sources for scholars, but also enlighten a wider readership on language issues.<sup>40</sup>

One would probably expect to find the best examples to illustrate *Yazko Çeviri's* approach to translation and translation criticism in the section "On Translation". The first examples of translation criticism which appeared in the section "On Translation" were far from offering a theoretical framework for such writings. Instead they discussed certain translation problems that the translators, as writers of these articles, encountered in their translating process<sup>41</sup>, they illustrated some mistakes in other translations, attracting the

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<sup>38</sup> Cemal, 'Bir Ödül, Yeni Girişimlerimiz ve Bir Hesaplaşma', p. 9.

<sup>39</sup> Cemal, 'Başlarken', p. 9.

<sup>40</sup> Cemal, 'Bir Yılım Ardından', *Yazko Çeviri*, 2:7 (1982), 12-13.

<sup>41</sup> Fatma Ülken, 'Bir "Borges" Çevirisi Üzerine', *Yazko Çeviri*, 1:2 (1981), 20-22 and Mustafa Ziyalan, 'Hesaplaşmanın Ozanı, Hesaplaşmanın Şiiri Ya Da Bir Çevirinin Hesabı', *Yazko Çeviri*, 1:3 (1981), 145-56.

attention to certain translation problems<sup>42</sup>; however they did not offer any theoretical bases either for translations or for translation criticism.

One exception seems to be Saliha Paker's article in the 13th issue.<sup>43</sup> In this, Paker argued that while critical comparisons of translated texts with their originals were useful in translation criticism and especially in teaching translation, a mere distinction between a "right" and "wrong" translation was not enough to evaluate a translated text. Following Anton Popovic's conception of shifts, Paker argued that in the process of translating the deviations of the target text from the source text should not be seen always as "errors", but be defined and described within the wider framework of the translating process where the decisions of the translator were influenced by several constraints. Paker, then, analyses three different translations of the *The Love Song of J. Alfred Prufrock* by T.S. Eliot in the light of her theoretical framework.

Another example of translation criticism worth mentioning is Nilüfer Kuruyazıcı's critique of *Tonio Kröger's* translation by Fatih Özgüven.<sup>44</sup> Kuruyazıcı starts her critique by complaining that a conscious translation criticism in Turkey had not become widespread. She notes that although there were theoretical articles on translation, there was hardly any analysis or discussion on Turkish translations. According to Kuruyazıcı, one should understand by an objective translation criticism not 'arbitrary evaluations without providing concrete evidences', but 'a comparative study where every criticism was illustrated'.<sup>45</sup> Parallel to this statement, Kuruyazıcı frames her criticism on two

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<sup>42</sup> Özdemir İnce, "Sayıklamalar" Üzerine: Bir Rimbaud Çevirisinin Eleştirisi', *Yazko Çeviri*, 1:6 (1982), 121-32, Herkül Milas, 'Yunan Ozanlarının Türkçe Çevirileri', *Yazko Çeviri*, 2:10 (1983), 23-28, Şahin Kaygun, 'Yağmur Yağdı mı, Yağmadı mı?', *Yazko Çeviri*, 2:11 (1983), 93-98 and Murathan Mungan, 'Hedda Gabler Diye Bir Kadını Ankara'da Ağrlarken', *Yazko Çeviri*, 2:12 (1983), 103-06.

<sup>43</sup> Saliha Paker, 'Çeviride "Yanlış/Doğru" Sorunu ve Şiir Çevirisinin Değerlendirilmesi', *Yazko Çeviri*, 3:13 (1983), 131-39.

<sup>44</sup> Nilüfer Kuruyazıcı, 'Tonio Kröger Çevirisi Üzerine Kuramsal ve Uygulamalı Bir Eleştiri', *Yazko Çeviri*, 3:15 (1983), 143-52.

<sup>45</sup> Kuruyazıcı, 'Tonio Kröger Çevirisi Üzerine Kuramsal ve Uygulamalı Bir Eleştiri', p. 143.

levels; target language-oriented and source text-oriented. The first level consists of comparisons of different translations of the same source text, of determining unintelligible parts of the target text which then had to be compared with the source text, and an examination of the target text according to the target language norms. At the source text-oriented level Kuruyazıcı distinguishes, following Katharina Reiss' text-typology<sup>46</sup>, three types of texts where language has a function of representation (*Darstellung*), expression (*Ausdruck*), and appeal (*Appell*) and argues that criteria for translation had to be established according to the respective texttype.

Kuruyazıcı attempted to analyse Özgüven's translation within this theoretical framework. Emphasising the importance of rendering the aesthetic effect of the source language in the target language in expressive texttypes such as *Tonio Kröger*, Kuruyazıcı argued that the translator had to find new language forms equivalent to those in the source language which would create a similar effect since the exact rendition of the language forms of the source text would often be impossible. She furthermore argued that searching for linguistic equivalence in source and target texts was not relevant any longer since one could not define expressive texts in purely linguistic terms.<sup>47</sup> However, the examples she gave from *Tonio Kröger*'s translation in the second part of her article, did not always accord with the theoretical framework she had previously presented. Moreover, they became a list of errors removed from the context.

This was the main point that Özgüven criticised in his response to Kuruyazıcı.<sup>48</sup> He said that the translated parts which Kuruyazıcı marked as errors were deliberate

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<sup>46</sup> Katharina Reiss, *Möglichkeiten und Grenzen der Übersetzungskritik. Kategorien und Kriterien für eine sachgerechte Beurteilung von Übersetzungen* (München: Hueber, 1971).

<sup>47</sup> Kuruyazıcı, 'Tonio Kröger Çevirisi Üzerine Kuramsal ve Uygulamalı Bir Eleştiri', p. 146.

<sup>48</sup> Fatih Özgüven, 'Thomas Mann Çevirmeninin Cevabı', *Yazko Çeviri*, 3:15 (1983), 153-58.

choices made by him in order to convey the readers into Thomas Mann's world by presenting his style and the aesthetic effect of the source language in his translation and he criticised her for having failed to recognise this aspect. Özgüven furthermore accused Kuruyazıcı for the lack of consistency between her theoretical and practical approach. He, finally, discussed the examples Kuruyazıcı had given, defending his choices on behalf of his above mentioned goals.

Although few in numbers, the above mentioned examples are important in that they were the first to link theory with practice in translation criticism. In general, *Yazko Çeviri*'s importance lies probably in that it introduced many fundamental texts, theories and movements of literary, linguistic and translation studies to the Turkish literary system in a period very crucial to the history of translation in Turkey. The aims of the journal and its potential were definitely far more than its achievements.<sup>49</sup> However, due to the economic constraints and Cemal's unwillingness to bring down the journal's standards under these circumstances, as Cemal explained elsewhere<sup>50</sup>, the journal ceased its publication.

### 10.2.2 *Metis Çeviri*

*Metis Çeviri* is the latest translation journal which appeared between 1987-1992 with 21 issues. Being the only translation journal during this period, *Metis* is an important source to observe the state of translation studies in Turkey and the direction it has taken in the

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<sup>49</sup> The programme which was published in the 8th issue illustrates the points that the journal wanted to discuss under the headings of 1) Translation Practice and Theory/Translation Studies, 2) Linguistics, 3) Semiotics, and 4) Literature/Comparative Literary Studies which covers a wide range of topics. Furthermore, many of the prominent translators and scholars were contributing to the journal.

<sup>50</sup> Cemal, 'Yeni Bir Süreci Başlatırken', *Dün ve Bugün Çeviri*, 1 (1985), 7-15. In his preface as the editor to the first issue of *Dün ve Bugün Çeviri*, another translation journal, of which only two issues could be published, Cemal explains the reasons for this decision.

last decade of this century. *Metis* was published quarterly until its 19th issue, a joint last issue appearing after a three months interval in October 1992.

Excluding the prefaces, 581 pieces appeared in the first 19 issues of *Metis*, 394 (68%) of which were translations made from 28 different languages. The majority of the translations (66%) were made from Western languages with English as the main source language. Finally, the majority of the texts (90%) were contemporary. Already with the help of these numbers, we can see some characteristics of *Metis Çeviri*. It is to be noted that English, after years of French domination as the source language in Turkish translations, became the main source language. However, the language variety in *Metis Çeviri* was expanded compared with the previous translation journals and the predominance of Western languages was no longer as strong. Also, the fact that only 5% of all translations in the journals was made from a second language<sup>51</sup> shows that the knowledge of different languages is widening. Finally, the increasing number of translations from Turkish into foreign languages (88) gives one a certain hope that in future this translation activity which has been neglected for years, could be undertaken also by Turkish translators.

As mentioned above, *Metis Çeviri*, like *Tercüme* and *Yazko Çeviri*, is an important source for scholars who want to analyse the prevailing norms during the late 1980s and early 1990s. Translation criticism, theoretical writings on translation and the interviews which appeared in *Metis* are the best examples in reflecting the approach towards translation. How these norms, then, were applied to the translations themselves, or if they were ever reflected in the translations would be the subject of another study.

In the preface of its first issue the aim of *Metis Çeviri* was announced by the editorial board as follows:

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<sup>51</sup> Ayav and others, 'Sayısal Verilerle Türkiye'de Çeviri Dergileri', p. 141.



### Why “Translation”?

To approach more critically the translation phenomenon which affects our culture and communication so much both with translated examples presented to us and the linguistic preferences; to create a certain linguistic understanding by systemising; to discuss and examine the knots and problems that we encounter frequently, at times noticing but not being able to solve, ignoring other times whether we are translation practitioners or “observers” of translation, with you, our readers.<sup>52</sup>

Already in this preface emphasis on the language attracts one’s attention. It was mainly argued that translations caused a certain chaos in Turkish language and the slow but steady penetration of foreign grammatical rules, punctuation marks, syntactic structures etc. into Turkish via translations was seen as ‘frightening’.<sup>53</sup> The writers of the preface, then, claimed the necessity of ‘controlling, continuously and comprehensively, this chaos with criteria special to the structure of the language and culture’.<sup>54</sup> We can presume from this preface that the editorial board of *Metis* undertook an enlightening role towards a consciousness in this “uncontrolled” situation. This concern for the language can also be seen in the components and the structure of the journal.

A section called *Eşekarısı*<sup>55</sup>, prepared probably by the editorial board of *Metis Çeviri*, gave examples of wrong usage of Turkish. These examples were taken not only from Turkish translations, but from all sorts of sources, most likely to show the bad influences of translations on the Turkish language which were to be found almost everywhere. Here, most of the examples were picked from the television and newspapers.<sup>56</sup> But there were examples also from translated novels<sup>57</sup>, theatre<sup>58</sup>, even from

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<sup>52</sup> Metis Çeviri Yayın Kurulu, ‘Sunuş’, *Metis Çeviri*, 1 (1987), 7-8 (p. 8) (my translation).

<sup>53</sup> Metis Çeviri Yayın Kurulu, ‘Sunuş’, p. 7.

<sup>54</sup> Metis Çeviri Yayın Kurulu, ‘Sunuş’, p. 8.

<sup>55</sup> Wasp, from the Turkish expression *dilini eşekarısı soksun*, literally translated as “may a wasp sting your tongue”; a curse for people having said something unfavourable.

<sup>56</sup> ‘Eşekarısı’, *Metis Çeviri*, 2 (1988), 192-93; 6 (1989), 135-37; 8 (1989), 156-57; 10 (1990), 141-42; 11 (1990), 140-41; 12 (1990), 140-41; 13 (1990), 140-41; 14 (1991), 135-36; 16 (1991), 133-34; 18 (1992), 138-40; 19 (1992), 143.

signboards<sup>59</sup>. Finally, a quiz given in the fourth and fifth issues gives us another clue to *Metis*' source text-oriented approach. Original titles of fifteen foreign novels were asked in the first quiz after giving the Turkish titles which were not the literal translations of their originals.<sup>60</sup> In the following issue, the original titles, again, of fifteen foreign literary works were given and the titles in their Turkish translations were asked.<sup>61</sup> The aim of these quizzes might not seem clear. However, having them in this section where the "wrong usages" of Turkish were continuously criticised, makes us think that the fact that most of the titles of literary works were not translated literally (word for word) was criticised by the editorial board.

The articles in *Çeviriyle Yaşıyoruz* (We are living with translation), another section in *Metis Çeviri*, share similar concerns with the editorial board regarding the language issue. In almost all the articles, by giving examples in several areas, such as newspapers<sup>62</sup>, television<sup>63</sup>, instructions for medicines<sup>64</sup>, names of shops and restaurants<sup>65</sup> etc., the deformation of the Turkish language under the influence of foreign languages was criticised. Füsün Akatlı, the writer of four *Çeviriyle Yaşıyoruz*, apologises in one of

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<sup>57</sup> 'Eşekarısı', *Metis Çeviri*, 1 (1987), 185-86; 15 (1991), 128-29; 17 (1991), 142-43.

<sup>58</sup> 'Eşekarısı', *Metis Çeviri*, 9 (1989), 140.

<sup>59</sup> 'Eşekarısı', *Metis Çeviri*, 7 (1989), 140-41.

<sup>60</sup> 'Eşekarısı', *Metis Çeviri*, 4 (1988), 174-75.

<sup>61</sup> 'Eşekarısı', *Metis Çeviri*, 5 (1988), 167-68.

<sup>62</sup> Gül Işık, 'Türmerikanca Biliyorsanız...', *Metis Çeviri*, 6 (1989), 114-18; Füsün Akatlı, 'Kişinin Öz Dili-Üvey Dili', *Metis Çeviri*, 8 (1989), 136-38.

<sup>63</sup> Füsün Akatlı, 'Bir Yabancı Gibi', *Metis Çeviri*, 1 (1987), 163-65.

<sup>64</sup> Hayrünisa Helvacı, 'Bir Okur Mektubu', *Metis Çeviri*, 5 (1988), 149-50.

<sup>65</sup> Yusuf Eradam and Özhan Yiğitler, 'Sokaklardaki Çeviri', *Metis Çeviri*, 13 (1990), 131.

her articles for turning the pages of *Metis Çeviri* into a Wailing Wall because of her language worries.<sup>66</sup>

All the above mentioned articles were on the everyday use of Turkish, without any comparative analysis with their source texts. Furthermore, the examples used in these writings were not chosen from literary or translated works. The language concern mentioned in the preface to *Metis*' first issue was restated in several articles throughout the other issues which dealt with translation only indirectly as their subject. The language problem regarding the literary works were brought up in translation criticisms on which were laid an important task due to the unsystematic and uncontrolled function of the translation activity, the lack of a certain translation policy within most publishing houses, and the many people without the basic qualities needed for a translator functioning in the translation market.<sup>67</sup> This statement is in accordance with the first preface of *Metis* in that it also aims to control the negative state that translation is in via translation criticisms.

From another article written by Turgay Kurultay in *Metis*' first issue we understand that this task is given to *Metis Çeviri* where he claims that translators can share their knowledge and experiences with the help of concrete examples in translation journals and that translation criticism is a means to contain vast opportunities, such as offering several translation decisions.<sup>68</sup> Writing on translation criticism, Karantay complains about the subjectivity of translation critics, criticising writings which are the result of a subjective approach, that reflect the personal tastes and intuitive conclusions, becoming lists of errors as a result of comparisons with the source texts,<sup>69</sup> whereas

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<sup>66</sup> Füsün Akatlı, 'Dilim Dilim, Güzel Dilim', *Metis Çeviri*, 4 (1988), 157-58 (p. 158).

<sup>67</sup> Suat Karantay, 'Çeviri Eleştirisi: Sorunlar, İlkeler, Uygulamalar', *Metis Çeviri*, 1 (1987), 49-56 (p. 50).

<sup>68</sup> Turgay Kurultay, 'Türkiye'de Çeviri Eğitiminin Kaynakları', *Metis Çeviri*, 1 (1987), 126-31 (p. 128).

<sup>69</sup> Karantay, 'Çeviri Eleştirisi: Sorunlar, İlkeler, Uygulamalar', p. 54.

Kurultay emphasises 'exemplary solutions of successful translations' that a translation critique should present.<sup>70</sup>

What follows from the above mentioned writings is the aim of the editorial board of *Metis Çeviri* which can be described as maintaining the control in translation activity and to lead the readers/translators via objective and scientific translation criticisms. Together with language issues declared in the first preface we can expect that the translation critiques in *Metis Çeviri* show parallelism to the above mentioned concerns.<sup>71</sup>

Concerns about the use of a correct language in translations constituted one of the main issues in translation critiques. Yurdanur Salman argued that a readable text was one of the prerequisites of a good translation, praising the translation of Jorge Luis Borges' *An Introduction to English Literature* for being transparent where there was not 'any incomprehensible term or there has not been any left'.<sup>72</sup> However, this easy readability, according to Nesrin Kasap and Salman, is not enough for a complete equivalent rendition of the source text.<sup>73</sup> So what was meant by "complete equivalence"? Kasap and Salman argue in the same critique that the formal network of Susan Sontag's *Project for a Trip to China* needed to be understood correctly, interpreted carefully, translated well and rendered attentively. According to these critics, the organic link between the style and content should also be established in Turkish translation without any damage.<sup>74</sup>

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<sup>70</sup> Kurultay, 'Türkiye'de Çeviri Eğitiminin Kaynakları', p. 128.

<sup>71</sup> Dilek Dizdar analysed in the last issue of *Metis Çeviri* the journal's approach to translation criticism. Her conclusions coincide with the issues examined in this section: Dilek Dizdar, 'Metis Çeviri'de Çeviri Eleştirisi', *Metis Çeviri*, 20/21 (1992), 124-34.

<sup>72</sup> Yurdanur Salman, 'İngiliz Edebiyatına Giriş', *Metis Çeviri*, 1 (1987), 177-78 (p. 178).

<sup>73</sup> Nesrin Kasap and Yurdanur Salman, 'Sontag'ın "Çin'e Bir Yolculuk Tasarısı": İki Çeviri-İki Yaklaşım', *Metis Çeviri*, 5 (1988), 154-58 (p. 158).

<sup>74</sup> Kasap and Salman, 'Sontag'ın "Çin'e Bir Yolculuk Tasarısı". İki Çeviri-İki Yaklaşım', p. 155.

The concept of fidelity which appears in Kasap and Salman as “equivalence” was one of the main issues mentioned in the preface to the first issue of *Metis Çeviri*. While discussing the problems translations caused, the editorial board of the journal stated that infidelity gave rise to a wrong understanding of the source text.<sup>75</sup> What follows from this statement is that fidelity was seen one of the prerequisites for good translations.

One can argue that the great number of language errors in translations, which probably arose from translators’ inadequacy to use their mother tongue correctly, but also from their insufficient knowledge of the source language and culture which prevented them from understanding the source text well, led the critics to a source text-oriented approach. İbrahim Akın and Turgay Kurultay end their critique of the translation of Peter Handke’s *Die Angst des Tormanns beim Elfmeter* by wishing for the translations were ‘sensitive to original texts that we want to know in the widest possible way and to our Turkish that we want to protect and develop’.<sup>76</sup> From most of the examples that Akın and Kurultay gave in their critique, one gets the impression that the translator had a limited grasp of the Turkish language. So in most cases, it was the translator’s inadequacy to express herself well in Turkish rather than any attempt to be unfaithful to the original text.

One other example to show the general source text-oriented approach is the continuous criticism of translators using local Turkish usages. Karantay, for instance, considers Can Yücel’s translation of Tennessee Williams’ *Glass Menagerie* inadequate, blaming Yücel for his choice of vocabulary which Karantay labels as extreme: ‘The translation becomes so domesticated that we would believe that the play is by one of our

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<sup>75</sup> Metis Çeviri Yayın Kurulu, ‘Sunuş’, p. 7.

<sup>76</sup> İbrahim Akın and Turgay Kurultay, ‘Okurun Elindeki “Kalecinin Penaltı Anındaki Endişesi” İle Handke’nin İlişği Var mı?’, *Metis Çeviri*, 6 (1989), 123-29 (p. 129).

writers if there were not any names like Tom, Laura, Jim.’<sup>77</sup> In another critique, Karantay once again criticised the translator’s usages which were ‘unique to Turkish’, admitting however, that the translator found some good versions ‘although he occasionally acted too freely’.<sup>78</sup> Berna Sevil maintains that the translator of drama should use ‘a living language, a language which is not remote from everyday words and consisting of correct sounds’,<sup>79</sup> criticising however the translator’s domesticating strategy, especially with culture specific terms.

At this point we remember Karantay’s rather contradictory article on translation criticism where the idea that one source text can have countless acceptable translations was criticised because, according to Karantay, in that case translation criticism would lose all its function and every translation could be read without meticulousness and pondering much on the quality of the translation.<sup>80</sup> The idea that a source text can have only one correct translation makes any idea for an objective translation criticism impossible. In fact, most of the translation critiques which appeared in *Metis Çeviri* remain subjective for they consisted mainly of a linguistic comparison between the source and target text.

One can note the same source text-oriented approach in the interviews that *Metis Çeviri* conducted with prominent translators. The questions put by interviewers, asking for one or more definitions, and the usage of expressions and terms such as “how is a good/faithful/free/high quality/successful translation defined and how should it be?”, “what is translatability and which texts cannot be translated”, “what is fidelity to the text,

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<sup>77</sup> Karantay, ‘Tennessee Williams ve Sırça Kümes’, *Metis Çeviri*, 9 (1989), 124-28 (128). It is interesting to see how a similar strategy used by Nurullah Ataç in his translation of Lucian was praised by Hakkı Calp in 1955. See chapter 7.1, p. 176.

<sup>78</sup> Karantay, ‘Gönülçelen’, *Metis Çeviri*, 15 (1991), 123-26 (p. 124).

<sup>79</sup> Berna Sevil, ‘Karaağaçlar Altında’, *Metis Çeviri*, 9 (1989), 129-31 (p. 129).

<sup>80</sup> Karantay, ‘Çeviri Eleştirisi: Sorunlar, İlkeler, Uygulamalar’, p. 130.

is it necessary, to what extent and how can it be achieved?" reflects, as Şebnem Bahadır has shown, *Metis Çeviri*'s formalist and source oriented approach.<sup>81</sup>

On the whole, criticism of the language, i.e. the poor quality of the language used in translations as well as in original writings, is to be seen in most of the critiques. The language issue has remained a common concern until today. Starting in the 1970s there was an increasing number of articles attracting attention to this problem.<sup>82</sup> On the one hand, the poor quality of the language used in translations was criticised. On the other hand, the fact that old Arabic and Persian words were still being used was criticised. Translations, according to most of these writers, lie at the base of these problems. As Cemal argued, writers did not show enough attention to the use of Turkish in their translations as they did in their own writings.<sup>83</sup>

Most of the translation critics could not help but list words and sentences in their translation criticisms, not only because these were wrongly translated into Turkish, but also because the Turkish rendition of the translated text did not make much sense. Translators were accused, in most cases rightly, of not knowing their mother tongue well and for using it poorly.<sup>84</sup>

In this respect, the growing number of articles and critiques on translation published in other, mostly literary journals show a parallelism with the writings which appeared in *Yazko Çeviri* and *Metis Çeviri*. Apart from *Yazko Çeviri*, during the 1980s several articles and translation critiques were published in literary journals. One example

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<sup>81</sup> Şebnem Bahadır, 'Metis Çeviri'de Yayımlanan Söyleşiler Üzerine', *Metis Çeviri*, 20/21 (1992), 115-23 (p. 118).

<sup>82</sup> See Vedat Günyol, 'Türkçeyi Savunmak', 'Dil Kaygısı', 'Ürkütücü Çeviri Konusunda', in Vedat Günyol, *Daldan Dala* (Istanbul: Adam, 1982), pp. 39-43, pp. 44-48, pp. 140-44 respectively. Bülent Bozkurt, 'İyi Çeviri İçin Çok mu Erken Çok mu Geç', *Hacettepe Üniversitesi Fransız Dili ve Edebiyatı Dergisi*, 3:13 (1984), 151-62.

<sup>83</sup> Ahmet Cemal, 'Çeviride Yaratıcılık', *Gösteri*, 2:20 (1982), p. 57.

<sup>84</sup> Adnan Benk, 'Yitik Bir Çevirgen'in Ardından', *Çağdaş Eleştiri*, 2 (1982), 40-42.

is a series of “translation conversations” (*Çeviri Söyleşisi*) which appeared in *Çağdaş Eleştiri* where Akşit Göktürk conducted discussions on various translation issues and translated texts.<sup>85</sup> These are perhaps one of the best examples of translation criticism for taking into consideration different aspects of translation, using translational terms, such as source and target texts, translation decisions, equivalence, but also other issues such as the edition of the book, its binding, cover, typesetting etc.

Another reason for the source text-oriented approach in the interviews in *Metis Çeviri* might be the claim for control as already announced in the first preface. Here, it should be mentioned that most of the contributors of *Metis Çeviri* as well as its editorial board, were academics in translation departments. This caused a one-sided and authoritarian approach to translation in the journal. This must also have been felt by the editorial board of *Metis Çeviri*. In the preface of the last issue of the journal, it was claimed that the discussions of *Metis Çeviri* remained in a small circle and could not provoke active participation from readers.<sup>86</sup>

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<sup>85</sup> For some examples, see the discussions on the translations of Joseph Conrad's *The Nigger of the 'Narcissus'* in 'Bir Çeviri Söyleşisi', *Çağdaş Eleştiri*, 1:7 (1982), 4-12, E. M. Forster's *Aspects of the Novel* in 'Bir Çeviri Söyleşisi', *Çağdaş Eleştiri*, 2:3 (1983), 42-47, Virginia Woolf's *To the Lighthouse* in 'Bir Çeviri Konuşması: "Deniz Feneri"nde Yaşamın İrdelenmesi', *Çağdaş Eleştiri*, 3:2 (1984), 4-10 and William Golding's *Lord of the Flies* in 'William Golding'in "Lord of the Flies" Başlıklı Romanının Türkçede Dört Ayrı Çeviri Metni Üzerine Söyleşi', *Çağdaş Eleştiri*, 3:8 (1984), 4-13.

<sup>86</sup> 'Sunuş', *Metis Çeviri*, 20/21 (1992), 7-8.



## CONCLUSION

The recovery and analysis of historical data in Turkey from the mid-nineteenth to the late twentieth century verifies that this period was a major phase of acculturation of the West. This acculturation process not only affected translation activity, but it also had further effects on the Turkish language and literary system as well as on the process of identity creation.

However, the factors determining such an acculturation process seem to be as important as the acculturation process itself, for these factors reveal the highly stratified and complex socio-cultural context of translation. The study of the history of translation is therefore crucial: it can help us to relativise the present, to re-evaluate current models, and to see how images of cultures are constructed by translations.

The results of this examination of the major political, social and cultural conditions during the turning points in Turkish history suggests that the power relations between source and target cultures are critical in determining translational decisions. These power relations also determine the extent and character of the acculturation process.

In the Turkish case, the West as the source culture was given a superior status from as early as the nineteenth century. The proclamation of the *Tanzimat* reforms in 1839 witnessed the first conscious attempts to modernise the Ottoman state and society based on Western models. This was the beginning of the acceptance of the Western world as a superior power and it also marked the start of a Turkification process. Translations

played a critical role in this process. It was hoped that Westernisation would bring the Ottoman Empire to the level of European powers and at the same time help it to gain its own Turkish identity. In this respect, with the establishment of the Turkish Republic in 1923 these processes, i.e. Westernisation and Turkification, became official policies and were carried out in a more structured manner.

The changing socio-political power relations in Turkey also affected the perception of the West. For over a century, the term “West” constituted a model for achievement, making up the context and rhetoric of a process of national and cultural self-definition. Likewise, the asymmetrical relations of power between the source (the West) and target (Turkish) cultures resulted in the continuation of acculturation as the main strategy in translations.

Since the mid-1980s, however, the models followed by the Turkish system have increased, widening the concept of the West. More importantly, Turks have started to evaluate and redefine themselves not only against the West but also against other cultures, such as Latin American and Islamic. Turkey has also started to question many accepted Western notions of cultural identity, such as ‘humanism’, ‘universalism’ and the so-called ‘Grand Narratives’ of the Western cultural tradition.<sup>1</sup> Consequently, rejection of the Western paradigm of modernisation was one of the hallmark movements starting in the late 1980s. The only Western element in the new ideologies (Islam, radical nationalism etc.) was advocacy of the adoption of Western technology and science.

This new opening gave rise to the beginning of a certain resistance to the previous acculturation strategies. Translations, according to the new approach, should not show the

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<sup>1</sup> This questioning process is similar to the decolonisation one which ex-colonies are presently undergoing. See, for example, Samia Mehrez, ‘Translation and the Postcolonial Experience: The Francophone North African Text’, in *Rethinking Translation: Discourse, Subjectivity, Ideology*, ed. by Lawrence Venuti (London: Routledge, 1992), pp. 120-138 and Ovidio Carbonell, ‘The Exotic Space of Cultural Translation’, in *Translation, Power, Subversion*, ed. by Román Álvarez and M. Carmen-África Vidal (Clevedon: Multilingual Matters, 1996), pp. 79-98.

similarities, but differences and one's identity should be constructed by these differences. A parallel to this approach to the foreign can be seen not only in recent translation strategies, but also in the new Turkish literature: the decision to borrow the style, but use the domestic subject matter.

The creation of a Turkish national identity is still under process. Likewise some issues concerning translation, such as language, concepts like fidelity etc. are still being discussed and negotiated. However, since the mid-1980s, unlike the previous periods, these problems have been recognised. The picture which appeared after the 1980s offers a variety of opportunities to evaluate the plurality in all aspects of Turkish life. This plurality that Turkish society witnessed has, as Kevin Robins noted, 'nothing to do with cultural reversion (to tradition, religion, or whatever), as many western commentators like to believe'. On the contrary, 'the proliferation of Islamic publications, the growing recognition of ethnic heterogeneity, the increasing references to the Ottoman past, are all about the real Turkey reasserting itself against official and state culture'.<sup>2</sup> In fact, one can see this recognition of plurality in Turkish society as a response to the failure of previous ideologies which sought a national identity in the Western world. Translation policies and strategies in these periods should therefore be studied and analysed within this context.

This new situation offers a better environment for the development of translation studies in Turkey. In fact, translation takes its place not only in independent translation departments, but also in the newly established Cultural Studies departments. The establishment of these programmes in academia, as well as the increasing number of researchers and studies in this field, seem to give translation a new impetus. If the diversity can be evaluated in a positive way, the new century promises a fertile ground for Translation Studies in Turkey.

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<sup>2</sup> Kevin Robins, 'Interrupting Identities: Turkey/Europe', in *Questions of Cultural Identity*, ed. by Stuart Hall and Paul du Gay (London: Sage, 1996), pp. 61-86 (p. 72).

It is hoped that the analysis of social, political and cultural issues which was carried out in this thesis will contribute to a clearer understanding of the mediating function of translation between cultures and provide a better insight into the acculturation process.

## APPENDIX

## TRANSLATION JOURNALS IN TURKEY

- 1940-1966 *Tercüme*, 1-87 (May 1940- July-Sept. 1966), Ankara: Maarif Vekilliği (Ministry of Education)
- 1979 *Çeviri: Dört Aylık Düşün ve Yazın Dergisi*, 1 (Sept. 1979), Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı (Ministry of Culture)
- 1979 *Bağlam*, 1-3 (1979), Istanbul: Istanbul Üniversitesi Yabancı Diller Yüksek Okulu Almanca Bölümü (School of Foreign Languages, Department of German, University of Istanbul)
- 1981-1984 *Yazko Çeviri*, 1-18 (July/Aug. 1981-Mar./Apr. 1984), Istanbul: Yazko
- 1985 *Dün ve Bugün Çeviri*, 1-2 (1985), Istanbul: BFS
- 1987-1992 *Metis Çeviri*, 1-21/22 (Fall 1987-Summer/Fall 1992), Istanbul: Metis
- 1992- *Çeviribilim ve Uygulamaları*, 1- (Nov. 1992), Ankara: Hacettepe Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Mütercim Tercümanlık Bölümü (Department of Translating and Interpreting, Faculty of Literature, University of Hacettepe)
- 1994- *Edebiyat Çeviri*, 1- (1994), Bursa: TÖMER Ankara Üniversitesi Bursa Şubesi (Bursa Branch of TÖMER [Turkish Language Teaching Centre] at Ankara University)
- 1995- *Çeviribilim*, 1- (1995), Bursa: TÖMER Ankara Üniversitesi Bursa Şubesi (Bursa Branch of TÖMER [Turkish Language Teaching Centre] at Ankara University)

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Where the *MHRA Style Book* has remained inadequate the following guidelines have been followed: If the reference has no author's name, the entry starts with the title and is alphabetised by the first word. For government publications with no author, the government agency is treated as the author. Two or more works by the same author are listed chronologically. Finally, for citations which are to the comments of the translator or to the translator's decisions in preparing the text, the bibliographic entry starts with the translator's name.

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