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**The Effect of Translations on Cultural Change from The Ottomans to
The Turkish Republic ***

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ABSTRACT

The innovation movement in the Ottoman Empire, which lasted more than a hundred years, involved an intense translation activity in nearly every field. These translation activities eventually led to the creation of cultural, literary and political works in the Western model. The ideas and thoughts which changed the Ottoman Empire into a democratic republic arose from these westernization movements. During the early years of the Turkish Republic, culture, literature, politics and law were all guided by translations from the Western world. This paper seeks to examine how government-led innovation movements took place in fields such as the military, law, literature and culture during the transition period between the Ottoman Empire and the Turkish Republic, and describe the translation methods which were at the centre of these movements. It will discuss how these translation-oriented innovations shaped the target society in the defined period, the way the target culture was directed and how the government-led cultural change, which did not take into account the cultural norms of the target society and traditions, affected the society.

Key Words: cultural transfer, civilisation, translation, cultural exchange, translation studies.

1. Introduction

The concepts of culture and civilisation are frequently used interchangeably and they are often misused. Many nations with different cultures may exist in the same civilisation. If civilisation merely referred to culture, then it could not be considered to encompass the distinctive qualities of different nations, and it would be impossible for nations to collectively contribute to and benefit from being part of a civilisation. In a given nation, however, the culture may incorporate elements of civilisation, combining them with local tradition. While cultures and languages within a given civilisation may have a common denominator, different civilisations have few if any such similarities.

As civilisation is transferable, it is possible for a society to adopt or be adopted by a different civilisation. While this has a significant impact on the society's culture, its particular cultural traditions are still maintained. However, if both civilisation and culture are imported, this time the change can be read as a differentiation as well as a transformation into another nation's culture. For nations, development through adoption of other civilisations is broadly positive, but development through adoption of another nation's culture tends to be negative. Culture is differentiating and local. Civilisation is transferable and universal.

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Translation can be considered to be the engine of modernisation and civilisation due to the key role it plays in the transfer of civilisation. Without successful translation, simple cultural changes within a country do not allow the community to become part of a civilisation, as they are closed to other societies and civilisations. Conversely, when an intense and prolonged translation activity for the transfer of civilisation is carried out successfully, then the target culture may have the opportunity, thanks to foreign ideas, to become continuously dynamic on the world stage and constantly develop its own culture, leading to a greater awareness as well as a real process of modernisation. The Roman Empire and the Arab world carried out this dynamic transfer very successfully. Similarly, the process of European civilisation during the Renaissance was successfully carried out due to translations.

It is an important step for all world nations to transfer Western civilisation into their own society. In the Eastern world, however, this transfer is carried out in the form of mixing elements of Western civilisation and the nation's culture in general. Unfortunately, it is not merely some parts, but the western civilisation as a whole which needs to be translated. Not only the technical knowledge, but the thought of Western civilisation should be transferred. In the importing of Western civilisation into other cultures, it is a fact that every nation carried out a deliberately deficient translation activity; as a result, the thought of Western civilisation was missing.

This tactic was used in Turkey during both the periods of the Ottoman Empire and the Republic of Turkey, albeit from different perspectives. The aspects of Western civilisation which were appropriate for soldiers and statesmen were translated, but inappropriate aspects were not. As a consequence of this incomplete transfer of Western civilisation, Turkey became a country of social conflicts, rather than becoming a Western country in every respect. Instead of bringing harmony, aesthetics and the development of thought, the importing of Western civilisation brought technical knowledge, conflict and an identity crisis. An important aspect of the translation movements is that some elements of Western civilisation which were disagreeable to the local culture were adopted and forced on the Turkish community without aiming to create a harmony. The overall goal was to alter the culture by using Western civilisation.

2. Translation as a Tool for Westernization

Westernization activities during the period of the Ottoman Empire were mostly carried out in the fields of state structure and western techniques. Translations on Western thought were also carried out but in limited number. In the period of the Republic of Turkey, cultural changes were seen as the road to development. The rulers of the country equated the backwardness of its civilisation with a backwardness of culture. They brought in revolutions with an approach that ignored thousands of years of Turkish culture and lifestyle, in particular religion and traditions. An absolute transfer of Western culture was the goal in all areas. Like many developing countries, Turkey was ashamed of falling behind the progress and thought of Western civilisation and believed that changing its own identity, culture and religion was the way to increase the development of its society. However, Western civilisation has strived to develop its civilisation for many years, and continues to today, without nations changing their own cultural identity or religious practices.

While pursuing the goal of importing Western civilisation and culture, Turkey ignored the thought, humanism, individual freedom, individual rights etc. which are the most important transformations brought about by the Renaissance and Western culture. On the contrary, Western civilisation was

adopted with a medieval-style totalitarian state structure, a feudal model of society. However, Western civilisation achieved its Renaissance by first destroying knighthood, feudalism and the structure of a closed society. Communal thought was adopted instead of individual thought. The pressure on governments to change entire societies increased over time and turned towards communal design. Plato's ideal human model, which is the source of the Western Renaissance and the subject of Enlightenment, which supports the freedom to use one's own mind, was not a model for Turkey. Western positivism was taken as a mere cultural and religious opposition, and other aspects were ignored. In fact, the reformation movement in the West, with its orientation towards the essence of religion, was perceived as a transformation that completely ignored religion, altering it and prohibiting the teaching of religion. Turkish people and Turkish culture were forced to change their identity.

In the field of translation, a continuous movement of imitation and an ongoing act of foreignising a civilisation prevented the public from being a part of the civilisation. The target audience of the translations and the perception of the West were limited to a small number of intellectuals. But how would it be possible for a nation to realize a renaissance, which in its essence meant '*return to self*', in tradition, culture and religion?

The official translation method in the history of Turkey was '*foreignisation*'. This method of foreignisation should not be confused with the method of Schleiermacher's '*verfremden*'. Here, it is not an adaption of a foreign idea or concept by the method of foreignisation; instead, the foreign culture is itself foreignised, and then it is made to serve another purpose in the target culture through foreignisation. In terms of translation method, there is a foreignisation strategy both in the source and the target culture. The goal is not to adopt all aspects of a foreign culture, but to produce a hybrid culture by combining the appropriate aspects of the foreign and local culture according to the governing ideology.

A third culture is thus created and the indigenous culture is emptied. It is a complete ideological manipulation in order to create a new, artificial culture. This manipulation is aimed at foreign cultures as well as the local culture.

Such a translation manipulation is alien to Western thought and to the culture of the East; it leads to the creation of a new culture, producing elements that exist in neither original culture. But in the act of creation, translations are just imitations of the selected texts, and no matter what their goals were, those texts are manipulated to hit ideological targets.

Hilmi Ziya Ülken summarises below why the translation movement was not successful in Turkey:

"The translations in Turkey cannot be considered small in number. But there is an important lack of principle while producing them: translation is the transfer of an entire civilisation. This transfer cannot be carried out with scattered and arbitrary choices. Civilisation is not just about the present. To be able to penetrate deep into civilisation and be creative, we have to go down to the roots. This is what Muslims did when they learned from India and Greece. Europeans undertook such a diligent responsibility in learning the Muslim civilisation. Indeed, we see the same effort in the new revival movements. None of them claimed to take the civilisation any

step further, but they went deep into the roots and agreed to consent to the tiring period of a long apprenticeship.” (Ülken, 1997: 348-349)

Ahmet Cevdet Pasha mentioned that translation is an important way of transferring civilisation; he also emphasized the importance of the development of the Turkish language through education and translation. He used the term ‘civilisation’ and put forward what he understood by civilisation. Pasha emphasized that civilisation could only be maintained by giving importance to education and keeping to basics; he claimed that civilized human beings could only be raised in this way (Kayaoğlu, 1998: 55-56).

Ilber Ortaylı summarises below the phenomenon of Westernization in the Ottoman Empire,

“By taking only Babiâli and the Anatolian continent into account, we cannot comprehend the phenomenon of Westernization in the Ottoman Empire. Due to military requirements, the Ottoman Empire was forced to get closer to European technical developments before engaging with European thought and literature. It was quite clear that military reforms would not only remain in that field, but would spread to other fields such as medical education, to train military surgeons; engineering, education, mathematics, geography for road works; economics, for the collection of taxes; and lastly, administration and law.” (Ortaylı, 1985: 137)

In the theoretical background, the most important evidence for why the Ottoman Empire could not prepare itself for the West was the slow change in the fields of history, philosophy and literature. Even those individuals who did not hesitate to adopt French administrative law and those who thought to adopt the French Civil Code for practical reasons were not aware of French methods and did not show the same interest in European philosophy (Ortaylı, 1985: 137).

3. Translation Politics During The Period Of The Turkish Republic

Although in the context of Turkey, translation activities date back to older periods, they did not cause a Renaissance in the Western sense. The bourgeoisie that caused the rebirth of Europe had no effect on Turkish society. On the contrary, the West constructed its Renaissance in each area through translations. The commons and the bourgeoisie were the ones who created the Renaissance, and this movement was opposed to knighthood and an autocratic regime. As for Turkey, the translation movement was carried out by soldiers – the knights themselves. The bourgeoisie remained completely outside the translation and awakening movements. This change did not include the public’s language and understanding of the world; it was not a return to humanism, but a return to exactly the opposite. A totalitarian understanding, military pressure and compulsion replaced humanism. The public neither played a role nor participated in the production or consumption of translations. The public remained outside of translation as well as change. Because this change, unlike in the Renaissance, was not about the public’s gaining wealth by trade, their awakening and their use of wealth as a way to enrich their cultural values, Turkey’s renaissance happened in an opposite direction. The public became poorer and the old feudal system and military became the social classes which determined the culture. Rather than eliminating the caste system in society, the system was reinforced (Gürsel, 1985: 321).

In the Republican era, the most important actor and determinant of translation policies was *Hasan Ali Yücel* (Tahir-Gürçağlar, 2009). He said:

“We see translation not as a mechanical movement of transfer. In order for any work to be passed into the mother language, the conductor of this job should adopt the mentality of the author or rather penetrate into the spirit of the society, of which the author is a member. Thus it is certain that he will enrich his treasury of ideas with the concepts of that society.” (Kurultay, 1998: 27)

Translations were intended to change the culture. By translating the most important works of deeply-rooted societies, the Turkish society was supposed to obtain those cultures. This purpose was emphasized by Hasan Ali Yücel, Minister of Education at the time, at the opening of a congress:

“The Republic of Turkey, which is willing and hoping to be an exclusive limb in the community of Western culture and thought, is obliged to translate old and new crops of thought of the civilized world and also to boost its ego with the realm of feeling and thinking. This obligation invites us to carry out a broad translation work.” (Tahir-Gürçağlar, 2003: 51)

The translation movement was aimed at the translation of the main works belonging to the humanist culture of the West. At the same time, it sought to contribute to the formation of a new national culture: first, a new literary and cultural repertoire would be generated through imports; eventually, this repertoire was intended to become a national one (Tahir-Gürçağlar, 2008) It is difficult to tell whether translators played a determining role in this plan, as there are no records showing whether translators were invited to the abovementioned congress (Tahir-Gürçağlar, 2003: 55).

Even though the initiators of the civilisation movement accepted Western civilisation as a pioneering force, they could not avoid approaching it from an Eastern point of view. The initiators of the translation and modernisation movements in the East were the rulers and aristocrats of the society. While they desired Western civilisation, at the same time, they thought that the structure of Western thought was not appropriate for the Eastern people and thought it dangerous for Eastern people to have Western ideas. Even today, particularly in Turkey, Western civilisation is thought to be inappropriate for society because the people are considered to be ignorant; it is thought that if they became aware of human rights and freedoms, this would be dangerous and unnecessary. Such a development of civilisation would disrupt the hierarchical order in the East, and it would be impossible to cope with the requests of people. This situation would be dangerous for those in power, due to the rise of opposition, intellectuals or the upper class. Furthermore, it would mean a division and reduction of capital and symbolic capital.

With the alphabet reform, the works written during the Ottoman period became foreign, and needed to be translated. The works were originally written in Arabic script, so translators into the new alphabet were needed. Some authors were no longer alive; some had become well-known writers or politicians by then; some could not translate into the new alphabet: these were the main reasons why the authors themselves did not carry out the translations.

What were left by this period were the gains in translation along with the actions and the efforts towards translation. During the Republican period, everything had to be written and translated all over again with the new Latin alphabet. Not only were new translations of foreign works needed, but also intralingual translations of earlier Turkish works were necessary. Copyrighted works had to be re-written so they could address the new audience and reflect the ideology of the state. In the new Ottoman period, due to the intralingual translation of Turkish/Ottoman works, the national literature became a translated literature unlike any other in the world. The people were obliged to read the

historical and cultural works of their previous generations from intralingual translations of these works. Even the works of Mevlana, Yunus Emre, Namık Kemal and Ahmed Haşim, whose works did not date back to older times, were translated. Similarly, the works of writers who were educated in Western countries, which were modern and original, and written in a Western style, were seen as works of another culture and language.

The public saw the innovation of this new language and culture as going against their own culture, threatening to destroy their traditions and cause a conflict between the new generation and themselves. They reacted passively to the innovations and huge masses were foreign to the ideology. In the Ottoman Empire, people who did not know Arabic could not read, and those who did not know Ottoman could not understand what was written. The same situation existed in the new era. People who did not know the Latin alphabet were not able to read, and those who did not know the newly invented Turkish language were not able to understand the texts written in that language.

Within this framework, the translation movement in Turkey, unlike other countries, was a cultural activity which included the acquisition of a new language, and being born and living in a new society and culture. The old and new generations had cultural gaps between them; the older generations were considered to be from another world and culture, and they were dismissed in social life. They were marginalized by the prohibition of the old language and religious thought. As in Plato's model, the children were taken away from their families and educated in different schools with an ideology and culture that their parents did not know, so they became unfamiliar to their own culture and families. The intellectuals educated in this way were not to be the intellectuals of their own society but rather of the society to be shaped. The mission of these new intellectuals was to raise public awareness on the new lifestyle and culture. Both the society and the ideology of the state along with the culture had nothing to do with the new society; the society was re-created. Original works were like translations and translations were like originals. Since everything was new, everything was translation.

Neither strictly foreignising or domesticating, translations were carried out in a manner to enable the adoption of a new language and ideology, thus foreignising works both to their original and target audience. Hence, a rare translation method was adopted, via an intermediate culture, language and style which even the translator was unfamiliar with, in order to fulfil the ideological expectations of the initiators of the translation work.

3.1. Translation During The Ataturk Period

The translation movements can be categorized into two groups along ideological lines. The first group covers the Atatürk period, and the second one, the Inonu period. According to Kayaoğlu,

“During Atatürk's rule, religion was dismissed from the life of the society, and instead the notion of nationalism was being constructed. In the Inonu period, nationalism was abandoned while the Greek and Latin humanist culture was being implemented.” (Kayaoğlu, 1998: 295)

During the Atatürk period, there was no intensive translation activity; instead, the emphasis was on practical processes of cultural development. The constitution, laws and social life changed immediately, but a translation movement to support the changes was not expected, because translations would take many years to complete. The pressure from powerful countries and the urgent need to establish the new ideology necessitated practical changes. The society was forced to obey the rules and adopt a new style of life. But the reformers did not raise public awareness of the changes.

Atatürk's reforms were the principles of the new state, the vector for culture, and the name of the civilisation as well. The main principles were nationalism and rationalism.

In the Atatürk period, politics were well integrated with the regime's positivist scientific agenda, but they did not reflect pluralism in thought and autonomy, thus failing to create a suitable political environment for a diverse cultural enhancement. This situation seems to be in conflict with the ostensible goal of westernization, but it is normal for the politics-culture-thought relationship to have ups and downs. One example may shed some light on the issue of the role and autonomy of ideas during Atatürk's era. In his book, *Atatürk and Populism*, C. Tanyol, in his discussion of Rousseau and Atatürk, emphasizes Atatürk's status as a man of political action. The rejection of the division of powers in constructing the Turkish Republic's constitution brought the need to settle with Rousseau, who adopted the will of society as a principle. Atatürk advised his friends to read Rousseau's work thoroughly; he thought Rousseau was mad and that *The Social Contract* was written in moments of insanity, and that the theory of such a mind could not be respected. C. Tanyol tries to explain that Atatürk is a revolutionist coming from a position of action, whereas Rousseau is defeated and pessimistic, thus attempting to legitimise Atatürk's attitude (Kurultay, 1998: 25).

3.2. Translation During The Inonu Period

The research on the status of the subject in translation has always focused on translators. However, some people with no direct relation to the production of the translated texts can be the subjects of translation research. People who have a vast power and influence on the society they live in may seem to have nothing to do with translation, but may in fact have a direct influence on the texts to be selected, produced and consumed. In other words, translation can be one of the fields in which the effect of such cultural figures is strongly felt. Among the people who have such a strong effect on culture are politicians, businessmen or other leading figures in society. For example, dictators or elected statesmen or ministers can shape the culture of a society, or at least attempt to do so. The covert or overt struggles of these politicians not only affect the culture but also the strategies and politics of translation, which has strong relations with the culture. Gideon Toury names these individuals as agents of change because they offer changes to affect the culture repertoire of the society. Culture repertoire is described as "the integrity of choices to determine the lives of a community and the individuals who are a part of that community". What constitutes, strengthens and changes the repertoire might be concrete works of literature and art as well as abstract facts such as rules of conduct, social and cultural norms. (Tahir-Gürçağlar, 2003: 43)

Translation during the Inonu period was intense and systematic, and government-led. It saw the founding of the Translation Bureau by Minister of Education H. Ali Yücel, the translation and cultural architect of the period. The bureau published works from 1940 until 1946, and ultimately contributed to introducing nearly 900 works to Turkish literature and thought. (Günyol, 1985: 328)

During this period, the main texts for translation were Western classics. Under Yücel's leadership during the years of 1940-1946, 1,247 volumes were translated: 113 German, 308 French, 80 English, 88 Russian, 66 Eastern Islamic, 94 Greek, 112 modern theatrical, 47 Latin, 20 Hungarian, 24 Scandinavian, 29 Italian, and 2 Spanish texts. (Kayaoğlu, 1998: 306-307)

Yücel and the intellectuals of the day, who supported the concept of humanism, perceived Westernization as a return to national roots. The supporters regarded humanism as a tool to discover Turkish history and literature and described it as the "efforts of [the] human to recognise himself".

This view was thought to be conflicting (to examine the national view with western cultural sources) but Turkish humanists considered it to be legitimate. (Tahir-Gürçağlar, 2005: 64)

This period was built with a different cultural aim than the others, particularly different to the Atatürk period. During Atatürk's era, the lack of religion, reduced to the individual level by radical regulations, was covered over with the idea of nationalism. During the Inonu period, nationalism was abandoned; instead, the regime tried to impose Greek and Latin (humanist) culture. But in truth, there was an economic depression. The society had to be improved in a short time. Western societies were economically-developed and had a high level of culture. The background of Western countries came from Greek and Latin cultures. Accordingly, it was believed that if Turkey followed the same path, it would soon catch up with the Western societies. Hence, Inonu banned Turkish music, instead promoting Western music to be taught in schools; he founded operas and conservatoires because he believed what lay behind economic improvement was cultural improvement. (Kayaoğlu, 1998: 295-296)

4. The Areas Of Influence Of Translations In Turkey

The interest of the Ottoman and Turkish Republic in Western European publications was restricted to the philosophical, scientific, law and military fields.

4.1. Military

The first translation movements in the Ottoman Empire were in the field of the military. The initiators of translation movements were politicians and soldiers. Until the Rescript of Gülhane, translation movements were restricted to the military; after then, movements covered other areas as well. But even though the translation movements in the early Republican era were not in the military field, translations were carried out with a military approach because the statesmen were soldiers. State, law and human rights were shaped from a military point of view and Western culture was adapted to civil and official life from the same perspective. Until 1946, when the multi-party system came into force, the governments of the one party system followed the principles of the military for all translation movements.

The military was the protector of literature, philosophy and technical issues in Turkey. Social relations, religious life and cultural issues were always re-shaped by the interventions of the military. In all social fields, the military changed the lifestyle of the so-called 'ignorant society', forced those who did not adapt and even punished people. The new lifestyle in question was the revival of Western life in Turkey, and the mission of the military was to force Western culture onto Turkey because the country had fallen behind Europe. Instead of a theoretical discourse, they supported 'introducing Western civilisation, thought, freedom and rights'; what happened in reality was the banning of the local society's own culture.

The intellectuals and the lawmen of the day accused people of being ignorant and unable to understand the cultural innovations, rather than criticising the military interventions on culture, society and human rights. If the military intervenes in the West, it is considered reactionary; in Turkey, the armed forces are regarded as progressive and intellectual. According to a famous lawman, Abadan,

"when the military interferes with politics in Western nations, they are regarded as conservative and puritan but in Turkey the military is the carrier of innovations. The reactionaries in Turkey

are not the intellectual upper class but the half-educated and half-sophisticated lower class.”
(Abadan, 1964: 176)

The intellectuals and philosophers of Turkey are soldiers. It is not the philosophers, scientists, lawmen or engineers who shape the future and culture of the society, but the soldiers.

4.2. Law

Generally, it is a long process for a law system to be changed for another one and only external influence or colonial relationships can lead to an accelerated adaptation. For example, the effects of the French Civil Code on North African countries stem from the colonial administration of France in those countries. However, this was not the case for Turkey. Nonetheless, Turkey undertook the implementation of a new Civil Code following the treaty of Lausanne (Oğuz, 2006: 196).

The new law system that ignored the law and social tradition of around a thousand years exists as a cause of conflict in society even today. The state traditions of Western countries could not be fully adopted. The government could not adopt the human rights and humanism in society; the rights of the society were taken away with the newly implemented laws; therefore a good understanding between people and the government could not be realized. When one group took over the country's leadership, they made laws against the others. Even today, the human rights and freedom enjoyed by Western countries seem like a distant dream and they are not considered suitable for Turkish society. Turkish society is thought to be ignorant and incapable of carrying out such changes; therefore, the elite make the decisions for the society because they consider the society to be unable to grasp the matters at hand.

In time, the Swiss Civil Code changed in Turkey and came to be known as the Turkish Civil Code. In that sense, the adoption of a foreign Civil Code is not just about the adoption of the laws or the system but the adoption of the mentality of law: in other words, the ideas, ideals and understanding. Therefore, the adoption of a Civil Code could be considered to be a continuous procedure (Oğuz, 2006: 202).

The imam (an official of the state) can solemnize a marriage, but in favour of modernisation, the religious features are ignored in the ceremony. Similar to European examples, wedding ceremonies take place in churches, but in Turkey an unreligious marriage ceremony is performed. Unlike in Europe, swearing on the holy book is restricted in Turkey by the parliament, in favour of Westernisation, even though there is no such thing in Europe. What is sacred is not religion but the principles of the state. Instead of old dogmas and religious figures they invented new ideological rituals. While adopting the Civil Code, the differences between European countries and Turkey were ignored, not only in terms of religion but in terms of culture as well. As a result, a thousand years of culture, tradition and religion were dismissed.

After the foundation of the Republic, the Turkish law system turned into a European law system; local and Muslim community law was ignored, leading to a persistent conflict between written and community law, as the former sometimes contradicts the cultural and religious values of the society. The issues of headscarves, religious wedding ceremonies, honour crime and the situation of the administration of religious affairs could not be overcome as a result of this conflict. The society reacted with active or passive resistance; the society and the state were pitted against each other. Social conflicts in Turkey have become an incurable disease due to military coups and political involvement in jurisdiction. The state, military and jurisdiction compared the country's cultural values to European

ones and noticed that they had little in common. Against these three institutions stood society, but its power and authority was dismissed; therefore, the people of Turkey had to submit to the pressures of a totalitarian state. The translation movements in Turkey were conducted with the approval and the power of these authorities; as a result, translation movements in Turkey could not be successful in terms of society.

One interesting point to note is that after the constitution of 1924, a specific state ideology arose, that of Kemalism. Upon closer inspection, this ideology was reminiscent of the constitutions of Socialist countries, leaving Turkey in need for a modern democracy until the introduction of the multi-party system in 1946. But the Kemalist principles, which were referred to explicitly in 1937 in the Constitution, still determine the Turkish constitutional system today. (Rumpf, 2002: 16)

In Europe, Turkey is the only country where the constitution is shaped by the ideology of the state, i.e. Kemalism. In the constitution, the government never abandons the state's ideology, and the people are seen merely as citizens who have to act in a prescribed manner and be a part of the education system. Humanism has not been internalized in Turkey and no matter how much progress is made, Turkey keeps falling behind, and can never be a Westernised country. Hence, translation movements should be able to bring humanism into Turkey. European civilisation should be seen as a whole and it should be kept in mind that all of Turkey's constitutions are written by the military not by the society itself.

4.3. Religion

All religious texts, even the Koran, were banned. Religious rituals, clothing, religious wedding ceremonies and community-oriented social life were prohibited. Religion was kept out of the social life. The government interfered with mosques and worship. The Koran was translated into Turkish, and reciting the call for prayer in Arabic was prohibited. The state attempted to cover up the lack of religion in the public's social life with the state philosophy, which put faith in the state and nationalism. European social and legal traditions were also used for the same purpose.

In particular, the period of Hasan Ali Yücel was a time during which all religious publications were banned and the cultural side of the society was affected by the Westernisation movement. The "Village Institutes" were established so that a new generation could be raised by cutting them off from religion. According to the positivist movement of the time, religion was old and reactionary. In order to modernise, they needed a new approach towards religion, a foreign approach.

Based on the new approach, the Encyclopedie d'islam was translated into Turkish while Yücel was the Minister of Education. The publication of the four volume encyclopaedia was only finished in 1988 (Tahir- Gürçağlar, 2005: 65; Tahir-Gürçağlar, 2009: 177). It is interesting to note that an encyclopaedia on Islamic culture was prioritised. Still, it is worth bearing in mind that the encyclopaedia was written and published in Leiden, and it reflected Islamic culture from the Western point of view.

5. Conclusion

If it is considered that the efforts made towards translation determine the future of a country, the volume of translations during the periods of İnönü and Hasan Ali Yücel demonstrates whether those efforts were sufficient or not. In particular, the political approach of those periods and approaches towards the public and the multi-party system, along with statesmen's approaches towards their own culture, public and religion will indicate the direction and the purpose of translation movements.

Even though translations in the Ottoman period were carried out in numerous fields, there are two reasons which explain why the movements came to an end and had no effect on subsequent movements: the translations were done in Arabic alphabet, and in the Ottoman language. Because of these reasons, (the public did not know the Ottoman language and the works translated into the Arabic alphabet could only address a limited segment of the population) the translations could not be a part of society and so there was little cultural effect on the people. The translations were not in simple Turkish (the language of the society) because the writers and translators were of a higher class (they were from elite families and educated in superior schools and most of them studied in other countries); the translations in Ottoman and even the translations done in Turkish were of a style that the public could not understand, and were still written in the Arabic alphabet. This situation led to a translation strategy and method that were foreign to the society itself.

In the new period, the translations were to be completely re-done in a new alphabet. Not only interlingual but also intralingual translation was necessary. Copyrighted works had to be re-written so that they could address the new audience and reflect the ideology of the state. In the new Ottoman period, intralingually translated Turkish/Ottoman works led to the literature becoming a translated literature unlike that of any other country in the world. The people were obliged to read the historical and cultural works of their previous generations from intralingual translations of those works.

Just like the translations into Ottoman, Turkish translations could only address an elite class in society (because of the abovementioned reasons). Even though the public knew the new alphabet, the words were newly invented and had no historical importance, so they could only function as indicators. All books seemed to function as textbooks and were only translated for the same reasons. The works and literature served for the education and adoption of a new culture. It is difficult to see in this a translation strategy for the sake of the culture and language of the society. The people could not understand the books in their own world; the public was just an element those books could shape, and was regarded as a tabula rasa to be affected by them. Rather than a foreignising or domesticating translation method, translations were carried out in a manner to enable the adoption of a new language and ideology which foreignised works to both their original and target audience. Hence, a rare translation method was adopted, utilising an intermediate culture, language and style which even the translators themselves were unfamiliar with just to realise the ideological expectations of the initiator of the translation work.

It is a fact that in the Ottoman period, translation movements were seen as a Renaissance to save the public from dogma and academia. Translations were carried out in fields such as literature, philosophy, civilisation and technology, in which the Ottomans fell behind Europe, and the intentions were good-natured. But in the Republican period, it is not clear whether a translation renaissance was the primary goal or an intermediary one. Was the purpose the enlightenment of the public or the alteration of their culture? Was it the separation of the society from its culture and roots by dismissing the local culture through the adoption of a new culture? The scientific and economic developments do not seem to have accomplished enough when the volume of translations is taken into account. Turkey cannot be considered to have been in favour of the cultural enhancement of the country or developments in technology or science through translation movements; instead Turkey was busy with an ideological transfer, a practical and theoretical imposition of ideologies; with the one-party system, prohibitions and destruction of books, Turkey went through a period of imposed and taught ideology

rather than a democratic and freedom-based one. The one-party system, military coups and prohibitions of freedom of speech were the basic indicators of the conflict and ideological rigidity. Because translations only addressed the literate people and the elite class of society, translated works and other important works could not find a place with the public, and this situation reflects the concept of translation and culture. But in democratic and free societies, such a translation attempt would have resulted in an increase in civilisation and the enhancement of the culture. Even today, there are many translations but no widespread reading activity in the country; it demonstrates a need to examine the background and subconscious of the society. A healthy era has not yet arrived, and it has to come soon, and be based on a solid ground.

As in Western countries, translatorship did not appear as a profession or have an academic character in Turkey, and important translators were not trained. Hence, there have never been translators who could translate on the level of theoretical thought, develop translation methods or have an idea what translation really is. Hasan Ali Yücel, carrying out translation movements with the support from the state, was in turn considered as an important translation theorist in Turkey, which is a big misconception. The interest in Hasan Ali Yücel and the legalisation of the translation movement mean supporting the corruption of culture in Turkey.

The purpose and function of translation coincide with the purpose and goal of the people carrying out the translation movements. Translations governed by the state accomplished the creation of a culturally-foreignised nation rather than supported the civilisation of the country. It remained as an activity to maintain the scholastic traditions of the East, instead of bringing in Western ideas, and only claimed to adopt Western technology.

This should be stated clearly. In the social imagination of the people, a magical power was attributed to translation; no matter what the circumstances were, it was thought that good translations were the pre-conditions of a change. The responsibility was on the audience, which is why the society was blamed for the failure – because they did not read. Hence, H. Z. Ülken's statement, "translation is what gives the power of creativity during enlightenment periods" (Ülken, 1997: 14) is not fully wrong but open-ended. It is deceptive to think that enlightenment starts with translation because the pre-condition of translation is the existence of open-minded people who will produce those translations. A social enlightenment cannot be considered without translation, but this is not a mere transfer and short-cut. It has never been that way throughout history. It is inevitable that a society which has opened itself to any changes will lose its way, not knowing what to do with what they have learned, and go through a depression. (Kurultay, 1998: 33)

As H. Z. Ülken emphasised, translated works should be re-translated in time to lead to real outcomes from a translation movement. It is obvious that Turkey's potential and energy were left behind on this level of interaction (Kurultay, 1998: 31; Ülken, 1997: 354).

According to Kurultay, Turkey's main sources are translations from Western countries; the situation seems impossible to change no matter what the circumstances are. One of the indicators of the situation is the reference that traditionalist/Islamist people, who consider themselves to be 'culture essentialists', give to the Western sourced works in their publications (Kurultay, 1998: 32).

The rulers believe that civilisation does not suit the nature of Turkish society and they gather enough supporters by imposing this idea. The lifestyle of the public, starting from the family, tends to accept that freedom is dangerous and free thought should be restricted. This approach causes the continuation of an Eastern social model that is closed to humanism and philosophy but open to technology. Because of the ideas rejecting humanism and Western thought, translations cannot function on a creative level.

Because of the religious restrictions, the East was deprived of artistic creation, philosophical thought and freedom. The level of creativity has always been a problem for the East. This has been the case for translations in Muslim civilisations, Andalusia and for the Ottoman Empire as well. For example, no matter how successful the translation movements were carried out, it was not possible to translate the entire body of Western or Greek thought. Because some of the fields were foreign for the East and due to other obstacles, the eastern culture carried out translations by leaving out some of the Western ideas. The concrete examples of the situation can be seen in the examples of literary and dramatic translations in Turkey; even though there were so many translations, novels, drama, music and opera could not flourish in the country. It is because the idea that these works, in the background, could never be fully adapted to the society, or because they were seen as contrary to the Eastern lifestyle, that the creativity in that field could not develop. These types of works were only shallow imitations of the original ones.

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