

TRANSLATED WEST IN THE EARLY MODERNIZATION PHASE OF TURKEY*

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Abstract

Translation has played a significant part in the early modernization phase of the Turkish Republic. Detachment from the imperial heritage of the Ottoman state was associated with impersonating the cultural and political aspects of the Western civilization, and “modernization” was perceived mostly as “Westernization”. As a result, modernization in Turkey was mostly led by literature, law, architecture and fashion trends “translated” from the West. This paper will look into the reforms and changes in literature, law, architecture and attire especially during the early years of the Turkish modernization –or Westernization– movement, construe these as acts of translation, and will investigate the nature and consequences of this translation. Cited scholars will include Feroz Ahmad and Geoffrey Lewis for the history of the Turkish revolution, Şehnaz Tahir Gürçağlar and Ayşe Banu Karadağ for the history of translation, and Walter Andrews, Victoria Holbrook and Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar for the history of Turkish literature. The urban planning ventures of the Republican era will be studied in reference to Esra Akcan’s *Modernity in Translation*.

Keywords: Turkish Republic, modernization, westernization, reforms, translation

TÜRKİYE’NİN ERKEN MODERNLEŞME DÖNEMİNDE ÇEVİRİLMİŞ BATI

Özet

Çeviri, Türkiye’nin modernleşme sürecinin başlangıç aşamalarında önemli bir rol oynamıştır. Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’ndan kopuşun, Batı Medeniyetlerine kültürel ve politik anlamda benzeme ile gerçekleşeceği düşünülmüş ve böylelikle “Modernleşme” daha çok “Batılılaşma” olarak algılanmıştır. Bu vesile ile Batı’dan çevrilmiş edebiyat, hukuk, mimari, giyim-kuşam alışkanlıkları buradaki modernleşme serüvenine yön vermiştir. Bu bildiri, Türkiye’nin Modernleşme ya da Batılılaşma hareketinin özellikle başlangıç yıllarında edebiyat, hukuk, mimari ve giyim-kuşam alışkanlıkları alanlarında yapılmış devrimleri ve yenilikleri inceleyecek, bunları bir çeviri edimi olarak düşünmeye çalışarak bu çevirinin türünü ve sonuçlarını araştıracaktır. Bildiride Türkiye Devrim Tarihi alanında Feroz Ahmad, Geoffrey Lewis; Çeviri Tarihi konusunda Şehnaz Tahir Gürçağlar ve Ayşe Banu Karadağ; Türk Edebiyat Tarihi konusunda Walter Andrews, Victoria Holbrook, Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar gibi araştırmacılardan yararlanacaktır. Cumhuriyet Dönemi şehir- bölge planlama hareketlerini aktarmak için Esra Akcan’ın “Çeviride Modern Olan” adlı çalışmasından alıntılar yapılacaktır.

Anahtar kelimeler: Türkiye Cumhuriyeti, modernleşme, batılılaşma, reformlar, çeviri

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Introduction

Turkey is a rare secular republic that is seated between the Middle East and Europe. Its decision to appropriate western norms has been a very challenging one, especially due to its imperial Muslim heritage that goes back 6 centuries. Modernization process in Turkey has been realized with many traditions, rules and laws “translated” from the West. Also, the transition from the imperial, Muslim Ottomans to secular, republican Turkey can be considered as a cultural translation. This paper will point out the translated reforms made specifically in law, architecture, language and literature. Then, it will try to reconsider this westernization process as translation and try to describe what sort of translation it was. Another aim of the paper is to widen the perspective translation studies offers and to underline the political or ideological alterations that translation is capable of.

On Translation

Much has been said and written over how translation are made and should be made. In this paper, we will underline some of these methods and strategies in order to support our analysis about the modernization process of the Ottomans as a translation from the West to the modern Turkish Republic.

For a long time, source text’s superiority was not a point of discussion. Target text was regarded as a duplication of it. Target text oriented approaches may have sourced from holy texts’ translation studies. Then, after cultural turn; Descriptive Translation Studies stood close target-oriented translations which enabled translators to create smoother target texts. Yet some scholars like Antoine Berman or more recently Venuti criticized this strategy. According to Venuti, Anglo-American translation tradition translates texts from other languages into English with this “smooth” target-oriented strategy and since ‘many other languages’ belong to politically less-strong countries, they widen this inequality by exterminating their foreignness. Instead, he proposed that while translating from other languages to English or while translating marginal texts, it is better to keep the foreignness of the source text. This may be regarded as a returning back to source text orientation but we should note that this time the focus was on political power relations. However, keeping the foreignness of source text meant creating texts that were more alien, difficult to read especially for the Anglo-American reader. Extremely long sentences, lots of ‘foreign’ concepts and words made these texts almost impossible to read with literary pleasure.

In terms of cultural translation or as Karadağ mentions “translation of civilizations”, localization is a smoother way to make an easier transformation process for the society. However, during colonialism this has very seldom been implied. Instead, the colonial powers tried to change most of the cultural aspects of the colony in a very short time. Language, religion, lifestyles were the main things to deal with. After decolonization, many nations tried to go back to pre-colonial ways of living but due to decades, centuries of colonization many aspects were hybridized and this ‘back to basics’ strategy was but a vain struggle. No one should expect to find the pre-translation source text when translating the target text back to its original language. Back-translation does not give us the source text.

Reform Era in the Turkish Republic

The first ten years of the Turkish Republic was the busiest reform era in the history of Turkey. Some reforms were short-lived, due to their extremely harsh nature. Even in today’s Turkey, some of these reforms may result in hot debates and conflicts.

Ankara was declared the capital of Turkey and Mustafa Kemal was the elected president of the ruling Republican People's Party. As Mustafa Kemal tried to break any relations with the Ottomans, the Caliphate as the leading authority for opposition was a prominent threat in this respect. Thus, Caliphacy was abolished and Ottoman family was exiled from the country in 1924.

In 1924, all education institutions were given to the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Education and all 'medrese's, the schools training religious ministers and preachers were closed.

By the end of 1925, the "hat law" was passed, banning the fez and head covers for women and religious orders were proscribed. These two reforms were simultaneous since banning the orders, the politicians thought, would lead to the reduction of the prevalence of religious attire among the public. By claiming that the fez had Greek origins, they tried to dissuade people from wearing it. Female politicians or dignitaries started introducing Western fashion in attire, leaving the veil and other Islamic clothing.

Turkey entered the year 1926, using the Gregorian calendar. In 1935, Sunday was declared the weekly holiday instead of Friday, which is the holy day according to Quran. This reform also revealed the direction of business life in Turkey that wanted to keep up with the modern West.

In 1926, the government adopted a translated Swiss Civil Code, Italian Penal Code and a Commercial Code based on the German version.

In 1928, the clause stating that 'Islam is the religion of the state' was dropped from the Constitution. By the end of 1928, the Arabic script was changed into Latin alphabet, adding some new letters, maybe as the most important reform in this period.

In 1932, the Turkish translation of the Qur'an in the Latin alphabet by public committees was started to be used in mosques, and the calls to prayer, *ezan*, were made Turkish but this practice did not last long. During this period, many Islamic figures and authorities issued articles and reminded in their sermons that it was never possible to translate Qur'an into Turkish, since God had sent it in Arabic and any act of translation would be rewriting which meant changing the meaning.

In 1934, Surname Law was introduced, banning the use of titles deserved in the Ottoman period such as *hacı, molla, şeyh, hoca, bey, hanım, efendi*. These surnames had to be chosen from Turkish words. When a man and woman marry, the wife takes the husband's surname. When they divorce, the woman returns to her maiden name. Christian and Jewish citizens were already using their surnames but this was a new regulation for Turkish subjects. On the other hand, Kurdish or Laz people in the Turkish Republic did not have the right to choose surnames (and names) in their native languages.

Meanwhile, Ankara was being reconstructed as the symbol for republican era by famous German and Austrian architects. On the other hand, a commission on original works and translations was constituted in order to make translations, especially of the Western literary classics.

State radio went on air in 1927, both as an entertaining medium and also a means to introduce the modern national identity that Turkish citizens were expected to appropriate. At the opening ceremony speech of the Turkish Grand National Assembly in 1934, Mustafa Kemal mentioned the innovations that should be followed to modernize Turkish music. Although he was a fan of traditional *alla turca* songs, music was an area to transform and look more "western" according to him. His speech was over-interpreted by the Minister of Internal Affairs

and next day, the ministry declared that traditional Turkish music was banned on the radio and only songs composed with Western techniques could be played in the country. The restriction continued for two years.

This decade was probably the busiest reform era seen in the world. The Kemalist regime tried to avoid any regulations akin to the ones in Ottoman period. The source of inspiration was Europe, but unfortunately since a capitalist economy and an industrial revolution could not be realized, reforms could not properly take root among the public. People living in rural areas started to change their daily practices during this accelerated reform era. They did not understand why they had to become Westernized, since they had been closer to oriental practices by nature for centuries. Conservative intellectuals criticized the reforms and considered them affectation. Many riots broke out during this era of the regime, yet all of them were suppressed by the law enforcement agencies.

Some Reforms in Detail

Alphabet and Language Reform

In the eleventh century, the ancestors of Turks living in Turkey today became Muslims. In time, they left their native Turkish words for Arabic and Persian ones. By the influence of Persian poets, Persian words became abundant in Ottoman in the fifteenth century. Late Ottoman Language, or what some Turkish people name today as “Old Turkish”, was written with Arabic letters but it contained words from Arabic, Persian and Turkic roots. It was an administrative and literary language and ordinary people were usually having trouble when they had to contact with the officials. On the other hand, since there were very few consonants in Arabic alphabet, it was difficult to write Turkish vowels – a difficulty that led to much misspelling. Ordinary people spoke Turkish and the literacy rate was 9 percent in 1924. Arabic alphabet didn't help to improve this rate. Issues on changing the alphabet were debated before the Republic was proclaimed and there were attempts to create an easier language:

In the spring of 1914 a series of five unsigned articles appeared in a short-lived weekly published by Kılıçzade Hakkı and dedicated to free thought, variously entitled Hürriyet-i Fikriyye, Serbest Fikir, and Uluvvet-i Fikriyye. These articles urged the gradual adoption of the Latin alphabet and prophesied that the change was bound to come. The writer propounded a problem, and invited a reply from the Şeyhülislam or the Fetva Emini. (Lewis, 1999, 30)

According to Geoffrey Lewis, the purpose of the change of alphabet was to break Turkey's ties with the Islamic east and to facilitate communication domestically as well as with the Western world (Lewis, 1999, 27). For Tuğrul Şavkay, the real purpose was to replace Arabic or Islamic practices with Western ones (Şavkay, 2002, 40). On the other hand, republican politicians such as Şükrü Saraçoğlu claimed that Arabic letters were the obvious reason for the low rate of literacy. Another claim was that Arabic letters were unable to handle the phonetics of Turkish words. There were many people writing articles for or against the idea of switching to the Latin alphabet and Mustafa Kemal had been considering the possible solutions for years. However, during wartime it would be terribly inconvenient to start such a change. Even in 1922, when he was asked why they do not just adopt Latin writing, his answer was “It's not yet time”.

During the 1923 Economic Conference, a delegate had proposed the adoption of Latin script but the idea was rejected on the several grounds that the change would turn the World of Islam against Turkey. When in 1924, a representative claimed in the National Assembly that the Arabic script was unsuited to Turkish; he was answered by a storm of protest. A leading Turkish historian, Necip Asım, wrote on this issue in 1924:

Westernization and modernization do not by any means necessitate dropping our national traditions. It is our duty to see to it that our national structure is not damaged when changing our oriental garb and Westernizing. (Asım, 1924, 64-66)

By June 1928, the Alphabet Commission started meetings to discuss the feasibility of applying the Latin letters. By the end of June, the commission divided in two for the second group was going to decide for the grammatical alterations. One of the members of committee, Falih Rıfku Atay explains in his memories how accelerated everything was:

I told him there were two proposals, one long term, of fifteen years, the other short term, of five years. According to the proponents, in the first period of each the two systems of writing would be taught side by side. The newspapers would begin with half a column in the new letters, which would gradually be extended. He (Mustafa Kemal) looked me full in the face and said, 'Either this will happen in three months or it won't happen at all.' I was a highly radical revolutionary but I found myself staring at him, open-mouthed. 'My boy', he said, 'even when the newspapers are down to only half a column in the old writing, everyone will read that bit in the old writing. If anything goes wrong in the meantime, a war, a domestic crisis, our alphabet too will end up like Enver's; it will be dropped immediately.' (Lewis, 1999, 34)

The new alphabet was introduced on the 9th of August 1928, at the Republican People's Party's event at the Gülhane Park. In two days, lessons started first for the staff, Deputies and university teachers at Dolmabahçe Palace. Then, Mustafa Kemal started a tour into Anatolia to introduce the letters and the rules.

Changes in Literature

Until the Tanzimat period, source languages for literary translations were most frequently Arabic and Persian. During Tanzimat, genres such as drama, novel, short story, travelogue, essay, newspaper and magazine were introduced to the Turkish literature through translation. Turkish writers adopted these forms and wrote original works. Governmental institutions such as the Translation Chamber (1832) trained dedicated translators, some of whom like Ziya Pasha, Şinasi Efendi or Namık Kemal later became prominent writers during the constitution of Ottomanism and nationalism. After the Tanzimat reforms, French in particular became a prominent source (Bengi-Öner, 1999). Between 1729 and 1929, 3,534 out of the 24,367 published books were translations (Anamur, 1997).

A Commission for Original and Translated Works was formed by the Ministry of Education in 1926. This was transformed into the Translation Committee and Translation Office in 1939. Its overall purpose was to promote humanist thought by cultivating and assimilating foreign literatures through translation, this, it was felt, would bring about a renaissance and contribute to the development of the Turkish language and culture (Paker, 1998). From 1940 to 1946, only 23 of the 467 classic works translated were from Orient-Islam series, especially from Arabic and Persian (Klasikler Bibliografyası, 1967, 281-299).

Starting from 1946, the Translation Office was criticized severely and the number of the books they have translated decreased rapidly. The office policy was accused of neglecting the oriental classics. When the office was closed down in 1966, the number of the works translated was 1247 (Gürçağlar: 74).

Inevitably, translations transformed the form and content of Turkish literature and the political ideology of translation organizations rotated this change towards modernization and Westernization. Meanwhile, translation became a key instrument both for the government to

practice its Westernizing policy and for the writers either to criticize or to support this policy. The in-betweenness of the Turkish modernization, namely the Islamic Orient and Modern West dilemma was one of the most inspiring issues from Tanzimat to the 1970's. Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar reflected the melancholic tone of the loss of the Orient while welcoming the inevitable change. Peyami Safa kept his distance to unconditional appropriation of social Western norms. Still, Nobel Prize winner Orhan Pamuk's settings convey the melancholy of the Westernization process in Turkey and his characters reflect the dilemma.

Law Reform

Ottomans practiced the religious law of Quran, known as the Sharia, over its Muslim people. There were different practices for non-Muslims. During the Tanzimat, some laws were codified under the influence of Westernization and the customary law "*mecelle*" was practiced between 1876 and 1925 – but this code did not include family law. In order for a provision to be incorporated into the *mecelle*, it was required to be a long-standing custom that had been continuously observed. Polygamy was allowed for men and testimony of 2 women before a judge was equal to the testimony of one man. Trade and criminal codes were not appropriate to international business and navigation. The Republic of Turkey's law reform was practiced by a series of translations, adaptations and borrowings. Swiss civil code of 1907, the child of social revolution in Europe, was preferred due to some reasons:

Firstly, it was the most recent code made by the "civilized" countries. France had renewed it in 1804; it was quite out-of-date. German civil code was very complex and detailed and was difficult to understand. The style and concepts of Swiss civil code were quite clear. This code was translated into Turkish together with the articles including the code of obligations by an expert council and came into effect in 1926. (Mumcu, 1996, 140)

The global reception of Swiss civil code by Turkey is the single greatest law reform in the world. According to Swiss lawyer and scholar Sauser Hall, such a radical and rapid change is unknown to history. Only the Japanese had realized such a reform by the end of 19th century but their adoption was more restricted and planned.

In the civil code, complete equality of both sexes as regards inheritance and succession were instituted. Women were entitled to equal inheritance with men, official marriage and monogamy became compulsory, women's rights were guaranteed in case of divorce. The articles of the code were enforced on every citizen, regardless of their religion. Minorities were no longer ruled by the patriarchate. This radical reform era made people organize their daily practices according to secular, human-made laws instead of God's commands, prophet's sayings and traditions.

Turkish Code of Execution and Bankruptcy was adopted in 1929, based on the Swiss Federal Code of 1889. The Penal Code was adopted in 1926, based on the Italian Criminal Code of 1889. Women's suffrage was enabled in 1934 with a constitutional revision. Administrative law was mainly adopted from France as a result of the strong French influence on the administrative system of Turkey which began just after the reform of 1889 (Guriz, 2005, 9). The commercial code was imported from Germany, Italy and France.

Urban Planning Practices in Ankara

When Ankara became the capital of the newly founded Republic of Turkey in 1923, there was much opposition. Yunus Nadi and Falih Rıfki Atay were some prominent names among the public that opposed this change; further resistance came from Italian, French and British ambassadors who refused to relocate their embassies, implying that Ankara was a place of

deprivation. Istanbul had always been a capital throughout the Roman and Byzantine times, and had been the capital of the Ottoman Empire since 1453. Kemal Atatürk's surprising decision had various reasons. Ankara was located at the centre of new national borders, which made it easier to control and reach all regions. Compared to Izmir and Istanbul, Ankara was more secure. Apart from these reasons, Istanbul was a symbol for the Ottomans, the Caliphate and the corruption of unplanned Westernization. On the other hand, Ankara belonged to what is new, Turkish, or Anatolian no matter how empty and rural it looked. Mustafa Kemal wanted Ankara to stand as the symbol of Turkish Modernization.

Ankara was a small town with a population of 30,000, which 19th century travellers commented as "neglected and gloomy" when it was made the capital of Turkey. In 1927, the municipality started an urban planning contest to plan the city and offered to implement the most suitable project. The authorities told the contestants that they estimated the population to reach 300.000 in 50 years. Herman Jansen from Germany was the winner. He divided the city into two parts: historical sites including ancient settlements and the ruins of the castle (similar to the Acropolis) and narrow, winding streets marked the old section. The new section was going to have the air of a modern city: detached villa houses in gardens, wide streets, hotels, parks, boulevards, theatres, government offices and foreign embassies...

The focus was on the residential part and Jansen's plan consisted of sparsely located sites with villa-type houses in gardens. The origins of this plan came from the *Siedlung* project, the houses built for low-income working and middle classes in Germany. Considering the traditional house typology at the Ottoman period, Jansen planned houses with gardens, placed old-fashioned outhouses in those gardens, and kept the stove in the hallway. Thus, the workers who, he thought, would feel exhausted in the polluted and noisy atmosphere of the factories would have a chance to breathe fresh air, and cultivate their own produce in their gardens, as they used to do in their old villages. To summarize, Jansen tried to localize the *siedlung* project. Nonetheless, his plan had to undergo comprehensive revision due to some reasons. First, the cooperative administration and prospective inhabitants asked for numerous amenities. Inhabitants required a modern house plan with toilets and bathrooms inside the house. They wanted larger living rooms with dining rooms, as well as maid chambers and laundry rooms. The administration asked for an appropriate number of schools, shopping centres, parks and tennis courts around the houses, and required power, gas, water and telephone utilities in the houses. The reason for this revision in the design was the change in the target audience of Jansen. Ankara was inhabited by bureaucrats and civil servants who came from Istanbul and probably were not living in traditional houses but in apartment buildings or in mansions. Secondly, the 50-year population estimate of 300,000 was very inaccurate – the population reached that number in 1952. Thus, sparsely located, detached houses were not sufficient for this fast growing population. Jansen and his successors had to change the green areas and villa houses into four or five-storey apartment buildings. Lastly, Jansen's plan had separate house plans for distinct social classes; modest houses for middle class families and smaller ones designed for low-income working class families. However, since there were very few industrial enterprises and few factories in Ankara, an independent working class could not emerge. What happened to *siedlung* project then was the re-translation of the interior designs; middle-class houses were transformed into luxurious mansions for bureaucrats and houses planned for the working class were hired by civil servants. Jansen's struggles for the localization of the project did not work and inhabitants wanted to look more "Western". Ultimately, the *siedlung* project, which encompassed nearly all of the new city in Ankara, was torn down with the will of the inhabitants and instead, places gained a more metropolitan appearance with tall apartment buildings. (Akcan, 2009, 171)

Meanwhile, huge governmental buildings were constructed by Clemens Holzmeister. The Ministry of Defence building was his first work. With the Presidential Residence (1930), cubist

architectural characteristics were introduced. However, as Esra Akcan mentions, the symbolizations of this mansion were intentionally made vague. The distinction between governmental buildings and presidential house were in some way made similar, as regards their exterior. The furniture of this new residence was brought from Vienna. Giulio Mongeri was another prominent architect who designed the buildings for the Osmanlı (Ottoman) Bank (1926), Ziraat (Agricultural) Bank (1929) and İş (Business) Bank (1928). Cubist characteristics were fused with Turkic features, which were then named the First National Architecture.

Conclusion

The nation-building process in Turkey has been directed by governmental rules and laws, similar to other “developing” countries. Throughout this process, the adoption of a reformist and essentialist point of view was inevitable. Modernization has been practiced as Westernization due to the influence of the world’s great powers of the time, such as France and Germany. If it were happening today, maybe Turkey would look more “Americanized”. The translations explained above in the fields of law, language and urban planning have been “foreignizing” translations but all had different impacts on the people of Turkish Republic.

In case of literature, despite harsh oppositions, the reform was a success, albeit “catastrophic”, as termed by Geoffrey Lewis. The new alphabet was one of the most hands-on transitions to a Westernized society. Some opposition groups went as far as to claim that the new script was based in Christianity, but eventually they too were subdued. Considering the impact of translated literature, it can be argued that the new genres shaped the outlook of Turkish literature. About Turkish poetry, Orhan Pamuk ruminates in his latest book *Manzaradan Parçalar (Scenes from the Landscape)* “How could we import the delicacies and poetic justice –which younger generations can only grasp with the aid of dictionaries and guides– of the Divan poetry that the Ottoman elite created under the influence of Persian literature to a modern poetry?”

The law reform can be considered more successful and enduring, as it is more difficult to violate or deface written law. Meanwhile, other secularization movements such as the reform in attire were reversed by the influence of conservative, provincial Muslims. Today, the Westernized attire reform is a thing of the past and the conservative political party in power allowed female students to wear head covers in universities – an act of “religious expression” that was banned until recently. Religious orders are still not legal but many of them continue to exist. On the other hand, as the famous history professor İlber Ortaylı explains, the Japanese law reform succeeded in including indigenous Asian traditions such as Confucianism and Buddhism while carefully tailoring the German and French civil codes. This difference may explain why law reforms were not completely internalized in Turkey.

As explained above, the *siedlung* project of Jansen was transformed and hybridized through translation for urban planning in Ankara. Due to a chain of mistakes in planning, the project could not satisfy the needs of the people it was intended for, and all the houses were demolished to build taller and larger apartment buildings. The urban plans for Ankara were adapted to many other cities in Turkey subsequently, but Jansen was then aware of the needs of his audience and could make the necessary changes as required of him in Ankara. Nonetheless, the foreignizing effects of urban planning translations were demanded by the Turkish inhabitants, despite Jansen’s efforts to localize the project. On the other hand, in an independent online newspaper dated December 2009, it is reported that Prime Minister of Turkey recommended the revival of the Seljuk architectural style in Ankara to symbolize the indigenous roots of Turkish architecture, which can be interpreted as an attempt to go back to the basics.

To summarize, the translation process of the imperial Ottoman state to the modern Turkish Republic has mostly been a source text oriented translation, neglecting the necessities of the society. Secondly, source-text oriented translation strategy has ended up with a target text which is 'difficult to read' for more conservative people who wanted to keep their old lifestyle.

On the other hand, the hybrid qualities of translation brought a third space other than the West or the East; an in-between space, as Homi Bhabha mentions. Bhabha uses this term to define postcolonial cultures; although Turkey has never been an official colony, the reformist era, through modernization without an actual modernity in the country, instilled a hybrid character, close to what Homi Bhabha calls the "Third Space of Enunciation" (Bhabha, 1994, 37).

Another conclusion we should mention is about today's circumstances. The political party in power has been trying to erase some republican reforms and reestablish some of the Ottoman practices today in Turkey. However, as we have mentioned above, the expectation of acquiring the same pre-translation source text by backtranslation is a vain one. Moreover, such an attempt will result in a new reform era which means more people having difficulty with 'reading the lifestyle and culture they are exposed to.

Considering translation as a powerful tool during modernization in Turkey brings a wider metaphor of translation to discuss it not only in terms of language but also in terms of ideology and culture adaptation. Recent translation theories such as the postcolonial theory provide a better understanding of our current conflicts within the society. Either foreignizing or localizing, translation has been a controversial way towards changing societies. Societies consist of living subjects who are influenced by the ongoing developments beneath the surface. An evolution that stems from these invisible tides may present long-standing and internalized changes. Learned or taught models of modernization in the world, which we may call translations or appropriations, are either temporary or incomplete. As Akcan mentions, "cultural translation is not a smooth and transparent detached from ideological impediments and power relations" (Akcan 2009, 26).

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