

SENA YAPAR

AN ASSESTMENT OF THE TRANSLATION BUREU

Bilkent University 2019

AN ASSESTMENT OF THE TRANSLATION
BUREU AND THE CULTURAL POLITICS OF
TURKEY (1940-1946)

A Master's Thesis

by
SENA YAPAR

Department of
Turkish Literature
İhsan Doğramacı Bilkent University
September 2019

AN ASSESSMENT OF THE TRANSLATION BUREAU AND THE CULTURAL
POLITICS OF TURKEY (1940-1946)

The Graduate School of Economics and Social Sciences

of

İhsan Doğramacı Bilkent University

by

SENA YAPAR

In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of

MASTER OF ART IN TURKISH LITERATURE

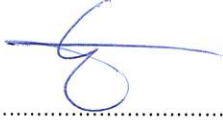
THE DEPARTMENT OF TURKISH LITERATURE

İHSAN DOĞRAMACI BİLKENT UNIVERSITY

ANKARA

September 2019

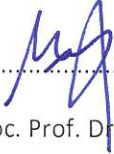
I certify that I have read this thesis and have found that it is fully adequate, in scope and in quality, as a thesis for the degree of Master of Turkish Literature.



Asst. Prof. Dr. Etienne Charriere

Supervisor

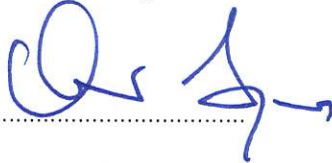
I certify that I have read this thesis and have found that it is fully adequate, in scope and in quality, as a thesis for the degree of Master of Turkish Literature.



Assoc. Prof. Dr. Mehmet Kalpaklı

Examining Committee Member

I certify that I have read this thesis and have found that it is fully adequate, in scope and in quality, as a thesis for the degree of Master of Turkish Literature.



Prof. Dr. Suavi Aydın

Examining Committee Member

Approval of the Graduate School of Economics and Social Sciences



Prof. Dr. Halime Demirkan

Director

ABSTRACT

AN ASSESSMENT OF THE TRANSLATION BUREAU AND THE CULTURAL POLITICS OF TURKEY (1940-1946)

Yapar, Sena

M.A., Department of Turkish Literature

Supervisor: Asst. Prof. Dr. Etienne Eugene Christian Charriere

September 2019

In this study, the cultural politics of the period is tried to be investigated through the activities of the Translation Bureau between 1940 and 1946. Hasan-Âli Yücel was appointed as the Minister of Culture in the government formed just after Atatürk's passing away. A fully Westernist approach was adopted by the cultural politics of the İnönü period and the ideological framework of this politics was identified as the Turkish humanism. According to this approach, severing all ties with the authentic culture belonged to the post-Islamic era and the constructing modern Turkish identity based on Western humanism consisting of Greek and Latin works was aimed. The translation movement functioned as a channel which bridged the political and literary fields in this period. A cultural transfer was aimed through Western classical works translated by the Translation Bureau. Additionally, these works were put at the centre of national literature system as canonical works. This thesis focused on the various writings and speeches of Yücel, who kept his position as a Minister of Culture/National Education for the longest time during the all-Republican era, and several studies on him. It was concluded that the ideology of Turkish humanism, which framed the cultural politics implemented during Yücel's ministry, was a kind of Westernist nationalism that was future-oriented rather than being focused on past.

Keyword: Cultural Politics, Early Republican Era, Hasan-Âli Yücel, Translation Bureau, Turkish Humanism

ÖZET

TERCÜME BÜROSU VE TÜRKİYE’NİN KÜLTÜR POLİTİKASI ÜZERİNE BİR DEĞERLENDİRME (1940-1946)

Yapar, Sena

Yüksek Lisans, Türk Edebiyatı Bölümü

Tez Danışmanı: Dr. Öğr. Üyesi Etienne Eugene Christian Charriere

Eylül 2019

Bu çalışmada Tercüme Bürosu’nun 1940-1946 arasındaki faaliyetleri üzerinden dönemin kültür politikası incelenmeye çalışılmıştır. Atatürk’ün vefatından hemen sonra Celal Bayar tarafından kurulan yeni hükûmette Hasan-Âli Yücel Kültür Bakanı olarak görevlendirilmiştir. İnönü dönemi kültür politikasında tümüyle Batılılaşmacı bir tutum benimsenmiş ve bu politikaların ideolojik çerçevesi Türk hümanizmi olarak adlandırılmıştır. Buna göre, kültürel alanda İslam sonrası bütün bir yerli gelenekle olan bağın koparılması ve modern Türk kimliğinin Yunan ve Latin eserlerinden oluşan Batılı hümanist bir kültürel zemin üzerine inşa edilmesi hedeflenmiştir. Bu dönem çeviri hareketi politik ve edebî alanı birbirine bağlayan bir köprü işlevi görmüştür. Tercüme Bürosu tarafından çevirisi yapılan Batılı klasik eserler yalnızca kültürel aktarımı hedeflemekle kalmayıp, ulusal edebiyat dizgesinin merkezine ithal kanonik eserlerin yerleşmesine yol açmıştır. Bu tezde, Cumhuriyet tarihi boyunca en uzun süre Kültür/Millî Eğitim Bakanlığı yapmış olan Yücel’in çeşitli eserlerine, konuşmalarına ve hakkında yapılan birtakım çalışmalara odaklanılmıştır. Nihayetinde, Yücel döneminde uygulanan politikaların ideolojik çerçevesini belirleyen Türk hümanizminin geçmişe değil de geleceğe odaklanan bir Batılı milliyetçilik türü olduğu sonucuna varılmıştır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemi, Hasan-Âli Yücel, Kültür Politikası, Tercüme Bürosu, Türk Hümanizmi

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I would like to thank here a few wonderful people without whom this thesis could not have written. I am grateful to Professor Etienne Charriere who accepted to be my advisor. I learned so much from his stimulating classes. He always listened and guided me whenever I need. He is one of the most kind people I have ever known. I would like to thank Professor Suavi Aydın and Professor Mehmet Kalpaklı for their valuable comments and contributions in my thesis committee. I also owe special thanks to Professor Zeynep Seviner for not only her participation and support in the committee but also her considerable insights and motivational comments on my academic process throughout my masters years.

Professor Şehnaz Tahir Gürçağlar and Professor Halise Karaaslan Şanlı welcomed me to their offices. I thank them for not only their amazing hospitality and kindness but also their inspirational and generous contributions to my studies, particularly on the cultural politics of the early Republican era and the ministerial period of Hasan-Âli Yücel. I had an interview with Koray Karasulu, one of the editors of “Hasan-Âli Yücel Classics Series” launched by İş Bankası Publications. I am indebted to him for providing very significant information to my thesis. I owe so much to Hüseyin Ayhan, the chief of the archieve of the Ministry of National Education, for his generous and valuable help and guidance to my research. I also thank Şeref Bilgin from Ferit Ragıp Tuncor Archieve and Documentation Library. He helped me a lot in investigating the basic sources for my thesis.

I would like to express my in-depth gratitude to Esra Ansel, my best friend from Bilkent. I consider myself very lucky to know her in her first day at Bilkent. We shared all joy and laughter, and tried to endure all the hard moments. I am also grateful to my another beloved friends from here, Nurten Bulduk, Elvan Aytekin and Tuğçe Kancı for the

lovely moments we shared together. I am thankful to Sena Müderrisoğlu, Elif Reis, Oya Köker, Esra Güvensin, Pınar Yılmaz and Hilal Ünal. I always consider myself very special to have these excellent people. They are all like sisters to me, and without their love and support I could not have survived.

I owe special thanks to Senail Özkan. He always enlightens my path with his characteristic and intellectual vision throughout my life. Without his prophetic guidance and unwavering belief in me, I would have lost my belief not only in this thesis but also in my other studies. Many thanks to God that I have this kind of wonderful person.

I have to present my sincere gratitude to my aunts Nurten Yapar and Semra Çakıcı for being with me as of my childhood, and their unconditional love and support. My father Uğur Yapar, who is the most hardworking person I have ever known, has always supported me and respected my decisions. I am always inspired by his character, and try to do my best to deserve his trust. My biggest thanks goes to my beloved brother Mehmet Oğuz Yapar. I would never found my way in this life without his presence and endless support. I owe so much to him for loving me with his huge heart.

Lastly, and mostly, I dedicate this thesis, as my all studies, to the precious memory of my mother Selma Yapar. I always feel special about myself for being her daughter and I miss her every day.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT.....	i
ÖZET.....	ii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT.....	iii
TABLE OF CONTENTS.....	v
CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION.....	1
CHAPTER II: HASAN-ÂLİ YÜCEL: A REVOLUTIONIST OR A TRAITOR?.....	8
2.1. Early Years of Hasan-Âli Yücel's Life.....	8
2.2. Yücel's Activities on Language, Education and Culture Before Becoming the Minister.....	13
2.3. An Overview to the Period of Yücel's Ministry.....	22
2.4. The Position of Hasan-Âli Yücel at the Turkey's Political History.....	33
CHAPTER III: THE TRANSLATION BUREAU AND ITS ACTIVITIES (1940-1946).....	41
3.1. A General Overview to the Translation Activities Before the Establishment of the Translation Bureau.....	41
3.2. The First National Publishing Congress.....	47
3.3. The Establishment of the Translation Bureau and Its Activities Between 1940 and 1946.....	55
3.3.1. The Reasons for the Establishment.....	55
3.3.2. The Activities of the Translation Bureau in 1940-1946.....	62
3.3.3. The Norms Adopted in the Translations of the Translation Bureau.....	67
3.4. The <i>Tercüme</i> Journal.....	74
CHAPTER IV: SITTING THE TRANSLATION BUREAU IN THE CULTURAL POLITICS OF THE PERIOD.....	79
4.1. Hasan-Âli Yücel's Thoughts on Humanism and Nationalism.....	79
4.2. Considering the Translation Bureau in terms of Turkish Humanism.....	89
CHAPTER V: CONCLUSION.....	96
REFERENCES.....	100

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The cultural politics of the early Republican period in Turkey can be divided into two periods: The Atatürk Period (1923-1938) and the İnönü Period (1938-1950). In the latter period, Hasan-Âli Yücel, who served as the Minister of Culture and Minister of National Education in that term, is a prominent figure due to both his political identity and the policies he carried out in the ministry under a political atmosphere which later paved the way for his resignation.

Since all of its members were born in the last period of the Ottoman State, it can be asserted that the founding elite was raised in similar socio-political conditions. Along with their going through harsh conditions of the Balkan Wars and World War I, they also took part in the Turkish independence efforts. The wave of nationalism which emerged especially in the aftermath of the Balkan Wars had a great deal of effect on this generation. On this occasion, they were socialised around the Turkish Hearts (Türk Ocakları) and consolidated their ideological stance based on a common socio-cultural background.

Starting by the Selim III era, the military defeats pushed the Ottomans to carry out Westernization activities, and these activities gradually increased in the Tanzimat period. However, the interactions with the West in this process were only confined to the technical field, rather than the intellectual and cultural repertoire of the West. A similar

attitude can also be witnessed in the field of literature. For instance, the works of the Western literature were not translated into Turkish until the second half of the 19th century. Following the proclamation of the Republic, many Westernist reforms were made in both institutional level and daily life. A significant part of these reforms was in cultural issues such as painting, music and performing arts. However, the cultural and intellectual interaction with the West was still insufficient. Moreover, the Turkist or ultranationalist approaches were applied to the studies on history and language, and even Atatürk himself considerably promoted these works.

After Atatürk's passing away, Yücel was appointed to the Ministry of Culture in the new government formed by Celal Bayar in December 1939. Following this change in the government, a more transparent attitude is seen in cultural politics. The intellectuals and politicians of the day accused the intellectuals of the Tanzimat and Second Constitution era with a lack of embracing the Western cultural sources and make the Westernization efforts to remain at a superficial level. Although it was expressed covertly, it was known that this criticism was directed against the policies of the Atatürk period. During Yücel's ministry, many new cultural policies were also implemented and the Turkish History Thesis (Türk Tarih Tezi) and the Sun Language Theory (Güneş Dil Teorisi), which were quite influential in the previous decade were abandoned. The ideological framework of these new policies was defined as "Turkish humanism". According to this definition, modern national Turkish identity would be constituted on a culturally Western ground. The intellectuals of the period inspired by a humanist approach based on the "Greek miracle". According to this approach, starting with the 14th century, Western societies reread and reassessed the ancient Greek texts, and they started to adopt a new approach

regarding the universe and humanity. In addition to that, the Church and the dogmatic worldview associated with it were defeated, and the Western civilisation became the most advanced civilisation over time with an exceptional contribution of scientific developments. This kind of humanism approach had a strong connection with statism as well as scientificness. Because the newly founded nation-states had a significant impact on defeating the Church, the impact of this approach can also be seen with the laicism as a founding principle of the Republic. Additionally, another significant inspiration was the relation between the humanistic awakening in the West and the improvement of national languages and identities.

This study claims that Yücel's cultural policies during his ministry were based on a full Westernist approach and aims to discuss the nature of the relationship between this approach and the phenomenon of nationalism. When studies on the cultural politics of the early Republican period are considered, it is seen that while those in the Atatürk period is implemented on a nationalist and laic/secular agenda, the İnönü period is preferably identified with a humanist and laic/secular understanding. As the criticism against Yücel during his post shows, several disputes have also emerged between the humanism adopted in the İnönü period and the nationalist legacy from the previous term. This study will argue that this "Turkish humanism" approach adopted during Yücel's ministry was an authentic form of nationalism. This concept refers to the set of ideas which has an objective of achieving a modern Western Turkish identity based on the humanist works of the West. The uniqueness of this description of nationalism also comes from a certain kind of historical consciousness, which does not work retrospectively but instead works prospectively. The ideology of Turkish humanism was

abandoned without finding an opportunity to improve and disseminate, and also the activities based on this ideology were abolished.

Among Yücel's ministerial term, the establishment of the Translation Bureau is one of the most significant developments. While the translation became the major instrument for transferring Western civilisation's culture and knowledge in this period, the reason for this policy was due to the willingness of Republican Turkey to become a part of this civilisation. Although translations of several works from the Western literature were first seen in the Tanzimat period, these contributions were minuscule even to the extent that a national library consisted of these works were not built. This point was highlighted in the First National Publishing Congress organised right after Yücel's taking office, in which the establishment of the Translation Bureau was also decided. Works translated by the Bureau also led to a stronger interaction between the political sphere and the literary field for the reason that these translations were considered as the canonical works which would become a literary basis for the national literature in modern Turkey. It can be said that until the end of its activities in 1966, the most active period of the Bureau was in its first six years between 1940 and 1946. In this period, translations of the Greek and Latin works were prioritised, and the Bureau translated over a thousand works as the only official translation movement in the country, which makes the case worth to be studied in detail.

In this study, cultural politics during Yücel's ministry is argued through the activities of the Translation Bureau serving under his authority. Apart from his ministerial post, Yücel also served as a deputy for fifteen years. Before his political career, he also took place at the centre of the fields of education, language and culture. For this reason, he

could directly witness the process of the first years of the Republic and the cultural politics agenda of the regime. In the First Chapter, Yücel's life and the impacts on his political decisions will be analysed together with the activities he pioneered and the relations with his colleagues. Although Yücel was not a soldier, unlike other members of the community, he was still a part of the founding elite of the Republic. Therefore, zooming in his life will help to acquire a more comprehensive approach to this generation and the founding ideology of the Republic.

In the Second Chapter, the establishment of the Translation Bureau and its activities in 1940-1946 will be evaluated. First, the history of translation in Turkey - especially in institutional level- will be discussed and then the significance of the First National Publishing Congress for the history of the Republic and its relevance to the translation movement is explained in detail. After discussing the political and literal reasons for the establishment of the Bureau, the activities of the Bureau in 1940-1946 and the translated works are analysed in regard to the dominant ideology of the period. Following this part, the norms adopted in the translation process and their relation with the reason for the establishment of the Bureau are debated. Finally, the content of *Tercüme*, the first and the most long-term translation journal of Turkey that was issued by the Bureau, is examined within years between 1940 and 1946.

In the Third Chapter, the cultural politics of the period in 1940-1946, and the relationship between the phenomena of nationalism and humanism which frames these cultural politics are portrayed through Yücel's books, articles and speeches. Moreover, the activities of the Translation Bureau in this term are reconsidered in this chapter within the context of the cultural politics of the period.

The only thesis, which focuses on the Translation Bureau and its activities between 1940 and 1946, is written by Burcu Korucu under the title “‘Türk H manizmi’nin  eviri Boyutu: Terc me B rosu ve Terc me Dergisi (1940-1946)’” (“Translation Aspect of ‘Turkish Humanism’: Translation Bureau and Translation Journal” [1940-1946]). In this thesis, Korucu analyses the translation history of Turkey and the history of humanist ideology through the secondary sources. The activities of the Translation Bureau between 1940 and 1946, in relation with the political developments of the period, are not examined enough. Moreover, she does not mention Hasan- li Y cel, and the activities carried out during his ministry.

Other studies on the Translation Bureau are generally conducted by people from the Department of Translation Studies. There is a widespread tendency among these studies that the authors consider the Translation Bureau as the only actor of the translation movement in Turkey. Furthermore, the Bureau is not associated with the political conditions of the period in detail. On this matter,  ehnaz Tahir G r a lar’s seminal work, titled *The Politics and Poetics of Translation in Turkey, 1923-1960*, is very inspirational. G r a lar also has essays on the Translation Bureau and Hasan- li Y cel, and her several arguments are used in this thesis. However, she does not focus on the writings and speeches of Y cel.

The translation activity in Turkey and the Translation Bureau were not analysed in the studies on the cultural politics of the  n n  period and Hasan- li Y cel in general. In this thesis, the cultural politics implemented during the  n n  period is tried to be investigated through the activities of the Translation Bureau between 1940 and 1946.

This study particularly focuses on the political career of Yücel, who served as the Minister of Culture/National Education during the period in question. Thus, the writings and speeches of Yücel, and various studies about him are used for evaluation in detail. Yücel's approach to Turkish literature is directly linked to the cultural politics of the 1940's, and the activities of the Translation Bureau carried out during this period. His approach to Turkish literature and the cultural affairs of Turkey, in terms of the cultural politics were not examined in this way. As a result, it is hoped that this thesis would provide a significant contribution to the related studies in terms of the basic sources used in it.

CHAPTER 2

HASAN-ÂLİ YÜCEL: A REVOLUTIONIST OR A TRAITOR?

2.1. Early Years of Hasan-Âli Yücel's Life

There are certain features of the generation of which Hasan-Âli Yücel was one of the prominent members. This generation was effective in the nation-building process of the Turkish Republic and as one of the leading figures of the founding elite, delving into Yücel's early life is useful to acquire a more in-depth understanding of his political decisions and activities together with the surrounding ideological framework.

He was born on December 17, 1897 in İstanbul. Although he was the only child of his parents, he was born into a large family living in a mansion where nannies, a cook, an uşak (a kind of male servant in Ottoman tradition) had lived. Yücel's parents were coming from a Mevlevi background and this would have a significant impact throughout Yücel's life, including his political career.¹ This Sufi background about his life has been debated widely. While Kemalist writers tend to disregard the issue, conservative ones prefer to highlight it purportedly. For some, having a Mevlevi or religious identity for a politician who played a considerable role especially in the first twenty-five years of the

¹ Yücel talks about the memories from his childhood related to his Mevlevi background and gives some information about the atmosphere of the Mevlevi lodge (Mevlevihane) in his semi-autobiographic work *Geçtiğim Günlerden* as follows (1990, 48): “Topkapı dışında Merkezefendi yakınındaki Mevlevihaneye gece yatısına giderdik. Büyükler, oranın dervîşi idiler. Tekkeye gittiklerinde beni de beraber götürürlerdi. Esasen de pek küçük çağda sikke giymiş, dervîş olmuştum. En dervîş olunmayacak demlerimde bile bu ruh halini muhafaza etmişimdir. Tekkeyi pek severdim. İnsanları kibar, bahçesi ve avluları büyük; herkesin hareketi ölçülü ve sakın, kimse kimseye fazla karışmaz, kimse kimseye çançan konuşmaz; içinde çocuğun ve erginin rahat nefes alabileceği bir yerdi.”

nation-building process in the early Turkish Republic with distinguishing secular/laic principle is seen as a contradiction. Şehnaz Tahir Gürçağlar pointed out that (2009, 167),

... the reluctance to mention the Mevlevi side of Yücel mainly originates from a widespread view of Turkish modernization as a strictly secular and largely positivist project. Acknowledging the religious aspects of one of the most ardent Ministers of Education in the early Republican period would jeopardize such a view. It would also complicate the (partially correct) representation of the Republican reforms as an attempt at detaching people from their traditional Islamic roots.

Yet, there is no contradiction here, because the royal dynasty, the court members and the elites of the society were all members of the Mevlevi order in the Ottoman time, and therefore, people belong to the urban classes and prefer modern way of living adopt it in Republican times. In addition to that, it can be asserted that Mevlevi order is one of the most convenient religious ways which is coherent with the secular/laic aspect of the Republican Turkey.

Yücel's Mevlevi side has another crucial influence on his political formation. After the education in Yolgeçen Mektebi (an Ottoman elementary school teaching both reading and writing of Quran), he went to the secondary school named Mekteb-i Osmanî and pursued his visits to Yenikapı Mevlevihanesi which Yücel and his family were affiliated. When the Second Institution was declared, the first time, he started to learn something about it there. Yücel mentioned Mevlevi traditions in Ottoman times and the relations between Ottoman sultans and the Mevlevihane. According to his writings, it is understood that the Mevlevi order supported the Young Turk movement and regarding this, the Mevlevihane and its sheik Celaledin Efendi (who was also close to Yücel's family) had a significant role in the declaration of the Second Institution and then the dethronement of Abdülhamid II. After coming to the throne, Mehmed V financially

supported the Mevlevihane. So, Yenikapı Mevlevihanesi was restored, and the Sultan visited there. At the time of this visit, Yücel got an opportunity to see him.²

The last point that is worth considering about Yücel's Mevlevi side is that the Mevlevi tradition in which he grew up might have positively affected his musical and literary abilities. Most of the people belong to this order play an instrument. For instance, his father Ali Rıza Bey was a ney player and his uncle İzzet Bey played oud and tanbur (a string instrument used in classical Turkish music). Yücel also had his musical pieces, and some of them became very popular when he composed them as "Sen bezmimize geldiğin akşam neler olmaz".³ Apart from the musical competence, as known Yücel was a poet, a translator and a prolific writer concurrently. He knew Persian and translated Rumi's rubais into Turkish. The book *Mevlânâ'nın Rubailer* (*The Rubais of Mevlânâ*) first published by Remzi Kitaphanesi in 1932. The Mevlevi effect on Yücel can be seen in the poetic works *Dinle Benden* (*Listen to Me*) and *Allah Bir* (*God is One*). As it will

² Hasan-Âli also told his disappointment originated from the physical appearance of the Sultan in an impressive way. The statements are in original (1990, 137-139) : "Bu hamur vücut, bu lâpa çehre bende büyük bir hayal kırıklığı yapmıştı. Padişah deyince dinç, diri, elinde kılıcı, levent bir at üstünde, kahraman yüzlü bir insan düşünmeye alışmıştım. Bu bembeyaz, kansız, bitkin ihtiyar hiç hoşuma gitmemişti. Yukarıya çıktığı zaman tekkede 'Mukabele' denilen merasim başlamadan önce ona lokum verdiler. Uzaktan seyrediyorduk. Durmadan bir küçük bohça içine konmuş tülbentlerle ağzını siliyordu. Allah biliyor ya, bu salyası akan pinpondan padişah olur mu diye kendi kendime söyleniyordum."

³ Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar was one of the closest friends of Yücel. As mentioned below, Yücel met with Tanpınar in the years of Dârülmualimîn-i Âliye or Yüksek Muallim Mektebi (a kind of teacher's training school) and they stayed at the same accommodation. Tanpınar wrote some articles following Yücel's passing away and mentioned his musical ability alongside his some characteristic features. Some statements from one of the articles are in original (1997, 55): "Garip, sâri denebilecek bir neşesi vardı. Sesinin güzelliği, konuşmasının rahatlığıyla küçük topluluğumuzda söz, daima sonuna doğru kendisinin olurdu. Konuşması bittiği zaman musikisi başlardı. Eski musikimizi, ne derecede bilirdi bunu tayin edemem. Fakat birkaç dededen Mevlevî, bu İstanbul çocuğunun sesinde, bu musiki ve onun beslediği yerli hassasiyet, erimiş, akmağa hazır bir altın gibi daima mevcuttu. Şiirde olduğu gibi musikide de şaşılacak bir icat, daha doğrusu benimseme kabiliyeti vardı. Daha talebeliğimiz zamanında bir şarkısı İstanbul'un günlük hayatına girmişti. Bu şarkının başladığı 'Sen bezmimize geldiğin akşam neler olmaz' mısramı hepimiz kendisi için tekrar edebildik. Çünkü bu kabına sığmaz adam neşesiyle, şakaları ve nükteleriyle, birdenbire köpüren hiddetleri ve patavatsız cevaplarıyla en ağır havayı bile yumuşatmasını bilirdi. Bu neşe İstanbullu neşesiydi. Bütün bir tarih boyunca halkımızın yarattığı bir terbiyeden geliyordu. Bu şehrin terbiyesi daima bir medeniyetin terbiyesi ve yaşama üslûbudur. Âli bu üslûba daha o zamanlar sahiptir."

be shown on the following pages, Yücel's concerns about classics and world literature and even the concept of humanism linked to them are often associated with his deep admiration to Rumi and his Mevlevi side as well.

When the Second Constitution was declared, Yücel was only eleven. However, the concept of “liberty”, of which he was an ardent supporter throughout his life, began to take a form in that time. It can easily be seen in Yücel's articles that he harshly criticised the reign of Abdülhamid II and had a sympathy with the Committee of Union and Progress. After completing his education in Mekteb-i Osmanî, he began his secondary studies at Vefa İdâdîsi (Ottoman high school). In his high school years, Balkan Wars broke out, and Yücel witnessed the miserable conditions of the thousands of people fled from the war. A hospital was established in Vefa İdâdîsi, and Yücel became a volunteer in the treatment and patient care activities of patients and wounded there. The Balkan Wars was one of the primary factors that had a profound influence over him and his generations. Besides, it sparked a rise of the nationalist wave in the society. Regarding this situation, Yücel wrote an article titled “İntikam Olsun” in the journal *Mektebli* in 1913, as his first published work. Tanpınar said that although the age difference between them was not much (four), incidents like World War I and the Balkan Wars that led to this turn into a generation difference (1997, 43).⁴ He talks about the impact of Balkan Wars on his personality, and this impact can be seen in the activities that he carried out during his political career (Yücel, 1966, 982-983):

⁴ The statements of Tanpınar are in original: “Aramızdaki yaş farkı küçüktü. Fakat Birinci Cihan Harbi, ondan evvel Balkan faciası gibi büyük vâkıalar bu farkı tam bir nesil farkı haline getirmişti. Birincisini bana nazaran daha olgun yaşta idrâk etmiş, ikincisini karargâhta olsa dahi terbiye ve inzibatıyla, etrafta yarattığı ızdırapla fiilen yaşamıştı. Buna ergenlik yaşlarını daha az yıkılmış bir eskinin içine girmiş [geçirmiş] olmasını ilave edebiliriz.”

In my early youth, the Balkan defeat and the loss of the Rumelia were the most sorrowful, yet genuinely compelling incidents that touched me. This incident meant to expel our nation Turks from Europe. I was at the age of thirteen or fourteen. I saw the miserable refugees that poured into İstanbul; I cared for wounded in the hospital opened up in the building of Vefa İdâdîsi. In order to get out of the pit into which we fell, the intellectuals of that time wrote articles in newspapers and journals, published books about salvation. I paid for them with my father's money which exceeded my allowance, in the night until the mornings I regularly read under the blinding light of the petroleum lamp. There was a small book about the development of Japan within these. It kept my eyes open. My first belief about the educational mobilisation and its importance was shaped due to this book. Therefore, I put this issue of the culture as a faith of salvation and becoming exalted into my heart not after being the MPs, but at my younger ages.

When he was a high school student, Yücel also drafted into the military service in 1918. Following his graduation from Vefa İdâdîsi, he began his studies at the Faculty of Law in Dârülfünûn (İstanbul University). After he had a dispute with the Constitutional Law instructor, he dropped out of the faculty and entered the Department of Philosophy in the same school. In the meantime, he was also a student of Dârülmua'llimîn and worked as a reporter for *İfham* daily, whose editor-in-chief was Ferit Tek. During the Independence War in Anatolia, he reported from the battlefields (Yücel, 1960, 143-148).

During his undergraduate studies, particularly before 1920, he was very active in Turkish Hearts (Türk Ocakları). Since the day that the institution was established in 1911, Turkish Hearts had a direct and robust tie with the Committee of Union and Progress. One of the main objectives of Turkish Hearts was formulating a nationalist worldview and disseminating it. With this purpose, their prior activities were about Turkish language and Turkish history, while a great variety of activities about education, art and culture were also carried out with the participation of the most prominent figures of that period. Hence, Yücel found an opportunity to form a close relationship with these figures, and he could take a part of the debates on the contemporary issues of the country at the time. It is evident that Yücel's understanding about "nation" or "being national"

began to take shape in those years. He achieved not a cultural capital for himself only, but he could also expand his social network in these years. It is crucial to analyse this network and the debates between its members to achieve a more precise assessment of Yücel's activities and the ideological framework behind it. In other words, almost all activities that he carried out during his ministry, including the Translation Bureau, have an ideological background coming from Yücel's younger ages.

2.2. Yücel's Activities on Language, Education and Culture Before Becoming the Minister

After graduating from Dârülfünûn and Dârülmua'llimîn, he was appointed as a teacher to İzmir. This was a part of a policy which aims to remove the adverse effects of the occupation on the society and many officers from outside of İzmir were also appointed to several positions there. In his years there, Yücel took an active role in establishing the Teachers' Union (Muallimler Birliği) and the İzmir branch of the Turkish Hearts together with publishing the newspaper *Türk Sesi* (*The Turkish Voice*). When Atatürk paid a visit to İzmir in 1923, Yücel could see him for the first time in a meeting. During their conversation, Yücel asked him a question about shutting down the medreses (Islamic higher education institutions). By 1924, Yücel started to teach philosophy, literature and civics (malumat-ı vataniye or yurttaşlık bilgisi) at various high schools of İstanbul such as Galatasaray and İstanbul Boys'. Around that time he frequently organised meetings in his house and hosted many writers, poets, artists and other leading intellectual figures of the period, helping him to promote his cultural and symbolic capital.

In 1927, the Ministry of Education divided the country into districts and Yücel was appointed as an inspector. This post was an opportunity for him to have a deep insight into the conditions of literacy all over the country, particularly after the implementation of the Alphabet Reform in 1928. This process might have even inspired him for his future activities such as the Village Institutes. In 1930, he was sent to France and authorised to analyse the system of French national education. For the first time, he found an opportunity to experience a foreign culture. Yücel's observations during his post were later published as two books: *Fransa Maarif Teşkilâtında Müfettişler* (*Inspectors in France Education Organization*) and *Fransada Kültür İşleri* (*Cultural Affairs in France*). This official duty helped him to improve his French. Furthermore, Yücel read Goethe's works in French in this period, and he wrote a semi-biographical book on him, titled *Goethe: Bir Dehanın Romanı* (*Goethe: The Novel of a Genius*), as the first book in Turkish written about the German poet. These works demonstrate that Yücel had a deep admiration for Goethe, as he often referred to the German poet's thoughts in his articles. It goes even further to the extent that, Yücel's understanding about world literature, civilisation and the concept of humanism was sourced due to this sympathy he had for Goethe.

Upon his return to Turkey, Yücel joined the team of Atatürk's nationwide tour as his advisor on educational matters in 1930. The tour can be considered a milestone of Yücel's career because of the reason that Yücel could find a chance to discuss on the various issues with Atatürk and articulate his own opinions about them. For instance, when Atatürk and the group accompanying him joined a class in a high school during his Kayseri visit, he noticed that Hasan-Âli's book (probably *Mantık* [Logic] as the first

book on logic written in Turkish) was used as a textbook by the teacher. This book then ignited a discussion between the two regarding the usage of non-Turkish terms. As mentioned above, Yücel had obtained his bachelor's degree in Philosophy, and training of this discipline in Turkish was significant for him. Most of the terms in the discipline were Arabic and making these terms understandable in Turkish was, therefore, requiring a comprehensive and systematic program. In 1932, the Society for Research on the Turkish Language (Türk Dili Tetkik Cemiyeti) was established by the initiative of Atatürk (The Institution's name became The Turkish Language Institution [Türk Dil Kurumu] in 1936).

Implementation of reforms on the Turkish language occupies a remarkable place in Yücel's career, which can also be easily observed in his articles. In addition to this, implementing these reforms had a direct connection with setting up the Translation Bureau and its products. By the second half of the 19th century, the purification of the Turkish language was discussed among the intellectuals of the period. During the rule of the Committee of Union and Progress, many activities were carried out in Turkish Hearts. He talks about the debates on the term within the New Language Movement (Yeni Lisan Hareketi) in his *Edebiyat Tarihimizden I (From Our Literary History I)* book.

In terms of cultural politics, the issue of language reforms played a central role in the early Republican period. The construction of cultural identity was one of the most essential goals for the politicians of that day, and the language was a crucial matter of this goal. The underlying ideology for these policies was inspired by the period of the Committee of Union and Progress. Ziya Gökalp, known as "The Ideologist of the

Republic of Turkey”, is a leading figure in the implementation of the language reforms in that term. Gökâlp’s Turkist ideas were involving a peaceful merge of culture and civilisation. According to him, culture is peculiar for the nations and unchangeable, whereas civilisation is flexible, and thus, language and moral values should be preserved and improved. However, scientific and technical improvements can be adopted by other nations. The split between culture and civilisation is reflected in the reforms implemented in the early Republican period, particularly the ones between 1923 and 1938. However, as it will be discussed in the following pages, the ideological framework of the cultural policies was going to change after Atatürk passed away. As a Minister of Culture/National Education, Hasan-Âli was the most significant political figure of the İnönü era and the issue of the cultural orientation of the country is associated with him. The leading position of Yücel and his relation with İnönü made a great deal of effect on to discredit him politically.

The eclectic ideology behind the cultural and political decisions resulted in a kind of tension which could be clearly observed in the cultural affairs. As main parts of the construction of cultural identity process, Atatürk gave particular importance to the studies on history and language. The Turkish History Thesis and the Sun Language Theory are the most considerable examples which manifest the widespread ideology of 1930s. For instance, the Sun Language Theory claims that all world languages are originated from Turkish. This theory is an impressive example for demonstrating how nationalism and Westernism are vital for the cultural agenda of the newly founded Republican Turkey, while also revealing the extent of radicalisation of the political decisions on cultural identity. According to Ahmet Oktay, İsmet İnönü as a Prime

Minister was not involved in the efforts for the Turkish History Thesis and the Sun Language Theory despite the support he gave the People's Houses (Halkevleri) and the principle of etatism (2002, 229). Yücel also did not give credit for the theory and criticised as the following (1966, 387-388):

I could not be able to understand the Sun Language Theory in no way. The reason people stuttered with saying “ağ, uğ, il, el” like hiccup at almost every night did not say anything on the matter for ten years proved that my disability to understand was not wrong and improper. At the expense of Atatürk's some insistences and reprimand one time only any word of me was not heard, any line of me was not published. The Sun Language Theory, which I said above with my some friends we did not stand up for, arose from that the principle of illimitableness of time and place led the language movement a stalemate. With this theory even meşiy means to walk in Arabic, yet electric commonly used in Western languages were able to become Turkish. These studies and efforts as a pathological way would only be supposed to explain a period of our history. That is it...⁵

His another remark was about whether the theory can be related to Atatürk's dictatorship (1960, 62):

Atatürk was not a dictator. However, we could not say that he constituted a regime of liberty. Atatürk's administration was not also a state of siege. Apart from the political pressures put on some people, any Turk intellectual did not feel under the slightest pressure. In the years of 1924, 1925, when I was a Literature and Philosophy teacher at İstanbul and Galatasaray High Schools, I wrote articles mentioned democracy and liberty in *Millî Mecmua* issued by my friend Mesih. Nobody warned me at all. On the contrary, I was appreciated and drew the attention of the political figures of the period. I was sent to Europe, appointed as a General Director, becoming an mp and a minister. I received Atatürk's compliments several times. In the exciting days, rather nights of the Sun Language Theory, he asked me to write for this. Atatürk might have probably taken my disability to understand this complicated theory normally, he tolerated me.

⁵ The original statement is in Turkish: “Güneş-Dil Teorisine bir türlü aklım ermemişti. Hemen her gece hıçkırık tutmuş gibi ağ, uğ, il, el diye kekeleyip duranların on yıldan beri bu konu üzerinde tek cümle söylememiş olmaları; bu işe akıl erdiremeyişimin haksız ve yersiz olmadığını isbat etti. Atatürk'ün birkaç defa ısrarı ve bir kere de tekdiri pahasına da olsa, bu nazariye hakkında tek sözüm duyulmamış, tek satırım intişar etmemiştir. Güneş-Dil Teorisi, yukarda [yukarıda], bazı arkadaşlarımla beraber taraftar olmadığımızı söylediğim, zamanda ve mekânda hudutsuzluk piresibinin [prensibinin] dil hareketini bir çıkmaza sokmasından doğmuştu. Bu teoriyle hattâ Arapçada yürümek manâsına gelen meşiy, garp [Garp] dillerinde yaygın olarak kullanılan elektrik kelimeleri bile Türkçe oluveriyordu. Dil muammasını çözmek için marazî bir hal yolu olan bu çalışmalar ve uğraşmalar, ancak tarihimizin bir devrini açıklamaya yarıyacaktır [yarayacaktır]. O kadar...”

Yet, Yücel's criticising the Sun Language Theory did not prevent him from playing a central role in the language reforms throughout his career and from becoming an ardent supporter of the purification of Turkish. As it will be discussed in the following part, the translation issue of the terms becomes a crucial matter in the agenda during his ministry. Alongside the foundation of the Translation Bureau, many dictionaries and encyclopedias in various areas were published for the first time. That is why although Yücel's numerous activities on the Turkish language are prominent, and his articles and the texts of his speeches are accessible to everyone, blaming him for not being a nationalist and damaging the nationalist sense of Atatürk's reforms are contradictory and ideological. The establishment of the Translation Bureau and the classics translated during the Yücel's ministry, which are associated with Yücel's humanism and also his "communism" demonstrate his deep concern about Turkish language and its improvement.

There is another significant point observed in Yücel's writings that most probably because of his direct participation in all language movement in Turkey, despite the reasonable critics raised against the matters about language, he consistently advocated the actual situation of it. This advocacy turned out to be a kind of reflex. As a prolific writer, Yücel had many books, articles and reviews on various areas such as literature, culture, art and education. The attitude mentioned above harms his critical thinking and objectivity despite his in-depth knowledge and considerations about all these areas. For instance (1957, 192);

There might some extremisms spark complaint in the language movement at times. However, they could not break its walk in no way, could not prevent its naturalness. They are like storms, high winds break occasionally, they pass. The

results attained are that; even if they crumble one or two ratty barges or one or two unsecured boats, this movement will speed the vehicles of idea motioned on it up. Things inside them cover difficult-to-measure distances even without awareness, and they will.⁶

Along with his works on the language reform, Yücel was appointed as the principal of the Gazi Educational Institute, a teacher training institute based on a Western model. Then, he was appointed to the General Directorate of Secondary Education and worked in this office until becoming the Minister of Culture in 1938. In terms of the nationalist and humanist thoughts of him, his efforts and the experiences he received in this office have crucial importance. Reforms in the curriculum of high schools and textbooks also raised the debates around him. The changing ideology behind the cultural policies in İnönü's term directly reflected on the national education and the curriculum of schools. Coursebooks are important in this aspect. For instance, Yücel personally took the initiative to write the coursebooks or the supplementary textbooks. One of these textbooks is *Türk Edebiyatına Toplu Bir Bakış (A Comprehensive View to Turkish Literature)* that was published in 1932. This book was taught in the first year of the high schools, and it significantly contributed to the studies on Turkish literary history. In addition to this, the ideological differences frame that the cultural policies of Atatürk's and İnönü's period can be explicitly observed in this book, and also Yücel's changing orientation, especially in terms of the national literature reflects on it.

Aside from his all titles, Yücel is known as a literary historian. As mentioned above, he took up a teaching post in several high schools and taught literature. Moreover, he has

⁶ The original statement is in Turkish: "Dil akımında şikâyet uyandıracak aşırılıklar, zaman zaman kendini göstermiş olabilir. Fakat bunlar, onun yürüyüşünü bir türlü bozamamış, tabiîliğini önleyememiştir [önleyememiştir]. Onlar, arada sırada çıkan fırtınalara, boralara, sert rüzgârlara benzer, geçerler. Elde edilen netice şudur ki; bir iki köhne salapuryayı veya muhkem yapılmamış bir iki yeni tekneyi parçalasalar bile, bu akım, üstünde hareket eden gerçek fikir taşıtlarını daha çabuk yürütecektir. İçindekiler, farkında bile olmadan, hem de ölçülmesi güç mesafeler almış olurlar ve olacaklardır."

some works on literature such as *Türk Edebiyatı Nümuneleri* (*Samples of Turkish Literature*, with Hıfzı Tevfik Gönensay and İhsan Hamâmîzâde), “Edebiyat Tarihimize Umûmî Bir Nazar ve Bizde Edebî Hareketler” (“A Comprehensive View to Our History of Literature and Literary Movements of Us”), *Türk Edebiyatına Toplu Bir Bakış* and *Edebiyat Tarihimizden I* (*From Our History of Literature I*). *Türk Edebiyatına Toplu Bir Bakış* can be regarded as an extended version of “Edebiyat Tarihimize Umûmî Bir Nazar ve Bizde Edebî Hareketler” because the arguments asserted in both works are resembling. Due to its methodological framework, the book is considerable for the history of Turkish literature.

The most salient issue about the book is that Yücel analyses the history of Turkish literature using its connection with society and the social space. Accordingly, he divides Turkish literature into three categories. The first category associated with the court is the divan literature, the second is the tekke literature, and the third one is the folk literature. Yücel associates the tekke literature with tekkes and medreses, whereas the folk literature can be associated with villages for him. Additionally, he separates the Turkish literature into two periods: pre-Islam and after Islam. If Turkish literature is imagined as a pyramid, the top point of it can be the divan literature, whereas the folk literature remains at the bottom.

In *Türk Edebiyatına Toplu Bir Bakış* and everywhere he mentioned Turkish literary history, Yücel harshly criticised the divan literature with the reason of its being consisted of Arabic and Persian components, together with the form aruz prosody being used. According to him, this kind of literature based on totally different components did not reflect the feelings and thoughts of the people. Thus, it was not national literature

and consequently, there is no place for it in the world literature. On the other hand, according to Yücel, the folk literature accurately represented “the national conscience” (“millî vicdan”), and the whole emotions and considerations of the people were expressed by it. Therefore, the primary source of national literature should be folk literature. Divan literature, with the exception of some poets such as Bakî, Fuzûlî, Nedim and Şeyh Galip, like “a winter sun which did not heat” (“ısıtmayan bir kış güneşi”) for him and he resembles it to “the huge cemetery of the yesterday” (“dünün büyük mezarlığı”) (Hasan Âli, 1932).

His views on the divan literature can be seen as a representation of the broader aspects of the intellectuals or ruling elites of the early Republican era, and it is parallel to the views on the whole Ottoman legacy as well. Yücel’s evaluations are like a projection of the ideology that shapes cultural politics. Literature is one of the main components of cultural identity. Therefore, by the culture and civilisation binary, a national literature would be based on folk literature. Because all consistent elements are peculiar to the people of the country. Thus, Hasan-Âli’s studies on the history of Turkish literature can be considered as an effort to theorise this political ideology in the way of literature. There is another significant point here that he did not mention the classics or Western literature at all, and this denotes the change of the orientation in the cultural policy. The Translation Bureau was a vital sign of the change because the establishment of the Bureau and the classics translated from European languages during the Yücel’s ministry pointed out the change in terms of canon on which the national literature would be based. As it will be discussed in detail in the following chapter, a different direction was adopted about the cultural affairs in the İnönü period, and the underlying motivation of

this adoption was to understand the roots of Western civilisation of which Republican Turkey aimed to become a part. The reflection of this change on the literature was the formation of a new canon which was predominantly based on Western classics. One of the primary goals of the setting up the Translation Bureau was that, and the Bureau worked for this aim, particularly during the Hasan-Âli's ministry.

The last point for this part is that Yücel has written numerous articles for newspapers throughout his life. In the 1930s, before his ministry, he wrote for *Akşam* and the articles published as a book named *Pazartesi Konuşmaları* (*Monday Conversations*). These articles are very crucial to decode the Yücel's mind since he pointed out the roadmap of the activities which would be carried out during his ministry.

2.3. An Overview to the Period of Yücel's Ministry

Yücel was elected as a member of parliament in 1935, and he served as a member of the Turkish Grand National Assembly for fifteen years, between 1935 and 1950. He spent eight of these years as a Minister of Culture/National Education (1938-1946). He was the one who kept his position as a Minister of National Education for the longest time during the all-Republican era. Ministry of Education (Maarif Vekâleti) involved educational and cultural affairs in the past. The ministry was entitled as Ministry of Culture between 1935 and 1941, then Ministry of Education (Maarif Vekilliği) in 1941-1946 and Ministry of National Education in 1946-1950. So, Yücel was called as the Minister of Culture, the Minister of Education and the Minister of National Education respectively (Karaaslan Şanlı, 2012, 20).

As demonstrated in the first pages, Yücel was at the centre of the various fields of culture and education in the period preceding his ministry. In parallel to this, he embarked on several revolutionary projects as a minister. He was aware of the necessities, and with İnönü's great support, he found an opportunity to implement very comprehensive activities at the hard conditions of World War II. Humanism was considered to be a quasi-formal ideology framed the policies of İnönü's period, and this viewpoint had an essential role in blaming Yücel for damaging to the spirit of the Atatürk's national reforms and also being a "communist". This part will discuss the activities which are shown as the pillars of this humanistic ideology.

The establishment of the Translation Bureau, opening up the Village Institutes and putting Latin and Greek courses in the high school curriculum is considered as the main components of the humanistic ideology of the İnönü period.⁷ At the beginning of May in 1939, The Exhibition of the Publishing for Ten Years (On Yıllık Neşriyat Sergisi) was organised, and it included the works published in Latin alphabet following the Alphabet Reform in 1928. Just after the exhibition, The First National Publishing Congress (Birinci Türk Neşriyat Kongresi) was organised. The Translation Bureau was established as a result of the decision which was taken by the Translation Committee, one of the seven committees of the Congress. The Translation Bureau and Congress will be examined in detail in the next chapter.

⁷ The thesis written by Güneş Altınbaş Serezli made a significant contribution to the related fields. She closely examined the concepts "humanism" and "Turkish humanism", and claimed that the "Turkish Humanism Project" was carried out in the İnönü period through showing these three events as the pillars of the project (2006).

After a great deal of discussion on the law about the establishment of it in the Grand National Assembly, the Village Institutes were opened in 1940. According to the 1935 census, 22% of men and 8,2% of women were literate in Turkey. While the literacy rate was 10,7%, where the population was lower than ten thousand, the rate was 40,3% for the rest. On the other hand, 81 per cent of the population was living in rural areas, and there was not any school in 31 of 40 thousand villages (Yiğit, 1992, 76). In 1940, the total literacy rate of Turkey was 29,2% and the literacy rate of women was only 9,9 per cent of it (Karaaslan Şanlı, 2012, 109). First of all, as the rates explicitly demonstrate that the educational level was low in Turkey and especially in rural areas in the 1930s. Hence, the Village Institutes can be considered as an essential part of the education movement of these years. A large part of the population was living in the countryside. One of the primary goals of the government was to make the population aware of the principles of the newly founded Republic and its national aims. Another crucial reason was that becoming a more developed country required to educate these people in various fields. About the goals, the Institutes had a unique curriculum based on both practical (agriculture, construction, and carpentry) and classical (mathematics, literature, and foreign languages) courses. The Institutes had a direct connection with the other formal establishments such as the Translation Bureau. The translations produced by the Bureau were sent to the libraries of the Institutes, and the prominent translators of the Bureau such as Sabahattin Eyüboğlu and Vedat Günyol taught here. The “village literature” (köy edebiyatı) movement whose the pioneering figures are Mahmut Makal, Fakir Baykurt and Talip Apaydın led this movement to be rooted in the Institutes.

İsmet İnönü gave massive support to the Village Institutes at the beginning. However, after the transition into the multi-party system in 1946, İnönü could not continue the support, and in 1951, they were transformed into the Teacher's Schools (Öğretmen Okulları). The Institutes was one of the main reasons to label Yücel as a communist by conservative, extreme rightist or ultranationalist groups. In a parliament speech, Yücel said that the aim of the establishment of the Institutes was not creating a new class.

Yücel states that “Our wish is to bring up well-informed, healthy, patriotic and well-educated citizens in village. Otherwise, it does not equip them with the knowledge and the skills mentioned to make them pouring in the city. I disagree to consider the Village Institutes as a creator of a new class.” (as cited in Oktay, 2002, 238).⁸ Similarly, İsmail Hakkı Tonguç, one of the founders of the Institutes, defined them as a village centred project and said that (as cited in Oktay, 2002, 238-239):

The village question as someone supposes is not an unconscious village development, it is a revitalisation of the village from inside in a meaningful and conscious way. Villagers should be vitalised substantially that any power could not exploit them cruelly. Villagers would not become a conscious and costless working animal. The village question as an education problems in village is that.⁹

The reports submitted in the First National Publishing Congress demonstrates the approaches of the intellectuals to village and villagers. People living in rural areas are seen as quasi-human being. The gap between urbanites and villagers is frequently stressed in terms of their comprehension skills, reading preferences and habits (*Birinci*

⁸ The original statement is in Turkish: “Bizim arzumuz, köyün içerisinde bilgili, sıhhatli, memleketine bağlı ve müstahsil vatandaşlar yetiştirmektir. Yoksa köylüyü, bu arz ettiğim bilgi ve melekelerle teşhiz edip onları şehre akın eder vazuyitte [vaziyete] getirmek değildir. Köy Enstitülerini yeni bir sınıfın müvellidi addetmeyi benzeniz doğru bulmuyorum.”

⁹ The original statement of Tonguç is in original: “Köy meselesi, bazılarının zannettikleri gibi, mihanikî bir surette köy kalkınması değil, mânâlı ve şuurlu bir şekilde, köyün içten canlandırılmasıdır. Köy insanı, öylesine canlandırılmalı ve şuurlandırılmalı ki, onu hiçbir kuvvet, yalnız kendi hesabına ve insafsızca istismar etmesin. Köylüler, şuursuz ve bedava çalışan birer iş hayvanı haline gelmesinler. Köy meselesi, köyde eğitim problemleri içinde olmak üzere bu demektir.”

Türk Neşriyat Kongresi, 1939).¹⁰ Under the hard conditions of World War II, it can be considered that the Village Institutes provided many opportunities for villagers to make them more qualified in many respects. For instance, sending the translated works of the Translation Bureau to these rural areas via the Institutes is significant.

On the other hand, with the transition to the multi-party system in 1946, they gradually lost their influence and were converted to the Teachers' Schools in 1951. Even though it was a comprehensive project, losing its influence in a short time denotes that The Village Institutes were not based on people's support. In this point, Gürçağlar's comments provide an in-depth consideration of the reforms or projects implemented in early Republican era. Gürçağlar associated the success of the Republican reforms with its concurrency with the people's dispositions through Bourdieu's theoretical framework as follows (2008, 59):

In Bourdieu's terms, all republican reforms may be considered part of a project that aimed to transform the habitus of the people. Nevertheless, by its very nature, habitus, as a set of acquired dispositions, can not be transformed overnight. Bourdieu suggests that revolutionary change cannot mark a break with the habitus of those it affects, but that such change must be based on the dispositions constituting the specific habitus in question. In other words, a revolution (and to a certain extent the republican reforms) can break the "structuredness" of the habitus, yet revolution will only take place if the structure of the habitus allows it. Bourdieu writes that the conjecture capable of creating revolutionary, collective action lies in the dialectic between a habitus and the impact of an event on those who are already disposed to realizing the change in question. Therefore, when one asks about the success of the culture planning efforts carried out through the republican reforms, one needs to inquire as to the degree to which these reform concurred with the system of dispositions people held. If those dispositions didn't agree with people's current habitus, i.e. their "present past", then a radical transformation foreseen by the republican reforms would be unlikely to succeed.

¹⁰ Particularly the proposals of the Minister of Agriculture is quite considerable.

One of the primary reasons to define the cultural politics of İnönü's period as humanistic is introducing Latin and Greek courses in the high school curriculum. Starting from the Tanzimat era and especially in the period of the Second Constitution, there was an interest that originated from the increase in the translations from basically French literature. The Philhellenism trend with its leading figures such as Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu and Yahya Kemal Beyatlı is very significant. However, the effect of the current was limited because of the political conflict between Greece and the Ottoman Empire. In the Republican times, especially in the 1930s, there were several translation activities associated with the humanist orientation of Turkey. Ruşen Eşref Üneydin translated Vergilius, and Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu translated Horatius's poems. Nüzhet Haşim Sinanoğlu published an anthology on Italian literature, two reviews on Dante and Petrarca, and a Greek-Latin mythology booklet. Nurullah Ataç wrote the second mythology book in that period (Sinanoğlu, 1980, 92).

From the very first time of the Republic, introducing Greek and Latin instruction into the high school curriculum was being debated by intellectuals, especially in some dailies and journals. In the First National Education Council (Birinci Millî Eğitim Şûrası) in 1939 Yücel stated that the positivist science mentality of high schools shaped the present and the future situations of the national culture and the humanism spirit embedded in it and thus, Greek and Latin courses taught in high schools as a second foreign language (as cited in Yiğit, 1992, 62). In the same council, Cevat Dursunoğlu raised the issue for the first, and it was discussed. After then, starting with 1940-1941, there was established a "classic section" in which Latin was taught in Galatasaray and Vefa High Schools in İstanbul and Boys' High School in Ankara.

Yücel's opinions and the statements in the council on introducing Latin and Greek courses in the high school curriculum is not peculiar to him. It has been long discussed and also it can be understood that some prominent figures of the intellectual milieu of the period expected to make the issue possible in Yücel's ministry. Yakup Kadri was one of these prominent figures. His statements in the letter sent to Yücel directly reflect Yücel's opinions (*Yakup Kadri'den*, 1996, 50-51):

(Darülfünun can be only based on a strong secondary education in our country.) High schools are the essential laboratory of the thing called culture. Notably, it is the last two years of high school. Minds of youth are formed there. It is the source of general culture as well as an essence's infinitive called Hummanitée to make the human the candidate of the perfect human being. Again I hope while you give all your attention and care to high schools, you will consider as the core putting Hummanitée instruction in it. Otherwise, you know better than I do that the country would remain to be abundant with semi-intellectuals. The damage brought by them is more significant than the utterly ignorant's. Our all cultural crisis is originated from not lack of education, but wrong and bad and poor quality education. Hence we can try to do not quantitatif [quantitative] but qualitatif [qualitative] work. You would say it requires money and élément [personnel]. All I mentioned above would have come real through the money we wasted for the ghost called Darülfünun until now. Instead of posting psychology, political economy or sociology (?) professors in the university, the situation of the present generation would have been different if we brought some Latin and Greek instructors in the certain several high schools. I have no doubt you are agree with me about this point (...)¹¹

¹¹ The original statement is in Turkish: “(Bizde Darülfünun ancak kuvvetli bir orta tahsil üzerine kurulabilir.) Kültür denilen şeyin asıl laboratuvarı liselerdir. Hassaten liselerin son iki sınıfıdır. Gençlerin kafası burada forme olur [*biçimlenir*]. (Malumat-ı umumiye)nin [*genel bilgiler, genel kültür*] ocağı burası olduğu gibi Hummanitée [*klasik eğitim; Yunan ve Latin dilleri ve edebiyatları*] denilen ve insanı insan-ı kâmil olmaya namzet kılan bir cevherin masdârı da burasıdır. Yine umuyorum ki bütün dikkat ve ihtimamınızı liselere verirken araya Hummanitée tedrisatını da sokmayı esas telakki edeceksiniz. Aksi takdirde benden iyi bilirsiniz ki memleket bir sürü yarım entelektüellerle dolmakta devam edecektir. Bunlardan gelen mazarratsa kara cahillerinkinden daha büyüktür. Bizim bütün kültür krizimiz, tahsilsizlikten değil, yanlış ve kötü ve keyfiyetçe dun [*niteliği düşük*] bir tahsilden çıkıyor. Binaenaleyh quantitatif [*nicel*] değil, qualitatif [*nitel*] iş yapmaya çalışmalıyız. Bu, paraya ve élément'a [*eleman*] mı muhtaç diyeceksiniz. Darülfünun denilen heyulâ için şimdiye kadar israf ettiğimiz paralarla bu biraz yukarda dediklerimin hepsi olurdu. Herhalde üniversiteye psikoloji, ekonomi politik veya sosyoloji(?) profesörleri getireceğimiz yerde belli başlı dört beş liseye birkaç Latince ve Yunanca hocası getirseydik bugünkü neslin hali başka türlü olurdu. Hiç şüphe etmiyorum ki bu hususta siz de benimle hemfikirsiniz.”

Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu is one of the most prominent figures of the Republican history in several ways. Aside from his literary career, he was a politician, a bureaucrat and a theoretician as well. He was a co-founder of the *Kadro* journal in which the reforms implemented in early Republican era were taken into a theoretical framework. Karaosmanoğlu was a close friend of Yücel. During his lifetime Yücel corresponded with Yakup Kadri and his book *Edebiyat Tarihimizden I* was the first book written on Yakup Kadri. It can be borne in mind that he was one of the leading figures of Philhellenism current in the past and also a pioneering intellectual associated with humanism in Turkey. According to Ahmet Oktay's reference, Yakup Kadri considered the introducing Latin and Greek courses in the high school curriculum as a "national Renaissance" and a more significant reform than the abolishment of medreses, removal of scholastic knowledge from curriculum and substitution of the Arabic script with the Latin alphabet (Oktay, 2002, 242).

The classic section was abolished in 1949, five hours per week Latin was reduced to two hours, and it was made an elective course taught only in the six schools then (Açık, 2003, 120-121). Sinanoğlu claimed about the abolishment of the section that the organisation of the National Education did not properly comprehend the meaning of the section. In addition to this, some prominent figures of the National Education, and some principals and instructors of the high schools in which there was a classic section, sided against it (1980, 93). Besides, Güneş Altınbaş Serezli highlighted the rising economic challenges with the World War II and added that expecting people to learn Latin or Greek as a second language while they were striving to get accustomed for the newly formed language, would be unrealistic (2006, 78). Although it was a short-lived

experience, the initiative to introduce Latin and Greek courses in the high school curriculum is significant because of demonstrating the attractiveness of a Eurocentric civilisation approach and its cultural orientation that was adopted by the ruling elites. In addition to this, the initiative is also vital in terms of the Translation Bureau and its activities. Classical Philology department of İstanbul and Ankara University trained the Latin and Greek teachers in the high schools, and graduates of these universities played an essential role in both the selection and translation process of the works for the Translation Bureau. Georg Rohde, the founder of Classical Philology at Ankara University, contributed to the establishment of the Translation Bureau. Azra Erhat, one of the most prominent translators of the Bureau, was the assistant of him. In addition to this, Rohde wrote a coursebook titled *Lingua Latina* taught in Latin and Greek courses in high schools with his student Samim Sinanoğlu. All these connections between the Translation Bureau, Latin and Greek courses in the high school curriculum and Classical Philology departments at universities can be imagined as a “circle”, and the cultural politics with a Eurocentric orientation was at the centre of this circle.

Some articles written for the dailies in the 1950s indicate that introducing Latin and Greek courses in the high school curriculum during Yücel’s ministry, together with several other policies he implemented, could be criticised with the pretext of being an extremist and unbalanced attempt. In these articles, Yücel suggested an “eastern classical section” (Şark Klasik Şubesi) accompanying a “western classical section” (Garp Klasik Şubesi) for high schools. The suggestion is quite considerable since Yücel did not attempt to make it real though he carried authority. The statement about the proposal of Yücel is as follows (Yücel, 1974, 16):

I consider a “literature” section which is separated from 10th and even 9th grade and is divided into two within itself as precious...

A) Eastern classical section

B) Western classical section

Teaching Arabic and Persian the youth who would analyse our classical literature, learn our history, study religious science. Moreover, it is required to teach classical Ottoman texts (because Ottoman Turkish is neither Arabic nor Persian and a mixed language on its own) as a separate course in this section. It is also required to teach classical Greek and Latin who would study Western literature as fellows of higher education. Teaching Arabic and Persian is indispensable. Furthermore, the classical Western culture could not be comprehended adequately without it. Both sections bring them at least two years that young ones from Literature and Divinity faculties of universities lose.¹²

In addition to the Translation Bureau, the Village Institutes and the introducing Latin and Greek instruction in the high school curriculum, Yücel led many revolutionary activities in various fields. The congresses and the conventions of some committees, which were organised for the first time, are significant. The First National Publishing Congress, the First National Education Council, the First Geography Congress (Birinci Coğrafya Kongresi) and the conventions of the Grammar Committee (Gramer Komisyonu) can be given as examples. In this period, it is understood that organising congress and conventions, and mutually making decisions on cultural affairs were aimed to be traditionalized.

¹² The original statement is in Turkish: “Onuncu ve hatta dokuzuncu sınıftan ayrılacak ve kendi içinde ikiye bölünecek bir ‘edebiyat’ kolunun kıymetli olacağı kanaatindeyim...”

A) Şart [Şark] klasik şubesi

B) Garp klasik şubesi

Eski Edebiyatımızı inceleyecek, tarihimizi öğrenecek, din ilimleri okuyacak gençlerimize arapça, farsça okutmak zaruridir. Hattâ eski Osmanlı metinlerini (Osmanlıca, ne Arapça ne de Farsça olmayıp karışık ve başlıbaşına bir lisan olduğundan) de bu şubede ayrı bir ders olarak vermek lâzımdır. Garp edebiyatını öğrenecek yüksek öğrenim adaylarına ise behamahal eski Yunanca ve Lâtince göstermek lâzımdır. Arapça, Farsça okutmak zaruridir. Hattâ eski [Bu kısmın yanlış yazıldığı görünüyor] Bunsuz garp kültürüne nüfuz edilememektedir. Her iki şube, Üniversitenin Edebiyat ve ilâhiyet fakültelerinde gençlerin en azından kaybettikleri iki yılı onlara kazandıracaktır.” Yücel’s another statement about the issue in Turkish: “Liselerde dil olarak arapça öğretmek her zaman için mümkündür. Şark ve garb kaynaklarına nüfuz yönünden Şark klâsik şubesi, Garb klâsik şubesi diye iki bölüm yapılır; birinde arapça, farsça, diğerinde lâtince ve yunanca okutulur. Şark klâsik şubesinden çıkan gençler, bu esaslı bilgi üstüne kuvvetli bir din öğretimi ve düşünüşü kurarlar. Böylece üstün vasıfta din adamları kazanmış oluruz.” (Yücel, 1960, 43-44).

Another remarkable event is the establishment of the Ankara State Conservatory in 1940. Even with its name (because of the lack of the word “Turk” or “national”), the establishment of the school caused eyebrows to raise in the Grand National Assembly. The figures such as Paul Hindemith, Ernst Pratorius and Carl Ebert had a significant role in the establishment of the school, which consisted of two sections: Acting and Music. In the same period, the First State Exhibition of Painting and Sculpture (Birinci Devlet Resim ve Heykel Sergisi) was organised in 1939, and it became an annual organisation. There were started to publish several encyclopedias. Yücel took the initiative to establish the Encyclopedia Bureau (Ansiklopedi Bürosu), and the first official and copyrighted Turkish encyclopedia titled *İnönü Ansiklopedisi (The İnönü Encyclopedia)* was started to publish, and its title was changed as *Türk Ansiklopedisi (The Türk Encyclopedia)* in the period of Democrat Party. As a distinguished one, *İslam Ansiklopedisi (The Encyclopedia of Islam)* which was published in French and German at the beginning was started to translate into Turkish.¹³

As another encyclopedic activity, Celal Esat Arseven’s *Sanat Ansiklopedisi (The Encyclopedia of Art)* was published. There were several activities about the standardisation of coursebooks, sports and physical education, ancient arts and museum. Many journals in various fields like *Tercüme, Güzel Sanatlar, İlk Öğretim* and *Tebliğler* were issued. Ankara University Faculty of Science (1943), İstanbul Technical University (1944) and Ankara University Faculty of Medicine (1945) was founded. In 1945, Yücel participated the UNESCO meeting attended by 43 nations in the representation of

¹³ The version of *the Encyclopedia of Islam*, which was first published between 1913 and 1936 by Brill, is implied here. *The Encyclopedia of Islam* started to be launched by Türkiye Diyanet Foundation is different. The latter consists of the articles by Muslim authors.

Turkey. Finally, as an essential part of the democratisation process of Turkey, the Universities Act was put into law in 1946.¹⁴

2.4. The Position of Hasan-Âli Yücel at the Turkey's Political History

There were politically hard conditions in Turkey like all over the world during the World War II. Before the German defeat at Stalingrad, there was an ultranationalist movement in Turkey. Whether they had a social base or not is a controversial issue, though they played an active role in the actual politics of the 1940s. Moreover, these movements were politically and financially supported by the German government. There were some cases that reflected the tense political situation of the day, such as the case of racism-Turanism in 1944. Yücel was among the ones who were accused of “being a communist”, “supporting the communists and the communist activities”, “employing the communists in the Ministry of National Education” and “betraying the national values of the country”. In this period, he was also subjected to an assassination attempt in 1942 his house at Yenışehir, Ankara. Figures such as Sabahattin Ali and Nâzım Hikmet were the focal point of these accusations. Furthermore, there was a quite tense political atmosphere around some journals such as *Yurt ve Dünya* and *Adımlar* and particularly the Faculty of Languages, History and Geography of Ankara University. The policies implemented within a humanistic perspective during Yücel's ministry and the figures part of it were considered as evidence of being associated with communism. About these accusations, Yücel claims that they are because of the works of the Translation Bureau (1966, 984):

¹⁴ More detailed information about the activities carried out in the period of Yücel's ministry, Çıkar's book can be explored (1997).

Though we took the most rooted step into Europe, West within 14th century the reason why we are faltering now is that we did not give importance to the opinion side of this civilised country of which we arrived at the middle at all. However, there were Islamic scholars and philosophers knew Greek sources much better in ancient centuries. Then nobody searched for this source anymore. Is not the thing we call Islamic philosophy and kalam the practising Greek thought into Islamic beliefs? This aspect has been long neglected too. Searching for the sources caused to be charged with infidelity in the past, the friendship with the Greeks of today in the period of the Second Constitution; it was gone further about our attempt, by claiming the Humanism-Communism rhyme, it was tried to stigmatize us with a red seal.¹⁵

Following the Second World War, Turkey became a member of the United Nations in the aftermath of the internal and external developments and an increasing demand for democratisation. As a result of this, there was also a transition to the multi-party system in 1946. Shortly after the general elections, Yücel resigned from his post in August 1946 over the disagreement with İnönü regarding the timing of this transition. Yücel was of the opinion that a democratic system had to be rooted in the society. Thus, by its nature, it should not be imposed from governments or ruling elites. However, on the contrary, people were forced to adopt democracy both ideologically and practically. During this transition, Yücel had also proposed to democratise higher education, and the

¹⁵ The original statement is in Turkish: “Biz, Avrupa’ya, garbe en köklü adımı XIV asır içinde attığımız halde el’an bocalamamızın sebebi, ortasına kadar geldiğimiz bu medenî ülkenin fikir tarafına hiç iltifat etmemiş olmamızdır. Oysa daha eski asırlarda Yunan kaynaklarını çok daha iyi bilen islâm bilginleri ve filozofları vardı. Sonra bu kaynağı arayıp tarayan çıkmaz oldu. İslâm felsefesi ve kelâmı ilmi dediğimiz şey, yunanlı düşünüşün islâm inançlarına tatbiki değil midir? Uzun zaman bu cihet de ihmal edildi. Kaynaklara gitme, eskiden kâfirliğe, meşrutiyet devrinde bugünkü Yunanlılara dostlukla suçlanmaya sebep olmuştu; bizim teşebbüsümüzde ise daha ileri gidildi, Hümanisma-Komünisma tekerlemesi ileri sürülüp kızıl mühürle damgalanmamıza çalışıldı.” Another statement of Yücel about the “Humanism-Communism” rhyme is as follows (1974, 221-222): “Millî duygular insanî bilgilerle beslenir. Cihandan habersiz insanların kendilerini bilmeleri esasen olmaz şeydir. Yüzünün ne biçim olduğunu bilmek isteyenler aynaya bakarlar. Bu aynaların en önemlilerinden biri, tercümedir. Eğitim Bakanlığının ve özel yayınların bu hususta ne halde bulunduğunu söylemeye hacet var mı? Unutmuyalım ki [Unutmayalım ki], bizim eksiklerimiz arasında yalnız okumamazlık değil, yazmamazlık da başta gelir. (...) Hümanizma-komünizma [komünizma] nevinden âdî tekerlemelere düşmeden millî bilimci [bilinci] milletlerarası bulunc terbiye ederek geliştirmek. Birleşmiş Milletler idealinin kültür, bilim ve sanat alanında gerçekleşmesiyle mümkündür.”

Universities Act was put into law in 1946, just before his resignation.¹⁶ As mentioned previously, many prominent projects or activities peculiar to the period of his ministry were short-lived. One of the main reasons behind this situation is that the objectives and the intellectual background of them were not embraced by the people. If they had not been abolished, they could have been more effective. Removing the traces of the works that were done in the previous period is a deep-rooted tradition in Turkey. Having cited from Karpas, Gürçağlar claims that (2008, 89),

The most interesting aspect of all these changes is that the criticism causing them came chiefly from the ranks of the Republican Party which had created these institutions. People who had helped, or had thought it advantageous to side with those creating the institutions, later didn't hesitate to attack and tear them down in their efforts to adjust to the new political situation. That which one Republican Minister had done previously another tried to undo, as though they no longer belonged to the same party but to two rival parties bent upon destroying each other. The new Minister of Education, Şemseddin Sirer, undid what Hasan-Âli Yücel and other Ministers tried to achieve, although both were Republicans. The party of reforms had become its own prosecutor.

She also cites from the daily *Son Saat* as the following (2008, 90):

The current minister has decided to continue the foreign classics series translated and published with the initiative of the former Minister of Education. It is only fair to appreciate and praise this exceptional act by Reşat Şemseddin Sirer, since our country it has become a custom for officials not to complete, but even destroy the work started by their predecessors.¹⁷

As mentioned above, Yücel resigned from his post in August 1946. In these years, there was widespread an anti-communist wave after the establishment of close relations with the US and the prevailing Cold War circumstances, and Yücel was among the victims of it. In addition to these circumstances, the Republican People's Party started to

¹⁶ For more comprehensive detail about Yücel's resignation in 1946: (Çıkar, 1997, 120), (Karaaslan Şanlı, 2012, 94-96).

¹⁷ In fact, Sirer also had a role to destroy Yücel's works and additionally, the activities of the Translation Bureau and the journal *Tercüme* decelerated in the period of his ministry. It will be explained in the following chapter.

compromise the laicism principle with the rise of the Democrat Party in the country.

Gürçağlar marks the Republican People's Party's convention held in May 1946 as the beginning of a period of "de-planning" in the field of culture and said (2008, 84),

The rural population did not understand the benefits of secularism, as the principle of secularism had never been properly explained to them. Following the discussions in the 1947 Republican People's Party Convention, the principal of secularism was amended and a gradual liberalization was carried out in the field of religion. Religious instruction was re-introduced under the supervision of the Ministry of Education, while permission was extended to private schools for the training of "imams". The Republican People's Party seemed to introduce a halt to its culture planning project. This became most evident with the changes made to the Village Institutes.

There were several allegations against Yücel in that period, and as a result of this, he sued Kenan Öner, which can be considered as the re-emergence of the racism-Turanism case. Öner was one of the attorneys of the racism-Turanism case. Three years after the case, he accused Yücel of propagating communism in the society and collaborating with the communists in his article at *Yeni Sabah* daily. Among them, for instance (as cited in Mumcu, 1995, 142),

The writings from the page 100 to 106 of the book *Modern Technic in Turkey* contain both the Ministry of Education's views about nationalism and humanism and the writings in which the considerations of religion and morals are criticised. I am going to mention only that article.

Our Ministry of Education bring us the brochure mentioned above, which contains its purposes and aims; as it specifies the main features of the Ministry, it states the features as both nationalist and humanist. In addition to this, according to the brochure this humanism is broader than Latin and Greek's. This conception which involves all humanity caused to introduce Latin and Greek languages in our high schools Hittite and Sumerian languages in our higher education institutes, our organisation of education aims to bring all sorts of the civilised qualifications which make them beneficial for our nation and all humanity to the growing generation.

It is in question here (nationalism) undoubtedly, in order to mask humanism and as it meaning communism out nothing at all but a poisonous combination.¹⁸

¹⁸ The statement in Turkish is as follows:

His reference to the relations between nationalism and humanism as a tool to conceal the “real aim” -that is to say communism- is significant. After all, Yücel won the case, and he wrote two books titled *Dâvam (My Case)* and *Hasan-Âli Yücel’in Açtığı Dâvalar ve Neticeleri (The Cases Opened by Hasan-Âli Yücel and Their Results)* in which he explained all the stories in detail. Despite his acquittal, Yücel was gradually isolated from the ruling elite with the contribution of İnönü’s withdrawal of support to him, which ultimately paved the way for Yücel’s decision to put an end to his political career. Despite all hardships both politically and economically, Yücel could carry out the extensive project using İnönü’s substantial support, and he was aware of the importance of this support. In an article, he stated that it was impossible to promote for politicians without Atatürk’s or İnönü’s support in those years (1960, 117). Yakup Kadri talks about İnönü’s support to Yücel in an inspirational way (*Yakup Kadri’dan*, 1996, 18):

One of the greatest works of Hasan-Âli is, you know, the Village Institutes. Carrying out all these in the atmosphere of that time required big courage. Because Hasan-Âli realised many ideas that was not already exist and not already determined in minds. He made enemies in this way too. He encountered the significant hostilities against himself in both the officials of the Ministry of Education and the Assembly.

You know, Hasan-Âli is a quite progressive man. In that time, the progressiveness was not proper enough. The Assembly consistently sabotaged the works carried out by himself: in other words, tried to prevent. He tried to deal with the Assembly on the one hand, with the general staff on the other. In the meantime, he was forced to cope with the difficulties made by his colleagues within the ministry.

“Türkiye’de modern teknik kitabının 100. sahifesinden 106’ncı sahifesine kadar devam eden yazılar maarif vekâletinin milliyetçilik ve insaniyetçilik fikirleriyle din ve ahlâk telâkkilerini tenkit eden yazıları ihtiva etmektedir. Ben yalnız şu fıkraya temas edeceğim. Maarifimiz gayelerini ve hedeflerini yukarıda ismi geçen broşürü bize veriyor; maarifin başlıca vasıflarını sayarken hem milliyetçilik hem de hümanist (insaniyetçi) olduğunu kaydetmektedir. Bununla beraber broşüre göre bu hümanizma Latin ve Yunan dillerini yüksek öğrenim müesseselerimize Hitit, Sümer ve saire dillerini sokmuş, maarif teşkilâtımızın hedefi yetişmekte olan nesle, onu kendi milletimize ve bütün insanlığa faydalı kılacak her nevi medeniyet vasıfları vermektir. Burada mevzuu bahs olan (milliyetçilik) hiç şüphesiz, hümanizmi ve bunun ifade ettiği komünizmi maskelemek için zehirli bir telfikten (toplayıp birleştirmek) başka bir şey değildir...”

During all these dealings, İnönü gave a great deal of help to himself. It must be confessed that if İnönü did not support Hasan-Âli, he would not have achieved all these successes. Moreover, the moment came into existence that İnönü totally counted on Hasan-Âli and Hasan-Âli became the one whom İnönü attached the greatest importance to within all deputies. Moreover, also this caused arousing envy in the committee of the ministers.

For instance, I accurately remember, one day, I went to Ali Fuat Paşa. When we were mentioning about this transportation affairs, he told me that “If İnönü, the President İnönü, gave me support like Hasan-Âli maybe I would have corrected the deficiencies. But unfortunately, I could not get the support which Hasan-Âli received from İnönü. It is same for the other friends.”

In addition to this Hasan-Âli was the one who instilled these works carried out into İsmet İnönü. Moreover, he was the man who made İsmet İnönü believe in this. If he did not make İsmet İnönü believe, İsmet İnönü would not have supported him like that.¹⁹

After realising that his articles were not going to be published in *Ulus*, which was the mouthpiece of the Republican People’s Party, Yücel also broke away from the party and ended his political career. Starting with this date, he wrote articles in several dailies as

¹⁹ The original statement is as follows:

“Hasan-Âli’nin en büyük eserlerinden birisi de, bilirsiniz, Köy Enstitüleri’dir. Bütün bunları o zamanın havası içinde yapmak büyük bir medeni cesarete mütevakıftı. Çünkü Hasan-Âli henüz olmamış, zihinlerde henüz takarrür etmemiş birçok fikirleri gerçekleştirdi. Bu yolda da birçok düşman kazandı. Kendisine karşı gerek maarif erkânı içinde gerek Mecliste büyük düşmanlıklarla karşılaştı.

Biliyorsunuz, Hasan-Âli gayet ileri fikirli bir adamdır. O zaman ileri fikirlilik bizde henüz kıvamını bulamamış bir haldeydi. Meclis mütemadiyen kendisinin yaptığı işleri sabote ederdi, yani baltalamaya çalışırdı. Bir taraftan Meclis ile uğraşırdı, bir taraftan erkân-ı umumiye ile uğraşırdı. Bir taraftan da maarifin içindeki arkadaşları tarafından kendisine gösterilen zorluklarla uğraşmak mecburiyetinde kalardı [kalırdı]. Vakıa bütün bu uğraşmalar esnasında, kendisine İnönü’nün çok büyük yardımı olmuştur. Bunu da itiraf etmek lazım gelir ki eğer İnönü Hasan-Âli’yi tutmamış olsaydı bütün bu muvaffakiyetleri kazanamazdı. Nitekim öyle bir an oldu ki İnönü Hasan-Âli’ye dört elle sarıldı ve bütün vekiller içinde en çok ehemmiyet verdiği Hasan-Âli oldu. Ve bu ayrıca heyet-i vekile içerisinde kıskançlıkların uyanmasına sebep oldu.

Mesela, pek iyi hatırlarım, Ali Fuat Paşa’ya bir gün gitmiştim. Bu ulaştırma işlerinden bahsettiğimiz zaman bana demişti ki: ‘Eğer bana da İnönü, Reisicumhur İnönü, Hasan-Âli’ye yaptığı yardımları yapsa belki eksiklikleri tamamlardım. Fakat maateessüf Hasan-Âli’nin İnönü’den gördüğü yardımları ben görmedim. Nitekim diğer arkadaşlar da aynı vaziyettedir.’

Fakat bununla beraber Hasan-Âli İsmet İnönü’ye bu yapılan işleri telkin eden adamdı. Ve İsmet İnönü’ye bunu inandırmış olan adamdı. İsmet İnönü’yü inandırmamış olsaydı, İsmet İnönü kendisini bu kadar tutmazdı.”

Halise Karaaslan Şanlı denotes the same point and she says that in relation to this point, in order to stress the difference between the cultural politics of Atatürk’s and İnönü’s term, İnönü’s term is analysed under the title “the Period of Hasan-Âli Yücel” in general (2012, 85). Bear in mind that Yücel could not have carried out any project without İnönü’s consent and support. The tendency to identify the period like this causes to conceal the İnönü’s responsibility on the projects in question. Thus, this kind of tendency seems quite ideological.

Cumhuriyet, *Dünya* and *Öncü* during the 1950s, and he found an opportunity to deliver his opinions on various fields such as education, language, literature, art as well as actual political developments. Additionally, as a prolific writer, Yücel published several books which included his poems, reviews on human rights and biographical studies. In 1956, İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, a new publishing house was founded, in which he served as the editor-in-chief in its initial four years, and he passed away in 1961.

İş Bankası Publications launched a series titled “Hasan-Âli Yücel Classics Series” in 2006. One of the editors of the series, Koray Karasulu, said that the series was given after him as an expression of gratitude and respect for his efforts in the foundation of the institution and taking the initiative to translate the classics systematically via the Translation Bureau. The series includes 344 titles as of 2019 and 46 works of them are from the translations produced by the Translation Bureau. As the precious translators and intellectuals, the figures such as Sabahattin Eyüboğlu, Adnan Cemgil, Bedrettin Tuncel and Nihal Yalaza Taluy are given priority in the series (emails, February 8, 2019).

It can be seen that the assessment regarding Yücel and the period of his ministry are both ideologically-biased and full of stereotypes in general. He was commemorated with the titles of “hero”, “revolutionist”, and “enlightened revolutionist” by mainly Kemalist groups, whereas he is demonised with the blaming of collaborating with the communists, betraying the national and moral values of the country and he was even exposed to the torturing of the accusing people especially with the racism-Turanism case.

Similarly, Mevlevi side of Yücel is exploited for ideological purposes. All these ideological approaches hinder making an objective assessments (I think, objectivity and having a political ideology are different from each other but it is possible to bring them together). At this point, Gürçağlar's approach is considerable. She took Yücel as a "cultural agent" who has a role in regulating or changing the repertoire of the culture planning (2009). This point provides more comprehensive vision about the activities he implemented during his ministry as well as the effects of his personality and his close relations with İnönü on these activities.

CHAPTER 3

THE TRANSLATION BUREAU AND ITS ACTIVITIES

(1940-1946)

3.1. A General Overview to the Translation Activities Before the Establishment of the Translation Bureau

The Translation Bureau was established as a consequence of an historical accumulation. In order to have a more proper understanding of the Bureau and the reason for its establishment, an assessment of the translation history in Turkey can be useful. As far as the studies on the translation history of Turkey is concerned, there were some figures and organised activities about the translation in terms of the relations with the West in the period of Ottoman Empire and these activities were mainly carried out in the 15th, 18th and 19th centuries.

The first prominent translation activity in the Ottoman era was carried out following the conquest of İstanbul in 1453 by Mehmed II. Many works belonged to the Byzantine libraries were translated into Arabic, and they are preserved in the library of Topkapı Palace. Adnan Adıvar says that the first detailed report on the catalogue of the library was prepared by D. Adolf Deissman. According to the report, there are 587 works in non-Islamic languages, and 75 of these belong to the term between the 11th and 15th century, and thus, it is a common belief that Mehmed II collected them (as cited in Korucu, 2007, 25-26).

After this era, Kâtip Çelebi is known as a leading figure. He translated Gerardus Mercator's *Atlas* in Latin with Mehmed İhlasî, and thus he could write *Cihannüma* which he started to write in 1648. This work, which includes a comprehension knowledge about world geography, is mainly based on Western sources. Later it was translated under the title *Géography*.

In terms of the organised translation activity, the 18th century is considerable. With the initiative of İbrahim Paşa served as Grand Vizier for Ahmed III, a translation committee consisted of twenty-five members was established in 1717. Nedîm, the most celebrated poet of the Tulip Age, was the head of the committee. Alongside the works in Arabic and Persian, some Western works were translated by the committee. The most prominent figure of the translation activities was Yanyalı Esat Efendi. He knew Arabic and Greek well and translated Aristo's *Physika* and some other works into Arabic.

According to Hilmi Ziya Ülken, he was the one who directly connected with ancient Greek throughout the Ottoman era (2016, 237). In parallel with Ülken's remark, Vedat Günyol pointed out that the intellectual interest towards ancient Greek started with the translation of *Physika* made by Esat Efendi. Günyol also stated that Yanyalı Esat Efendi was the grandfather of Ahmet Vefik Paşa who was a distinguished bureaucrat and intellectual figure of the Tanzimat era (1983, 325). He was also well-known for his translations from Molière's works.

It can be seen that there was an increasing effort in translation activities, both officially and individually in the 19th century. Additionally, the growing interest in the West directly reacted on the works translated from Western languages. One of the most significant establishments of the period was the Translation Chamber (Tercüme Odası)

that was opened up in 1832. The Translation Chamber under the Foreign Ministry (Hariciye Nezâreti) mainly arranged the official correspondences. However, at the same time, it served as a kind of educational institute. The officials worked here learned French well and thus, many of them found an opportunity to make direct contact with French literature in particular. The leading figures of the literary translation such as Şinasi and Ahmet Vefik Paşa worked for the Translation Chamber.

With the initiative of Mustafa Reşid Paşa, who was the Grand Vizier in the reign of Abdülmecid I, the Academy of Knowledge (Encümen-i Daniş) was established in 1851. It comprised of forty full, and forty external members and its primary objective were to publish original and translated works for Darülfünûn. The Academy of Knowledge was a short-lived organisation and its activities were over in 1862. During these eleven years, only nine works were translated and especially the works on history were selected to translate.

In 1870, the Ottoman Scientific Society (Cemiyet-i İlmiye-i Osmaniye) was established. Similarly, the main reasons for the establishment were preparing the coursebooks and providing opportunities to improve Ottoman Turkish as a scientific language. It was decided to translate the works in only Western languages, and for the first time, Greek and Latin were considered as the source languages. According to Turgay Kurultay, this development points out the fundamental change in the function of the translation. Because the works translated from Greek and Latin languages can not involve the actual knowledge, the consideration in question reveals the need for knowledge beyond practical reasons (1999, 20).

In the reign of Abdülhamid II, some official institutions on original and translated works were successively established, but their activities were short-lived. Though the main purpose of these institutions was censorship, many works from the Eastern and Western languages were translated into Turkish. Because they were considered as a kind of dam against the Western influence, numerous Eastern works were translated in this period as well. In a similar vein, Hilmi Ziya Ülken made critical remarks on the translation activities in the Tanzimat era and said that the translation activities from the Western sources did not start with the Tanzimat era and even they did not show a significant increase in this period and afterwards. Before the Tanzimat, the works on medicine, pharmacy and geography were more prevalent in terms of translation, after that the works on military science and arithmetic became preferable for the current practical benefits. So, although the orientation towards the West in a unique way was distinct, there was a lack of cultural and intellectual interest, and this fact was reflected in the translated works. The relations with the West caused an increase in Eastern works in this period (2016, 239-240).²⁰ It was the evidence of the culture-civilisation duality.

Before the proclamation of the Republic, in the Second Constitution period, the translation activities were on the rise in general. Along with the official organisations, the individual initiatives were quite considerable. Hüseyin Cahit, Abdullah Cevdet and Haydar Rifat were the most outstanding figures of the period. Abdullah Cevdet as a doctor, a politician and one of the most prominent intellectuals of the Second Constitution era started to issue the journal *İctihad* in 1904, and he established a

²⁰ Western literary works were started to translate into Turkish in the second half of the 19th century. According to Ayaydın Cebe, first Western novel in Turkish is *Robinson Crusos Hikayesi* translated by Dimitrakis Çelebi in 1854 (as cited in Demirkol, 2015, 13).

publishing house named İctihad Evi (The İctihad House) in 1910. He translated numerous works in both Eastern and Western languages and published these translations in the series under the title Kütüphane-i İctihad (The İctihad Library). Abdullah Cevdet gave priority to literary translation, and he was especially well-known for his Shakespeare translations. Hüseyin Cahit was another significant figure of the term. He translated several works in various areas such as history, philosophy, sociology and psychology. Hüseyin Cahit also issued a journal titled *Fikir Hareketleri* (*The Movements of Thought*) and did translations for the daily *Vakit* (*The Time*) published by Haydar Rifat. In this period, Haydar Rifat embarked on an extensive translation activity. According to Ülken, Hüseyin Cahit considered the “movement of revival” within a comprehensive view of the Western intellect and enrichment of the historical knowledge. However, on the other hand, Haydar Rifat thought that in order to understand the West properly, it was essential to acquire a deep knowledge of the Western classics. He took the term classic in literary meaning and considered the other kinds of knowledge such as history and philosophy as secondary sources. Hence, the difference between these approaches reacted to their translation activities (2016, 257-258).

With the period of Tanzimat, there was a significant revitalisation in the translation movement. Especially the activities carried on by the individual initiatives in both literary and scientific fields gave a new impulse to the translation. However, before the establishment of the Translation Bureau, there was a common belief or a kind of complaint among the publishers and intellectuals that the translation activities were not ordered and systematic. Ülken raised the same claim. According to him, the works

translated after the Tanzimat was not enough for the intended Westernization, and he associated the reason with three points: 1) The translations were disorderly and arbitrary. The purpose of the translation and the ideology behind it were not obvious. 2) The translation activities were carried on as a consequence of the translator's desire or the several needs of the publishers, causing unsystematic activities to be effective enough. 3) Translations were being made quickly and for temporary needs. Translators did not consider the translated work as a new original work, and they generally preferred word-for-word translation. Thus, these conditions caused the reader's antipathy. Furthermore, there were no advertising activities for translations. Publishers, authors and translators should notice that advertising a book was just as crucial as writing or publishing it (2016, 259).

In 1921, the Committee on Original and Translated Works (Telif ve Tercüme Heyeti) was established under the Ministry of Education. The Committee carried on its activities until 1926, and during this time, it was run by the figures such as Samih Rifat, Ziya Gökalp, Yusuf Akçura and Fuat Köprülü. In parallel with the previous establishments, its main mission was constituting a national library and preparing original and translated works for schools. In these five years the Committee published 68 books, and 30 of them were translated works based on history, sociology and education in general. Thus, it was not given priority to literary translation. In 1927, the Ministry of Education launched the series titled *Cihan Edebiyatından Nümuneler* (Samples from World Literature), and 10 translated works were published within the series. The series involved translations of *Nicomède* and *Horace* by Pierre Corneille, *The Iliad* of Homer, a collection of excerpts from *Eugénie Grandet*, *César Birotteau* and *Le Père Goriot*, *The Pickwick Papers* by

Charles Dickens, *Hamlet* by William Shakespeare, *R.U.R (Rossum's Universal Robots)* by Karel Čapek, *Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme* by Molière, *Années de Printemps* by André Theuriot and *Die Jungfrau von Orleans* by Johann Friedrich von Schiller (Tahir Gürçağlar, 2008, 155). The series was over due to the transition to the Latin alphabet. Between 1928 and 1940, there was not any series under the Committee, but according to Gürçağlar, from 1928 to the establishment of the Translation Bureau, some Western classics were translated into Turkish by the Committee. She wrote about the translated works in question as follows (2008, 156):

The catalogues show that the Ministry also published some classics before 1940. In 1929, a collection appeared of Horace's works translated by Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu, a renowned novelist. Shakespeare's *Othello* translated by Nuri Rafet was published in 1931. In 1933 and 1936, two volumes of the dialogues of Plato were published, translated by Semiha Cemal, a woman translator.

It can be easily seen that the Committee on Original and Translated Works did not give priority to literary translation. The literary works and especially the translations of the classics were completely insufficient and arbitrary. This failure caused a criticism among the intellectuals and, paved the way for the establishment of the Translation Bureau in 1940.

3.2. The First National Publishing Congress

Just after taking office as Minister of Culture in December 1939, Yücel organised the First National Publishing Congress. It was the first organisation on the issues about publishing such as the current situation of official and private publishings, the need for original and translated works, and printing, broadcasting and marketing of them all around the country. As mentioned above, there has already been a demand (or complaint) about these issues and discussing them for the first time in Yücel's ministry

is not a coincidence. Since the early years of his life, Yücel has been at the centre of the cultural and educational fields. So, he was aware of the needs and demands, and because he had a vast social network, he could enable to gather the people who had different political or ideological stances. Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar tells the effects of his personal experiences on his political career, and he associated Yücel's insist on the language and translation issues with these experiences (1997, 48).²¹ In addition to this, it can be seen that just before taking office, Yücel argued the publishing issues in his articles published under the heading Monday Conversations in the daily *Akşam*. Particularly his article titled "Kitap ve Devlet" ("Book and State") is like a draft for the First National Publishing Congress. Yücel analysed the needs of both private publishers and readers, and he made several proposals about the role of the state on the publishing issue (1998, 105-109).

On May 1, 1939, due to the 10th anniversary of the Alphabet Reform, The Exhibition of the Publishings for Ten Years (On Yıllık Neşriyat Sergisi) was organised in Ankara Exhibition House. The day after, the First National Publishing Congress started in İsmet Paşa Girls' Institute. Refik Saydam made the opening speech as the prime minister of the day, and İsmet İnönü was among the audiences. This was the evidence of how much importance the congress had politically. Besides, there were 186 participants consisted of the prominent politicians, publishers, writers and journalists of the country.²²

²¹ Tanpınar statement in Turkish is that "Âli'nin dil ve tercüme meselelerindeki ısrarında bu şahsî tecrübenin elbette hususî payı vardır. O teessürlerini unutmayan adamdı. Eserlerindeki lüzumsuz denecek polemik izleri de bunu gösterir. İnsan hayatının en büyük tecrübesi olan yetişme yıllarından bu iki işin zarureti duyarak çıkmıştı, demek istiyorum."

²² The list of all participants takes place in (*Birinci Türk Neşriyat Kongresi*, 1939, 406-412).

Following Saydam's speech, Yücel made another speech contained the purposes of the Congress and its program. The fourteen items included several matters such as printing and broadcasting, awards and assistance for original writing and translation, promoting the reading habit among the people and copyright were specified, and before the Congress, the participants were introduced about these items. Seven committees were comprised to investigate the fourteen items, and on the last day of the Congress, May 5 the committees submitted the reports to the General Board. These committees were the Committee on Printing, Broadcasting and Selling Affairs (Basım, Yayın ve Satış İşleri Encümeni), the Demands Committee (Dilekler Encümeni), the Literary Property Committee (Edebî Mülkiyet Encümeni), the Youth and Children's Literature Committee (Gençlik ve Çocuk Edebiyatı Encümeni), the Committee on Awards, Assistance and Propaganda Affairs (Mükâfat, Yardım ve Propaganda İşleri Encümeni), the Publishing Program Committee (Neşriyat Programı Encümeni) and the Committee on Translation Affairs (Terceme İşleri Encümeni), widely known as the Translation Committee.

The second of the fourteen items was that "to determine the most necessary works to be translated into our language, including the classics, within a yearly plan and to assign the publication of these works to parties concerned" and is directly related with the Translation Committee (*Birinci Türk Neşriyat Kongresi*, 1939, 3). The Committee consisted of twenty-seven members.²³ On the last day of the Congress, the Committee

²³ The members of the Committee were the following: "Etem Menemencioğlu (Chairman of the Committee-Professor at the School of Political Science), Mustafa Nihat Özön (Reporter-Literature teacher at Gazi Teacher Training Institute), Abdülhak Şinasi Hisar (Secretary of the Balkan Union), Ali Kâmi Akyüz (İstanbul MP), Bedrettin Tuncel (Associate Professor at the Faculty of History, Languages and Geography), Bürhan Belge (Advisor-in-chief at the General Directorate of Press), Cemil Bilsel (University Rector), Fazıl Ahmet Aykaç (Elazığ MP), Fikret Âdil (writer), Galip Bahtiyar Göker (İstanbul MP), Halil Nihat Boztepe (Trabzon MP), Halit Fahri Ozansoy (Director of *Uyanış* journal), İzzet Melih Devrim (writer), Nasuhi Baydar (Malatya MP), Nurettin Artam (teacher and writer), Nurullah Ataç (French

submitted a report, and also a list consisted of the recommended classics to translate into Turkish. In the report, the relations between private publishers and state were tackled; it was decided to establish a translation bureau and issue a journal on the matters about translation. The bureau in question was in charge of selecting the works from the list for translation, assigned them to the translators and checking the translated works in general. A journal also would be issued in cooperation with the members of the bureau. Another item within the report was about dictionaries. It was aimed at preparing the dictionary included the new Turkish equivalents which would increase through translations. This point is significant since one of the primary issues which caused a debate among the intellectuals was the actual situation of the Turkish language. Some intellectuals such as Hüseyin Cahit raised the question of what kind of Turkish will be used in the translation of the classics. They claimed that after the Language Reform in Turkey, there was a “word anarchy” in Turkish although several activities were carried out by the state after the proclamation of the Republic. Mainly the Turkish Language Association was established to serve this purpose. However, according to intellectuals, these activities were insufficient. In the name of the “Turkification the Turkish” almost everyone created a new Turkish equivalent for loanwords. That is why this caused a kind of chaos in terms and concepts. So, the intellectuals suggested giving more importance

teacher at Pertevniyal High School), Orhan Şaik Gökyay (Literature teacher at Bursa High School), Rıdvan Nafiz Edgüer (Manisa MP), Sabahattin Rahmi Eyüpoğlu (Inspector at the Ministry of Education), Sabahattin Ali (Instructor at the Conservatory), Sabri Esat Siyavuşgil (Associate Professor at the Literature Faculty), Selâmi İzzet Sedes (writer), Suut Kemal Yetkin (Director General of Fine Arts), Şinasi Boran (Director of *Demiryollar Mecmuası* [State Railroads Magazine], Yusuf Şerif Kılıçer (French teacher at the Military School), Yaşar Nabi (writer), Zühtü Uray (translator at the President’s Office).” (*Birinci Türk Neşriyat Kongresi*, 1939, 35).

to the activities on Turkish rather than the translation.²⁴ One of the most primary reasons of the translation movement was to improve Turkish.

The list submitted by the Translation Committee was quite comprehensive. The works in the list were categorized according to the writers except for Latin and Greek classics. The categories in the list which included over 200 works were that the Greek and Latin Classics, the German Writers, the Russian Writers, the Italian Writers, the Eastern Writers, the Northern Writers, the Spanish Writers, the English Writers, the American Writers and the French Writers. Almost half of the list consisted of the French works. There were the works of twenty-five writers within the category of the Greek and Latin Classics and alongside *Tales from Thousand and One Nights*, the six Eastern poets were taken part in the list. These poets and their works were the Selections from the works of Khayyam, Ferdowsi's *Shahnameh*, Saadi's *Gulistan*, Nizami's *Khamseh*, the Selections from the works of Hafez and the Selections from Rumi's *Masnavi* (*Birinci Türk Neşriyat Kongresi*, 1939, 277-285).

As indicated above, Yücel's leading role in the organisation of the First National Publishing Congress was stressed in newspaper articles. However, one of the most significant comments on Yücel's role belongs to Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu. Yakup Kadri told Yücel that he is a second "İbrahim Müteferrika". As it is known, İbrahim Müteferrika introduced the printing press into the Ottoman Empire for the first time and so, the publishing could reach the age of machine from the age of stone with his efforts.

²⁴ For further information, Muhittin Birgen's article titled "Neşriyattan Evvel Dil" (as cited in *Birinci Türk Neşriyat Kongresi*, 1939, 223-225), Peyami Safa's "Lisan İkiliği" (as cited in *Birinci Türk Neşriyat Kongresi*, 1939, 233-234) and Hüseyin Cahit Yalçın's "Neşriyat Kongresi Münasebetile" (*Birinci Türk Neşriyat Kongresi*, 1939, 264-265) can be seen.

Similarly, the Congress represented the transition to the Renaissance period (*Yakup Kadri'den*, 1996, 52).²⁵ In addition to Yakup Kadri, some writers who associated the Congress with the Renaissance or Turkish Renaissance such as Aka Gündüz. Gündüz emphasised the three significant moves of reformist Turkey in the newspaper article titled “Neşriyat Kongresi Bir Rönesans Hamlesidir” (“The Publishing Congress is a Renaissance Move”). The first move is the Sivas Congress, the second is the first convention of the Republican People’s Party, and the last one is the First National Publishing Congress. According to Gündüz, the first and the second moves are concerning the independence of the country and the reconstitution of it respectively. The third move is Renaissance since the country would reach the top of civilisation through it (as cited in *Birinci Türk Neşriyat Kongresi*, 1939, 240-241). In that period, the analogy of “Renaissance” was commonly used by politicians and intellectuals and the cultural activities were directly associated with it.

This was one of the primary reasons to give priority to the translation activities. In a newspaper article on Congress, Murat Sertoğlu complained that the translation issue was given particular importance rather than the original works (as cited in *Birinci Türk Neşriyat Kongresi*, 1939, 243-244). This point is considerable because it can be easily seen that the translation was politicised and it became a part of the political program. Yücel pointed out the political mission attributed to the translation on the first day of the Congress as follows (*Birinci Türk Neşriyat Kongresi*, 12):

²⁵ The original statement is that “Diyebilirim ki ikinci bir ‘İbrahim Müteferrika’ da siz olacaksınız. Bu adam bizi neşriyat hayatında, nasıl taş devrinden ansızın makine devrine isal etmişse [*eriştirme*], siz de orta zamanın son bergüzarı olan *sahaflık* devrini kapatmış ve bizi adeta bir nevi rönesans devrine erdirmiş oluyorsunuz.”

Republican Turkey, which aims and is determined to become a distinguished member of the Western cultural and intellectual community must translate the classical and modern works of the civilised world into its language and strengthen its identity through feelings and thoughts expressed in those works. This obligation invites us to mobilise for translations on a full scale.

In parallel to the mission, it was suggested in the report of the Translation Committee that the works associated with humanist culture in the list would be given priority (*Birinci Türk Neşriyat Kongresi*, 126). In addition to this, following the Congress, some writers such as Ahmet Ağaoğlu argued the Westernization movement in the country. Ağaoğlu, as one of the most prominent figures among the intellectuals, mentioned the importance of Greek and Latin literature and the positive effects of the works translated from these kinds of literature on our language. According to Ağaoğlu, it is crucial to translate, especially Greek and Latin classics from their source languages. So, it is required to train the people in these languages. Due to this requisite, it is inevitable to introduce Latin and Greek courses in the high school curriculum (as cited in *Birinci Türk Neşriyat Kongresi*, 169-171). As shown in the previous chapter, the translation movement and the establishment of the Translation Bureau are directly related with the introducing Greek and Latin courses in the high school curriculum, and all of them are the rings of the same chain.

Alongside the report and the list prepared by the Translation Committee, Nüzhet Haşım Sinanoğlu and Georg Rohde submitted their reports to the General Board. Sinanoğlu explained his considerations on the works which would be translated from ancient Roman and Italian literature into Turkish, and he suggested the works of thirteen writers from ancient Roman classics and of the fifteen writers from the Italian classics in the report (*Birinci Türk Neşriyat Kongresi*, 390-395). Rohde also expressed his general

opinions on the translation of the Greek and Latin classics in his report. He stressed the importance of translation from the source language, and basic norms which should be adopted by the translators. Additionally, his report included a list that consisted of the works from Greek and Latin classics in the three series (*Birinci Türk Neşriyat Kongresi*, 397-402).

Nine months after the Congress, a Translation Board (Tercüme Heyeti) was established as a result of the Ministry of Education's call. The Board made its first meeting on February 26, 1940, and it consisted of fourteen members.²⁶ Following the first meeting, the Board met four times under the chairmanship of Adnan Adıvar. In these meetings, the members generally discussed matters such as translation methods, preparing dictionaries, checking the accuracy of the translated works and the primary norms which would be adopted by the translators. In addition to this, the Board prepared three short-lists, which consisted of the books to be translated. The first two lists were prepared for the Ministry of Education to translate, and the third one was for private publishers (Korucu, 2007, 120). There is a significant point about the lists that there was only one Eastern work (Saadi's *Gulistan*) in the second list.

²⁶ The members of the Translation Board were Halide Edip Adıvar, Saffet Pala, Bedri Tahir Şaman, Avni Başman, Ragıp Hulusi Özmen, Sabahattin Eyüboğlu, Nurullah Ataç, Kadri Yörükoğlu, Bedrettin Tuncel, Abdülkadir İnan, Sabahattin Ali, Cemal Köprülü, Enver Ziya Karal (Tahir Gürçağlar, 2008, 94).

3.3. The Establishment of the Translation Bureau and Its Activities Between 1940 and 1946

3.3.1. The Reasons for the Establishment

The Translation Board was founded in 1940. After convening four times, they decided to establish the Translation Bureau and its members, Nurullah Ataç, Saffet Pala, Sabahattin Eyüboğlu, Bedrettin Tuncel and Enver Ziya Karal. Ataç was the chairman and Pala was the secretary-general. Later, Nusret Hızır also joined the team.

In this part, the activities of the Translation Bureau until the Yücel's resignation in 1946 will be explored. The Bureau was active until all members resigned in 1966. The establishment in 1940 under the Ministry of Education was associated with the cultural policy implemented during Yücel's ministry and the Bureau's activities between 1940 and 1946 should be considered as a part of all implementations of the period. Although the activities of the Bureau continued after Yücel's resignation, there were some differences in both the ideological framework identified with the Bureau and the publishing policy. In order to acquire deep consideration about the Bureau's activities carried out during Yücel's ministry and the cultural politics of the period, it is crucial to delve into the reasons behind its establishment articulated in that period.

As stated previously, there was a widespread opinion among the intellectuals before the establishment of the Translation Bureau that the translation activities were carried out without any plan or system, and the works to be translated were determined arbitrary or with commercial concerns. Hence, the Bureau was established to regulate the translation activities and implemented them within a specific plan primarily. Actually, comprehensive translation activities are realized by private publishing houses in

developed countries. But due to the lack of these publishing houses that had sufficient capital in the country, the Ministry of Education would undertake these activities on a large scale and become a pioneering model for private publishers. Yücel pointed out this pioneering role played by the Translation Bureau in the foreword to the first issue of the journal *Tercüme (Translation)* published by the Bureau (as cited in *Çeviri Seçkisi I*, 2003, 100-101).²⁷ It can be claimed that this mission was partially achieved and translated works by the private publishers have increased. According to Kurultay, while the Ministry of Education published 129 translated works in 1946, private publishing houses published 92; and there were 25 and 30 works translated for other institutions and universities respectively in the same year. On the other hand, the figures harshly changed from the point of private publishers in 1958. While the Ministry of Education published 14 translated works, private publishing houses published over 250. In that year, universities and public institutions published 31 and 10 books. Although the total amount of books did not significantly change, the proportion of private publishers in the whole production increased (1999, 16). After the closure of the Translation Bureau, any official translation activity was undertaken, and this kind of activities carried on by the private publishers. The market for translated works was mainly oriented by the

²⁷ Yücel's related statement in Turkish is that "Kültür tanışkanlığının fikrî manzarası, her zaman ve her yerde, dil ve yazılı eser alışverişi ile olmuştur; bizde de aynı hal vaki oluyor. Tercüme; zihnî, fikrî ve medenî bir intibak olduğuna göre, gün günden daha mütekâmil bir 'ana diline nakil' hareketi bizde de tekevvün etmiştir. Münevverlerimiz, kendi aralarında verimli bir birleşme yapamadıkları ve bu işlerde başka memleketlerde büyük müessiriyeti olan nâşirlerin bilgili önyak oluşlarına imkân bulunmadığı için tercüme dâvamız bir türlü rasyonel bir tertibin zincirini takip edemedi. Hususî teşebbüs ve teşekküllerle vücut bulması temenniye çok lâayk olan bu büyük kültür dâvasının Devlet eline intikali, bu sebeplerle bir zaruret olmuştur."

translators served for the Translation Bureau.²⁸ So, it can be easily seen that the Bureau made a significant contribution to bringing up more qualified and experienced translators in the country.

Additionally, supporting private publishing was mentioned in the Translation Committee's report submitted in the First National Publishing Congress. According to the report, it was suggested to the Ministry of Education that the private publishers who took care in the contents and qualifications of their publishing would be financially supported (*Birinci Türk Neşriyat Kongresi*, 1939, 126). Besides, the Bureau commissioned some works to be translated to the private publishers during its activities. Translations made from Western languages increased in the Tanzimat era. However, on the other hand, the works in the technical field were generally preferred to be translated for practical reasons. By the second half of the 19th century, the translation activities in cultural and philosophical fields began. Most of the intellectuals of the early Republican era and Yücel in particular consistently settled old scores with the Tanzimat intellectuals and they blamed these intellectuals for the delay in question. Yücel thought that there was neither a significant source investigation nor the movement of translating the products of Western intellectuals into Turkish until the Republican period, and the First National Publishing Congress organised in 1939 and the translation movement launched in 1940 was the first steps towards achieving the Westernization ideal (1966, 983). The belief at the centre of the blame was that the intellectuals of the Tanzimat era did not

²⁸ The interview done with Vedat Günyol provided a clear opinion on the activities of translators in question (Karantay and Salman, 1988, 11-19). For further information about the issue, Günyol's article can also be read (1983, 324-330).

search for the works based on Western cultural roots and translate them into Turkish consciously. This caused a delay for a century in Westernization and wasting of money and time. Azra Erhat, who was one of the most prominent translators of the Translation Bureau similarly criticised the Tanzimat intellectuals. Erhat claimed that the intellectuals of Tanzimat era considered the Western works as a source for the imitation and they unconsciously adopted these works which were inadequately translated into Turkish. Meanwhile, they, worked for the Translation Bureau, did not make the same mistake as the translators and considered the Eastern and Western works as a whole consisted of the methods that provided models for comparison and made contributions to their progress. Furthermore, they achieved this goal with an insufficient language (as cited in *Çeviri Seçkisi I*, 2003, 59-64). Because of considering the translation as a fundamental source for knowledge and culture, the fidelity to textual integration and as much as possible, translating the works from source languages were crucial. In parallel to this, Kurultay associated the features of translation movement of the Republican period with the aim of constructing a new cultural basis and in accordance with that, constituting a national library (1999, 27).

Ascribing the mission, such as constructing a cultural basis to the translation, made it a part of the cultural politics. This fact strongly affected the process of determining of the works to be translated. As mentioned above, the Translation Committee submitted a list consisted of the works to be translated alongside the report, and in the report, it was stated that it would be given priority to the works related to humanist culture (*Birinci*

Türk Neşriyat Kongresi, 1939, 126).²⁹ The almost whole list comprised of Western classics and modern works. So, it can be seen that this list was a reflection of an entirely Westernist cultural policy. Vedat Günyol claimed that the reason behind the translation activity launched in Yücel's ministry was to create a "Turkish humanism", and it required to adopt humanist spirit (1983, 329). So, it was stressed that the works linked to humanist culture would be prioritised in the translation activity carried out by the state. Günyol's claim is often repeated even today. Undoubtedly that the claim which made its mark in the cultural policy implemented during Yücel's ministry is entirely meaningful and even further Yücel emphasised the relation between translation and humanism. For instance, he explicitly mentioned the relation in the first foreword to the translations produced by the Translation Bureau as follows (as cited in *Çeviri Seçkisi I*, 2003, 103):

The first understanding and feeling of the spirit of humanism starts with the adoption of works of art, which are the most concrete expression of human existence. Therefore when a nation repeats the literatures of other nations in its tongue, or rather in its conception, it increases, revives a re-creates its intellect and power of understanding. This is why we consider translation activity so important and influential for our mission.

The Turkish humanism as an ideology especially framed the cultural activity was highlighted by the intellectuals and Yücel in particular. The Turkish humanism, which can be considered as a combination of the principle of nationalism and adopting Western culture concurrently, and Yücel's views on humanism will be explored in the following chapter. In addition to all these, Gürçağlar pointed out that the Translation Bureau functioned as a channel which bridged the political and literary fields and she stressed its role in the canon formation process (2009, 179):

²⁹ The original statement about the works is that "Listedeki eserler arasında, ümanist kültüre taallûku olanlara bilhassa ehemmiyet verilmesi, umumiyetle eserlerin tam olarak ve mümkün oldukça aslından tercüme ettirilmesi tavsiye olunur."

The Translation Bureau was initially set up as one of the pillars of the cultural modernization project and was a significant step towards creating a new literature for Turkey. It bridged the political and literary fields by serving as a channel through which the concept of humanism, as the ideological basis for Turkish modernization, would be transferred. The Translation Bureau also took on a pivotal role in the canon formation process in early Republican Turkey. By defining canonicity in terms of the lists it prepared and its translations, the Bureau distinguished high literature from low, or popular literature. Works originating from a “humanist” background were clearly prioritized, regardless of the genre they belonged to, especially during the initial six years of the Bureau’s operation.

The goal of constructing a national library directly connected with the canon formation process. After the Alphabet Reform in 1928, new generations could not read the works written with the Arabic script, and the new versions of these works with the Latin script were not systematically published by any official or private publisher that can be considered as a part of the cultural policy as well. Therefore, it was aimed that the new Turkish literature would be based on the translated works, the Western classics in particular. This meant that the imported kinds of literature were put at the centre of a national literary system. This “canon importation” reminds the influential argument of Gregory Jusdanis in *Belated Modernity and Aesthetic Culture*. Jusdanis pointed out that the canon formation process strictly related to the cultural and political issues and thus, the decision on which works to be concealed or promoted in the process was crucial (1991). Gürçağlar made a quite significant comment on the canon importation process and told (2008, 36):

(...) officials, writers and publishers did not attempt to revive the works of Turkish writers or poets belonging to previous ages, neither did they envisage a canon composed of Turkish works. I suggest that they focused on the future, rather than on the past, in creating the literary canon. (...) they ‘imported’ a literary canon from the West in the expectation that this canon would give rise to a new literature that would be uniquely Turkish.

The place of canonical works in the nation-building process is crucial because these works help people to maintain their relationship with the past so that they have a

significant influence in strengthening the national identity. Moreover, importing the canon destroys the national memory, and it represents a rupture with the past and the Ottoman past in particular. In order to gain a deep understanding of the canon formation process and the translation activity, Yücel's opinions on the classics and languages in which the classical works are produced are quite significant. Yücel thought that there was not any classical work in Turkish, because classical works could only be produced in the languages in which radical reforms were not implemented and thus reached at the top of their perfection by time (1957, 253). In addition to this, he wrote in *Türk Edebiyatına Toplu Bir Bakış* that divan literature did not have any classical work. According to him, the literature in which classical works were produced provided an opportunity for creativity. So, these kinds of literature were independent of any religion and its restrictions. The society that did not reach its Renaissance period could not adopt laicism for life and literature. Divan literature was not laic, and hence, it was impossible to have any classical work for it (1932, 149). The book in which these statements took place published before Yücel's political career and his considerations on divan literature in compliance with laicism are quite significant. Because it is challenging to come across any public speech or article in which he directly connected something with laicism like this.

Another prominent feature of translation activity is the contribution it makes to the target language. It is claimed that translation enriches the national literature and thus, it reinforces the national consciousness. The improvement of national languages and literatures of Western countries through the translations of classics during and after the Renaissance period, and its connection with the nation-building process are

demonstrated as a model. Hilmi Ziya Ülken clearly explained the translation experiences of France, England, Germany and Russia in the chapter titled “Milli Uyanışlarda Tercümenin Rolü” (“Role of Translation in National Awakenings”) of his seminal work namely *Uyanış Devirlerinde Tercümenin Rolü (Role of Translation in Awakening Periods)* (2016, 221-230). Azra Erhat also stressed this aspect of the translation discussing that it shaped and improved national culture and then it would become more international. So, according to her, translation was a method that resulted in not imitation but rather nationality (2003, 63).

In addition to all these, it was expected from the translation that it would have positive effects on literary progress. Yücel expressed this expectation and told, “Familiarizing our youth with the literature of advanced countries in schools, translating and publishing great works on a wide scale will help create a selective and critical readership, and our writers will have to work more carefully to satisfy this readership.” (1998, 82).

3.3.2. The Activities of the Translation Bureau in 1940-1946

The Translation Bureau started its activities at Yüzbaşıoğlu apartment building on Posta Street in Ulus, Ankara (The building still exist today as an office block named Yüzbaşıoğlu İş Hanı [Yüzbaşıoğlu Office Block]). The main tasks of members of the Bureau were doing the translation, editing the produced works by the translators who were not members of the Bureau, commissioning translation and regularly issuing the journal *Tercüme*. It was indicated that the members of the Bureau met per week, and they prepared reports that would be submitted at the meetings (Karantay, 2003, 68). Around 25-30 page translation sample was expected from the translators who were not members of the Bureau, and they could only continue the translation with the acceptance

of the Bureau. Translated works were mainly edited by one of the members, and according to Günyol, the translators received a royalty payment by-line, and the editors were paid for the twenty per cent of this payment (Karantay and Salman, 1988, 14). Translations published by the Ministry of Education and were sold at state bookstores and private bookstores. Additionally, they were sent to the library of the People's Houses and Village Institutes. There is a widespread tendency among the village literature writers in Turkey that the leading figures of movement generally base their writing abilities on Western classics which they found an opportunity to read during their Village Institutes years. In parallel to this, Gürçağlar took place to the expressions of the former students of the Village Institutes as follows (2008, 79):

Statements by former students of the Village Institutes indicate that translated classics were the most popular material at those schools. Apaydın reported that, as students, they read Turkish and foreign novels, short stories, books published by Remzi Publishing House and "classics". Another graduate of Village Institutes, Ömer Demircan, noted that they received the classics published by the Ministry of Education as soon as came out and devoured them. Pakize Türkoğlu, also a graduate, wrote, "The selected Turkish and world classics published by the Ministry of Education truly had a significant role in implanting a reading habit in the students to develop a sound perspective. These outstanding works found their most eager readers in the Village Institutes.

It can be understood from the first foreword written by Yücel to translations that around 50-100 works were expected to translate by the Bureau for the first five years (as cited in *Çeviri Seçkisi I*, 2003, 103). The Bureau started its activities with the translations of 10 plays for the State Conservatory in Ankara. They were the works of Denys Amiel, Jean Cocteau, George Courteline, Anton Chekhov, Henri Duvernois, Maurice Maeterlinck, Martial Piéchaud, Jules Renard, John Millington Synge and Charles Vildrac. The prominent translators of these plays published in 1940 were Sabahattin Eyüboğlu,

Nurullah Ataç, Orhan Burian and Nahid Sırrı Örik (*Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Millî Eğitimi*, 1949, 147).³⁰

The publishing of classics started with 1941 and 13 books published in that year. After that, 28 volumes came out in 1942, 71 in 1943, 103 in 1944, 129 in 1945 and 165 in 1946, and only 10 of the total volumes were the second editions. The Translation Bureau published translated works under the series such as “Dünya Edebiyatından Tercümeler” (“Translations from World Literature”), “Modern Tiyatro Serisi” (“Modern Theatre Series”), “Okul Klâsikleri” (“School Classics”), “Tiyatro Sanatı Üzerine Eserler” (“Works on the Art of Theatre”) and “Yardımcı Eserler” (“Supplementary Works”). Translations from World Literature series consisted of several subtitles such as “Yunan Klâsikleri” (“Greek Classics”), “Babil Klâsikleri” (“Babylonian Classics”) and “Modern İngiliz Klâsikleri” (Modern English Classics”).

The Ministry of National Education published a comprehensive brochure titled *1941 Yılından 1946 Yılı Sonuna Kadar Millî Eğitim Bakanlığı Tarafından Yayımlanan 500 Cilt Klâsik ve Modern Eserin Listesi* (*The List of 500-Volume Classic and Modern Works Published by the Ministry of National Education from the year of 1941 to the year of 1946*) (1947). The published volumes were listed with their titles, translators’ names and prices under the subtitles. According to the brochure, the Ministry of National Education published 154 volumes in the series “Fransız Klâsikleri” (“French Classics”), 62 in “Yunan Klâsikleri” (“Greek Classics”), 61 in “Rus Klâsikleri” (“Russian Classics”), 49 in “Alman Klâsikleri” (“German Classics”), 38 in “İngiliz Klâsikleri” (“English Classics”) and 18 in “Latin Klâsikleri” and “Latince Klâsikler”

³⁰ The information about the translations was mainly taken from this list.

(“Latin Classics”) in 1941-1946. French literature or French classics were the most popular not only in the period of Yücel’s ministry but also during the activity of the Bureau in 1940-1966. Gürçağlar indicated that “Between 1940-1966, the series of French classics included 308 translated French works. French was followed by German (113 translations), Greek (94 translations), Russian (88 translations) and English classics (80 translations).” (2008, 166).

Throughout the period under study, 20 volumes were published in the series “Şark-İslâm Klâsikleri” (“Oriental-Islamic Classics”) and all works belonged to the series were translated from Arabic and Persian. The first work published in 1942 in this series was the first volume of *Masnavi*, and the translator was Veled İzbulak. This was the first appearance of *Masnavi* in Turkish. Previously it was translated from Persian to Ottoman Turkish. Publishing this work as the first translation of Oriental-Islamic Classics series is associated with Yücel’s Mevlevi side (Tahir Gürçağlar, 2009, 177). One of the criticisms on Yücel’s activities implemented during his ministry is the claim of neglecting Eastern works by the Translation Bureau. However, when the numbers linked to all translations produced by the Bureau is analysed, it can be seen that the proportion of Oriental-Islamic classics slightly increased after Yücel’s ministry. Gürçağlar stressed the same point and wrote (2008, 165),

Between 1942 and 1946, 13 Persian works and one Arabic work were translated, while between 1947-1960, 23 Persian and Arabic works were translated. Although the number of works translated from Arabic and Persian did not show a dramatic increase, their share within the total number of translations rose. (...) Arabic and Persian works made up 3 per cent of the Translation Bureau’s output between 1940 and 1946, with a combined total of 15 works. This rate more than doubled and increased to 7 per cent between 1947 and 1966 with 52 works within the total number of translations published, including reprints. The rates change when only the first-time editions are taken into consideration. Between 1940 and 1960, 38 new translations from Arabic and Persian were published. As pointed out above,

the rate of Arabic and Persian works within the total number of new translations was 3.2 per cent. In the 1947-1960 period, this rate was 5.6 per cent. In short, despite the slight increase, the share of Arabic and Persian works within the repertoire of the Bureau remained rather low.³¹

Between 1940 and 1946, *Gilgamesh*'s translation made by Muzafer Ramazanoğlu from French was published in Babylonian Classics series in 1944. In 1944-1946, four works were translated from French in Chinese Classics series and additionally, in 1945 and 1946, two Indian works were translated for Indian Classics. In 1944, the work of Keykavus, *Qabusname* translated by M. Ahmet and O.Ş.Gökyay was published in "Eski Türkçe Metinler" ("Classical Turkish Texts") series.

As previously mentioned, it was decided to give priority to the works related to humanist culture. As a reflection of this decision, Greek and Latin classics were initially translated into Turkish. In 1941, seven works of Sophocles were published under Greek Classics subtitle, and the translation of *Encomium Moriae* by Desiderius Erasmus (translated by Nusret Hızır with the title of *Deliliğe Methiye*) was published under Latin Classics. In 1942, 12 volumes were published under Greek Classics, and 11 of them were translations of Plato's works. Among these translations, there were two volumes of Plato's *The Republic*. It was indicated in the list published by the Ministry of National Education that these volumes as *Devlet I* and *Devlet II* in Turkish were translated by the Classical Philology students of Ankara University Faculty of Languages, History and Geography. In the same year, only one translation was published under Latin Classics. In 1943, 20 translated works were published from Greek classics. 13 of them belonged to Plato, five to Euripides and two to Aristotle.

³¹ Gürçağlar referred the numbers of translated works to Adnan Ötüken's *Klâsikler Bibliyografyası 1940-1966* (1967). The numbers given related to the translations can be different in the works on the Translation Bureau. The information provided by the Ministry of National Education were used in this study.

Four Latin classics were also translated. Nine volumes under Greek Classics and two under Latin Classics were published in 1944. Four volumes of the translated Greek classics were Plato's works, and it was stated that one of these works, the third volume of *The Republic* was translated by Georg Rohde and Azra Erhat. In 1945, 11 volumes were published under Greek Classics, and one of them, the translation of Plato's *Phaedo* was for the second edition. Three Latin works were translated in that year. In 1946, nine volumes from Greek classics were published, and five of them were second editions. In addition to this, seven Latin works were translated in the same year and all translations made by Nurullah Ataç.

The activities carried out by the Bureau in translating Greek and Latin works into Turkish were impressive, and all these activities were directly coherent with the political discourse of the day. In parallel to this, Greek and Latin works were translated at most in this period. By this point, Gürçağlar wrote, "(...) Seven of the first 13 translations published by the Bureau were works by Sophocles. By 1955, the Bureau had published 860 works. 80 of these were translations of Greek classics (9 per cent) while 29 were translations of Latin classics (3.3 per cent). 78 of these 109 Greek and Latin classics (71.5 per cent) were translated and published between 1940-1946." (2014, 93).

3.3.3. The Norms Adopted in the Translations of the Translation Bureau

The approach of the Translation Bureau to how to do the translation or the norms of the translation will be analysed in this part. It can be seen from the studies on the translations published by private publishing houses and the discussions in the First National Publishing Congress that there were specific criticisms raised against the

strategies of translation before the establishment of the Translation Bureau. The criticisms were on that works were not directly translated from source languages. Translators did not preserve the textual integrity of the text, and they produced translations with omissions and unsuitable additions. Because of the commercial concerns, several essential canonised works were not translated into Turkish. It was expected from the Translation Bureau that it would make some regulations about these criticisms. Of course, the Translation Bureau was not only in the translation field, but the norms determined or adopted by the Bureau made contributions to the translation practice in Turkey.

The conceptual framework of Gideon Toury as one of the most prominent figures of Descriptive Translation Studies can be useful to analyse the norms adopted by the Translation Bureau. Even further, Toury's approach to the translation norms in accordance with cultural practices is perfectly coherent with this study. In his seminal work titled *Descriptive Translation Studies And Beyond*, Toury categorised the norms formed the translation process. According to this, Toury firstly mentioned "initial norm". The initial norm is about the translator's decision on adopting either the norms of the original text or the norms widespread in target culture (1995, 56-57):

It has proven useful and enlightening to regard the basic choice which can be made between requirements of the two different sources as constituting an **initial norm**. Thus, a translator may subject him-/herself either to the original text, with the norms it has realized, or to the norms active in the target culture, or in that section of it which would host the end product. If the first stance is adopted, the translation will tend to subscribe to the norms of the source text, and through them also to the norms of the source language and culture. This tendency, which has often been characterized as the pursuit of adequate translation, may well entail certain incompatibilities with target norms and practices, especially those lying beyond the mere linguistic ones. If, on the other hand, the second stance is adopted, norm systems of the target culture are triggered and set into motion. Shifts from the source text would be an almost inevitable price. Thus, whereas adherence to source norms determines a translation's **adequacy** as compared to the source text,

subscription to the norms originating in the target culture determines its **acceptability**.

Along with the initial norm, Toury also mentioned preliminary and operational norms. Preliminary norm is associated with the source culture, genre and language of the work to be translated. The operational norms that consist of the textual-linguistic norms and matricial norms are directly related to the translation itself; in other words, its content and linguistic-formal features (1995, 58-59).

In the report prepared by the Translation Committee, those were stated that works would be translated from source languages as much as possible and works linked to humanist culture would be prioritised. Additionally, because of the difficulty of translation, a few poetical works were added to the list. These statements can also be considered as preliminary norms. There were similar arguments in the other reports submitted to Congress. Georg Rohde and Nüzhet Haşim Sinanoğlu stressed the importance of direct translation made by source language. Rohde proposed that poetical works would be translated a lot more in order to the improvement of poetical style in Turkish after the Language Reform (*Birinci Türk Neşriyat Kongresi*, 1939, 397-402). Sinanoğlu suggested that the information about the work itself, author and literature which the work belonged to would be added to translated works (*Birinci Türk Neşriyat Kongresi*, 1939, 390-395). It was stated in the İstanbul University's report that the compatibility with the norms of both original text and target culture was expected from the translation (*Birinci Türk Neşriyat Kongresi*, 1939, 349-357).³² So, both an adequate and acceptable

³² The original statement about the point in Turkish is: "Tercüme gelince, bunda elbette aslına uygun olmak zarureti vardır. Bu tercümeciliğin ilk şartıdır. Fakat tercüme, sadece aslına uymakla kıymet kazanmaz. Hakikî tercüme, eserin diğer bir dilde ibdadıdır. Ancak bu suretle eser, çevrildiği dilin kültür bünyesine dahil olur. Mütercim, Türke hitap ettiğini, Türk dil ve kültürüne bir hizmette bulunduğunu

translation was expected. This discrepancy is quite significant, and it was not said anything about how this kind of translation would be realized in the report.

The norms of translation were discussed after the Congress in some dailies. Ahmet Ağaoğlu emphasised the requisite of translating especially classical works from their source languages, and he showed the insufficiency of Greek and Latin classics in Russian that translated from French as an example (cited as in *Birinci Türk Neşriyat Kongresi*, 169-171). On the other hand, Halide Edip Adıvar as an English literature professor thought that Greek and Latin classics could be translated from intermediary languages by a committee consisted of specialists in classics because there were not enough qualified translators who were able to translate from Greek and Latin directly. In addition to this, Adıvar considered the translations focused on target culture as an initial norm as precious. According to her, E.J.W. Gibb wrote a brilliant work on the history of Ottoman poetry, but despite the high fidelity to text in terms of its content and form, his translations from Nef'i or other Ottoman classics were like a “corpse without a soul” (“ruhsuz bir ceset”). In other respects, Edward Fitzgerald translations from Khayyam which were not faithful to the originals in terms of form and content were quite impressive, and they became a fruitful source of inspiration for painters and composers all over the world (as cited in *Birinci Türk Neşriyat Kongresi*, 1939, 205-208).

The Translation Bureau initially prioritised Western classical and modern works.

Literary works were mainly translated, but also philosophical and artistic works were

gözden kaçırmamalıdır. Türkçenin selikası, şivesi, edası, kelimelerin telkin potansiyeli daima nazarı dikkate alınmak icabeder. İdeal tercümenin diğer bir hususiyeti de; müellifin üslubuna tebdili tabiiyet ettirmektir. Bu, daha ziyade edebî ve felsefî tercümelerde tahakkuk ettirilmesi lâzım gelen bir gaye olmalıdır.”

preferred as a genre. While translating from source languages was explicitly stressed, there was a failure in achieving this goal, especially for classical works. As previously indicated, starting with its establishment, the Bureau launched an intensive translation activity on Greek and Latin classics. It was written in a journal included information about annual activities of the Ministry of Education that there was an “Eflâatun Bürosu” (“Eflâatun Bureau”) worked under the Translation Bureau (*Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Maarifi*, 1942, 139). So, it is understood that Greek classics and Plato’s works, in particular, were translated by a committee. Gürçağlar mentioned a bureau referring to Nusret Hızır as a member of the Translation Bureau, and she pointed out that despite its stress on the priority of translating the source language, the Bureau especially translated classics from intermediary languages such as French, German and English (2008, 130):

Nevertheless, the scarcity of translators who could translate directly from Greek and Latin made it imperative for the Translation Bureau to commission these translations to translators competent in modern European languages. The Bureau set up a committee to oversee the translations of works by Plato. This committee acknowledged a shortage of Greek and Latin translators and agreed on the need to translate Plato’s works via French, English and German. It specifically authorised the German O. Apel, the English Jowett and the French “Les Belles-Lettres” and “Garniet” series as source text for translators. Indeed, although the importance of using the ‘original’ text for translation was emphasised in theory, practical concerns led to an exception in the case of Greek and Latin, as well as peripheral European languages, such as Scandinavian languages, Finnish or Hungarian.

The information given linked to Greek and Latin classics by Saliha Paker is also Significant (as cited in Tahir Gürçağlar, 2008, 130):

Among those responsible for translation of Greek and Roman classics, seven are known to have translated from Greek and Latin, while the majority relied on French as the principal intermediate language. Hence, of the 66 translations of Greek classics published within the period 1940-1966, (some with 3 reprints) only 17, i.e. less than one-third, were from the original source-texts.

After Reşat Şemseddin Sirer's taking office as the Minister of National Education, the Translation Bureau held a meeting in 1946. One of the decisions taken in the meeting was about preliminary norms that would be adopted by the Bureau. According to this decision, because there were limited numbers of competent translators in these languages, works in Chinese, Hindi, Greek, Latin, Spanish, Portuguese and Scandinavian languages could be translated from French, English, German and Italian as second languages (Karantay, 2003, 69).

As mentioned earlier, primary missions expected from the Translation Bureau were transferring underlying Western sources and contributing to the improvement of Turkish through this transfer. These missions directly influenced to determine the norms to be adopted. The ultimate goal of ruling elites of the day was considering West as a whole with its culture and technique, and searching for its essential cultural sources and finally, adopted these sources as our own culture. So, it was required that domestic readers could make a strong connection with translated works, and they could consider these works as if they belonged to their own culture. Hence, it was required to focus on target culture in translation; in other words, an acceptable translation as an initial norm. The choice of initial norm directly reacts to the translator's use of Turkish. For instance, an acceptable translation required a natural, free-flowing and somewhat colloquial use of language in translation. So, a reader can feel him-/herself as a part of the culture that translated work belongs. In parallel to this, Özlem Berk claimed that the translations produced by the Translation Bureau were domesticated because of the missions as indicated above. Berk associated her argument with widespread translation criticisms focused on using of Turkish. Even further, by the argument, she analysed the approaches of Nurullah Ataç

and Sabahattin Eyüboğlu as the most outstanding figures in translation activities in Turkey on translation and use of Turkish (2000, 156- 171). Both were members of the Bureau, and notably, Ataç wrote numerous reviews on using and purification of Turkish.

Berk's argument is quite significant, but on the other hand, she did not analyse a sample translation produced by the Bureau. Of course, translators' approaches and criticisms on the translation should be taken into consideration about the norms adopted by the Bureau, but in order to justify this kind of argument, it is inevitable to examine the translation or the translated text itself. For instance, Gürçağlar analysed the translation of *Gulliver's Travels*. The translator was İrfan Şahinbaş, and this two-volume work was published in Translations from World Literature series. This work was utterly translated into Turkish by Şahinbaş for the first time. The translator was faithful to the textual integrity of the work, and so, there was not any addition or alteration in the translation. Furthermore, Şahinbaş preserved the syntax of the original text. Thus, it is understood that the translator adopted an adequate translation as an initial norm, and his translation was compatible with the original in terms of content and form. In addition to this, original spellings of proper names were retained, and phonetic transliteration of them was abandoned. There was not an explanation of some foreign concepts or expressions. So, the translator's stance on those was blurred (Tahir Gürçağlar, 2008, 268-277).

Having a more comprehensive approach to the norms adopted by the Translation Bureau is required more sample analyses. However, the Bureau made some norms widespread in translation activities. Regarding these activities, Gürçağlar says that three norms propagated by the Translation Bureau were the following: "The emphasis on the source text and source author introduced and maintained in the field of canonical literature, the

need to have direct translations, and the preservation of proper names in their original spelling were three norms propagated by the Translation Bureau, which appeared to have been accepted when they were first proposed in the early 1940s.” (2008, 301).

3.4. The *Tercüme* Journal

Before the First National Publishing Congress, an article about the Congress was written by Nurullah Ataç, and it was published in daily *Haber*. In the article, Ataç mentioned that he planned a journal on translation matters for a long time. The first part of this journal based on the translations of some texts. The second part comprised of the critiques about the translated texts published in both this journal or other publishings and the third part of it included equivalents for foreign words or expressions proposed by translators; in other words, a kind of dictionary. Ataç also told that an extra part contained summaries and translations from European journals could be added to the journal. Lastly, he pointed out that due to the financial hardships, this sort of journal could not be issued by an individual or a private publisher (as cited in *Birinci Türk Neşriyat Kongresi*, 1939, 137-138). It was indicated in the fifth item of the Translation Committee’s report that issuing a journal on translation was indispensable for a translation movement and the journal would consist of three parts same as the journal planned by Nurullah Ataç (*Birinci Türk Neşriyat Kongresi*, 1939, 126-127). The journal also mentioned in the meeting held by the Translation Board after the Congress was published with the title *Tercüme* by the Minister of Education as the first product of the Translation Bureau on May 19, 1940. *Tercüme* started to be published bimonthly, and 64 issues as 18 volumes were published until 1966. *Tercüme* was most regularly issued in Yücel’s ministry. Between 1940 and 1946, 33 issues were published. On the other hand,

during the ten-year Democrat Party's rule in 1950-1960, only 12 issues were published. Even further, any issue was not published in 1950, 1952, 1954, 1956 and 1957 (Sauer, 1997, 38).

Tercüme mainly comprised of two parts. In the first part, several translated texts were given place, and some of these texts were reciprocatively published with their originals. According to Sauer, the texts, translated from totally 16 source languages, were published between 1940 and 1946 (136 texts in French, 71 in German, 57 in English, 45 in classical Greek, 28 in Russian, 21 in Latin, 6 in Persian, 4 in Chinese [These texts were translated from French], 2 in Italian, 2 in Japanese [translated from English and French], 2 in Spanish, 1 in Arabic, 1 in ancient Egyptian language [translated from English], 1 in Babylonian, 1 in Danish [translated from German] and 1 in Hungarian) (Sauer, 1997, 38-39).³³ Translated texts of 70 figures written in French were published in the first part and this number was 37 for English, 31 for Greek, 27 for German and 16 for Russian (Sauer, 1997, 39-40).

The second part of the journal contained theoretical and historical articles, and translation critiques. The articles were about the relationship between nationalism and translation, the experiences of Western countries gained during their nation-building process, the relation between humanism and translation movements. In the translation critiques, selected pieces from translated works were analysed in several ways. In addition to these, summaries and translations from Western periodicals, ads about the translations produced by the Translation Bureau, news about the Bureau's activities and

³³ The translations of more than one text taken from the same work and made by only one translator in an issue were considered as only one translation.

classical Ottoman pieces with Latin scripts were occasionally given place in this part. In May 1940-July 1946, 14 articles on the translation history of Turkey, 13 on translation history (outside of Turkey), 13 on translation theory, seven on topics irrelevant to translation and two on the method of translation critique were published (Sauer, 1997, 44). In the same period, 31 critiques on French translations, 11 on English, nine on Russian, four on Greek and one on Latin were published (Sauer, 1997, 44). The most prominent figures whose writings were published in this part were Erol Güney (32 writings), Lütü Ay (13), Nusret Hızır (11), Azra Erhat (5), Yaşar Nabi Nayır (5) and İhsan Sungu (5) (Sauer, 1997, 47).

During its publishing life, seven special issues of *Tercüme* were published. These were “Yunan Özel Sayısı I-II” (“Special Greek Issue I-II”), “Şiir Özel Sayısı” (“Special Issue on Poetry”), “Demokrasi Üzerine Düşünceler” (“Thoughts on Democracy”), “Goethe Özel Sayısı” (“Special Issue on Goethe”), “Schiller Özel Sayısı” (“Special Issue on Schiller”) and “Mektup Türü Üzerine” (“On Letter Genre”). Only Special Greek Issue I-II and Special Issue on Poetry were published during Yücel’s ministry, and the Thoughts on Democracy issue was published in November 1946 (The first multi-party elections in Turkey was held on July 1946) (Sauer, 1997, 41).

The *Tercüme* journal officially issued by the Translation Bureau contributed to the activities of the Bureau. Through the translated texts published in the first part, the journal made a significant contribution to the initial mission of the Bureau namely “cultural transfer”. In the foreword to the *Tercüme*’s 13th issue published on May 19, 1942, Yücel said that *Tercüme* was like a coursebook and all teachers from every field had to receive and read this book for more humanistic education (as cited in Çeviri

Seçkisi I, 2003, 102-103). Same as prioritising to translate Western classical works, pieces from this kind of works were mainly translated for *Tercüme*. For instance, mostly translated French writers were Michel Eyguem Siegneur de Montaigne (1533-1592), Jean Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778), François Marie Voltaire (1694-1788) and Denis Diderot (1713-1784). On the other hand, Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1749-1832), Friedrich von Schiller (1759-1805) and Johann Peter Eckermann (1792-1854) were the most popular writers to translate from German literature (Sauer, 1997, 39-40). Similarly, in the second part of the journal, writings associated with cultural accumulation beyond actual issues were published. Kurultay pointed out that any writing was given place in *Tercüme* during World War II that was nothing but the crisis of Western culture and rationalism (1999, 29). Apart from the cultural transfer, both translations and translation critiques provided a fruitful ground for the improvement of Turkish. According to Memed Fuad, *Tercüme* went beyond the Turkish Language Association in terms of its activities because while the Turkish Language Association was only proposing equivalents for foreign words or concepts, these proposed Turkish words were used in *Tercüme* (as cited in Sauer, 1997, 42). So, the activities of *Tercüme* were practically more useful.

In *Tercüme*, translators found an opportunity to discuss on translation methods and theorise them. In other words, they put the activities concurrently carried out by the Translation Bureau in a theoretical framework. In a foreword to the 7th issue of *Tercüme*, Ataç stated that a translation literature was not established and competent translators were not brought up in Turkey. So, the journal *Tercüme* would be a school. On the other hand, the ones worked for it were not instructors but rather students there.

Additionally, Ata pointed out that there was not a particular translation strategy, and they did not try to find out or teach this sort of strategy (Ata, 1941, 1-2).

Apart from *Tercüme*, there was not an official platform for translation issues, and even after *Tercüme*, any journal on translation published by private publishers could not be long-termed. Gürağlar indicated that translation as a subject in debates on culture and literature reached the height of its popularity in the first half of the 1940s and the First National Publishing Congress, the establishment of the Translation Bureau and *Tercüme* had a significant effect on it (2008, 138). Although Ata stressed that the aim of issuing *Tercüme* was not to constitute or impose specific translation strategies, as previously mentioned, using especially translated pieces published with their originals and translation critiques *Tercüme* and Ata himself, in particular, played a fundamental role in taking the root of some norms in translation activities.

CHAPTER 4

SITTING THE TRANSLATION BUREAU IN THE CULTURAL POLITICS OF THE PERIOD

4.1. Hasan-Âli Yücel's Thoughts on Humanism and Nationalism

It draws a great deal of attention that it is made a clear distinction in the studies related to the cultural politics of the single-party era. According to this distinction, the cultural politics of the Atatürk and İnönü era are considered separately. Since Yücel was only Minister of Culture/National Education throughout the İnönü era until the multi-party elections, as mentioned in the first chapter, cultural politics of the era is called with Yücel's name. Besides his political charisma, another reason for naming is that he played a strategic role in the fields of language, culture and education before taking office as a minister. About the distinction in question, while the cultural politics of the Atatürk era was considered as laic/secular and nationalist, the cultural politics implemented after 1938 was put forward as laic/secular and humanistic.³⁴ This humanistic character attributed to the cultural politics implemented during Yücel's ministry caused that Yücel was either heroised or harshly criticised and discredited. The main reason for harsh criticism directed against Yücel's own and the activities carried out during his ministry is associated with the accusation that these activities harmed the nationalist spirit of Atatürk's reforms. Considering Yücel as the only subject of policies implemented during this era is wrong because all activities could be carried out with

³⁴ This distinction is clearly seen in these studies: (Yiğit, 1992) and (Karakaş, 2009).

İnönü's consent. The close relation between Yücel and İnönü was known, and even Yücel underwent several hostile attitudes against himself during his ministry. However, in order to acquire a deeper understanding of the cultural politics of the term in question, it is crucial to delve into Yücel's thoughts on this cultural politics concerning nationalism and humanism.

Following Atatürk's death, Hasan-Âli Yücel took office as the Minister of Culture in the new government formed by Celâl Bayar in December 1938 (The previous minister was Saffet Arıkan). An article series by Burhan Asaf Belge was started to publish in daily *Ulus* on December 5, 1938. In these articles published throughout eighteen days, Belge pointed out that the most advanced civilisation of the term was Western civilisation, and in order to become a part of it, modern Turkey had to sever its ties with Ottoman legacy because Ottoman Empire was not laic, but laicism was one of the most dominant characters of the Kemalist revolution. Like most of the intellectuals of the day, Yücel in particular, Belge reckoned with Tanzimat intellectuals. Instead of imitating or adopting Western civilisation superficially, he suggested constructing a new Turkish identity based on Greek and Latin culture. Introducing classical instruction in high schools was crucial for this object (Classical instruction in high schools was widespread around Europe in the 19th century). Ahmet Oktay considered Belge's article series as "referential texts" ("*işaretçi* metinler") of the cultural politics of İnönü's term (Oktay, 2002, 233-234). As indicated in the first chapter, this rather radical thought was expressed by other intellectuals of the period, such as Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu. Many years later, after Yücel's ministry, Yakup Kadri said to Yücel that Turkish culture could not be based on a genuine culture. So, we are doomed to live in a "shadow

culture”. According to him, it is related to education. Yücel took the initiative to achieve this goal, but the initiative could not permanent (Yücel, 1957, 277). Yakup Kadri might have referred to Greek and Latin sources as he said “genuine culture”. Burhan Asaf Belge was one of the most prominent political and intellectual figures of the early Republican era. He was one of the founders of the journal *Kadro* and furthermore, he wrote numerous articles on humanism. He coined the term “Turkish humanism” for the first time in an article on Darülfünûn published in *Kadro* in 1933 (Altınbaş Serezli, 2006, 40).³⁵ According to this proposal promoted by other politicians and intellectuals, İsmet İnönü in particular, the cultural basis of Western civilisation, namely Greek and Latin sources, would be appropriately investigated. Then the Western way of thinking would be adopted, and through this thinking method, Turkish identity would be constituted on this cultural ground. Thus, Western culture would not be imitated, but rather a Turkish identity would be strengthened as well.

As pointed out earlier, Yücel was one of the leading figures criticised the intellectuals and politicians of the Tanzimat era. He clearly articulated his critiques in the foreword to Special Greek Issue of *Tercüme*. According to Yücel, it was easily seen that in order to defeat the West again, becoming a part of it was indispensable. However, the Ottoman Empire failed to achieve this goal. Because intellectuals of the Tanzimat period did not consider Western civilisation as a whole. However, Yücel added that if there were not an effort made in Tanzimat, his generation would not have reached this level of thought (1945, I-IV). The belief on becoming Western in order to struggle against the West was mentioned in Yücel’s several articles. For instance, in an article written by Yücel in

³⁵ Belge harshly criticised Darülfünûn because it did not make a contribution to the studies on Turkish history in accordance with new Turkish reforms (1933, 24).

1953, the 30th anniversary of the Republic, he indicated that Turkey was a Western country in the meaning of liveliness (“yaşatıcı manada Garplı olmak”). According to him, Atatürk adopted Westernism in order to put an end to the conditions that Turkey was going through. Power meant right for the West. So, adopting Westernism was indispensable to demonstrate that right meant power (1960, 84). Same critiques were directed against to a lesser extent the Second Constitution period. Particularly Yücel’s statements related to Ziya Gökalp was quite significant. Gökalp who played a central role in the Committee of Union and Progress was also quite active in the Turkish Hearts and Darülfünûn. It is known that his theories had a great deal of effect on the founder elites of the Republic. One of the figures impressed by Gökalp is Yücel. At the beginning of his political career, it is seen that Yücel explicitly criticised Gökalp’s arguments associated with the construction of modern Turkish identity formulated as “Turkification, Islamization and Modernization”. This criticism can be considered as a basis of Yücel’s opinions on nationalism, Westernization and humanism. The argument at the centre of Yücel’s views that the main ideology of the Republic have not eclectic but rather holistic understanding. According to this, Turkish identity or Turkish nationalism and Western civilisation are not different parts. On the contrary, the Turkish identity constructed through Turkish revolution is identified with Western civilisation. Yücel stated in an article published in daily *Akşam* in 1936 that Turkish revolution was holistic and systematic (“bütüncü ve sistemci”) and they did not want to adopt three things, but rather they aimed to be only one thing. According to Yücel, “being a Turk” and “becoming a Turk” (He referred to “Turkification” pillar of Gökalp’s argument) were different from each other. There was no need for Turkification but on the other hand, there was a strong necessity of feeling and searching for Turkishness (1998, 185).

In another article, Yücel expressed that in fact, Gökalp meant Westernization when he used the term “modernisation”. However, according to Yücel, same as life itself, also individuals and society were a whole. So, Gökalp’s trinity was incompatible with reality. When a national conscious was starting to arise in a society, this consciousness with authentic features originated from traditions flourished with universal values (1966, 13). Yücel’s statements related to civilisation issue are usually unclear. Sometimes he expresses that civilisation is a whole and all varieties such as East, West, old world or new world are reflections of it (as cited in *Çeviri Seçkisi I*, 2003, 100-101). Similarly, in an article titled “Hür müsün?” (“Are you independent?”) Yücel pointed out that the split between East and West only took place in geography books. He suggested that this kind of splits would be abandoned and all useful things would be learned (1960, 23). On the other hand, it can be seen that Yücel has a Eurocentric civilisation understanding. In the foreword to Greek Special Issue of *Tercüme*, Yücel articulated that the civilisation of the day was Western civilisation and its roots belonged to ancient Greek. Feeling or understanding these roots was humanism. He criticised Gökalp and all intellectuals of the Tanzimat and Second Constitution periods because they did not realise this fact or even if they realised, they hesitated to express it (1945, I-IV).

Yücel demonstrated that starting with the foundation of the Republic, it was tried to construct a Western Turkish identity. There was an image of Turkey that was a member of Western civilisation with its authentic features. As a result of this image or ideal, features peculiar to Turkishness were aimed to rediscover. So, Yücel considered the activities on Turkish history and language started to carry out in Atatürk’s period as a

“renaissance”.³⁶ As previously mentioned, Yücel succeeded Saffet Arıkan as the Minister of Culture in the new government formed just after Atatürk’s passing away. This changing directly pointed out a significant shift in the cultural politics of the country. The Turkish History Thesis and the Sun Language Theory lost their significance in the İnönü era. Yücel was at the centre of the activities on language in Atatürk’s period. After then, these activities increasingly continued during his ministry. It was given priority to the purification of Turkish. Several congresses were held on scientific terms and concepts. Coursebooks were standardised. The First National Publishing Congress was organised, and after that, several dictionaries and encyclopedias were prepared. The Translation Bureau was established and during twenty-six years, the Bureau produced over a thousand translations. One of the main components of the cultural politics is national language issue and the activities carried out during Yücel’s ministry are quite compatible with nationalism principle of the Republic. On the other side, there was a strict shift in the activities about Turkish history. The studies associated with the roots of Turkey before Islam paved the way for the Turkish History Thesis, but it was scientifically criticised and additionally, the decision on being Western in the cultural field directly reacted on historical studies. This time, it was started to give a great deal of importance to Greek and Latin sources, which were considered as the main roots of Western civilisation. There are a variety of approaches to Western humanism and the stance, namely “Greek miracle” which

³⁶ The statements related to the studies on Turkish history and language started in Atatürk’s era can be seen in these works: (Yücel, 1998, 182) and (Yücel, 1957, 207). In the latter, Yücel considered national cultural history as a water which caused to revive and using this kind of cultural history, they could feel eagerness of being a Turk and fruitful pleasure of becoming a Western (“Türk kalmanın şevki ve Garplı olmanın verimli zevki”).

directly associates the roots of Western civilisation with only ancient Greek, is one of them. Adopting this kind of humanistic understanding by the intellectuals of the early Republican era is primarily originated from its laic characteristic. In this point, mentioning about Orhan Burian's three-part article titled "Hümanizma ve Biz" ("Humanism and Us") published in the journal *Yücel* in 1940 can be useful. Burian was one of the prominent translators who worked for the Translation Bureau, and he issued *Yücel* that was one of the leading publishing platforms of the humanism current widespread in the 1940s. In this three-part article, Burian wrote the history of humanism originated from reading ancient Greek texts by ones outside the Church, starting with the 14th century in Italy. The understanding of humanism is scientific and strictly statist (Because this current rose against the Church). Humanism is a way of thinking, and according to it, people are not only God's creatures. They have the ability to wonder, learn and change nature. Because it is a way of thinking, humanism is universal, and all societies can adopt it at all times. Burian concluded the issue like that the Republic of Turkey is a nation-state and all dogmas hindered freedom of thought were annihilated through the foundation of the Republic. It is clearly understood that Burian implies the laicism principle of the Republic, and according to him, there is no obstacle for Turkey to adopt humanism. However, it does not mean Turkey's imitation of the experiences Western countries gained during the 14, 15, 16th centuries. Even further, adopting humanism will not be realised through reading classics and introducing Greek and Latin courses in high schools. In this point, Burian emphasises to search for or rediscover ourselves. According to him, we are unaware of our past like Europeans in the Middle Age. Burian does not ignore the Ottoman past or legacy. He has a more comprehensive and authentic understanding regarding the past and even he refers to Yahya Kemal's

“historical consciousness” (“tarih bilinci”) notion. Having an awareness of all feelings, understandings and customs that belong to our past is crucial to construct our national identity (2004, 58-64).

It is quite significant that Burian’s articles were published in 1940. It can be seen that debates on humanism were activated in the very beginning of the 1940s (Bearing in mind Belge’s article series can be instrumental). However, at this point, the question of what kind of humanism will be adopted is more important. As pointed out above, supporting an understanding of humanism based on ancient Greek works is related to its laic characteristic. There are issues in human and relations between human and nature at the centre of these works. So, they are universal and beyond all space and time (Berk, 2000, 161).³⁷ As of the Tanzimat period, Christian characteristic of the Western world caused a kind of tension in relations with this world. So, the idea that adopting the works both Western and non-Christian as a cultural basis was considered to ease the tension in question. However, this quite Eurocentric humanism and civilisation understanding were in contradiction with the discourse on universalism, and this contradiction can be easily seen in Yücel’s statements. It was aimed to construct a national identity based on Western sources. It was tried to sever all connections with cultural legacy belonged to the post-Islamic era. In an article, Yücel mentioned that Turkish society essentially had a naturalist disposition, but this characteristic was destroyed with the transition to Islam. On the other hand, these nationalist roots of Turkish society were compatible with Western culture (1998, 183-184).

³⁷ Özlem Berk also drew attention to this point and associated this humanistic approach of the ruling elite with non-Christian feature of ancient Greek sources.

The activities implemented during Yücel's ministry were mostly criticised for not being humanist or laic but rather being non-nationalist. For instance, Halise Karaaslan Şanlı pointed out that these activities were criticised in terms of "national-civilised" binary in the Turkish Grand National Assembly. Especially, the establishment of the Ankara State Conservatory caused a great deal of discussion. Similarly, concerning the translation movement, it was claimed that the translation of Eastern works was neglected (2012, 303-309). Ahmet Oktay indicated that intellectuals of the early Republican era who supported the official ideology and political regime could not speak without mentioning nationalism and so, they interiorized nationalism as an "ideological disease" (2002, 229-230). Yücel is a proper example of Oktay's consideration. He defended all activities and asserted that these activities were both national and civilised. For instance, as associated with the debate on the establishment of the Ankara State Conservatory in the Assembly, Yücel gave a speech and told that they adopted civilised works of the advanced countries but being civilised did not prevent being Turk (as cited in Karaaslan Şanlı, 2012, 307). It can be easily asserted that Yücel's statements regarding nationalism remained in rhetoric level because they were far from being clear or explanatory. Accusing the activities of not being nationalist by several groups is understandable. One of the main components of national identity is a common historical consciousness shared by all members of the nation. Many of the activities implemented during Yücel's ministry, especially in linguistic and educational fields, are compatible with this component. However, in the cultural field, an understanding of nationalism which was not based on indigenous sources and traditions was adopted. The cultural politics implemented during Yücel's ministry was future-oriented rather than being focused on

the past. According to this, the modern Western Turkish identity would be constructed on a cultural basis imported from the West. This was what the intellectuals of the period meant when they used the statement “Turkish humanism”. As written earlier, the cultural politics of the single-party era was mainly examined under two categories as the Atatürk era and the İnönü era. According to this categorisation, while the Atatürk era was considered as nationalist, the cultural politics of the İnönü era implemented under Yücel’s ministry was identified as humanistic. Moreover, it was created a contrast between these nationalist and humanistic sides and even Yücel was accused of not being nationalist (These accusations can be explicitly seen in the Yücel-Öner case). This kind of categorisation is not reasonable to assess the cultural politics of the term. The political discourse on humanism widespread in the 1940s is directly connected with nationalism. Furthermore, this kind of humanistic understanding can be considered as a “Westernist nationalism”. The word “Turk” in the statement “Turkish humanism” refers to this fact. Considering any politician of the newly-founded Republic as non-nationalist is far from being rational. Additionally, as of his childhood, Yücel’s approaches to nationalism and his deep commitment to the political regime and Atatürk, in particular, can be easily observed in his all speeches, articles and even literary works. Finally, Karaaslan Şanlı pointed out the same point. She wrote that in Yücel’s all parliament and public speeches given during his ministry, the word “humanism” was only used one time and she also added that the policies associated with humanism were not matters of debate in the Assembly. The ideological framework of the speeches given by Yücel was formed by nationalism (2012, 85).

4.2. Considering the Translation Bureau in terms of Turkish Humanism

The Republic of Turkey has adopted Western values since its foundation. Notably, in the early years of the Republic, namely the Atatürk era, quite radical reforms were made in almost every field of daily life. In the cultural field, while Western styles were adopted in music and performing arts, Turkist or nationalist approaches associated with the pre-Islam culture of Turks were embraced in historical and linguistic areas. As an example, the Turkish History Thesis and the Sun Language Theory were considerably promoted by Atatürk. Following Atatürk's death, a more comprehensive program was implemented in the politics of culture and education. In this period, Yücel as the leading figure regarding the politics, several politicians and intellectuals of the term harshly criticised the intellectuals of the Tanzimat and Second Constitution era for not adopting a more holistic approach to Westernization. It is quite significant that they did not direct the same criticism against the Atatürk era (or they hesitated to do that). Because a more holistic understanding of Westernization was adopted in the İnönü era, cultural and educational policies were revisioned in this direction.

All written works became unreadable for new generations with the Alphabet Reform in the early years of the Republic. Moreover, these works were not systematically translated into Turkish with Latin scripts through official ways in the following years. Due to the laicism as one of the founding principles of the modern Turkey, post-Islam tradition of Turkish literature was discredited and because of the abundance of Arabic and Persian words it contained, this literature was blamed for not being national.

Another prejudice frequently repeated about Ottoman literature in the Republican period that it was disconnected from society, and thus, it did not react the thoughts and feelings

of the society. It can safely be asserted that because of all these reasons, the traditional literary ground which modern Turkish literature would be established on was abolished and this ground became a kind of emptiness.

As of the Tanzimat era, translations made from Western languages gradually increased. Particularly starting with the second half of the 19th century, Western literary works were started to translate into Turkish. These translations were criticised for being irregular and unsystematic in the early years of the Republic. Organising the First National Publishing Congress and setting up the Translation Bureau at the very beginning of the İnnönü era is quite significant because these activities are directly connected with the political structure of the term. Establishing the Translation Bureau and giving priority to humanist works consisted of Greek and Latin classics to translate were mainly due to realising the transfer of humanism considered as a basis of Western civilisation through the channel of translation. As mentioned in the previous section, the description of humanism based on ancient Greek is only one of the several approaches regarding humanism and this kind of humanistic understanding was compatible with the laicism principle of the Republic. According to this description identified as Greek miracle, starting with the 14th century, Western societies started to reread and reassess ancient Greek works as different from the Church, and thus, they started to put human and his/her will and dignity at the centre of the universe. This humanistic approach paved the way for the Renaissance, and then national awakenings in Europe became an inspiration for the ruling cadre of the Republic. As a result of all these reasons, the First National Publishing Congress and the establishment of the Translation Bureau were named as “renaissance” by several politicians and intellectuals of the period. Yücel was

also identified as the second “İbrahim Müteferrika” who opened new doors to all these developments. The mission to transfer Western humanist culture, which was ascribed to the Translation Bureau was directly linked to the goal of constituting a national library. Because all translations, especially the works published in the Translations from World Literature series, were the sources modern Turkish identity and literature was based. It was criticised that although translating the works in Western languages was started and much money and time were spent for a century, a national library could not be established.

The ideology of humanism built a bridge between political and literary fields through the Translations from World Literature series, and Greek and Latin works in particular. Because of considering the literary works produced before the foundation of the Republic as not being national and laic, these works were intentionally neglected, and by taking into consideration the experiences of other Westernised countries, an imported literary canon was aimed to form national literature through the translations of the classics.

The objective of determining the canonical works was clearly expressed by the translators worked for the Translation Bureau. In an interview done with Vedat Günyol, he mentioned that the reason for translate the classical works was to create a culture based on the main sources of Western civilisation. According to him, the understanding of a laic state required this, and in order to constitute a democratic system, an enlightening period was indispensable (Karantay and Salman, 1988, 13). Similarly, Azra Erhat expressed that the aim and the task of the Translation Bureau were searching for and determining the sources (2003, 61). Erhat’s some opinions are quite considerable. In

an interview done with herself, she emphasised the concept of “memory”. According to her, any culture or creative ability would not be improved with the ignorance of previous cultures. She said about the criticism directed against giving priority to the translation of Greek and Latin works by the Translation Bureau that retracing the products of our intelligence and protecting them was our own duty.

In the same interview, Erhat said that the Translation Bureau found renowned worldwide and indisputable works, and embarked on translating them with an insufficient language to adopt these works as if they belonged to our literature (2003, 61). These works -Greek and Latin classics- were considered as universal and a part of authentic Turkish culture. So, these works became Turkified when they were translated into Turkish. Yücel adopted the same approach to this issue. In the first graduation ceremony of the Ankara State Conservatory in 1941, Yücel gave a speech and stated that Turkish humanism rose in the heart of the Conservatory. It appreciated all artefacts without exception and did not limit them by time and space. It was shown deep respect and admiration for the works provided new thinking and perception to humanity. The expression of these respect and admiration made these work our own. Yücel also added that the authors or composers of these works might have belonged to the different nations. However, we were the ones who understood or performed these words, sounds and roles. So, the plays and operas performed by the Conservatory were ours, Turk and national (as cited in Çıkar, 1997, 96-97).

The 29th and 30th issues of *Tercüme* were published under the title “Greek Special Issue” through Yücel’s commission. In the 29th issue of the journal, many translated texts of several Greek writers were published. In the foreword to the issue, Yücel

indicated that he was delighted to see Greek writers such as Homeros, Hesiod, Tyrtaeus, Mimnermus, Archilochus, Theognis, Alcaeus, Sappho, Anacreon, Alcman, Pindar, Aeschylus, Euripides, Aristophanes, Herodotus, Thucydides, Plato, Xenophon, Aristo, Lysias, Socrates and Lycurgus as Turkified ones in Turkish (1945, I-IV). In his quite influential article on the Translation Bureau, Turgay Kurultay wrote that in the Atatürk period, several radical decisions were taken and they were rapidly implemented. He asked that due to the Alphabet Reform in 1928, and historical and linguistic studies which were started at the beginning of the 1930s (Bearing in mind that Yücel was elected as the etymology chief in the Society for Research on the Turkish Language founded in 1932) why did the establishment of the Translation Bureau delay (1999, 24). I think, any delay in the establishment of the Bureau is out of the question. Before the İnönü period, the political conditions of the country did not require to give priority to a translation movement. However, on the other hand, due to all political and economic hardships, all cultural activities, translation, in particular, were given considerable weight and supported by the political cadre of the İnönü term. So, it can be safely argued that these activities directly connected with the political atmosphere of the day.

In his study on the educational and cultural politics of the İnönü period, Ali Ata Yiğit claimed that Westernization was not adopted in this period but rather Europeanization with the experiences of Western countries was tried to realise, and he associated these claims with the activities of the Translation Bureau (1992, 47-48). I think, Yiğit implied that European countries and their cultures were imitated. In my opinion, the Westernization understanding of the ruling elite of the İnönü period was quite Eurocentric. However, I do not agree that the experiences and cultures of European

countries were imitated. Furthermore, this claim is the opposite of Turkish humanism. This kind of critiques is not based on strong arguments or examples in general. According to Yücel's statements, it was expected to provide a particular method or way of thinking from Westernization or Turkish humanism. It was also aimed at modern Turkish culture and literature would be constructed through this method. So, the policies of this term were formed by a historical consciousness stressed the future instead of the past. There was the same approach to national literature. An imported Western canon would not cause imitation but somewhat creativity. At this point, Yücel gave Alexander Pushkin, who was one of Yücel's favourite writers as an example. According to Yücel, Pushkin's literature derived from the perceptions and understandings of Byron, Walter Scott and Shakespeare. Pushkin, who had a comprehensive literary culture, put his nation's past and present in his works, and enlightened his country through the light of his genius. He achieved this by employing not the language thickly weaved of Russian literature adopted an artificial classicism but rather a lovely, elegant and transparent Russian that retained its tradition (1998, 304). In these statements, Yücel might have referred to divan literature.

Similarly, in an article on national literature dedicated to Halit Ziya Uşaklıgil, Yücel pointed out that not the subject of work but rather its writer was of real importance. Pierre Loti did not write *Madame Chrysanthème* like a Japanese. French "spirit" could be felt in the novel's every line. Sophocles, Racine and Goethe differently handled the subjects of ancient Greek tragedies. Yücel added that he considered this "colour of otherness" ("başkalığın rengi") as national, and recognised national literature as involved in world literature through the colour of otherness peculiar to it (1998, 262).

Yücel's statements on national literature are generally abstract and unclear. Moreover, it can be safely claimed that these statements are entirely subjective. Yücel's opinions about Tanpınar are examples of this situation. Yücel mentioned Tanpınar's poem titled "Bursa'da Zaman" ("Time in Bursa") in his article on Albert Gabriel's *Une Capitale Turque: Brousse, Bursa (Bir Türk Başkenti: Bursa)* and stated that this poem contained the "spirit" of Bursa. Tanpınar saw and told it, and he penetrated Bursa differently from Western writers (as cited in Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar, 1997, 60).

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

There were only two new ministers in the government formed just after Atatürk's passing away. One of these was Yücel who took office as the Minister of Culture. This novelty denoted a shift in the cultural politics of the Republic. Although İsmet İnönü was a statist politician (For instance, he was an ardent supporter of the People's Houses and the Village Institutes), he did not directly give support to the studies such as the Turkish History Thesis and the Sun Language Theory. Yücel also adopted the same attitude even though he was at the centre of linguistic studies, and additionally, he was a member of the Turkish Historical Association (Türk Tarih Kurumu). The main difference between the cultural politics of the Atatürk and İnönü era was the feature of the studies on language and history. Because, under the principle of reformism, Westernization was adopted in the Atatürk era, and many Westernist reforms were implemented in the various fields of daily life. As of the period of national struggle, Yücel's full commitment to Atatürk and the regime was quite evident. However, it is seen that in terms of cultural politics, he was more accordant with İnönü, and the intellectuals and politicians of the İnönü period.

It was stated that a holistic view was adopted in the cultural politics of the İnönü era. A total Westernization was meant with the word "holistic". It is seen in Yücel's statements that the word "universalism" was substituted for Western civilisation. A quite Eurocentric Western civilisation was meant because it was emphasised that Western civilisation was at the centre of this universalist view. It was also believed that

Westernization strengthened national identity. So, according to this belief, Westernization was parallel with nationalism. The East-West binary starting with the Tanzimat period could not be dealt with in the Atatürk era. So, the relations with the West were still tense. It can be thought that this tension was overcome with the decision on a total Westernization. It is evident that the views of the political cadre of the term consisted of the ones who were in politics as of the national struggle did not rapidly change. For instance, Yücel, as the Minister of Culture expressed in his articles that in order to defeat the West, Turkey had to become a Western country. This tense approach reminds Ziya Gökalp's statements. Before the foundation of the Republic, in 1922 Gökalp wrote that we were obliged to adopt Western civilisation. According to him, there were only two options: being obliged to the West or ruling the West (as cited in Koçak, 2009, 233).

Adopting the sources of Western culture and intelligence as well as the Western technique was implied by a full Westernization. The intellectuals and politicians of the term used the statement "Turkish humanism" for this. Ahmet Oktay pointed out that following Atatürk's passing away, humanism was made a quasi-formal ideology as a cultural decision (2002, 233). In that period, the entire authentic culture belonged to the post-Islamic era was deliberately ignored with a radical laic stance. Believing to realise a total break from the cultural accumulation is astonishing. A large part of the population lived in the countryside. Additionally, the literacy rate and general educational level were still quite low. In order to fully Westernize the country, a strict shift in the cultural habitus of the society was aimed. However, this kind of shift required a harmony between the dispositions of people and desired habitus.

The establishment of the Translation Bureau was a reflection of the political agenda of the period. During Yücel's ministry in 1940-1946, Greek and Latin works identified as the main sources of Western civilisation were prioritised by the Bureau. In addition to this, the works from French, German, English and Russian literature were predominantly translated. The whole indigenous literary tradition was neglected. Because it was claimed that the works belonged to this tradition did not have any qualification which was prerequisite for classical work. So, it was aimed to translate Greek and Latin classics to construct a literary basis for the national literature.

Considering the policies implemented during Yücel's ministry as not being national is not useful to have a more comprehensive view about the cultural politics of the period. The statement "Turkish humanism" and the meaning of the word "Turk" in it should be explored because they denote the view of nationalism adopted in that period. It can be understood that the intellectual basis of Turkish humanism was insufficient, and this fact is easily observed in Yücel's statements. Yücel defended himself and the policies implemented during his ministry through only some unclear comments and certain clichés, and made do with identifying these policies as Turk and national. His parliament speeches are good examples of this attitude. The idea of Turkish humanism indicated an authentic type of nationalism. According to it, both national and Western Turkish identity was aimed to realise. It would be an authentic experience. The stress on not the past but rather the future of the nation was centred in the idea of Turkish humanism. So, the blurriness of Yücel's statements is understandable. Because Turkish humanism was an ideology that framed not the present but rather the things would be materialised in the

future. This ideology was abandoned even though the success or applicability of it could not be seen enough.³⁸

Following the transition to the multi-party system in 1946, some considerable shifts were observed in the Republican People's Party, and regarding these shifts, Yücel resigned from the Ministry of National Education. Reşat Şemsetdin Sirer succeeded him. This new leadership influenced the activities of the Translation Bureau. Following Yücel's resignation, the foreword written by Yücel was removed from all translations made by the Bureau. The connection between humanism and translation was emphasised in this foreword. Gürçağlar considerably observed the effect of the shift in political discourse. According to her, translation activity was confined to the literary field only, and there was a transition from "Turkish Renaissance" to the "literary renaissance" in that period (2008, 92-93):

I would like to argue that the shift and decline in the activities of the Translation Bureau have to do with the new definition of nationalism in Turkey. (...) After 1947, as nationalism was reinterpreted within a partialist paradigm, the culture planning project also changed direction. Since the West would be considered as the source of science and technology, and Turkey, now embracing its religious past, would be the source of national culture, foreign works were no longer needed for the making of a new Turkish culture. Imports of foreign classical work via translation started losing their central position and political function, at least in the discourse of the state. A striking example to this shift is the publication of translations of Turkish literature into western language in *Tercüme*. A preface to the 52nd issue of *Tercüme* wrote, "it's only natural that we try to acquaint other nations with our thoughts and tastes". This was a novel approach that started to compensate for the previous views of Turkish intellectuals on republican Turkish literature, which they regarded as inferior to western works. It is also interesting that this preface referred to a "literary renaissance", instead of a "Turkish Renaissance" that would be brought about by translations. The impact of translation was now confined to the field of literature.

³⁸ Turkish humanism ideology, which was widely debated in the 1940's, gradually lost its influence on the political agenda, however, this ideology later gave birth to "Blue Anatolian Humanism" current. Additionally, its effects can be seen on the Departments of Classical Philology in Turkey.

REFERENCES

1941 Yılından 1946 Sonuna Kadar Millî Eğitim Bakanlığı Tarafından Yayımlanan 500 Cilt Klâsik ve Modern Eserin Listesi. Ankara: Millî Eğitim Basımevi, 1947.

Açık, Tansu. “Türkiye’de hümanizm tartışmalarına bir bakış.” *Toplum ve Bilim* 98 (2003). 111-151.

Altınbaş Serezli, Güneş. “‘Turkish Humanism Project’ in the Early Republican Period.” Unpublished M.A. thesis. Middle East Technical University. 2006.

Ataç, Nurullah. “İkinci Yıla Girerken.” *Tercüme* 7 (1941). 1-2.

Ayas, Nevzad. *Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Millî Eğitimi: Kuruluşlar ve Tarihçeler.* Ankara: Millî Eğitim Basımevi, 1948.

Bektaş, Cengiz. “Klasiklerin Çeviri İmecesı.” *Hasan-Âli Yücel Günleri: 26-27 Aralık 1997.* Ed. Ali Ekber Danabaş, Abdülkadir Budak. Ankara: Edebiyatçılar Derneği Yayınları, 1997. 62-73.

Belge, Burhan Asaf. “Üniversite’nin Manası.” *Kadro* 20 (1933). 24-28.

Berk, Özlem. “Bir Türk kimliği yaratmada Tercüme Bürosu ve kültür politikaları: Çevirilerin yerelleştirilmesi.” *Toplum ve Bilim* 85 (2000). 156-171.

Birinci Türk Neşriyat Kongresi: Raporlar, Teklifler, Müzakere Zabıtları, 1-5 Mayıs

1939. Ankara: T.C. Maarif Vekilliği, 1939.

Burian, Orhan. “Hümanizma ve Biz.” *Denemeler-Eleştiriler*. Ankara: Türkiye Bilimler Akademisi Yayınları, 2004. 58-64.

Çıkar, Mustafa. *Hasan-Âli Yücel ve Türk Kültür Reformu*. Ankara: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 1997.

Demirkol, Neslihan. “1850-1900 Yılları Arasında Edebiyat Yayıncılığı Alanının Yeniden Biçimlenmesi ve Edebiyat Çevirileri Piyasasının Doğuşu.” Unpublished PhD thesis. Bilkent University. 2015.

Dünya Edebiyatından Tercümeler. İstanbul: Maarif Matbaası, 1944.

Erhat, Azra. “Tercüme Bürosu ve Tercüme Dergisi Üzerine.” *Çeviri Seçkisi I: Çeviriyi Düşünenler*. Ed. Mehmet Rifat. İstanbul: Dünya Yayıncılık, 2003. 59-64.

Günyol, Vedat. “Türkiye’de Çeviri.” *Cumhuriyet Dönemi Türkiye Ansiklopedisi 2*.

İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1983. 324-330.

Hasan-Âli. “Edebiyat Tarihimize Umûmî Bir Nazar ve Bizde Edebî Hareketler.” in *Türk Yılı 1928*. Ed. Arslan Tek, Ahmet Zeki İzgöer. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 2009. 253-274.

--. *Türk Edebiyatına Toplu Bir Bakış*. İstanbul: Remzi Kitaphanesi, 1932.

Hasan-Âli Yücel. Ed. Kemal Kocabaş. Ankara: T.C. Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı, 2011.

Hirsch, Ernst E. *Anılarım: Kayzer Dönemi Weimar Cumhuriyeti Atatürk Ülkesi*. Tr.

Fatma Suphi. Ankara: Tübitak Popüler Bilim Kitapları, 1997.

İçöz, Nihan. “1940 Yılı: Türk Kültür ve Edebiyatında Çeviri ile Açılan Çığır.” *Sosyal ve Beşeri Bilimler Dergisi* 5:2 (2013). 335-344 (Online).

Jusdanis, Gregory. *Belated Modernity and Aesthetic Culture: Inventing National Literature*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1991.

Karaaslan Şanlı, Halise. *Hasan Âli Yücel Konuşmaları: Ulusal Kimlik İnşası ve Politik Retorik*. Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi Yayınevi, 2012.

Karantay, Suat. “Tercüme Bürosu: Normlar ve İşlevler.” *Çeviri Seçkisi I: Çeviriyi Düşünenler*. Ed. Mehmet Rifat. İstanbul: Dünya Yayıncılık, 2003. 65-73.

Karantay, Suat and Yurdanur Salman. “Vedat Günyol’la Söyleşi.” *Metis Çeviri* 2 (1988). 11-19.

Karakaş, Ömer. “Atatürk’ün Kültür Bakanı Saffet Arıkan ile İnönü’nün Maarif Vekili Hasan Âli Yücel’in Kendi Dönemlerinde Uyguladıkları Kültür Politikalarına Genel Bakış.” *EKEV Akademi Dergisi* 38 (2009). 235-254.

Koçak, Orhan. “1920’lerden 1970’lere Kültür Politikaları.” *Modern Türkiye’de Siyasî Düşünce: Kemalizm*. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2009. 370-418.

Konuk, Kader. *Doğu Batı Mimesis: Erich Auerbach Türkiye’de*. Tr. Can Evren. İstanbul: Metis Yayınları, 2013.

Korucu, Burcu. “ ‘Türk Hürmanizmi’nin Çeviri Boyutu: Tercüme Bürosu ve Tercüme Dergisi (1940-1946).” Unpublished M.A. thesis. Yıldız Technical University. 2007.

Kurultay, Turgay. “Cumhuriyet Türkiyesinde Çevirinin Ağır Yüğü ve Türk Hürmanizması.” *Alman Dili ve Edebiyatı Dergisi* 11 (1999). 13-36.

Maarif Vekilliğince Yayınlanan ve Yayınlanacak Olan Klâsik Eserlerin Listesi. Ankara: Maarif Matbaası, 1943.

Millî Eğitim Bakanlığınca Yayınlanan Klâsik ve Modern Tercüme Eserler (1941-1945). Ankara: Millî Eğitim Basımevi, 1945.

Mumcu, Uğur. *40’ların Cadı Kazanı*. İstanbul: Tekin Yayınevi, 1995.

Oktay, Ahmet. "Hümanizm Tartışmaları." *Cogito* 31 (2002). 227-248.

Oruç, Fırat. "Rewriting the Legacy of the Turkish Exile of Comparative Literature: Philology and Nationalism in Istanbul, 1933-1946." *Journal of World Literature* 3 (2018). 334-353.

Sauer, Jatta. "Türkiye'de İlk Çeviri Dergisi: *Tercüme*." Tr. Mustafa Çıkar. *Kebikeç* 5 (1997). 35-49.

Seyhan, Azade. "German Academic Exiles in İstanbul: Translation as the *Bildung* of the Other." *Nation, Language, and the Ethics of Translation*. Ed. Sandra Bermann, Michael Wood. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2005. 274-288.

Sinanoğlu, Suat. *Türk Humanizmi*. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1980.

Tahir Gürçağlar, Şehnaz. "A cultural agent against the forces of culture: Hasan-Âli Yücel." *Agents of Translation*. Ed. John Milton, Paul Mandia. Amsterdam, Netherlands: John Benjamin Publishing Company, 2009.

--. "Tercüme Bürosu Nasıl Doğdu. Birinci Türk Neşriyat Kongresi ve Çeviri Planlaması." *Çeviri Seçkisi I: Çeviriyi Düşünenler*. Ed. Mehmet Rifat. İstanbul: Dünya Yayıncılık. 2003. 48-58.

--. *The Politics and Poetics of Translation in Turkey, 1923-1960*. Amsterdam, Netherlands: Rodopi, 2008.

--. "The Translation Bureau Revisited: Translation as Symbol." *Apropos of Ideology: Translation Studies on Ideology-Ideologies in Translation Studies*. Ed. Maria Calzada Pérez. New York: Routledge, 2014. 83-93.

Tanpınar'dan Hasan-Âli Yücel'e Mektuplar. Ed. Canan Yücel Eronat. İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 1997.

TBMM Albümü 1920-2010: 1. Cilt 1920-1950. Ankara: TBMM Basın ve Halkla İlişkiler Müdürlüğü Yayınları, 2010. https://www.tbmm.gov.tr/TBMM_Album/Cilt1/index.html.

Toury, Gideon. *Descriptive Translation Studies And Beyond*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 1995.

Tuncel, Bedrettin. "Hasan-Âli Yücel ve Tercüme." *Çeviri Seçkisi I: Çeviriyi Düşünenler*. Ed. Mehmet Rifat. İstanbul: Dünya Yayıncılık, 2003. 43-47.

Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Maarifi: 1923-1943. Ankara: Maarif Vekaleti, 1943.

Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Maarifi: 1941-1942. İstanbul: Maarif Matbaası, 1942.

Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Millî Eğitimi 1943-44/1948-49. İstanbul: Maarif Matbaası, 1944.

Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Maarifi: 1940-1941. İstanbul: Maarif Matbaası, 1941.

Ülken, Hilmi Ziya. *Uyanış Devirlerinde Tercümenin Rolü*. İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2016.

Widmann, Horst. *Atatürk ve Üniversite Reformu: (Almanca Konuşulan Ülkelerden 1933 Yılından Sonra Türkiye'ye Gelen Öğretim Üyeleri) Yaşamöyküleri- Çalışmaları- Etkileri*. Tr. Aykut Kazancıgil, Serpil Bozkurt. İstanbul: Kabalcı Yayınevi, 2000.

Yakup Kadri'den Hasan-Âli Yücel'e Mektuplar. Ed. Canan Yücel Eronat. İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 1996.

Yiğit, Ali Ata. *İnönü Dönemi Eğitim ve Kültür Politikası (1938-1950)*. İstanbul: Boğaziçi Yayınları, 1992.

Yücel, Hasan-Âli. *Edebiyat Tarihimizden I*. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1957.

--. *Geçtiğim Günlerden*. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1990.

--. *Hürriyet Gene Hürriyet I*. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1960.

--. *Hürriyet Gene Hürriyet II*. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1966.

--. "Klasiklere Birinci Önsöz." *Çeviri Seçkisi I: Çeviriyi Düşünenler*. Ed. Mehmet Rifat. İstanbul: Dünya Yayıncılık, 2003. 103.

--. "Klasiklere İkinci Önsöz." *Çeviri Seçkisi I: Çeviriyi Düşünenler*. Ed. Mehmet Rifat. İstanbul: Dünya Yayıncılık, 2003. 104.

--. *Kültür Üzerine Düşünceler*. Ankara: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 1974.

--. *Pazartesi Konuşmaları*. Ankara: T.C. Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları, 1998.

- . “*Tercüme*’nin İlk Sayısına Önsöz.” *Çeviri Seçkisi I: Çeviriyi Düşünenler*. Ed. Mehmet Rifat. İstanbul: Dünya Yayıncılık, 2003. 100-101.
- . “*Tercüme*’[nin Üçüncü Cildi İçin].” *Çeviri Seçkisi I: Çeviriyi Düşünenler*. Ed. Mehmet Rifat. İstanbul: Dünya Yayıncılık, 2003. 102-103.
- . “Yunan Özel Sayısına Önsöz.” *Tercüme* 29-30 (1945). I-IV.

Interviews

- Karaaslan Şanlı, Halise. 6th February, 2019. Ankara University, Ankara.
- Karasulu, Koray. 29th January - 11th February, 2019. E-mail interview.
- Tahir Gürçağlar, Şehnaz. 28th January, 2019. Boğaziçi University, İstanbul.